Leviticus and Its Reception in the Dead Sea Scrolls from Qumran

A thesis submitted to the University of Manchester for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
in the Faculty of Humanities

2018

Baesick Choi

School of Arts, Languages and Cultures
Table of Contents

Abstract ...............................................................................................................................................6
Declaration ...........................................................................................................................................7
Copyright Statement .............................................................................................................................8
Acknowledgements ...............................................................................................................................9
Abbreviations .......................................................................................................................................10

Chapter I. Introduction ..........................................................................................................................11
A. The Choice of Topic ............................................................................................................................11
B. Methodological Issues and Approaches ...........................................................................................11
   1. Preliminary Comments on Methods Used in this Thesis .................................................................11
      a. Textual Criticism .............................................................................................................................11
      b. Literary Criticism and the Use of Scripture ...............................................................................12
   2. The Process of Investigation ........................................................................................................16
C. Overview of the Thesis and Its Argument .........................................................................................19

Chapter II. The Manuscripts of the Book of Leviticus ........................................................................22
A. Preliminary Discussion .......................................................................................................................22
B. The Manuscripts of Leviticus ............................................................................................................25
   1. 1Q3 (1QpalaeoLev-Numa) ...............................................................................................................25
   2. 2Q5 (2QpalaeoLev) ..........................................................................................................................28
   3. 2Q9 (2QNumb?) ..............................................................................................................................30
   4. 4Q17 (4QExod-Lev3) .....................................................................................................................31
   5. 4Q23 (4Q Lev-Numa) ....................................................................................................................33
   6. 4Q24 (4QLevb) .................................................................................................................................35
   7. 4Q25 (4QLevb) .................................................................................................................................37
   8. 4Q26 (4QLevb) .................................................................................................................................39
   9. 4Q26a (4QLevb) ...............................................................................................................................40
  10. 4Q26b (4QLevb) .............................................................................................................................42
  11. 4Q119 (4QLXXLeva) ......................................................................................................................42
  12. 4Q120 (4QpapLXXLevb) .................................................................................................................44
  13. 4Q156 (4QtgLev) .............................................................................................................................46
  14. 4Q249j (4Qpap cryptA Leviticusb?) ...............................................................................................48
Chapter III. Jubilees and Leviticus ............................................ 65

A. Introduction ........................................................................... 65
   1. Background to the Book of Jubilees .................................... 66
   2. Date and Authorship .......................................................... 67

B. The Influence of Leviticus 26 on the Structure of Jubilees ........ 68

C. Leviticus 16–27 and Four Themes in Jubilees ......................... 71
   1. Introductory Comments .................................................... 71
   2. Four Significant Themes ................................................... 73
      a. Chronological and Calendrical Systems of Jubilees .............. 73
         i) The Term Jubilees ....................................................... 73
         ii) Festivals .................................................................. 75
         iii) Eschatology ............................................................. 79
      b. Sabbath ....................................................................... 81
         i) Possessive Form of the Sabbath .................................... 82
         ii) Expansion of the Sabbath ........................................... 82
      c. Levitical Combinations .................................................. 84
         i) Holiness and Purity .................................................... 84
         ii) Covenant and Restoration ......................................... 89
      d. Priestly Concerns: Levi (Genealogy), Priestly Books (Cultic Laws and Lore) ... 90

D. Conclusion ........................................................................... 93

Chapter IV. Leviticus in the Temple Scroll .............................. 95
Chapter V. Leviticus in the Damascus Document

A. Introduction ................................................................................................................. 128
B. The Use of Leviticus in D .......................................................................................... 133
   1. Structure of D and Lev 26 ..................................................................................... 133
      a. Preliminary Comments ..................................................................................... 133
      b. Structural Outline (4QD<sup>a,b</sup>; 5QD; 6QD; CD A-B) .................................. 134
      c. Analysis of the Structural Outline .................................................................. 136
         i) General Comments ......................................................................................... 136
         ii) Leviticus 26 as a Major Influence in D ....................................................... 138
   2. The Themes of Leviticus in D .................................................................................. 143
      a. Patriarchs and Covenant ................................................................................... 144
      b. Sabbath and Land ............................................................................................ 145
      c. Three Nets of Belial ......................................................................................... 148
      d. Disobedience in General .................................................................................. 153
C. Conclusion .................................................................................................................. 155

Chapter VI. Leviticus in MMT

A. Introduction ................................................................................................................ 157
B. Uses of Leviticus in MMT Section B .......................................................................... 161
   1. Slaughtering .......................................................................................................... 161
      a. Purity of Hides and Bones .............................................................................. 161
      b. Place for the Slaughter of Animals ................................................................. 163
Chapter VII. Leviticus in Other Texts ...................................................... 185

A. Introduction .................................................................................. 185

B. Dependence on Leviticus in Other Compositions ......................... 187
   1. Early or Pre-sectarian Traditions (Third to Second Centuries BCE) ... 187
      a. Aramaic Levi Document (ALD) ............................................. 187
      b. Genesis Apocryphon .......................................................... 191
      c. Apocryphon of Jeremiah ..................................................... 194
   2. Works Whose Final Form Belongs to the First Century BCE .......... 196
      a. 4QTohorot A (4Q274) ......................................................... 196
      b. War Scroll ........................................................................ 198
      c. 4QHalakah A (4Q251) ......................................................... 200
      d. The Rule of the Community (1QS) ........................................ 202

C. Conclusion ................................................................................... 205

Chapter VIII. Conclusion .................................................................... 207

Bibliography ....................................................................................... 214

Word Count: 77,265
Abstract

The book of Leviticus is reflected in the Dead Sea Scrolls from the Qumran Caves in significant ways. This concept has not been investigated thoroughly in scholarship. The aim of this thesis is to describe the considerable number of manuscripts that seem to contain all or part of the book of Leviticus and subsequently to describe and analyse the wide range of the use of Leviticus in four major compositions, in addition to some other texts that survive from the Qumran Caves.

After a brief introductory chapter, the thesis in chapter II, provides an assessment of twenty-five Leviticus manuscripts with particular attention to the possible function of each manuscript, arguing that in some cases the manuscripts were produced for private use and in other cases for educational or cultic purposes. Chapters III to VII describe the uses of Leviticus in various non-scriptural compositions: Jubilees and the Temple Scroll as pre-sectarian works, the Damascus Document and MMT as sectarian compositions, and several other works from the Qumran Caves. The thesis seeks to demonstrate that Leviticus has been influential in various ways. In some places, parts of Leviticus seem to control the structure of literary works. In other places Leviticus provides key motifs and themes that are reworked to strengthen the ideological concerns of the authors and editors of the later works. In particular, this thesis highlights how the ideas present in Lev 26 often underpin the perspectives of subsequent Jewish literature, and it makes clear that the majority of quotations and allusions to Leviticus are derived from Lev 16–27, which scholars subsequently labelled the Holiness Code. Thus, the thesis argues that the ideology of the Holiness Code persisted in the communities that collected the manuscripts and placed them in the Qumran Caves and had been preserved in the pre-sectarian groups that preceded them.
Declaration

No portion of the work referred to in this thesis has been submitted in support of an application for another degree or qualification of this or any other university or other institute of learning.
Copyright Statement

i. The author of this thesis owns certain copyright or related rights in it (the “Copyright”) and he has given The University of Manchester certain rights to use such Copyright, including for administrative purposes.

ii. Copies of this thesis, either in full or in extracts and whether in hard or electronic copy, may be made only in accordance with the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988 (as amended) and regulations issued under it or, where appropriate, in accordance with licensing agreements which the University has from time to time. This page must form part of any such copies made.

iii. The ownership of certain Copyright, patents, designs, trademarks and other intellectual property (the “Intellectual Property”) and any reproductions of copyright works in the thesis, for example graphs and tables (“Reproductions”), which may be described in this thesis, may not be owned by the author and may be owned by third parties. Such Intellectual Property and Reproductions cannot and must not be made available for use without the prior written permission of the owner(s) of the relevant Intellectual Property and/or Reproductions.

iv. Further information on the conditions under which disclosure, publication and commercialization of this thesis, the Copyright and any Intellectual Property and/or Reproductions described in it may take place is available in the University IP Policy (see http://www.campus.manchester.ac.uk/medialibrary/policies/intellectual-property.pdf), in any relevant Thesis restriction declarations deposited in the University Library, The University Library’s regulations (see http://www.manchester.ac.uk/library/aboutus/regulations) and in The University’s policy on Presentation of Theses.
Acknowledgements

I am so thankful for the opportunity to study scripture at the University of Manchester for my doctoral dissertation. It was a very enjoyable and challenging academic journey. However, this work could not have been completed without the kind support and help of several people to whom I wish to express my thanks.

First of all, I am deeply grateful to my supervisor, Prof. George J. Brooke, for his immeasurable time, clear guidance, insightful instruction, and careful reading of my manuscript. Words cannot express how full of gratitude I am for Prof. Brooke. In addition, I wish to thank Dr. Renate Smithuis for her careful reading of my text and her comments.

Next, I would like to express thanks to my parish at West Franklin Charge in Ferrum, Virginia. Their love, support, and generosity always encouraged me to continue my study at Manchester, giving me great comfort and joy. My sincere thanks also go to many of my colleagues in the Virginia Annual Conference, not only for our relationship but also for our friendship.

Last but not least, I would like to thank my family, especially my daughter Joyce and my wife Andrea, for their patience, encouragement, and endless support during the years of my academic journey. There are many more that I could name; I will remember each of them in my heart as I continue my life journey in gratitude to them.
Abbreviations

Abbreviations used are according to *The SBL Handbook of Style*, 2nd ed, Billie Jean Collins, project director; Bob Buller, publishing director; John F. Kutsko, executive director (Atlanta, GA: SBL Press), 2014.


All Hebrew Bible quotations are from *Biblica Hebraica Stuttgartensia* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft), 1990.

Chapter I. Introduction

A. The Choice of Topic

In 2012, during the writing of my thesis\(^1\) for the Master of Arts in Biblical Studies programme at Trinity Western University in Canada, I worked on Leviticus and its structure, contents, and ideology, all of which intrigued me very much. Throughout my MA studies, I noticed that many scrolls from Qumran referred to Leviticus; I realized that the extensive presence of Leviticus among the scrolls and its widespread use in several other compositions required further investigation.

Given the large amount of Leviticus material among the scrolls, there is surprisingly little secondary scholarly analysis of the role of Leviticus in the scrolls’ corpus. The book of Leviticus survives in several manuscripts; it also features in quotations and allusions and seems to be a foundational basic source for the ideology behind the composition of some of the non-scriptural texts.

B. Methodological Issues and Approaches

1. Preliminary Comments on Methods Used in this Thesis

a. Textual Criticism

As is well known, the Dead Sea Scrolls have changed the landscape of textual criticism of the Hebrew Bible/Old Testament. Those changes are most apparent in the ways that Emanuel Tov has incorporated many of the features of the so-called biblical scrolls within the discipline of textual criticism.\(^2\) It is not necessary to rehearse all that he and other scholars have accomplished, though it is important to note two things. First, all the new information from the scriptural scrolls has revealed that scribes in the Second

---


Temple period were seldom mere copyists. Second, more often than not they participated actively in the transmission of the texts that they were reproducing. For Tov, that realization has resulted in his paying increasing attention to the overlap between literary criticism and textual criticism. Such an approach is summarized neatly by Martin Jan Mulder in his comments on the transmission of the biblical text. Mulder states,

The process of multiplication and transmission of the text through copying has begun. In this stage of the development of the biblical text, the Ancient Versions are beginning to exert their influence. Text-forms come into being which differ from the present canonical text in many details, and sometimes also in major points.³

Adaptations, alterations, and revisions were inevitable during the transmission of the text.⁴ Many of the examples in Chapter II show that texts of Leviticus occur in different text forms; however, it is also possible to notice the emergence of a standardized form of Leviticus in the late Second Temple period.⁵

In Chapter II many of the insights of those who have produced editions of the manuscripts of Leviticus found in the Qumran Caves and elsewhere will be assumed. The concern of Chapter II is to build on earlier insights and to ask some further questions about the functions of the manuscripts of Leviticus, particularly as those functions might be discernable in the various features of the manuscripts themselves, both materially and textually.

b. Literary Criticism and the Use of Scripture

Beyond Chapter II in which I have built on the insights of textual criticism, most of the rest of my thesis is concerned with the literary analysis of compositions from the Qumran Caves. The major feature of such literary analysis is a focus on the rich and varied

---


ways in which new compositions depend upon and engage with earlier authoritative scriptural sources, particularly the book of Leviticus. This book is present in several compositions in both major and minor ways: in major ways as an influence on the literary structure of a composition, in minor ways as a resource for conveying the new compositions’ ideologies.

As with the use of textual criticism in Chapter II, in the remaining chapters of the thesis I am also dependent on the insights of previous scholars, especially those of the last generation who have been able to take into account the new evidence of the multiple uses of scripture now attested in the scrolls from the Qumran Caves. Three approaches underpin much of the discussion in Chapters III–VII: inner-biblical interpretation, explicit pre-canonical scriptural interpretation, and scriptural rewriting.

First, for inner-biblical interpretation many scholarly insights depend upon and engage with the landmark work of Michael Fishbane, who discusses extensively how scripture is used within scripture in early Jewish scribal communities. The Hebrew Bible is “a thick texture of traditions received and produced over many generations” that needs to be considered in two ways: as a body of scripture and as a corpus of interpretations. While the collective biblical texts were passed from generation to generation orally and later in written form, there was freedom to edit the texts. Fishbane further asserts:

The canonical corpus contains a vast range of annotations, adaptations, and comments on earlier traditions. We call this ‘inner-Biblical Exegesis.’ With the close of the canon one could not add or subtract to these examples within


There are two types of inner-biblical interpretation: First, the introduction of comments, glosses, expansions, etc.; second, the use of other traditions, generally authoritative ones, to make comments and create harmonisations or cross-references. It is the latter with which Fishbane is particularly concerned. He discusses how scripture is used within scripture in early reception and introduces the concept that scripture has interpreted scripture, most commonly through “theme-words,” as scribes or interpreters depended upon other texts that were also of emerging authority. Fishbane defines “theme-word” as a word whose stem may recur differently in other places. “Such repetition, where it occurs, gives a text special texture; and it also serves to highlight major and minor features of content.” My thesis will engage with inner-biblical interpretation especially in Chapter VI in which detailed attention is paid to how allusions to Leviticus are combined with other authoritative texts to create adjusted legal prescriptions.

Second, for explicit pre-canonical scriptural interpretation, there are multiple studies. Among the most well-known is the series of volumes edited by Craig Evans, commonly in association with other scholars, notably James Sanders. Many of those volumes juxtapose the use of scripture in various New Testament books with its use in other early Jewish sources. The production of such volumes has been stimulated by the

---

11 Fishbane, Text and Texture, xii.
rich and varied use of scripture visible in the Dead Sea Scrolls, especially the sectarian compositions. The essays in these volumes concern numerous topics of interest, especially a concern to identify the ways in which the scriptures are handled. Chapter V in this dissertation is a discussion of the use of Leviticus in the Damascus Document; much of that discussion is concerned with verbal overlaps with Leviticus together with many implicit allusions to the book. The insights of those who have discussed pre-canonical biblical interpretation have also been important in the investigation and analysis of Miṣṣat Ma‘aše Ha-Torah (MMT) in Chapter VI, where the juxtaposition of implicit and explicit interpretation is also readily apparent.

Third, scriptural rewriting has become an important field of study in its own right, especially since the foundational work of Geza Vermes.\(^\text{13}\) Two approaches have been articulated in recent scholarship. On the one hand several scholars have wished to continue the work of Vermes by considering Rewritten Bible as a literary genre primarily based on the adaptation of scriptural narratives. Chief among the proponents of this approach are Moshe Bernstein and Molly Zahn.\(^\text{14}\) Bernstein has worked mostly with narrative compositions such as the Genesis Apocryphon. Zahn has engaged principally with the so-called Reworked Pentateuch manuscripts.

On the other hand, some scholars have preferred to understand scriptural rewriting not as a genre but as a process applied to many genres. A significant study in this respect is that by Anders Klostergaard Petersen in which he reviews the methods and approaches of other scholars to draw a distinction between those who see Rewritten Bible as a genre and


those who are more concerned with the process of scriptural rewriting. Among other scholars who have paid attention to rewriting as a process is George Brooke.

Attention to rewritten scripture is especially important in Chapters III and IV of this dissertation. Both Jubilees and the Temple Scroll have often been described as Rewritten Bible; that is, they have been understood as thoroughly engaged with authoritative scriptural sources through implicit interpretation. Although this thesis does not attempt to judge between those who take Rewritten Bible to be a genre and those who see it as a process, the argument of Chapters III and IV will expound both literary features and processes of production for the two compositions concerned, highlighting the ways in which implicit interpretation is taking place.

2. The Process of Investigation

The process of investigation will involve three stages. Chapter II presents all the manuscripts that are thought to contain complete or partial copies of the book of Leviticus.

---


Evidence for this chapter has relied upon the standard editions of the various manuscripts, especially in the Discoveries in the Judaean Desert series. It is interesting to note, however, that several fragmentary manuscripts of Leviticus have come to light and been published in various places, even since the appearance of the collection *Leviticus at Qumran*, which was intended to be comprehensive. All the resources that have been used to assemble the data are cited in Chapter II.

The second stage of the research requires the identification of all the major explicit and implicit uses of Leviticus in the scrolls found in the caves at and near Qumran. The process of identification reflects two approaches. On the one hand, I have relied on handlists produced largely without the aid of computer technology. Chief among those has been the index of scriptural passages compiled by Johann Maier. Such handlists can be problematic because the use of concordances can encourage scholars to make identifications of scriptural usage where none was originally intended or where an ancient author has unconsciously used scriptural idiom. Maier’s list was produced with sensitivity to such problems and so is a trustworthy guide to what actually may have been the case. On the other hand, I have used electronically generated resources such as the lists in Armin Lange and Matthias Weigold’s helpful volume, together with the files from Accordance Bible software.

Accordance Bible software has also enabled me to generate my own searches for allusions to Leviticus. The principal method I used to search for references consisted of entering two or three words, commonly in Hebrew in their root form, in the search bar.

---

Such searches were intended to discover verbal overlaps between Leviticus and some of the scrolls from the Qumran Caves. In addition, I searched for a distinctive theme word, such as “Covenant” or “Sabbath,” using either Hebrew or English search terms. Such searches were intended to help in the identification of the use of similar phrases and ideas in Leviticus and some of the scrolls from the Qumran Caves. Overall, from all such searches I was able to compile lists of likely sources in Leviticus that might have been used in certain instances. I sorted through the lists to determine which passages of Leviticus were most likely to lie behind the newly formulated passages in the selected texts from the Qumran Caves.

I have cited throughout the dissertation many parallels between Leviticus and the scrolls and developed my own system for helping readers see the passages from Leviticus that have influenced the Scrolls found in the Qumran Caves. In these parallel examples, the English of explicit quotations are in bold type; explicit quotations are those which are marked in the text itself with a phrase such as “it is written” (e.g., the use of Lev 14:8 in MMT B 64b–67a). The English of implicit uses of Leviticus are categorized in three ways. First, verbal overlaps of two words or more are indicated in bold type with underlining (e.g., the use of Lev 26:25 in Jub. 1:10). This kind of overlap uses the same words and commonly those words have the same grammatical form as found in a known text of Leviticus. Second, similar use of phrasing and ideas are in italic type and underlined (e.g., as in the use of Lev 20:24 in 11QTa 51:16). In these examples some words of Leviticus are used, but they feature in rewritten or rephrased statements that share ideas with identifiable passages of Leviticus. Third, compatible ideas are in italic type without underlining (e.g., the use of Lev 19:24–25 in MMT B 62b–63). These expressions do not share the same precise details but use similar words which are compatible with particular themes in

---

20 Sometimes two or more types of implicit use of Leviticus can occur in one and the same passage.
Leviticus. The important aspect of these three types of implicit use of Leviticus is that, although there are echoes of or allusions to the base text, it is reworked in various ways some of which represent specific topics and others of which influence the structure of the passage in which implicit use occurs.

The third stage in the process of investigation has been the analysis of the uses of Leviticus in several compositions. In each composition it has been necessary to construct a set of categories for handling the uses of Leviticus. Sometimes those categories have focused on how Leviticus influences the overall structure and line of argument of the composition; sometimes those categories have been concerned rather with precise usages in well-defined passages of the text. The outcomes of the analysis are presented in each chapter as the influence of Leviticus on the ideology of the various compositions is described. I have extensively reviewed scholarly work that substantially assesses and analyzes certain key themes selective to the text as literature. My purpose has not been to show intertextuality or to study sociolinguistics. Rather, my focus is the close reading of selected biblical texts that are related to texts found in the Qumran Caves explicitly or implicitly in order to investigate the use of the structure, content, or ideology of Leviticus in some compositions. This thorough reading discloses why certain parts of Leviticus were used and others were not.

**C. Overview of the Thesis and Its Argument**

This thesis is constructed within six chapters. Chapter II describes and reviews twenty-five manuscripts of Leviticus from the Second Temple period as found among the Qumran Scrolls and elsewhere to determine whether the manuscripts display any features that would indicate how they were used. This chapter will help readers see the richness of the uses of Leviticus in the scrolls.
Chapters III and IV include and consider pre-sectarian materials, Jubilees, and the Temple Scroll. Those compositions are reviewed and discussed in relation to how Leviticus controls their structures and provides key ideological markers in their contents such as concerns over priestly issues, the covenant, and the Sabbath.

Chapters V and VI are discussions of two key sectarian texts, the Damascus Document, and MMT. Although there are some distinctive features of the use of Leviticus in the Damascus Document and MMT, both compositions develop and enhance several of the key uses of Leviticus in Jubilees and the Temple Scroll. In particular, it is very intriguing to notice how the Sabbath, warning, judgement, and covenant, all referred to in Lev 26, are reflected in these two sectarian texts. It is equally interesting to see how the so-called Holiness Code (Lev 16–27) plays a significant role in providing the ideology of the compositions, even though, of course, the Holiness Code was not known as such to the ancient authors and editors of the Damascus Document and MMT.\(^\text{21}\) Leviticus is a foundational source for these compositions.

The final chapter treats briefly other compositions that contain Leviticus texts. These compositions offer more evidence, which is nevertheless fragmentary; some of these compositions were composed early in the life of the sect and others were composed later. The purpose of this chapter is to provide further comprehensive coverage of the influence of Leviticus in the Qumran literary corpus.

Throughout the thesis my endeavour is to offer explanations that show how Leviticus influences the structure, content, and ideology of the various key compositions among the scrolls. My research has shown that Leviticus was very predominant and significant in the late Second Temple period. Therefore, the purpose of my thesis is to show how closely Leviticus influenced the composition of texts in both the Qumran and

\(^{21}\) I have included Lev 16 in my argument since this chapter deals closely with several sections found in the scrolls.
pre-Qumranic communities or the wider movements of which they were a part. This supports my overall argument that Leviticus was a fundamental contributor to the creation of priestly sectarian ideology in the late Second Temple period, not least for those who had to some extent withdrawn from the Temple.
Chapter II. The Manuscripts of the Book of Leviticus

A. Preliminary Discussion

In this chapter, I will briefly describe twenty-five manuscripts:¹ the twenty-two manuscripts of Leviticus from the Qumran Caves,² two from Masada,³ and one from En-Gedi.⁴ There are further manuscript fragments containing small parts of Leviticus;⁵ they are all described by Eibert Tigchelaar as unprovenanced and so will not be discussed in this chapter.⁶ As Tigchelaar has stated: “the better part of wisdom is to set all those fragments apart to avoid contamination of our scholarly data.”⁷ The main purpose of this chapter is to review those manuscripts which most probably contained all or significant

¹ Some further fragments of Leviticus have recently been identified from Cave 11 by Émile Puech. Some of them seem to belong to 11Q1 and 11Q2. Puech has also suggested that some fragments in cryptic A script might also be a copy of Leviticus. In addition, he suggests that a papyrus fragment could be yet another copy of Leviticus (Oral communication with Brooke, May, 2017).

² The twenty-two scrolls from Qumran are: 1QpalaeoLev-Num⁴, 2QpalaeoLev, 2QNum⁵, 4QExod-Lev⁶, 4QLev-Num⁷, 4QLev⁸, 4QLXXLev⁹, 4QpapLev, 6QLev, 4QRP, 4QRP², 4Qpap cryptA Lev⁸, 4Qpap cryptA Text Quoting Leviticus A, 4Qpap cryptA Text Quoting Leviticus B, 6QpalaeoLev, 11QpalaeoLev⁵, 11QLev⁸. For the principal publication of each of those scrolls, see the relevant sections in this chapter. For a preliminary list of the biblical passages in these scrolls, see Eugene Ulrich, “An Index of the Passages in the Biblical Manuscripts from the Judean Desert (Genesis–Malachi),” DSD 1 (1994): 113–29.

³ For MasLev⁶ and MasLev⁷, see Shemaryahu Talmon, Masada VI: Tigiya Yadin Excavations 1963–1965 Final Reports Hebrew Fragments from Masada (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1999), 36–50.⁸


⁷ Tigchelaar, “A Provisional List,” 178.
parts of the book of Leviticus as found among the Qumran Scrolls and elsewhere, for which the provenance is certain or very likely, to see whether or not the manuscripts display any features that might indicate how they were used. Many of the observations in this chapter are highly dependent on the descriptive work of others, but few scholars have commented on how the Leviticus manuscripts might have been used in the late Second Temple period.

My distinctive contribution is to comment on the functions of the manuscripts of Leviticus by focusing on their key features, including their contents, physical characteristics, scribal features, and textual affiliation. I am not providing a new edition of any manuscript in this chapter but rather trying to understand how the manuscripts of Leviticus might have functioned.

In addition, the Leviticus scrolls are both richly preserved and seem to have been widely used in the communities associated with the site of Qumran and the wider movement. Leviticus was influential in many different Second Temple communities: it is written in three languages (Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek) and the Hebrew manuscripts are in two scripts (palaeo and square). Leviticus is considered a significant book “not only [for its] view of cultural history, but also for the history of the biblical text and canon.” Unlike other books in the Torah, Leviticus does not show large-scale editing; rather it presents a “general uniform state” by the late second century BCE and there appears to be only one edition in circulation. The Leviticus scrolls are extant in various sizes, from pocket-size

---

to extra large, which is a strong indication that Leviticus might have been read in various settings.\(^{12}\)

This chapter will lay the foundation for this work by comprehensively analysing the main features of all the Leviticus scrolls that have been published from the Qumran Caves and other sites. While it is not possible to draw firm conclusions now, the different sizes of scrolls suggest varied intended uses. We can categorize the Scrolls from the Qumran Caves into three groups based on size: small, medium, and large/deluxe. I am relying on the analytical descriptions of the manuscripts by Emanuel Tov and Armin Lange as a guideline to determine how to categorize each scroll.\(^{13}\)

The scrolls that can be considered small have between five and thirteen lines of writing and their height is similarly small. The medium-sized scrolls in general have fourteen to eighteen lines. The large scrolls (deluxe editions) are characterized by significant top and bottom margins of around three centimeters and some of these scrolls have more than twenty-five lines in each column.\(^{14}\)

Based on these data, we can postulate some uses for each category of size. The small scrolls seem likely to have been used in private settings where portability would be valued. Medium-sized scrolls could have been used in educational settings, possibly for the training of scribes. In this context, a small scroll would not be desirable, since readability would be important. However, considerations of cost may have kept the overall size

\(^{11}\) The size of the scroll often depends upon the dimensions of the sheet and contents. See Tov, Hebrew Bible, Greek Bible, and Qumran: Collected Essays, TSAJ 121 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008), 110.

\(^{12}\) The earliest scroll is 4QExod-Lev\(^{\prime}\) (4Q17) and has been dated palaeographically to 250 BCE. Fragments of Leviticus Scroll (ArugLev) have been dated to 75–100 CE, which indicates that Leviticus was in use for a long period.


somewhat compact. Finally, some large or deluxe scrolls may have been used for liturgical purposes. The fact that the large size seems to have been used mostly for authoritative biblical texts, with only some exceptions, supports this conclusion.\textsuperscript{15} In this context, an overly large manuscript may have reflected the high esteem the contents of the scroll received from the community. Further, considerations of cost would not have weighed as heavily upon the construction of the scroll, allowing for resources to be spent on luxuries such as large borders.

In the following discussion, I will utilise these categories in order to speculate about the nature of each of the Leviticus scrolls found in and near Qumran. This lays the foundation for considering the influence of Leviticus in the late Second Temple period. I argue that it was a diverse and popular book based on a single stable edition but containing some variant readings reflecting the range of text types present at the time.\textsuperscript{16}

\section*{B. The Manuscripts of Leviticus}

\subsection*{1. 1Q3 (1\text{QpalaeoLev-Num})}

\textbf{a. Contents}

In 1955, Dominique Barthélemy published in DJD I a group of fragments that he labelled “1Q3: Lévitique et autres fragments en écriture ‘Phénicienne’” and tentatively identified them as three or four separate manuscripts by grouping the fragments as follows: 1–15, 16–21, 22–23, and 24.\textsuperscript{17} Mark Mclean distinguishes three different manuscripts: 1\text{QpalaeoLev}^a: fragments 1–8, 10–15; 1\text{QpalaeoLev}^b: fragments 22–23; 1\text{QpalaeoLev}^c:

\footnotesize
\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{16} Armin Lange and Emanuel Tov, eds., \textit{The Hebrew Bible: Pentateuch, Former and Latter Prophets}, vol. 1B of Textual History of the Bible (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 93–95.
\item \textsuperscript{17} Dominique Barthélemy and Józef T. Milik, \textit{Qumran Cave 1}, DJD 1 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1995), 51–54 and plates VIII–IX.
\end{itemize}
Num\textsuperscript{a} fragments 16–21.\textsuperscript{18} Eugene Ulrich suggests 1Q3 represents just two manuscripts: 1Q\textsuperscript{paleo}Lev-Num\textsuperscript{a} and 1Q\textsuperscript{paleo}Lev\textsuperscript{b}.\textsuperscript{19} Whichever scholar is followed, the number of Leviticus manuscripts from the Qumran Caves would increase yet further. This discussion only considers that the principal fragments all seem to belong together.

According to DJD I, fifteen fragments have been assigned to 1Q\textsuperscript{paleo}Lev-Num\textsuperscript{a}, and this manuscript contains certain parts of Leviticus (Lev 11; 19–21; 23) and Numbers (Num 1:48–50; 36:7–8?). All the significant identifications of scriptural passages are indicated in the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frg.</th>
<th>Passage</th>
<th>Frg.</th>
<th>Passage</th>
<th>Frg.</th>
<th>Passage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Lev 11:10–11</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Num 1:48–50</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>Lev 27:30–31(?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Lev 19:30–34</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>Num 36:7–8 (?)</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>Partial word</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 et 4</td>
<td>Lev 20:20–24</td>
<td>10–15</td>
<td>Partial words</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>Partial word</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 et 6</td>
<td>Lev 21:24–22:6</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>Num 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Lev 23:4–8</td>
<td>17-21</td>
<td>Partial words</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Since all the fragments of 1Q3 are written in Palaeo-Hebrew script, it is a challenge to date them since the style of Palaeo-Hebrew persisted for several generations. Richard Hanson suggests a date of 125–75 BCE.\textsuperscript{20} 1Q3 frgs. 1–15 have been assigned to a single scroll of Leviticus and Numbers, though we cannot be sure that the manuscript contained both books. Currently, according to most scholars, frgs. 1–15 belong to one manuscript and frgs. 22–23 belong to another, but this conclusion is not clear.\textsuperscript{21} The surviving portion of Leviticus texts in 1Q3 is heavily concentrated on cultic practices.

b. Physical Characteristics

\textsuperscript{18} Mark D. Mclean, “The Use and Development of Paleo-Hebrew in the Hellenistic and Roman Period” (PhD diss. Harvard University 1982), 41–42.

\textsuperscript{19} Eugene Ulrich, “A Revised Edition of the ‘1QpaleoLev-Num\textsuperscript{a}’ and ‘1QpaleoLev\textsuperscript{b}’ Fragments,” RDQ 22 (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 341–47; Lange, Handbuch, 67.

\textsuperscript{20} Richard S. Hanson, “Paleo-Hebrew Scripts in the Hasmonean Age,” BASOR 175 (1964): 26–42, esp. 44.

\textsuperscript{21} Ulrich, “1QpaleoLev-Num\textsuperscript{a},” 341–47; Mclean, “The Use and Development of Palaeo-Hebrew,” 42, 60.
According to the images of plates VIII and IX in DJD 22 and the Leon Levy digital library, many of the fragments assigned to 1Q3 seem to be a well-prepared skin, though some of the fragments have a shady and dark colour. Fragments 22–23 have a clean and smooth surface and a soft reverse side, and frg. 24 is not preserved well. The fragments are inscribed on skin ranging in color from light to dark brown, and some are almost black, with defective orthography.

c. Scribal features

Many of the fragments were prepared with a clear horizontal line (a little over 0.5 cm, carefully ruled and very even) and the average vertical width of the columns is tall and thin. The columns average around 44 lines, roughly 45 cm, and the average length of the lines is around 12 cm. For Tov, the principal fragments assigned to 1Q3 can probably be classified as deluxe.

d. Textual Affiliation

The contents of the fragments of 1Q3 could be classified as proto-Masoretic (or proto-Rabbinic). However, Peter Flint considered the textual form of the fragments to be close in some respects to מ and in some respects to מ; it is possible to list the material as mixed. Though not speaking about 1Q3 specifically, it is worth noting that according

---

22 Barthélemy and Milik, DJD I, 51–54. Plates VIII–IX.
24 Kugler and Baek, Leviticus at Qumran, 1.
25 Tov, Scribal Practices, 144; Tov, Hebrew Bible, 111; Lange, Handbuch, 66–67; Barthélemy and Milik, DJD I, 51.
to Tov, Palaeo-Hebrew script may have been used by the Sadducees, but 1Q3 indicates that the use of Palaeo-Hebrew was probably not exclusively Sadducean.\textsuperscript{28}

e. Conclusion

Even with the fragmentary nature of 1Q3 in mind, we can note that at least some of the fragments suggest the survival of at least one scroll of an extra large size and the surviving texts in 1Q3 are heavily concentrated on cultic practices. Thus, it is my preliminary analysis that the fragments of 1Q3 were likely crafted for authoritative cultic purposes or public use.

2. 2Q5 (2QpalaeoLev)

a. Contents

One fragment has been assigned to 2QpalaeoLev and contains just one middle section of Leviticus (11:22–29; matters of purity). The suggested date for this fragment written in Palaeo-Hebrew script is first century BCE.\textsuperscript{29}

b. Physical Characteristics

2QpalaeoLev is in fairly good condition and its skin is of average thickness and dark brown in colour.\textsuperscript{30} The surface seems even, and the letters on the skin are very clear but line traces are not completely clean. The scribe did not use a sharp pen to write this manuscript, thus the letters are quite thick.

\footnotesize
\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{28} Tov, “Biblical Texts,” 151.
\end{itemize}
c. Scribal Features

Like other Palaeo-Hebrew manuscripts from the Qumran Caves, this text shares the characteristics of the Qumran scribal practice. The word-dividers in 2QpalaeoLev are shaped like small oblique strokes, which may be compared with vertical line dividers in many early lapidary texts; “the scribe of 2QpalaeoLev placed the dots serving as word-dividers and short oblique lines guiding the drawing of horizontal lines at the end of the lines.”

The space between lines is 7–8 mm and is relatively even, indicating that the scribe was careful when writing. This fragment is at the left end of a sheet, and the marginal space of the left side is roughly 1.5 cm. It appears from this fragment that the scribe did not use the highest quality of material; however, 2QpalaeoLev still demonstrates a fairly good standard of writing even though not much evidence survives.

d. Textual Affiliation

The orthography is apparently fuller than what one expects in \( \texttt{m} \), but the evidence is not enough to determine the affiliation of the fragment.

e. Conclusion

While the scribe seems to have been somewhat careful at times in the writing of this manuscript, the hand is not nearly as clear as other Palaeo-Hebrew texts. Further, the

---

31 Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 121–4. As in texts written in the square script, most Palaeo-Hebrew texts use spacing in the middle of the line for the indication of closed sections (see 1QpalaeoLev, 4QpalaeoGen-Exod, 4QpalaeoExod\textsuperscript{a}, 4QpalaeoDeut\textsuperscript{a} for clear evidence). On the other hand, the well-preserved 11QpalaeoLev\textsuperscript{a} does not use this device. More explanation will be provided in the 11QpalaeoLev\textsuperscript{a} section since this scroll is considered to be an independent text. Tov suggests that the writing in two different scripts likely represents different scribal schools.

32 Many manuscripts have spaces at a distance of 0.5–1.0 cm from the edge of the sheet; however, 2QpalaeoLev (1.5 cm) has appeared at a considerable distance from the edge of the sheet. See Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 57.

33 Kugler and Baek, *Leviticus*, 2.
small amount of evidence does not allow us to draw firm conclusions about how the manuscript might have been used.

3. 2Q9 (2QNum
d?)

a. Contents

Two fragments have been assigned to 2Q9 (Num 18:8–9? or Lev 23:1–3?). They are not well preserved and are very fragmentary. The few partial words preserved on this small fragment are not enough to identify the contents of the scroll. However, Baillet suggests that this may be a fragment of Numbers and others have reiterated his conclusion but he also allows the possibility that the manuscript contains the text of Lev 23:1–3.35

b. Physical Characteristics

The skin of these fragments is of medium thickness and their colour is very dark.36 The margins of the interline are 6.5 mm, the right margin is at least 1.1 cm, and the column width is about 8 cm.37 This manuscript is smaller38 than the medium- or large-sized manuscripts, but very little text survives.

c. Scribal Features

Because this is such a small fragment, it is not easy to identify scribal features though the handwriting seems very careful and well-written.

---

34 Palaeo-Hebrew in manuscripts that contain Exodus appears to be used very carefully and with consistent workmanship, while Palaeo-Hebrew in Leviticus manuscripts reflects inconsistent workmanship. See Kenneth A. Mathews, “The Paleo-Hebrew Leviticus Scroll from Qumran,” BA March (1987): 45–54.
35 Baillet and Milik, DJDJ III, 59.
37 Baillet and Milik, DJDJ III, 59.
d. Textual Affiliation

This manuscript was written in Hebrew, but it is not easy to tell its textual affiliation because there is very limited material.

e. Conclusion

Since this fragments only have a limited amount of text, it is difficult to speculate about the intended purpose of the manuscript but I include it here simply because it might possibly contain traces of Lev 23:1–3.

4. 4Q17 (4QExod-Lev\(^f\))

a. Contents

4QExod-Lev\(^f\) is one of the earliest manuscripts found in the caves at Qumran. This manuscript dates to the mid-third century (250) BCE.\(^39\) Seven fragments have been assigned to 4QExod-Lev\(^f\). These fragments contain the end of Exodus, the beginning of Lev 1, and possibly Lev 2. Fragments 3–4 contain a section of Lev 1 (1:13–15; 1:17) and frg. 4 contains Lev 2:1. The contents of 4Q17 are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>ii</td>
<td>Exod 39:3–19</td>
<td>II</td>
<td>ii</td>
<td>Exod 40:8–26</td>
<td>III</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Lev 1:17–2:1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4QExod-Lev\(^f\) seems to contain Exodus and Leviticus in continuity but the joint between the two books has not been well preserved. It is common for Leviticus and Numbers to be on a single manuscript, but the scroll Exodus–Leviticus possibly included the Tetrateuch or

possibly the whole Torah.\footnote{4QExod-Lev1 is considered to be a very large-sized scroll that contains two or more books since a large number of lines often implies that the scroll was long. It is likely that several scrolls found at Qumran contained more than one book of the Torah and possibly all of the Torah in which case they would have measured 25–30 metres. See Tov, Scribal Practices, 71; Armin Lange, “The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Date of the Final Stage of the Pentateuch,” in On Stone and Scroll: Essay in Honour of Graham Ivor Davies, ed. James K. Aitken, Katharine J. Dell, and Brian A. Mastin (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2011), 289–304, esp. 291–92.} The contents of 4QExod-Lev1 show clear evidence of the two books being written in order.\footnote{Cross summarizes by saying that 4Q17 is a “Proto-Samaritan” text with a tendency toward expansion.\footnote{Cross, “4QExod-Lev1,” 134.} Based upon the data above, 4Q17 can be categorized as very large.

b. Physical Characteristics

The surface is very dark and brown. The letters are very precise and sharply written.\footnote{Cross, “4QExod-Lev1,” 134.} The column width of frg. 2 is 12.75 cm, and the marginal rulings between columns are 2.0 cm. Column II (frgs.1ii and 2ii) can be calculated at roughly 60 lines of script of which only 31 lines are extant (including frgs. 1 and 2).\footnote{Cross, “4QExod-Lev1,” 134.} Based upon the data above, 4Q17 can be categorized as very large.

c. Scribal Features

The manuscript of 4QExod-Leviticus is one of the earliest manuscripts in the caves of Qumran and the script is not the formal script characteristic of the third century. It belongs to a less formal script tradition, which could be called “protocursive.” The letter forms are broad and square.\footnote{Kugler and Baek, Leviticus, 2.} The orthography is generally more plene than the מ, like other Leviticus manuscripts that often reflect the spelling of the Samaritan tradition. Cross summarises by saying that 4Q17 is a “Proto-Samaritan” text with a tendency toward expansion.\footnote{Cross, “4QExod-Lev1,” 136; Tov, Scribal Practices, 217–18. Based upon Cross and Tov, 4QExod-Lev1 is an early direct, or better collateral, witness to the textual family, which has been called proto-Samaritan, and which I prefer to label “Palestinian.” In the development during the Persian period of the final forms of certain letters in the square script there was a transition period during which certain scribes...}
d. Textual Affiliation

4QExod-Lev preserves Exod 39:3–24 immediately before chapter 40, in agreement with the order of ਮ and some with ਮ traditions, but contrary to the Septuagint, which places Exod 39:3–24 before 36:10–32. Further, the early manuscript’s textual character in many places stands against the readings of the Masoretic Text. 4QExod-Lev appears to be an early, direct witness to the textual family, which has been called Proto-Samaritan and which has been suggested to be “Palestinian.”


e. Conclusion

4Q17 (4QExod-Leviticus) is an extra large size; it probably was not used by an individual, but rather for cultic or public purposes. Also, the likelihood of this scroll containing multiple books, even the entire Torah or Tetratuch, suggests public rather than private use.

5. 4Q23 (4QLev-Num)

a. Contents

There are seventy-four fragments assigned to 4QLev-Num, twenty-six of which contain the latter sections of Leviticus. 4QLev-Num contains some middle and end sections of Leviticus; this scroll contains both Numbers and Leviticus, but the joint between the two books has not been preserved.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frg.</th>
<th>Leviticus</th>
<th>Frg.</th>
<th>Leviticus</th>
<th>Frg.</th>
<th>Leviticus</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

or scribal centres used the newly developed final forms, while others did not yet do so, or used them inconsistently. Thus, an early text like 4QExod-Lev (middle of third century BCE) did not use final forms.


b. Physical Characteristics

Many fragments are dark and some are in poor condition. The leather appears to have been light golden-brown and moderately thick.\(^{50}\) The appearance of this scroll is relatively poor, which is likely due to deterioration.

c. Scribal Features

The manuscript is carefully and clearly inscribed in an early Hasmonaean formal script (150–100 BCE)\(^ {51}\) and is easy to read. 4QLev-Num\(^ a\) is large and the columns are wide. The number of letter spaces per line is normally 65–75 letter spaces but reaches 70–80 letter spaces in the column in frgs. 32ii, 34i–43. The vertical distance between the lines of the script ranges between 0.6 and 0.9 cm, and the reconstruction of columns suggests that the number of lines per column was 43 lines; thus the height of the inscribed column can be estimated at 35–37 cm.\(^ {52}\) 4QLev-Num\(^ a\) is very close to this standard format.

d. Textual Affiliation

The orthography of 4QLev-Num\(^ a\) shares some features with \(\text{m}\) and some with \(\text{m}\).\(^ {53}\) The text of this manuscript closely follows the \(\text{m}\) with some notable exceptions\(^ {54}\): Lev

---


\(^{52}\) Ulrich, “4QLev-Num\(^ a\),” 153; Lange, Handbuch, 68–69.

\(^{53}\) Ulrich, “4QLev-Num\(^ a\),” 154.

\(^{54}\) Lange, Handbuch, 69.
14:24 and 45 are omitted, verse 43 is truncated, and verse 45 was added by a second hand.\textsuperscript{55}

e. Conclusion

4QLev-Num\textsuperscript{a} contains both Numbers and Leviticus on a large scroll without a joint between these texts. 4QLev-Num\textsuperscript{a} is currently in poor condition but it was a well-written manuscript. Further, this manuscript is closely aligned with the MT. These characteristics suggest a liturgical purpose rather than a personal one.

6. 4Q24 (4QLev\textsuperscript{b})

a. Contents

There are thirty fragments surviving from 4QLev\textsuperscript{b}, which was written in a late Hasmonaean hand from approximately the mid-first century BCE.\textsuperscript{56} This scroll contains the beginning as well as some of the final chapters of Leviticus. It might have contained the whole book of Leviticus, but we have no firm evidence for this conclusion.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frg.</th>
<th>Leviticus</th>
<th>Frg.</th>
<th>Leviticus</th>
<th>Frg.</th>
<th>Leviticus</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>3:8–14</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>23:40</td>
<td>25:51–52</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Fragments 2–7 in which the right margin of the first column is partly preserved are darker than frg.1, probably due to deterioration. It is likely that a further two lines of writing were part of the bottom of the column to which frgs. 1–7 belong. Fragment 8—the top margin of col. II—is clearly preserved, but the text of 3:1–7 is not extant between the two columns. Ulrich suggests that 4QLev\textsuperscript{b} is missing a part of the text from Leviticus,

\textsuperscript{55} Kugler and Baek, \textit{Leviticus}, 3.

\textsuperscript{56} Cross, “4QExod-Lev\textsuperscript{f},” 133–44; Metso, “Evidence,” 67–79, esp. 78.
probably most of Lev 3:1–7, which implies that either the Vorlage had an abbreviated text or that the scribe may have skipped some text since the wording of 3:1–4 and 3:6–11 is very similar.  

b. Physical Characteristics

The skin of this scroll seems to have been poorly prepared. The leather is moderately thin, possibly due to deterioration. Many fragments are dark brown with greyish or dark grey tones.

c. Scribal Features

The manuscript is carefully and clearly inscribed in an early Hasmonaean formal script and lacks significant errors. The reconstruction of the columns from frgs. 9 i–17 have 41 lines, and the first column from frgs. 1–7 possibly had 41 lines also. The height of these columns is 30.75 cm and the width is about 10 cm. The range of letters per line at the beginning of the manuscript is 60–65, later becoming 65–75. These characteristics place 4QLev in the category of large scrolls.

d. Textual Affiliation

The orthography shares some features with מ and some with מ, though there are minor variants, and there are no insertions and no signs of corrections by later hands. 4QLev follows מ closely.

---


60 Lev 3:1–11 seems to have been shorter than מ, מ, and Lev 22:22 has a plus against מ, מ, and ג. Kugler and Baek, Leviticus, 3.
e. Conclusion

4QLev\(^b\) is a large scroll (41 lines) and contains the beginning and the final sections of Leviticus. It is a well-prepared scroll and deals with cultic practices from Leviticus in various places. Considering its size and contents, this scroll might have been utilised in a liturgical or public setting.

7. 4Q25 (4QLev\(^c\))

a. Contents

4QLev\(^c\) is extant in six fragments, which include some verses from Lev 1–8. 4QLev\(^c\) is one of the scrolls among the Judean manuscripts that preserves a partial beginning of a text, similar to 4QLev\(^b\). The beginning of a scroll is more likely to be damaged since it is often on the outside when the scroll is rolled up. Nonetheless, this scroll starts with the first verse of Leviticus.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frg.</th>
<th>Leviticus</th>
<th>Frg.</th>
<th>Leviticus</th>
<th>Frg.</th>
<th>Leviticus</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>1:1–7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4:12–14</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5:12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Scrolls that contain more than one biblical book have spaces between successive texts. However, 4QLev\(^c\) commences at the top of a column and 11QpalaeoLev\(^a\) ends in the middle of a column and is not followed by the book of Numbers. Thus, this scroll probably contained a single biblical book.\(^{62}\)

b. Physical Characteristics

---

\(^{61}\) Flint suggests that the text of 4QLev\(^b\) may be classified as *mixed*. See Flint, “Book of Leviticus,” 326.

4QLev\(c\) is made up of leather fragments and can be reconstructed as having a large writing block, similar to 4QLev\(b\) (41 lines and 36.1–36.7cm).\(^{63}\) It is possible that 4QLev\(c\) is 36 lines long, if frg. 4 contains a top margin with Lev 4:23–28 (7 lines) and frg. 5 the bottom margin with Lev 5:12–13 (2 lines). If these two fragments are derived from the same column, it would have contained 36 lines (7+2+27 reconstructed).\(^{64}\)

Regarding the column size, frgs. 4 and 5 may serve as a point of departure. Since frg. 4 contains a top margin with Lev 4:23–28 (7 lines)\(^{65}\) and frg. 5 the bottom margin with Lev 5:12–13 (2 lines), their relative position in the scroll can be calculated.\(^{66}\)

c. Scribal Features

The six fragments of 4QLev\(c\) are dark brown. However, they were written carefully.\(^{67}\) The material of 4QLev\(c\) is skin and its date has not been suggested by its editors. The top margins in frgs. 1 and 4 are 2.5–2.6 cm and the bottom margin of frg. 5 is 4 cm. The margin between the columns in frg. 1 is 2 cm. Also, in frg. 5 there are two stitches (with a piece of thread) repairing damage to the leather caused by frequent handling.

d. Textual Affiliation

While 4QLev\(c\) is very fragmentary, what is preserved is identical to \(\text{ê}\) and \(\text{û}\) orthographically (frgs. 1 and 2),\(^{68}\) although there are minor orthographic variants in some. Flint suggests that this manuscript is mixed.\(^{69}\)

---

\(^{63}\) Ulrich, “4QLev\(b\),” 177.

\(^{64}\) Tov, “4QLev\(c\),” in *Qumran Cave 4: Genesis to Numbers*, DJD XII (Oxford: Clarendon, 1994), 189–201, esp. 189.


\(^{66}\) Tov, “4QLev\(c\),” 189.

\(^{67}\) Tov, “4QLev\(c\),” 189–192; “Explore the Archive,” Leon Levy Digital Library, Plate 316.

\(^{68}\) Lange, *Handbuch*, 70.

\(^{69}\) Flint, “Book of Leviticus,” 326.
e. Conclusion

4QLev<sup>e</sup>, a large, high-quality scroll, might have been used in a regular setting of liturgical or public use. This eventually necessitated discontinuation of its use for cultic service, probably because of continuing damage during regular use.

8. 4Q26 (4QLev<sup>d</sup>)

a. Contents

4QLev<sup>d</sup> is extant in eleven fragments, with only the middle section of several chapters of Leviticus surviving.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frg.</th>
<th>Leviticus</th>
<th>Frg.</th>
<th>Leviticus</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>14:27–29</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>17:2–11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>14:33–36</td>
<td>5–11</td>
<td>unidentified</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>15:20–24</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

b. Physical Characteristics

4QLev<sup>d</sup> is in very poor condition and many parts of the fragments are deteriorated, probably due to poor preservation. These fragments are not easily readable since the ink has corroded and eaten through the skin, often creating the impression of a photographic negative.\(^70\) The damage to the skin has continued, as can be seen in the photographs taken at different stages.\(^71\)

c. Scribal Features

\(^{70}\) Tov’s suggestion that different types of black ink were used to write is clear from the differing states of its preservation. In most cases, the ink has been preserved very well and 4QLev<sup>d</sup> is one of those cases. See Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 50.

The spelling in the scroll is *plene* and 4QLev⁴ is written in an early Herodian script, dating between 30 BCE and 20 CE. Due to the poor quality of the manuscript, the writing is not clear. 4QLev⁴ frg. 4 is 5 cm wide and 11 cm high so this scroll can be considered small, but it could have been a large size if frgs.1–2 came from the same column. Tov suggests that frg. 4 probably included at least one additional line (0) before the preserved text, which would have contained the beginning of chapter 17, starting at the right margin of that line; therefore, it would be at least 18 lines. It averages 55 letters per line, while its average reconstructed width is 13.5 cm and the distance between the lines is 0.7–1.0 cm on frg. 4. Therefore, the reconstructed height of 4QLev⁴ could be 31 lines or more.

d. Textual Affiliation

4QLev⁴ follows ?? in frgs. 1 and 2, and in other fragments preserves variant readings suggesting a text that is mixed.

e. Conclusion

The surviving fragments of this scroll contain only the middle section from Leviticus; nevertheless, its large size suggests that it might have been used in public.

9. 4Q26a (4QLev⁵)

a. Contents

4QLev⁵ is extant in nine fragments, which contain some parts of Lev 3–22. 4QLev⁵ might have contained the entire book, but this conclusion is not certain.

---

74 4QLev⁴ might not contain the whole book of Leviticus due to its size. See Lange, *Handbuch*, 71.
75 Tov, “4QLev⁴,” 193.
Fragment 1 has a bottom margin of 2.3 cm; the fragment contains the beginning of Lev 3:2–4 and frg. 2 preserves Lev 3:5–8 without a top margin, but it seems to follow frg. 1 (3:2–4); therefore, there would have been a top margin just above what remains in frg. 2. Lev 1–2 are not preserved. In 2014, Tigchelaar offered corrections suggesting that frgs. 3, 4, and 8 are from a single column, with frg. 8 having been joined to the bottom of frg. 3; thus 4QLev⁴ could have been a large scroll.⁷⁷

b. Physical Characteristics

The surface of the scroll is dark brown and it could be dated between 100–30 BCE.⁷⁸ This scrolls’ frgs. 3, 5, and 8 show stitches;⁷⁹ it should be considered a large scroll that contained more than two-thirds of the book of Leviticus, possibly the entire book.

c. Scribal Features

4QLev⁴ has a very low degree of scribal intervention showing no corrections or errors in any fragment, and the handwriting is very clear.⁸⁰ Further, it appears that the scribe used high-quality ink and pen for this writing. According to a reconstruction based on the ì between frg. 3 to the first word of frg. 5, there are about 44 lines.⁸¹ There may be

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frg</th>
<th>Leviticus</th>
<th>Frg</th>
<th>Leviticus</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>3:2–4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>21:9–12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>3:5–8</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>21:21–24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>19:34–37</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>22:4–6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>20:1–3</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>22:11–17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>20:27–21:4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

more lines in frg. 5 if the first word is not at the beginning, making 4QLev\(^e\) a very large scroll.\(^82\)

d. Textual Affiliation

Orthographically, 4QLev\(^e\) agrees sometimes with " and sometimes with "\(^83\). It was written in a Herodian hand and the preserved readings do not show any difference from the ".

e. Conclusion

4QLev\(^e\) is a very large scroll. The scribe’s careful writing with a very low degree of scribal intervention indicates a high respect for the text. 4QLev\(^e\) was almost certainly used for cultic purposes in public.

10. 4Q26b (4QLev\(^g\))

a. Contents

4QLev\(^g\) contains Lev 7:19–26; it is very hard to decipher the letters in this fragment. The poor quality of this manuscript provides few clues about its date and contents.

b. Physical Characteristics

One fragment has been assigned to 4QLev\(^g\), which has a medium thickness and smooth surface. The leather was broken in many areas, the surface is very dark, and the

\(^{82}\) Tov suggests that the large format was used mainly or only for authoritative texts, since this distinctive format gave the scroll prestige, as in the case of the luxury scrolls. These deluxe scrolls are recognized especially by their large top and bottom margins, but the size of the writing block is also of importance. These scrolls are characterized by their low level of scribal intervention, as may be expected among predominantly carefully written manuscripts, since the fewer mistakes that are made, the fewer the corrections needed. See Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 85, 119–21.

material is of poor quality. The date of composition has not been suggested, but it could have been written very early because of its distinctive use of the Tetragrammaton.\textsuperscript{84}

c. Scribal Features

This fragment differs from other manuscripts of Leviticus in its distinctive use of the Tetragrammaton in the Palaeo-Hebrew script.\textsuperscript{85} Eugene Ulrich comments:

The use of the Palaeo-Hebrew script for the Tetragrammaton in a text principally written in the Jewish (square) script had, in the early years, been considered an indication that the text was not biblical, because at that time the few published manuscripts displaying the phenomenon happened to be nonbiblical. However … it should be laid to rest now that a number of biblical scrolls in the Jewish script have surfaced that present the Tetragrammaton in the Palaeo-Hebrew script.\textsuperscript{86}

In this text, as well as in others, the use of Palaeo-Hebrew script is extended to the preposition \textit{lamed}.\textsuperscript{87} The Tetragrammaton was always written in Palaeo-Hebrew characters and it is likely that this indicates that the manuscript has been read aloud since the use of Palaeo-Hebrew would warn the reader of the presence of the divine name.\textsuperscript{88}

d. Textual Affiliation and Conclusion

\footnotesize
\textsuperscript{84} The representation of the divine name (mainly the Tetragrammaton) in Palaeo-Hebrew characters in several Qumran manuscripts has been noticed from the earliest days of the Qumran discoveries, since it is found in several texts from Cave 1. See Tov, \textit{Scribal Practices}, 225.
\textsuperscript{86} Eugene Ulrich, \textit{Dead Sea Scrolls and the Developmental Composition of the Bible}, VTSup 169 (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 197. The majority of the texts using the Palaeo-Hebrew characters for the Tetragrammaton are of a sectarian, nonbiblical nature. At the same time, the negative evidence must also be taken into consideration. No Hebrew texts of a non-sectarian nature or those clearly not written in the Qumran scribal practice, containing any of the aforementioned scribal systems for the writing of divine names, have been preserved. It is unclear why certain scribes used Palaeo-Hebrew characters for the Tetragrammaton, while others wrote the Tetragrammaton in square characters. This question is particularly relevant with regard to the texts written according to the Qumran scribal practices, since most texts using the Palaeo-Hebrew Tetragrammaton are written in this style. Tov, \textit{Scribal Practices}, 208 and 225.
\textsuperscript{87} Tov, “4QLev\textsuperscript{a},” 203. This manuscript uses Palaeo-Hebrew script for the divine name in line 8 (Lev 7:25), but not on other occasions that it appears in the fragment (line 2, Lev 7:21). See Kugler and Baek, \textit{Leviticus}, 5.
\textsuperscript{88} The Qumran texts differ internally with regard to the details of the use of Palaeo-Hebrew characters. Some scribes also wrote the prefixes and suffixes of the divine names in Palaeo-Hebrew characters (4QLev\textsuperscript{a} 8 Lev 7:19): prefix. See Tov, \textit{Scribal Practices}, 227. The idea that this text was probably read aloud was suggested in a private conversation with George Brooke.
Basically 4QLev⁸ follows the system of ٣. This scroll has only one fragment and it is preserved very poorly; therefore, it is hard to determine its size or purpose, but the use of the Tetragrammaton in Palaeo-Hebrew suggests that it was read in public.

11. 4Q119 (4QLXXLevᵃ)

a. Contents

4QLXXLevᵃ is extant in two fragments, which is the Septuagint text of Lev 26:2–16. 4QLXXLevᵃ, with 4QpapLXXLevᵇ, antedates other Greek witnesses to Leviticus by approximately four centuries.⁸⁹ The scribe used the customary scriptio continua but with occasional spaces for word divisions.⁹⁰

b. Physical Characteristics

The leather appears to be of medium thickness and the surface is coarse on both sides. It is not easy to determine the original colour but it could range from dark brown to dark reddish.⁹¹ The date of 4QLXXLevᵃ is from the late second or early first century BCE,⁹² and it has preserved the full height of one column, with top, left, and bottom margins partially preserved.

c. Scribal Features

⁹⁰ Skehan, Ulrich, and Sanderson, *DJD IX*, 162.
Fragment 1 contains the full height, which is 28 lines. The lines are not straight in that the letters are suspended from the line.\textsuperscript{93} The widths of the lines are approximately 10 cm and the left margin measures 0.8 cm. This scroll shows the scribe’s regular writing style, especially at the top of the lines rather than the bottom. The distance between the tops of the lines varies from 0.55 to 0.7 cm.\textsuperscript{94} \textit{4QLXXLev}\textsuperscript{a} of Lev 26 has a closed section together with a paragraph sign in frg. 121 (after Lev 26:13).\textsuperscript{95} We can conclude that the scribe wrote this manuscript with care because we see no major corrections or errors. However, there are minor changes in lines 5, 10, 19, and 22.

d. Textual Affiliation

There are eight Septuagint or Septuagint-related manuscripts found at Qumran and two of them contain Leviticus.\textsuperscript{96} The survey of Leviticus manuscripts among the Dead Sea Scrolls shows that there was a significant amount of text types available at the time of the translation of the book of Leviticus into Greek.\textsuperscript{97} These Septuagint texts show textual variants. Ulrich states:

They contain many original readings, a certain number of unique errors, a certain number of errors inherited from parent texts, usually some intentional expansions or clarifications, and often some revisions (whether fresh or inherited) for a variety of purposes.\textsuperscript{98}

The text of \textit{4QLXXLev}\textsuperscript{a} is a representative within the MS tradition of the Old Greek (OG) of Leviticus, and thus Ulrich suggests that the text \textit{4QLXXLev}\textsuperscript{a} penetrates further behind

---

\textsuperscript{93} Skehan, Ulrich, and Sanderson, \textit{DJD} IX, 162. Plate XXXVIII

\textsuperscript{94} Skehan, Ulrich, and Sanderson, \textit{DJD} IX, 161.

\textsuperscript{95} \textit{Paragraphos} is a horizontal or slightly curved line. Sometimes this \textit{paragraphos} is formed as a straight line, but it often has a slightly curved downstroke to the left or right, and therefore is shaped like a fish hook, or a more developed downstroke in a 45-degree angle. Tov, \textit{Scribal Practices}, 170


\textsuperscript{98} Ulrich, \textit{Dead Sea Scrolls}, 167.
the other witnesses to provide a more authentic witness to the OG translation.\(^99\) Wevers at first did not consider the Qumran evidence but later agreed with Ulrich’s verdict and admitted that the Qumran Greek evidence is closer to the OG at times. Compared to Genesis and Exodus, it reflects more of the Hebrew tradition than of the Greek.\(^100\) Tov notes, “these revisions reflected the need to use a Jewish-Greek text based on the content of the Hebrew Bible.”\(^101\)

e. Conclusion

This scroll is a large scroll and it contains part of Lev 26 in Greek. Based upon Greek language, size, and material, it could have been used for teaching purposes or during public assemblies.

12. 4Q120 (4QpapLXXLevb)

a. Contents

4QpapLXXLevb is extant in ninety-seven fragments, thirty-one of which contain parts of the first six chapters of Leviticus. In this chart, I have included only those fragments that contain a reference to Leviticus. Many of these fragments only contain one or two verses of Leviticus.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frg.</th>
<th>Leviticus</th>
<th>Frg.</th>
<th>Leviticus</th>
<th>Frg.</th>
<th>Leviticus</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>1:1</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4:3–4</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>4:30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>2:3–5</td>
<td>10–11</td>
<td>4:4</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>5:6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>3:4</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>4:10–11</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>5:16–17</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


\(^{101}\) Tov, Hebrew Bible, Greek Bible, and Qumran, 187; Metso and Ulrich, “Old Greek Translation of Leviticus,” 266–67.
b. Physical Characteristics

The date of this scroll, written on thin papyrus, is likely around the first century BCE. However, the quality of the material seems to be good. The estimated number of letters per line in col. V (frgs. 4–7) is twenty-three to twenty-nine and one can estimate roughly thirty-eight lines for that column. The height of this scroll would have been at least 31 cm high. Thus, this is very large scroll.

c. Scribal Features

The quality of 4QpapLXXLev\textsuperscript{b} appears to have been moderately good, for the writing on frgs. 24–31 is still smooth and regular. The writing on frgs. 24 and 30 is clearer and originally most likely would have been in good condition. The orthography is similar to that of Septuagint codices, with customary \textit{iota} adscript. There is no evidence of corrections or supralinear insertions by the original scribe.

d. Textual Affiliation

The manuscript’s textual character is, like 4QLXXLev\textsuperscript{a}, consistent with the LXX tradition.

---


\textsuperscript{103} Skehan, Ulrich, and Sanderson, \textit{DJD IX}, Plates XXXIX–XLI, 167; Tov, “Explore the Archive,” Leon Levy Digital Library, Plate 376 and 378. Based upon these data, 4QpapLXXLev\textsuperscript{b} was written on well prepared materials.

\textsuperscript{104} Skehan, Ulrich, and Sanderson, \textit{DJD IX}, 167.

\textsuperscript{105} The relatively small number of papyrus fragments of biblical texts (four to six copies out of a total of two hundred biblical manuscripts) possibly served as personal copies. On the other hand, papyrus was used for almost all document texts from the Judean Desert and several literary works from Qumran. See Tov, \textit{Scribal Practices}, 238.

\textsuperscript{106} Skehan, Ulrich, and Sanderson, \textit{DJD IX}, 168.
e. Conclusion

Since these two scrolls, 4QLXXLev\(^a\) and 4QpapLXXLev\(^b\), contain the beginning of Leviticus (first six chapters) and Lev 26:2–16, it may be possible to assume that these scrolls each contained the whole book of Leviticus. 4QpapLXXLev\(^b\) is a large scroll with very good skin quality. It might have been used for a public purpose such as cultic usage.

13. 4Q156 (4QtgLev)

4QtgLev is extant in two fragments that contain a handful of verses from Lev 16:12–15 related to the ritual for the Day of Atonement.\(^{107}\) The writing is from the second century BCE and Milik has noted the distinctiveness of this Aramaic version of Leviticus among the finds from the Qumran Caves.\(^{108}\) The small amount of evidence does not permit us to conclude that the manuscript contained the whole of Leviticus in Aramaic. It is possible that just a part of Leviticus, notably the Day of Atonement chapter, was translated for some purpose, either ritual or didactic.\(^{109}\)

14. 4Q249j (4Qpap cryptA Leviticus\(^b\)?)

“Leviticus is the only book of the Hebrew Bible which is represented by extensive quotes in the Cryptic A script.”\(^{110}\) Pfann has assigned two small fragments, each with a few extant letters, to this manuscript which he has combined to form part of Lev 26:14–16. He dates the fragments to the first half of the second century BCE, which would suggest that

---


Leviticus played a significant role during the early years of the sectarian movement. Little else can be said about the character and value of this manuscript because what remains is so slight.

15. 4Q249k (4Qpap cryptA Text Quoting Leviticus A)

A single fragment has been assigned to this manuscript with a few letters extant in five lines. Pfann has proposed that the letters in lines 1–3 belong to Lev 26:16–17 in an adjusted form and so he concludes that the fragment as a whole contains a quotation or represents Leviticus in a previously unknown form. The possible similarities with the way Leviticus is represented in the Reworked Pentateuch manuscripts means that I include this manuscript in the lists of possible copies of Leviticus for the sake of completeness, even though several questions remain about the status and content of the fragment.

16. 4Q249l (4Qpap cryptA Text Quoting Leviticus B)

A single fragment has been assigned to this manuscript with a few letters extant in seven lines. Pfann has proposed that the letters in lines 1–3 belong to Lev 26:33–34 in a slightly adjusted form. The words in lines 6 and 7 cannot be identified with the immediate context of Lev 26 so the fragment either contains a quotation alongside other text or a rewritten version of Leviticus. Once again, because of the possible similarities with the Reworked Pentateuch manuscripts, I include this manuscript in the lists of possible copies of Leviticus for the sake of completeness even though several questions remain about the status and content of the fragment.

17. 4Q365 (4QReworked Pentateuch\textsuperscript{a})

a. Contents

The surviving fragments of 4Q365 contain passages from Gen 21:9–10 to Deut 20:1, which suggests that the manuscript contained a version of the whole Torah. The principal edition of 4Q365 and the other Reworked Pentateuch manuscripts present the work as primarily exegetical. Subsequently, Tov has concluded that “4QRP constitutes a group of Scriptural manuscripts that had the same level of authority as the Hebrew texts underlying the LXX.”\textsuperscript{113} For this reason, I include 4Q365–367 in the list of copies of Leviticus in this chapter.\textsuperscript{114} Fragments 14–26 contain parts of Leviticus 11–27.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frg.</th>
<th>Leviticus</th>
<th>Frg.</th>
<th>Leviticus</th>
<th>Frg.</th>
<th>Leviticus</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>17a-c</td>
<td>11:[39]–[46]</td>
<td>12 or 17–18</td>
<td>26a-b</td>
<td>27:34 (?)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>13:6–8</td>
<td>22a-b</td>
<td>18:[25]–[29]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

b. Physical Characteristics

4Q365 is dated between the late Hasmonaean and early Herodian periods\textsuperscript{115} and the text was written on well-prepared leather that survives in different shades caused by exposure or decay.\textsuperscript{116} The reconstructed manuscript of 4Q365 contains 43 lines in narrow columns.\textsuperscript{117} 4Q365 is a large scroll, possibly up to 25 metres long. Many of the fragments


\textsuperscript{114} It is likely that the five fragments assigned to 4Q365a actually belong with 4Q365 as John Strugnell originally proposed. Those fragments do not contain any explicit section of Leviticus so for the purposes of this chapter it is not necessary to come to a firm conclusion about their status.


\textsuperscript{116} Tov and White, “Reworked Pentateuch,” 255.

\textsuperscript{117} Tov and White, “Reworked Pentateuch,” 256; Tov, “Dimensions of the Qumran Scrolls,” 69–91, esp. 83.
of 4Q365 have been damaged; many of them are small fragments that preserve just a few lines of text.\textsuperscript{118}

c. Scribal Features and Possible Function

Tov and Sidnie White state that 4Q365 contains many corrections,\textsuperscript{119} which seems to indicate that 4Q365 might have been edited to include variant textual information. The well-prepared leather might indicate that the scroll was produced for cultic purposes, but the corrections and changes could indicate that the manuscript was the basis of discussion and debate, which might more appropriately reflect an educational setting. The textual character of 4Q365, following a middle course between א and מ, and its tendency to use the so-called “Qumran practise” of orthography,\textsuperscript{120} do not provide criteria that enable us to decide between cultic and educational use.

\textbf{18. 4Q366 (4Q\textit{Reworked Pentateuch}d)}

4Q366 frg. 2 probably contains passages from Lev 24:20–22 (?) and Lev 25:39–43. It is similar to 4Q365 because it also has surviving passages from Exodus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy. This manuscript is very fragmentary and no firm conclusions can be reached about its original size and function, though as with 4Q365 it is likely that it should be considered as a scriptural manuscript.

\textbf{19. 4Q367 (4Q\textit{Reworked Pentateuch}e)}

4Q367 has been classified as another example of Reworked Pentateuch. The three fragments assigned to this manuscript contain only some parts of Leviticus and so 4Q367 might simply be another copy of Leviticus itself. However, the contents of frg. 2 show that

\textsuperscript{118} Tov and White, “Reworked Pentateuch,” 255.
\textsuperscript{119} Tov and White, “Reworked Pentateuch,” 258.
\textsuperscript{120} Tov and White, “Reworked Pentateuch,” 188.
Lev 15 and 19 have been considerably adjusted in ways consistent with the character of the Reworked Pentateuch manuscripts.

### The Contents of Leviticus in 4Q367

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frg.</th>
<th>Leviticus</th>
<th>Frg.</th>
<th>Leviticus</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2a-b</td>
<td>15:14–15</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>27:30–34</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4Q367 is a mid- or late-Hasmonaean formal hand\(^{121}\) and the leather is medium thick.\(^{122}\) Like 4Q365, 4Q367 contains text which is occasionally similar to \(\text{m}\). Based upon the material of these fragments, it appears the manuscript was not prepared well with high quality material. As with 4Q366, not enough survives for scholars to determine the likely function of the manuscript.

### 20. 6Q2 (6QpalaeoLev)

**a. Contents**

6QpalaeoLev (6Q2) contains Lev 8:12–13 and comes from the bottom of a column. The scroll was preserved very poorly, making it hard to be examined.

**b. Physical Characteristics**

One fragment has been assigned to 6Q2. The skin is of medium thickness and is not preserved well. This fragment has wormholes and is pocked. The surface is very rough and the skin is dark.\(^{123}\) This fragment contains the end of the column, the lower margin is around 2.5 cm, and the space between lines seems to be 0.7–1.0 cm. The date is estimated

---

\(^{121}\) Tov and White, “Reworked Pentateuch,” 260, 336, 346.

\(^{122}\) Tov and White, “Reworked Pentateuch,” 345.

\(^{123}\) Baillet and Milik, *DJDJ* III, 106. Plate XX; “Explore the Archive,” B-284843, Plate 894; B-298957, Plates 894, 893, 649.
to be between 250 and 150 BCE. The space between words is quite broad, and it is medium to large size. The width is estimated to be around 10 cm.

c. Scribal Features

6Q2 contains letters that were written carefully with a sharp instrument. The script is Palaeo-Hebrew, its orthography is full, and division dots were used to separate words.

d. Textual Affiliation

6QpalaeoLev has a more plene orthographic character than the Π, but is textually similar to it.

e. Conclusion

The size of 6QpalaeoLev seems to be medium to large size, so it is not easy to speculate about its purpose. However, at least this scroll shows that Leviticus was used in late second century BCE. If the contents of Cave 6 are the remains of a personal collection of manuscripts that would suggest that 6QpalaeoLev was a private copy.

21. 11Q1(11QpalaeoLev4)

a. Contents

11QpalaeoLev4 contains partial elements of Leviticus, from chapters 4 to 27. This indicates that 11QpalaeoLev4 likely contained the whole book of Leviticus.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frg.</th>
<th>Leviticus</th>
<th>Frg.</th>
<th>Leviticus</th>
<th>Col.</th>
<th>Leviticus</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>


125 Baillet and Milik, *DJDJ* III, 106.


127 Lange, *Handbuch*, 73.
b. Physical Characteristics

The material of 11QpalaeoLev<sup>a</sup> was made out of the hides of either a young goat or a hairy sheep. Due to the pattern of the grain, a young goat is more likely. The skin is very thin, measuring 0.2–0.3 mm<sup>128</sup>; it was very well prepared and its remarkable clarity is a striking feature. Based on the letters and lines on the sheet, the scroll is 100.5 cm long, written very carefully with vertical and horizontal lines.<sup>129</sup> The column height of 25–26 cm contains about 42 lines of text; thus this scroll is considered large.

c. Scribal Features

The scribe of 11QpalaeoLev<sup>a</sup> used dots that facilitated the observance of consistent word spacing.<sup>130</sup> A date around 100 BCE would seem to be appropriate for this Leviticus scroll because the shapes of the letters conform mostly to those appearing in the early Hasmonaean coinage. The scribe of 11QpalaeoLev<sup>a</sup> builds on the use of this preposition by using the *vav* method of demarcating larger units.<sup>131</sup> In 11QpalaeoLev<sup>a</sup>, the *vav* occurs only in some open sections, possibly indicating a major sense division (J 1 [Lev 20:1]; II 2[Lev 23:23]; III 3, 8 [Lev 24:10,13]), while subdivisions lack this *vav* in the opening sections (I 7 [Lev 19:1]; II 6 [Lev 23:26]; K 6 [Lev 21:10]).

---


<sup>129</sup> Freedman and Mathews, *Paleo-Hebrew Leviticus*, 4–5, 18. The regularity of the interlinear space assists the eye as it follows each line comfortably, and the clarity of outline leaves no question as to the carefulness of the scribal design— unlike the writing itself, which is inconsistent. In contrast, the second largest exemplar penned in Palaeo-Hebrew script is 4QpalaeoExod<sup>b</sup>. This manuscript is restrained and formal in appearance, but the scribe of the Leviticus scroll endeavoured to put as much as he could on the scroll within the limits of neatness and ease of reading.

<sup>130</sup> Dividing words by dots or strokes is an ancient practice well known from inscriptions of the third to first millennia BCE. See Freedman and Mathews, *Paleo-Hebrew Leviticus*, 8.

<sup>131</sup> Freedman and Mathews, *Paleo-Hebrew Leviticus*, 11. In this scroll, *vav* and non-*vav* come into play (col. 2:3 and 2:6). The scribe in Column 3:3 at Lev 24:10 employed a *vav*-paragraph marker in accordance with this system.
The scribe copied this scroll very carefully so there are only minor corrections and textual notes. However, the writing is not consistent; therefore, more than one scribe may have written it.

d. Textual Affiliation

11QpalaeoLev\textsuperscript{a} exhibits a paragraphing system that combines a peculiar feature with more common procedures among Qumran manuscripts, which might imply that it was an independent scroll\textsuperscript{132} and that 11QpalaeoLev\textsuperscript{a} is textually non-aligned.\textsuperscript{133} The variants in the manuscripts, fairly considerable in number, are so insignificant vis-à-vis \textsuperscript{3} and \textsuperscript{m} that the “manuscript is best thought of as falling into line with the single, relatively stable single literary tradition evinced by \textsuperscript{3}, \textsuperscript{m}, and \textsuperscript{o}.”\textsuperscript{134}

e. Conclusion

This scroll is easy to read; however, it has various writing styles. It might have been written by more than one scribe and at different times. Scribes divided the text into sections to help readers during the observances such as the Sabbath, first-month convocations (23:1–22), and the seventh-month convocation (23:23–44), and Lev 18 and 20 are presented in a harmonistic manner. Because this manuscript reflects the structure of Leviticus and was written in a very clear style, it seems plausible that it was for public use, probably for educational purposes.

\textsuperscript{132} Freedman and Mathews, Paleo-Hebrew Leviticus, 9.


22. 11Q2 (11QLevb)

a. Contents

11QLevb is extant in nine fragments, seven of which contain various texts from the middle to the end of Leviticus. I have included only Leviticus fragments here. 11QLevb is missing the beginning section and many fragments are dark and not clear. However, frg. 2 preserves Lev 9:23–10:2 very well. Fragment 2 shows careful writing and the space between letters and lines are regular. It was written elegantly with a pen that allowed both thick and very thin strokes.135

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frg.</th>
<th>Leviticus</th>
<th>Frg.</th>
<th>Leviticus</th>
<th>Frg.</th>
<th>Leviticus</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1ii</td>
<td>8:8 or 8:9</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>14:16–17</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>9:23–10:2</td>
<td>5–6</td>
<td>15:18–19</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Although other fragments are not preserved well, the existing fragments contain Leviticus texts from various places, which make it possible to assume that this scroll might have preserved the complete book of Leviticus.

b. Physical Characteristics

The date of 11QLevb is late Herodian (c. 50 CE). This manuscript also used the ancient Palaeo-Hebrew Tetragrammaton.136

c. Scribal Features

The skin is thicker than average, has a dull brown colour, and the horizontal and vertical ruling is very clear on most fragments. 11QLevb presents very careful writing with

---


a high quality pen. The average number of letter-spaces per line is around 40, the estimated width of the columns is calculated at 9–10 cm, the height of the inscribed section of the column would have measured 15–18 cm, and columns were likely around 20 lines.

d. Textual Affiliation

The orthography is uniformly full, and the variants place the “textual character somewhere between א and ג” and thus 11QLévᵇ is mixed.

e. Conclusion

11QLévᵇ contains only the middle section of Leviticus and part of chapter 25 with very careful writing. The manuscript is roughly medium-sized, but it is not easy to determine its usage due to the limited extant material.

23. Mas 1a (MasLevᵃ)

a. Contents

This scroll preserves the left half of 8 lines, containing Lev 4:3–9, and is identical to the מ, except at 4:8.

b. Physical Characteristics

MasLevᵃ consists of two pieces of very light brown, almost white, skin. The restored text could have been 13.2 cm long. With an expected right-hand margin of some 1.2 cm, the width of the column comes to about 14.5 cm, which is wider than the average

---

138 Martínez, Tigchelaar, and Woude, DJD XXIII, 1. See Lange, Handbuch, 76.
139 Kugler and Baek, Leviticus, 8.
140 Ulrich, Dead Sea Scrolls, 254.
column of other manuscripts from Masada. The average amount of letters and inter-word spaces is 70, which implies that the lines of this manuscript were longer and the columns accordingly wider than in other biblical fragments from Masada.\footnote{Talmon, Masada VI, 37–39.} The comparatively large width suggests that the scroll was very long.

c. Scribal Features

The scroll from which this fragment stems was penned in an early Herodian formal script and can be dated to the last quarter of the first century BCE. The letters are well written, but at the end of the bottom line the letters are appreciably smaller and somewhat crowded, for no apparent reason.\footnote{Talmon, Masada VI, 37.}

d. Textual Affiliation

The preserved MasLev\textsuperscript{a} is identical to מ, except for the plene spelling of ישפוך (1.6).\footnote{Ulrich, Dead Sea Scrolls, 255; Talmon, Masada VI, 38.} The Masada corpus contains biblical texts that are all closely related to the מ, while the Qumran biblical texts present a wide textual variety.\footnote{Ian Young, “The Stabilization of the Biblical Text in the light of Qumran and Masada: A Challenge for Conventional Qumran Chronology?” DSD 9 (2002): 364–90, esp. 370.} Ulrich suggests that all the orthographic differences and variants are quite minor and routine, involving no change in meaning and exhibiting erratically changing patterns of affiliation.\footnote{Ulrich, Dead Sea Scrolls, 255.} Talmon suggests that the persuasive identity of MasLev\textsuperscript{a} and מ becomes fully apparent in four instances of variants and pluses exhibited in an ancient version or versions.\footnote{Talmon, Masada VI, 38. Compare Lev 4:4 and MasLev\textsuperscript{a} 1.3, Lev 4:5 and MasLev\textsuperscript{a} 1.3, Lev 4:6 and MasLev\textsuperscript{a} 1.5, Lev 4:8 and MasLev\textsuperscript{a} 1.7. Lange, Handbuch, 77–78.}

e. Conclusion

\footnote{Talmon, Masada VI, 37–39.}
\footnote{Talmon, Masada VI, 37.}
\footnote{Ulrich, Dead Sea Scrolls, 255; Talmon, Masada VI, 38.}
\footnote{Ulrich, Dead Sea Scrolls, 255.}
\footnote{Talmon, Masada VI, 38. Compare Lev 4:4 and MasLev\textsuperscript{a} 1.3, Lev 4:5 and MasLev\textsuperscript{a} 1.3, Lev 4:6 and MasLev\textsuperscript{a} 1.5, Lev 4:8 and MasLev\textsuperscript{a} 1.7. Lange, Handbuch, 77–78.}
The text of MasLev\textsuperscript{a} shows the stability of one form of Leviticus in antiquity.\textsuperscript{148} This form seems to have been a fixed and stable text, which could have influenced other texts from various places. It is difficult to decide how the manuscript might have been used.

### 24. Mas 1b (MasLev\textsuperscript{b})

**a. Contents**

MasLev\textsuperscript{b} contains a large part of Leviticus chapters 8:31–11:40 and is identical with the \textit{m}, with spaces between the chapters.\textsuperscript{149}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Leviticus</th>
<th>Leviticus</th>
<th>Leviticus</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8:31</td>
<td>9:12–13</td>
<td>10:9–20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9:1–10</td>
<td>10:1</td>
<td>11:15–21, 23–40</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**b. Physical Characteristics**

MasLev\textsuperscript{b} consists of over forty fragments that are not preserved well. Some fragments are just small pieces and others are the size of the palm of a hand; all are very dark brown.\textsuperscript{150} The size of MasLev\textsuperscript{b} could have been 18 cm high (25 lines or col. II has possibly 26 lines) and col. V can be estimated at 9–10 cm. Thus, the five columns together covered 54 cm.\textsuperscript{151} Also, some contain only a few words and some have complete lines by joining other sheets.

**c. Scribal Features**

The scribe wrote this fragment with straight lines and each line is parallel. The letters are very clear and thus it was most likely written by an expert scribe in a Herodian

\textsuperscript{148} Kugler and Baek, \textit{Leviticus}, 9.
\textsuperscript{149} Talmont, \textit{Masada VI}, does not assign numbers to each of the fragments but simply places them in the order of Leviticus.
\textsuperscript{150} Talmont, \textit{Masada VI}, 40.
\textsuperscript{151} Talmont, \textit{Masada VI}, 49.
book hand. The text may be dated to the late first century BCE or the early first century CE.\textsuperscript{152} There are no variants against the Qumran manuscripts and only a few variants against \textit{m}.\textsuperscript{153}

d. Textual Affiliation

\textit{MasLev}\textsubscript{b} and \textit{m} are very similar, whereas the \textit{m}, which adds more material, is quite different from these two text types. Despite the similarity of \textit{MasLev}\textsubscript{b} and \textit{m}, there are still different spellings, suggesting that \textit{MasLev}\textsubscript{b} may have been copied at a time in the transmission history of the biblical text when it was not yet orthographically stabilized.

Manuscript finds from Masada and Qumran suggest that five was the standard number of columns on a sheet of skin.\textsuperscript{154} This observation of \textit{MasLev}\textsubscript{b}, that it is identical with \textit{m}, supports the view that \textit{MasLev}\textsubscript{b} could have contained the book of Leviticus or possibly the entire Pentateuch.

e. Conclusion

\textit{MasLev}\textsubscript{b} seems to have been a medium-sized scroll. It is not easy to determine what the purpose of this scroll might have been, but it could possibly have been produced for public usage in a cultic or educational setting since it was penned in a very careful and clear expert handwriting.

25. En-Gedi

a. Discovery and Date

\textsuperscript{152} Talmon, \textit{Masada VI}, 40–41. Illustrations 4; “Explore the Archive,” Leon Levy Digital Library, Plate 198.

\textsuperscript{153} Ulrich, \textit{Dead Sea Scrolls}, 257; Lange, \textit{Handbuch}, 77–78.

\textsuperscript{154} Talmon, \textit{Masada VI}, 42.
An early Leviticus scroll from the debris of the ark of the synagogue at En-Gedi contains text from the first two chapters of Leviticus. The location of the discovery is significant for my analysis as it strongly suggests a cultic context for the use of the scroll. The scroll could have been copied between the third and fourth centuries CE, or in the second century CE. The two columns have been preserved on one sheet of a leather scroll, with no stitches between one sheet and the next. This manuscript from En-Gedi was not a complete Torah scroll, but rather contained only one, two, or three books.

b. Physical Characteristics

According to the calculations of Segal et al., the two columns originally contained 35 lines each, of which 18 lines have been preserved and another 17 need to be reconstructed at the bottom of the columns. The published segment is 16.8 cm long and 7.8 cm high. Based on these measurements, the reconstructed height of the columns would be 18–19 cm, making this a medium-sized scroll.

c. Scribal Features

The script of this Leviticus scroll from En-Gedi has many affinities with the fragments from the Judean Desert. It definitely belongs to the style of the “Jewish” book-hand attested in the scrolls of the Judean Desert.

d. Textual Affiliation

155 Segal et al., “An Early Leviticus Scroll from En-Gedi: Preliminary Publication,” 1–30, esp. 3. The two outer segments contain the text of Lev 1 and 2, with Lev 1 wrapped inside Lev 2, while the innermost segment that has been analysed has a large black area. We can therefore conclude that the scroll was rolled from its beginning, and the outer layers contained subsequent passages. This scroll was burned so it is not easy to determine the original length of the scroll.
The preserved text of Lev 1–2 matches the consonantal text of the medieval מ of Leviticus. There is not a single variant vis-à-vis מ and En-Gedi. This scroll can be characterized as strictly proto-Masoretic.159

e. Conclusion

The En-Gedi Leviticus scroll can be characterized as proto-מ, which supports the model(s) of textual development that had already been developed by scholars before its discovery. The text does not contribute to any new reading but its significance lies in its confirmation of textual history and in the location of its discovery in the synagogue. This scroll could have been used for cultic purposes.

C. Conclusion

The twenty-five Leviticus manuscripts analysed above are not all the same size and the same language, which implies that the book of Leviticus had a broad influence and various uses during the Second Temple period.

Thirteen Leviticus manuscripts can be classified as large or very large scrolls: 1Q3 (1QpalaeoLev-Num⁷), 4Q17 (4QExod-Lev⁵), 4Q23 (4QLev-Num⁷), 4Q24 (4QLev⁸), 4Q25 (4QLev⁹), 4Q26 (4QLev⁸), 4Q26a (4QLev⁹), 4Q26b (4QLev⁹), 4Q119 (4QLXXLev⁹), 4Q120 (4QpapLXXLev⁶), 4Q365 (4QRP⁷), 6Q2 (6QpalaeoLev-medium or large), and 11Q1 (11QpalaeoLev⁸).

Due to deterioration and the fragmentary nature of many manuscripts, it is hard to determine the contents and size of each scroll. Nevertheless, enough information survives for us to conclude that the book of Leviticus was definitely treated as important, because many of these manuscripts were well prepared with few major corrections or scribal

159 Segal et al., “An Early Leviticus Scroll,” 1–30, esp. 11.
interventions. As an example, 11QpalaeoLev was written on well-prepared skin with very careful handwriting. It is likely that at least some of these large scrolls were written for public use or for cultic purposes in the late Second Temple period.

These twenty-five Leviticus manuscripts are probably not all that survived from antiquity. Other small fragments are in the process of being identified and might enlarge the extant corpus. The survey in this chapter has shown that Leviticus was copied from 250 BCE (4QExod-Lev) to the early first century CE (MasLev), in various shapes and sizes, which probably indicates its significance in several different settings.

The book of Leviticus was sometimes copied with other texts, such as Numbers or Exodus, on a single manuscript. Leviticus seems to maintain textual stability since the majority of Leviticus scrolls do not show major textual variants. The text of MasLev shows the particular stability of the form of Leviticus that preceded the later authoritative rabbinic text.

By closely observing Leviticus scrolls from Qumran, Masada, and elsewhere, several distinctive features can be highlighted. Leviticus survives in three languages: Hebrew (attested in square Hebrew, Palaeo-Hebrew, square Hebrew with Palaeo-Hebrew words, especially the Tetragrammaton), Aramaic, and Greek. Leviticus seems to have been popular, not only for the sectarians who lived at Qumran; even at Masada two of the seven surviving scriptural manuscripts are copies of Leviticus, indicating that it was amongst the more popular books there.

As this survey has shown above, all of these Leviticus scrolls reveal that there was probably a single edition of Leviticus in circulation. There are minor variant readings and manuscripts in different sizes and formats. As Ulrich states, “large parts of the book [Leviticus] appear as though they may simply have constituted the manual or instructions and regulations for the priest and the ritual and worship life of Israel prior to incorporation.
into the Pentateuchal narrative.” The significant conclusion is that Leviticus clearly influenced various communities in cultic, school, and private life.

Chapter III. Jubilees and Leviticus

A. Introduction

In this chapter, I will focus on the influence of Leviticus on the structure and content of Jubilees. Though the Torah as a whole played a major role in the construction of Jubilees, Levitical themes stand out as central to this book. This has not gone unnoticed by scholars. For example, James Kugel argues that Leviticus closely influences and controls the structure of the beginning of Jubilees. He also argues that the purpose of Jubilees is to reveal the sins of Israel and to disclose God’s covenant with them (Jub. 1:16), a central theme of Leviticus (Lev 25–26). Jubilees opens with the concept that the people will return to God from their disobedience and keep the commandments (Jub. 1:15, 23), a theme with various allusions to Lev 25 and 26, as can be seen in this passage:

But if they confess their iniquity and the iniquity of their ancestors, in that they committed treachery against me and, moreover, that they continued hostile to me—41 so that I, in turn, continued hostile to them and brought them into the land of their enemies; if then their uncircumcised heart is humbled and they make amends for their iniquity—42 then will I remember my covenant with Jacob; I will remember also my covenant with Isaac and also my covenant with Abraham, and I will remember the land (Lev 26:40–42).

Another scholar who explores the relationship between Jubilees and the Torah is Michael Segal. He argues that the central themes of Jubilees are based on Lev 25 and that Jubilees thus transformed the biblical law. Kugel and Segal are not alone in their view of Jubilees, since most scholars conclude that the various themes of Jubilees are based on the Torah. However, the significance of Leviticus for the formation of Jubilees has not been fully developed by many scholars.

3 Segal, Book of Jubilees, 7.
Thus, this chapter shows how the book of Leviticus, especially chapters 16–27, heavily influenced the formation of Jubilees. There are multiple implicit uses of Leviticus including some verbal overlaps but several similarities in phrasing and ideas.

1. Background to the Book of Jubilees

Scholars commonly agree that Jubilees was written in Hebrew, but until the Dead Sea Scrolls were discovered, there was no textual evidence to support this conclusion. The Hebrew version of Jubilees was likely translated into Greek and Syriac, and then from Greek into Latin and Ethiopic. Yet only one fragment of the Greek text survives. Other evidence for the Greek version of Jubilees is found in the form of quotations and summaries in Greek sources. In fact, only the Ethiopic version has survived in a virtually complete state. The discovery of Qumran fragments provided direct evidence that Jubilees was likely composed in Hebrew. Wintermute states, “the manuscripts from Qumran are near enough to the date of the text’s composition and close enough to its original social matrix to exclude the possibility that they were translations from another language.” Nevertheless, because the Ethiopic text is the only complete version, the various parallels between Jubilees and Leviticus discussed in this chapter are, for the most part, dependant on juxtaposing the English translation of the Ethiopic text with the Hebrew of Leviticus. This means that some of the parallels are less precise than might be desirable, and some are

---

8 VanderKam states, “the Ethiopic text of the book is very reliable and accurate” since almost all textual variants between Ethiopic and Qumran Hebrew texts occur in extra-biblical texts. See VanderKam, Textual and Historical Studies, 106.
implicit rather than explicit. However, I believe there are enough examples to show that Leviticus influenced the formation of Jubilees.

2. Date and Authorship

Though scholars have debated the date of Jubilees’ composition, most have located its date in the second century BCE. VanderKam used palaeographic evidence of the Qumran copies of Jubilees to date the text within the second century BCE. The earliest of the Qumran Hebrew MSS comes from approximately 125 BCE. There are also two texts from Qumran dated to the first or second centuries BCE that may have used Jubilees (CD 16:2–4 and 1QapGen). This evidence also supports a composition date prior to 100 BCE for Jubilees.

Scholars disagree regarding who the author of Jubilees may have been. For example, Wacholder maintained that a member of the Qumran community wrote Jubilees, but support for this position is tenuous. Simply put, because the manuscripts were found in the Qumran Caves does not necessarily suggest the author of Jubilees was a member of the community. It may be as reasonable to assume that Jubilees is a work composed in Palestine before the settlement at Qumran was established, copied, and preserved by the Jewish community living there.

---

10 Segal, Book of Jubilees, 35. Zeitlin sees the date of Jubilees as earlier than second century BCE because the authors opposed the laws and traditions of the Torah, a position that would have been unacceptable in the Hellenistic period. See Solomon Zeitlin, The Book of Jubilees: Its Character and Its Significance (Philadelphia, PA: The Dropsie College for Hebrew and Cognate Learning, 1939), 8–16.


13 Ben Z. Wacholder, The Dawn of Qumran: The Sectarian Torah and the Teacher of Righteousness, HUCM 8 (Cincinnati, OH: Hebrew Union College Press, 1983), 96–98. If Jubilees is written in the second century BCE and Qumran was not occupied until about 75 BCE by sectarians at the earliest, then assigning authorship to a member of the Qumran community is obviously not possible.

B. The Influence of Leviticus 26 on the Structure of Jubilees

The author of Jubilees describes this book as divine revelation that everyone should listen to and keep. Jubilees 1:1, “… come up to me on the mountain, and I shall give you two stone tablets of the Law and the commandments, which I have written, so that you may teach them.” Jubilees is presented as divine speech that needs to be taught to the people of Israel; many of the legal and halakhic passages are similar to the contents of the Pentateuch. However, the theme and commandments found in Lev 26 extensively control the structure and ideology of Jubilees with its focus on Sabbaths, covenant, and warnings. In the example below it is possible to see some verbal overlaps between Lev 26 and Jub.1 as well as several similarities in phrasing and ideas. The use of Leviticus remains implicit but is sufficiently frequent to be recognized by readers ancient and modern as deliberate on the part of the author or editor of this section of Jubilees. The following examples are based on my use of electronic search instruments and offer new insights to the discussion of Leviticus in the book of Jubilees.

Lev 26:25
I will bring the sword against you, executing vengeance for the covenant; and if you withdraw within your cities, I will send pestilence among you, and you shall be delivered into enemy hands.

Jub. 1:10
And many will be destroyed and seized and will fall into the hand of the enemy because they have forsaken my ordinances and my commandments and the feasts of my covenant and my Sabbaths and my sacred place, which I sanctified for myself among them, and my tabernacle and my

Lev 26:2
You shall keep my sabbaths and reverence my sanctuary: I am the Lord.

Lev 26:34
Then the land shall enjoy[a] its sabbath years as long as it lies desolate, while you are in the land of your enemies; then the land shall rest, and enjoy[b] its sabbath years.

sanctuary, which I sanctified for myself in the midst of the land so that I might set my name upon it and might dwell (there).

Jub. 50:2
And I also related to you the Sabbaths of the land on Mount Sinai.

Jub. 50:3
And the land will keep its Sabbaths when they dwell upon it. And they will know the year of jubilee.

First, the parallel examples from Leviticus and Jubilees provide evidence that Jub. 1:10 echoes Lev 26:25, with its warning for the future. The beginning section of Jub. 1 is reminiscent of the judgement and promise of Lev 26. Then, Jub. 1:10 ("…many will be destroyed and seized and will fall into the hand of the enemy…") has a verbal overlap with Lev 26:25 ("… and you shall be delivered into enemy hands." [cf. Psa. 31:8; Lam 2:7]). Both Jub. 1 and 50 echo Lev 26, issues which the author continues to highlight throughout the book.

Second, the Sabbath theme from Lev 26 heavily controls the structure and contents of both Jub. 1 and 50. The Sabbath in Lev 26 deals not only with human beings but also with the land given to the Israelites. The command to provide Sabbath to the land in Lev 26:34 is also found in Jub. 50:2–3. In fact, the theme of the Sabbath dominates Jubilees and is clearly dependent on Lev 26.

Third, the author of Jubilees echoes the covenant with Abraham in Jub. 1:7–8, 18, which reminds the reader of the covenant with Jacob, Isaac, and Abraham mentioned in Lev 26:42. Leviticus’ statement of God’s assurance (26:12) is repeated in Jub. 1:18. In

---

18 A detailed discussion in terms of the Sabbath theme from Leviticus in relation to the book of Jubilees will be provided in the Sabbath section C. 2. b in this chapter.

19 More discussion will be provided in Expansion of the Sabbath in C. 2. b. ii. in this chapter.

20 More discussion will be provided in C. 2. c. ii. in this chapter.
addition, Levi, who was a son of Jacob,\textsuperscript{21} becomes a significant figure in Jubilees. Jacob, not Abraham, is mentioned first. This is also evident in Jacob’s actions toward Levi: putting a garment of priesthood upon him, filling his hands (32:3), giving him tithes (32:2), and giving all his ancestors’ books to him (45:16).\textsuperscript{22} Thus, it seems that the author of Jubilees wants to demonstrate how God’s covenant with Noah and Abraham has continued to the time of Moses.\textsuperscript{23}

Finally, the warning with conditional clauses in Lev 26 has influenced the beginning of Jub. 1:10, where the reason is revealed why the Israelites were under God’s judgement.

\begin{center}
\textbf{Lev 26:14}  \\
\textit{But if you will not obey me, and do not observe all these commandments}  \\
\textbf{Jub. 1:10}  \\
\textit{… because they have (forsaken) my ordinances and my commandments and the feasts of my covenant and my Sabbaths and my sacred place}
\end{center}

Jubilees points out Israel’s broken relationship with the Lord, but the author redefines God’s will for his faithfulness and covenant.\textsuperscript{24} In Jub. 1:1–4a the author sets out his own method for establishing the scriptural basis of his material, which shares similar teachings.


\textsuperscript{23} The laws of circumcision were also required to be kept throughout the generations, which became an eternal ordinance (15:23–24, 28). At the same time, however, God predicted that the sons of Israel would break these laws and not circumcise their children (15:33). See Najman, \textit{Past Renewals}, 47–48.

\textsuperscript{24} Cf. Jub.1:6 // Lev 26:9, 42.
to the Torah. In subsequent paragraphs the scriptural basis becomes similar usages of phrasing and ideas. The warning of their fathers’ iniquity in Lev 26:39 and 40 is repeated in Jub. 1:22. The expression “iniquity of their fathers” is also found in Neh 9:2 and Jer 11:10, but Jub. 1:22 is closer in emphasis to the Leviticus text in that Jub. 1 echoes “enemies’ hands” found in Lev 26.

**Lev 26:39**
And those of you who survive shall languish in the land of your enemies because of their iniquities; also they shall languish because of the iniquities of their ancestors.

**Jub. 1:22**
And the LORD said to Moses, I know their contrariness and their thoughts and their stubbornness. And they will not obey until they acknowledge their sin and the sins of their fathers.

**Lev 26:40**
But if they confess their iniquity and the iniquity of their ancestors, in that they committed treachery against me and, moreover, that they continued hostile to me.

Jubilees 1:22 depends upon Lev 26 for its ideology that repentance for their sins and their forefathers’ sins is required before they experience the Lord’s purification (Jub. 1:23).

Richard Bautch states, “Jubilees 1:22–25 encapsulates the people’s disobedience and their return to the God who loves them as a father loves his son.” In Lev 26 both forefathers’ iniquities and God’s covenant with forefathers are reflected in Jub. 1 and 50.

C. Leviticus 16–27 and Four Themes in Jubilees

1. Introductory Comments

Although there are significant uses of cult and purity regulations in Lev 1–16 (sacrificial regulations 1–10, purifications 11–16), it is important to note that the dominant

---

use of Leviticus in Jubilees covers Lev 16–27,27 chapters which have, in modern scholarship, commonly been associated with the Holiness Code. Martha Himmelfarb argues, “Jubilees arrives at its understanding of the implications for the temple of the behaviour of lay people through its innovative reading of the Holiness Code (Leviticus 17–26).”28 Thus, the contents and ideology of Lev 16–27 appear to have been a basic foundation for the composition of the themes of Jubilees. This concept is supported by John Endres:

These concerns remind one not only of Deuteronomy, the Deuteronomistic History, and the Chronicler, but also of priestly collections of Torah and narratives connected with them (especially on issues of priestly purity). These traditions encompass concerns of both Levitical and priestly groups, and they hint at this author’s theological deconstructionism.29

The structure and contents of Jubilees clearly reveal its dependence on Leviticus, especially Lev 16–27. The following summary of the main themes of Lev 16–27 lays a foundation for more detailed discussion of Jubilees’ reliance on Leviticus as the core of the ideology found both in Leviticus and Jubilees. I will support this position by following four lines of argument.

First, the term Jubilees comes from Leviticus, which also describes festivals in Lev 23, indicating that both chronological and calendric systems in Lev 23 influenced Jubilees. Though Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers use the 364-day calendar to help the Israelites


29 Endres, Biblical Interpretation, 235.
follow God’s commands, the appointed festival times in Lev 23 have a greater influence on Jubilees, since its author eschewed following the 364-day calendar (Jub 6:32–38).

Second, Leviticus’ use of the possessive form of Sabbath and the expansion of a sabbatical year to the land as well as to the people strongly influenced Jubilees (Lev 25).

Third, the theme of holiness in Leviticus markedly influences the composition of Jubilees in that the combinations of holiness/purity, and covenant/restoration are reflected therein.

Finally, various other priestly motifs in Leviticus influence Jubilees: obedience and blessing (26:3–13), future warning, cursing and blessing (26:14–39), and repentance and restoration (26:40–45).

2. Four Significant Themes

a. Chronological and Calendrical Systems of Jubilees

The author of Jubilees uses a chronological frame heavily dependent on Leviticus throughout the composition of these texts. Jubilees claims that the chronological system is derived from the heavenly tablets and that the presence of angels allowed Moses to understand it; however, the chronological system was already in place in Leviticus.

In this section, three points will be discussed: The term jubilee and its connection with Leviticus, the understanding of main festivals and the use of the calendar in Jubilees, and the influence of the eschatological theme in Leviticus on Jubilees.

i) The Term Jubilees

---

30 See Himmelfarb, A Kingdom of Priests, 54.
32 The division of the times of the law, weeks, and jubilees (Jub. 1) occurs four times (vv. 4, 26, 29) and again in the last verse of the book (50:13). Segal, Book of Jubilees, 83.
The term *jubilees* appears eighteen times in Lev 25–27 and one time in Num 36:4.\(^{34}\) Undoubtedly, “Lev 25:8–17 is the biblical origin for the concept of a jubilee”\(^{35}\) and the Levitical understanding of the jubilees influences the book of Jubilees extensively.

Matthias Henze says:

> Already Jubilees’ prologue underscores the primary importance the author places on the exact calculation of the biblical events according to a sabbatical calendar. The essential measurements of time are “years,” “weeks,” and “jubilees.” These are mentioned throughout the book and form a chronological grid that is underlying the whole of the composition.\(^{36}\)

The term *jubilee* in Lev 25 and 27 is used in various ways: return (25:10–13; 27:24), holiness (25:12), and release (25:28, 30–33), all of which influence the composition of Jubilees.\(^{37}\) This term, used mainly in Lev 25 and 27, as incorporated into the book of Jubilees invites an examination of the larger context of the jubilee concept.\(^{38}\) The author of Jubilees has grasped the importance of the chronological system from Levitical texts, thereby exegetically incorporating Jubilees into it. It is the presence of the term *jubilees* in the book of Leviticus that seems to have prompted the author of Jubilees to compose Jubilees, its jubilee cycle, and its ideology.

\(^{34}\) The implication of restoration in Jubilees was not fully realized by the partial return of the Judeans from exile in Babylon. The chronological value of the jubilee comes to the foreground, in part as an aid in deciding when the restoration would be perfectly realized. The key text in this respect is Dan 9, where the angel Gabriel is said to specify a period of 490 years until the eschaton arrives. See John Sietse Bergsma, *The Jubilee from Leviticus to Qumran: A History of Interpretation*, VTSup 115 (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 4; Hanneken, *Supervision of the Apocalypses*, 57–58; Lutz Doering, “The Reception of the Book of Exodus in the Book of Jubilees,” in *The Book of Exodus: Composition, Reception, and Interpretation*, ed. Thomas B. Dozeman, Craig A. Evans, and Joel N. Lohr, VTSup 164 (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 485–510.


\(^{37}\) Jub. 1:18, 22; 23:31; 30:8b; 50:5

ii) Festivals

Several of the festivals in Lev 23 heavily influenced the book of Jubilees. Interestingly, Lev 23 commands the reader to observe the Sabbath of full rest in all dwelling places (Lev 23:3) prior to its description of some festivals. Karl Weyde says “the theme of Sabbath in Lev 23:3 is another indication that the Sabbath was juxtaposed with the other festivals in question.”

The author of Jubilees emphasizes a chronological determination for all the significant events in Israel’s observance of the Sabbath (Jub.1 and 50). Bergsma comments, “the Book of Jubilees is the premiere example of the historical-chronological use of the jubilee in Second Temple literature.”

Leviticus with its emphasis on festivals, leftover meals, and the feast of booths, significantly influenced the composition of Jubilees.

The expression in Jub. 49:1, “in its time, on the fourteenth of the first month...,” depends on Lev 23:5 and uses Lev 19:6 as a combined text. In the following examples I have considered several more verses, such as Lev 23:5; 19:6, 37 to support this assertion.

---

Lev 23:5
In the first month, **on the fourteenth day of the month, at twilight**, there shall be a passover-offering to the Lord.

Lev 19:6
**It shall be eaten on the same day you offer it, or on the next day;** and anything left over until the third day shall be consumed in fire.

Lev 19:23–25
(23) When you come into the land and plant all kinds of trees for food, then you shall regard their fruit as forbidden;[a] **for three years it shall be forbidden to you; it must not be eaten.** (24) **In the fourth year all their fruit shall be set apart for rejoicing in the Lord.** (25) But in the fifth

Jub. 49:1
Remember the commandment which the Lord commanded you concerning Passover, that you observe it in its time, **on the fourteenth of the first month**, so that you might sacrifice it before it becomes evening and so that **you might eat it during the night on the evening of the fifteenth from the time of sunset.**

Jub. 7:1–2
**And it produced fruit in the fourth year**... and he made wine from it, and he put it in a vessel, and he guarded until the fifth year.

Jub. 7:36
**For three years its fruit will not be**

---


40 Bergsma, *Jubilee from Leviticus to Qumran*, 302.
year you may eat of their fruit, that their yield may be increased for you: I am the Lord your God.

Lev 19:37
You shall keep [observe] all my statutes and all my ordinances, and observe them: I am the Lord.

Jub. 49:7
And you, remember this day all of the days of your life and observe it from year to year all the days of your life

In Leviticus, the appointed day, month, and year is significant to help the Israelites keep all the festivals on time, but Jubilees argues that the Israelites did not keep these rules since they did not understand the chronological system. This is made evident in Jub. 1:4:

“and the Lord revealed to him both what (was) in the beginning and what will occur (in the future) the account of the division of all of the days of the Law and the testimony.”

According to the author’s understanding of festivals, God set the time for these events; therefore, the people should keep these festivals and Sabbaths at their appointed time. This observance is only possible if the people use the ideal solar calendar, which has 364-days. James Scott argues “the sins of Israel in the land will include, among other things, violations of the calendar: abandoning God’s covenantal festivals, his Sabbaths, and the jubilees (1:10, 14).” Most of these violations are mentioned in Leviticus. Moshe Bernstein states, “all this is unsurprising considering the well-known stress which Jubilees

---

places on issues of the ‘true’ calendar versus deviant ones.”

Jubilees uses the ideal solar calendar to construct an elaborate chronological system based on the number seven, and the idea of the Jubilee period is based on Lev 25:8–12. 

Leviticus 25 is composed of two sections: concerning the sabbatical year and jubilees (25:1–22) and the Jubilee legislation (25:23–55). The most detailed scriptural account of the sabbatical and Jubilee year is found in Lev 25. The use of the term _jubilee_ for a forty-nine-year period gives evidence for the development of this concept from the biblical text. Leviticus 25:8–55 prescribes the laws for the jubilee, but in this pericope the word always refers to a single year—the fiftieth.

While the author of Jubilees employs a biblical term, he assigns to it a different meaning: for the author it is not the fiftieth year but the preceding period that stretches between two jubilee years.

The _Passover_ in Jub. 49:1 echoes the _Passover_ in Lev 23:5. All the appointed dates in Lev 23 are more detailed than in other books. As an example, both Lev 23 and Num 28 describe an appointed time of sacrifice, but the Leviticus passage provides more detailed information. Thus Leviticus 23:24 says, “Speak to the people of Israel, saying: In the seventh month, on the first day of the month, you shall observe a day of complete rest, a holy convocation commemorated with trumpet blasts.” The Leviticus passage provides a very specific time frame that obviously influences Jubilees.

The author of Jubilees expands the purpose of the _Passover_ in Jub. 49:1 by adding more emphasis on the Lord’s commandment. Leviticus 19:6 says that the peace offering

---

46 Cf. Num 9:5, 28:6; Josh 5:10; 2 Chr 30:15, 35:1; Ezra 6:19; Ezek 45:21.
may not be eaten on the third day; Jubilees agrees with this passage when it states that the paschal lamb is to be consumed on the fifteenth day.\(^{47}\) Thus, it appears that the laws from Lev 19 and 23 influence the Passover rule in Jub. 49. And later, Jubilees provides detailed information about planting a vine and picking its fruit in the fourth year in Jub. 7:1–2, which is clearly based on Lev 19:23–25.\(^{48}\) Jubilees adapts the concept of producing first fruits in the fourth year from Lev 19:23–25, though putting the product in containers and keeping it until the fifth year echoes Lev 19:25.\(^{49}\)

The regulations of the Feast of Booths in Jub. 16:28–31 echoes Lev 23:6, 34, 44. These texts describe both the Feast of Booths as taking seven days and also characterising it as requiring rejoicing before the Lord (Lev 23:40). The author of Jubilees respects the laws of Lev 25 and the chronological continuity at Sinai presented there.\(^{50}\) This point is highlighted in the following verses:

Lev 23:6
And on the fifteenth day of the same month is the festival of unleavened bread to the Lord; for seven days you shall eat unleavened bread.

Lev 23:34
Speak to the people of Israel, saying: On the fifteenth day of this seventh month, and lasting seven days, there shall be the festival of booths to the Lord.

Lev 23:40
On the first day you shall take the fruit of majestic trees, branches of palm...

Jub. 16:29
... that they will be observers of the Feast of Booths seven days with joy in the seventh month which is acceptable before the Lord as an eternal law in their generations throughout all (time), year to year.

Jub. 16:30b–31
(30b) They should dwell in tents and that they should place crowns on their

---


\(^{50}\) Michal Segal, Book of Jubilees, 84.
trees, boughs of leafy trees, and willows of the brook; and you shall rejoice before the Lord your God for seven days.

heads and so that they should take branches of leaves and willow from the stream... (31) he (Abram) was praising and giving thanks to his God for all things.

The author of Jubilees borrows the idea of the Feast of Unleavened Bread from Lev 23:6 and 34 without mentioning eight days. Instead, the author maintains the expression “seven days” in Jub. 16:18–29, 32:6, which automatically implies a basis for sacrifice on the eighth day.

Jubilees provides further detailed information about the festival celebrations in 16:18–31, clearly based on Lev 23. Jubilees 16:18–31 omits the statement, “you shall rejoice before the Lord your God for seven days” (Lev 23:40), without providing a reason, but Jubilees, according to Kugel, instructs the people “to live in tents (booths), [and] the Israelites are to place wreaths on their heads … the only festival on which the Torah commands that people rejoice.” The calendric system of festivals in Leviticus is clearly a structure that also influences Jubilees.

iii) Eschatology

The final theme connected to chronology is eschatology. As discussed above, the two chapters, Lev 25 and 26, focus on warning and punishment for the future, themes that influence eschatology in Jubilees. Bergsma suggests that Lev 25 looks forward to the

---

51 Cf. the mention of eight days in Lev 23:36–39 and Num 29:35. Kugel suggests that the author sought to attribute to Jacob the institution of an eighth day of celebration following those seven days, as stipulated in the Torah (Lev 23:34–36, Num 29:35). See Kugel, A Walk through Jubilees, 157.


53 Kugel, A Walk through Jubilees, 105, 244. Cf. Deut 16:14. The memorial days from Lev 23:24 may have influenced Jub. 6:23–31 and 11QT 25:3 (“[the month, you shall observe a day of rest, a memorial proclaimed by trumpets, a [holy] convocation” (Lev 23:24)).

54 Daniel 9 associates the coming of a messiah with the inauguration of a jubilee for Jerusalem and its people. Daniel 9 seems to assume the same association of Jer 25:11, 29:10 with Lev 26:34–35, 43 as was seen in 2 Chron 36:20–21. Cf. Daniel 12:1–3 and Jub. 23:31–31; both texts share an eschatological scene consisting of the resurrection and judgements that are closely intertwined, a significant theme of Lev 25–27.
eschatological dwelling of Israel in her own land, and enacts measures to ensure that this ideal will be renewed and restored. According to the eschatological section of Jubilees (23:9–32), much of the evil derives from various sexual sins and uncleanness that destroy the purity of the community. Yet this text also provides the hope of peace and happiness for the future, concepts which often echo Lev 25–26.

Leviticus 25–26 concerns future punishment and judgement. However, that is not the end. Davenport suggests that in Jub. 1:4b–26 the angelic discourse teaches that Torah must be obeyed, that the people’s disobedience brought them hard times, yet the book proclaims God’s faithfulness to Israel (Lev 26:42).

The author of Jubilees brings the Pentateuchal call to confession to bear on his own generation because he knows that the scattering is described as a warning in Lev 26:14–45. The eschatological view of judgement and God’s restoration from Lev 25–26 compelled the author of Jubilees to show the Israelites the mistakes that they and their forefathers had made. Jubilees 1:22–23a depends upon Lev 26:40 by making clear that the Israelites’ problem is their disobedience of the commands in the Torah. The next parallel is an example of how ideas compatible with Lev 26:40 are found in the book of Jubilees.

Lev 26:40
But if they confess their iniquity and the iniquity of their ancestors, in that they committed treachery against me and, moreover, that they continued hostile to

Jub. 1:22–23a
... and they will not obey until they acknowledge their sin and the sins of their fathers. But after this they will return to me in all unrighteousness and with all their


55 The angelic speaker of Jubilees goes on to tell of a time when the divine punishment will come to an end and mankind’s missing year will be restored. See James L. Kugel, “The Jubilees Apocalypse,” DSD 1 (1994), 322–37, esp. 333. Cf. Lev 26:14–26 and Jub. 23:12–13, which is based on Lev 26:14–26, Deut 28:20–22, and Ps 90:10.


58 Davenport, Eschatology of the Book of Jubilees, 27.
Lev 25:10  
And you shall hallow the fiftieth year and you shall proclaim liberty throughout the land to all its inhabitants. It shall be a jubilee for you: you shall return, every one of you, to your property and every one of you to your family.

Jub. 23:26  
And in those days, children will begin to search the law. And to search the commandments and to return to the way of righteousness

Lev 26:42  
Then will I remember my covenant with Jacob; I will remember also my covenant with Isaac and also my covenant with Abraham, and I will remember the land

Jub. 23:31  
... and they know that the Lord is an executor of judgement: but he will show mercy to hundreds and thousands, to all who love him.

The ideology of Leviticus with its emphasis on disobedience, return, and God’s faithfulness is reflected in Jubilees. Returning to God and receiving freedom are part of the Jubilee period. “Returning to the mother” bears conceptual analogy to the jubilee mandate to “return” (בשא) to the family clan (לאמיו) and familial inheritance in Lev 25:10.59 Jubilees 23:11–31, often called “the Jubilees apocalypse,” 60 describes warning and judgement as the result of disobedience along with hope for restoration, which is directly and indirectly influenced by Lev 25 and 26.

b. Sabbath

The Sabbath laws are central to much of Leviticus.61 Leviticus emphasizes the fact that the Sabbath belongs to God (“my Sabbath”) and the Sabbath is meant for the land.62 This section discusses these two aspects of the Sabbath as found in Leviticus and their influence on the book of Jubilees.

59 Bergsma, Jubilee from Leviticus to Qumran, 22.
61 Leviticus 19:3; 20:3; 21:23; 26:2, 43.
62 Leviticus 25:2, 4, 6; 26:34, 43.
i) Possessive Form of the Sabbath

The possessive form of the term Sabbath in Leviticus heavily influences the book of Jubilees. The book of Leviticus uses the possessive form to refer to various things: my food offerings (16:17), my house (14:35), my tabernacle (15:31), my face, my rules, my statutes (17:10; 18:4), my Sabbaths, and my sanctuary. The use of שׁבתתי forms for the Sabbaths and the first person possessive forms of sacred places are a distinctive feature of Leviticus, which is also found in Jub. 1:10:

\[\text{And many will be destroyed and seized and will fall into the hand of the enemy because they have forsaken my ordinances and my commandments and the feasts of my covenant and my Sabbaths and my sacred place, which I sanctified for myself among them, and my tabernacle and my sanctuary, which I sanctified for myself in the midst of the land so that I might set my name upon it and might dwell (there).}\]

Jubilees 1:10 uses the possessive form extensively, many of these forms are found in Leviticus. Among the many of these possessive forms in Jub. 1:10, my Sabbaths is found one time in Exodus (31:13) and four times in Leviticus (19:3, 30; 26:2, 43). Milgrom observes that “in these passages, [Sabbath] is always found with a suffix or as a construct. The first-person plural suffix always refers to God; one never finds the singular šabbattî.” The emphasis on ownership of Sabbaths in Leviticus seems to influence the author of Jubilees as seen in Jub. 1:10.

ii) Expansion of the Sabbath

Jubilees depends upon the expansion of the Sabbath from Leviticus, where Sabbath

---

63 Leviticus 19:3, 30; 26:2, 43.
64 Leviticus 19:30; 20:3, 23; 26:2.
65 The plural form and possessive form of Sabbaths are used in Isaiah (56:4) and Ezekiel (20:12, 13, 16, 21, 24; 22:26; 23:38; 44:24) and Leviticus and Ezekiel combine my sanctuary and my Sabbaths. However, Jubilees depends upon Leviticus since Jubilees echoes Levitical expressions, especially Jub. 1 and 50.
66 Isaiah and Ezekiel use the possessive form of Sabbath, Ezekiel especially deals with my Sabbaths and sanctuary (Ezek 23:38). However, Ezekiel uses the past tense while Leviticus uses the future tense. And warning for the future in Lev 26 probably influences the book of Jub. 1:10 (“…will fall into the hand of the enemy…”).
law is not limited to human beings only, but is also expanded to materials and land (Lev 25:2, 4; 26:34), as seen in Jub. 50:2–3. The majority of the references to the Sabbath are in Jub. 1:10, 2:17–33 and 50:6–13. The Jubilees calendar does not allow any of the festivals or beginnings of the months to occur on the Sabbath. The stringent observance of the Sabbath is a central concern to the author of Jubilees (Jub. 50:10–11). Jubilees adds other halakhic proscriptions like festivals, sacrifices, blood, priestly shares, criminal law, and forbidden sexual relations.

The author of Jubilees expands the term Sabbath from human beings to material objects, including the sanctuary and land, and increases the importance of the Sabbath in terms of the degree of holiness attributed to this day (Jub. 2:26, 30). The concept that the Sabbath is one of the most important times for Israel to be considered holy and most scrupulously observed indicates heavy reliance upon the Levitical theme of holiness.

Leviticus applies Sabbath observance, not only to human beings, but also to the land (and objects), which belongs to the Lord. The land itself needs rest during the Jubilee.

---

71 Doering, “Concept of the Sabbath,” 194.
a concept closely related to the notion that rest purifies the land from defilement.\textsuperscript{72} The following example contains similar use of phrasing and ideas and this example is based on my own use of electronic search facilities.

Lev 25:2
Speak to the people of Israel and say to them: When you enter the land that I am giving you, the land shall observe a sabbath for the Lord.

Lev 25:4
But in the seventh year there shall be a sabbath of complete rest for the land, a sabbath for the Lord: you shall not sow your field or prune your vineyard.

Lev 26:34
Then the land shall enjoy its sabbath years as long as it lies desolate, while you are in the land of your enemies; then the land shall rest, and enjoy its sabbath years.

Jub 50:2
And I also related to you the Sabbaths of the land on Mount Sinai.

Jub 50:3
And the land will keep its Sabbaths when they dwell upon it. And they will know the year of jubilee.

Jubilees 50:2–3 thus echoes the concept of the land’s Sabbaths (Lev 25:2–7) and the years of Jubilee (Lev 25:8–12). In the last chapter of Jubilees (Jub. 50), the author reemphasizes the significance of keeping the Sabbath in relation to land. Jubilees 50:1–3, depending upon the Sabbath of the land in Lev 25 and 26, uses the plural form of Sabbaths, the usual form in Leviticus. The command, “the land shall keep a Sabbath,” is not found in other texts, only in Lev 25–26. The expansion of the Sabbath to include objects and land, as well as human beings, is a Levitical ideology that heavily influences Jub. 50:2–3, and is a theme that occurs both at the beginning and end of the book of Jubilees.

c. Levitical Combinations
i) Holiness and Purity

\textsuperscript{72} Bergsma suggests that the common lexemes and themes that tie Lev 27 to Lev 25, as well as the indications of the antiquity of Lev 27, indicate that both pieces of legislation originated from the same or similar legislator(s) in the same or similar historical-cultural location(s). Thus, Lev 27 pertains more to the “original” jubilee legislation. See Bergsma, Jubilee from Leviticus to Qumran, 113.
One of the most significant characteristics of Jubilees is the addition of legal passages to the patriarchal narratives. Jubilees does not include collections of laws like Leviticus. However, Jubilees reflects on many of the laws from biblical texts, in particular the intentional separation of God’s people from all the nations. Leviticus 15:31 declares, “Thus you shall keep the people of Israel separate from their uncleanness, so that they do not die in their uncleanness by defiling my tabernacle that is in their midst” and Lev 20:24–26 specifically describes the separation of God’s people from other people.

Lev 20:24  
… I am the Lord your God; I have 
separated you from the peoples.

Lev 20:26  
… And I have separated you from the 
other peoples to be mine.

Lev 20:8; 21:8; 22:9, 16; 22:32  
Keep my statutes, and observe them; I am 
the Lord; I sanctify you.

Jub. 2:19  
Behold I shall separate for myself a 
person from among all the nations. And I 
will sanctify them for myself and I will 
bless them. Just as I have sanctified and 
shall sanctify the Sabbath day for myself 
(cf. Exod 31:13; Ezek 20:12) thus shall I 
bless them. And they will be my people 
and I will be their God.

The ideology of separation of God’s people from others appears primarily in Leviticus. The purpose of this separation is to maintain God’s holiness. Though the idea of sanctifying Sabbaths is based upon Ezek 20:12, the separation of God’s people from other people and the concept of sanctifying God’s people are themes that echo Levitical texts. Jubilees 2:19 includes the separation of God’s people, sanctifying them, and the Sabbaths, accompanied with a blessing. This verse uses themes from Leviticus, Exodus, and Ezekiel, but the main point of separating God’s people to be holy is based on the theme of holiness in the Levitical texts.

Holiness in Leviticus is related to the land and its uncleanness, defilement, and Sabbaths. The ideology of Jub. 50:5, though not based upon Levitical texts, is very similar in terms of its treatment of previous sins (Lev 18:27a), the enemy’s dwelling (Lev 26:42),
and purifying the land (Lev 26:43). The following example contains compatible ideas in terms of land.

Lev 18:25
Thus the land became defiled; and I punished it for its iniquity, and the land vomited out its inhabitants.

Lev 18:27
(For the inhabitants of the land, who were before you, committed all of these abominations, and the land became defiled).

Lev 26:32
I will devastate the land, so that your enemies who come to settle in it shall be appalled at it.

Lev 26:42–43
(42)... and I will remember the land. (43) For the land shall be deserted by them, and enjoy its sabbath years by lying desolate without them, while they shall make amends for their iniquity, because they dared to spurn my ordinances, and they abhorred my statutes.

Jub. 50:5
And jubilees will pass until Israel is purified from all the sin of fornication, and defilement, and uncleanness, and sin and error. And they will dwell in confidence in all the land. And then it will not have any Satan or any evil (one). And the land will be purified from that time and forever.

Both sections of Lev 18 and 26 describe the purity of the land, evident in the book of Jubilees. The ideology of purification of the land depends on Leviticus since land is considered to be the people’s inheritance from God (Lev 20:24). Leviticus uses the past tense to describe the situation of the land but also uses the future tense regarding God’s promise to purify the land. Jubilees’ dependence on this ideology is evident in the phrase “the land will be purified from that time and forever” (Jub. 50:5b).

The purity law from Lev 12:2–5 and the law of tithes from Lev 27:30 seem to influence Jub. 3:8–15; there are verbal overlaps and similar uses of phrasing and ideas. Jub. 13:25–26 exclusively in terms of the time required for purification:

Lev 12:2
...If a woman conceives and bears a male child, she shall be ceremonially

Jub. 3:8
... seven days for male, but for a female twice seven days in their impurity
unclean for seven days; as at the time of her menstruation, she shall be unclean.

Lev 12:4

*Her time of blood purification shall be thirty-three days; she shall not touch any holy thing, or come into the sanctuary, until the days of her purification are completed.*

Jub 3:10–11

...if she bears a male, she shall remain seven days in her impurity like the first seven days. And *thirty-three days she shall remain in the blood of her purity. She shall not touch anything holy. And she shall not enter the sanctuary until she has completed these days.*

Lev 12:5

*If she bears a female child, she shall be unclean for two weeks, as in her menstruation; her time of blood purification shall be sixty-six days*

Jub 3:11

...and *sixty-six days she shall remain the blood of her purity.* And their total will be eighty days.

Lev 27:30

*All tithes from the land, whether the seed from the ground or the fruit from the tree, are the Lord's; they are holy to the Lord (Cf. Num. 18:21–24; Deut 14:22–23).*

Jub. 13:25–26

...upon Abram and his seed a tenth of the first fruits to the Lord. And the Lord ordained it (as) an ordinance forever that they should give it to the priest...

The purity law in Lev 12:2–5 clearly influences the author of Jubilees in 3:8–15. Based upon the description of Adam and Eve in Genesis, they were not born but created as mature adults by the hand of God, and the law in Leviticus says nothing about a child being impure, only the mother. The author of Jubilees had Lev 12:2–5 in mind when he specified a further waiting period beyond the one and two weeks and several days to become pure.

Jubilees 34:12–13, 18 depends on Lev 16:29, 34; 23:27; 25:9, especially the themes of becoming clean before the Lord for their and their fathers’ sins and the commands to offer atonement once a year.

Lev 16:29

*This shall be a statute to you for ever: In the tenth of seventh month, And he*

Jub. 34:12–13

...*on the tenth of seventh month. And he*

the seventh month, on the tenth day of the month…

Lev 23:27
Now, the tenth day of this seventh month is the day of atonement; it shall be a holy convocation for you: you shall deny yourselves and present the Lord’s offering by fire.

Lev 25:9
Then you shall have the trumpet sounded loud: on the tenth day of the seventh month—on the day of atonement—you shall have the trumpet sounded throughout all your land.

Lev 16:34
This shall be an everlasting statute for you, to make atonement for the people of Israel once in the year for all their sins. And Moses did as the Lord had commanded him.

Though Exod 30:10 also commands this atonement once a year, it is not related to their sins or their fathers’ sins, as stated in Lev 16:29 and 34. Jubilees 34:18 exclusively uses Lev 16:19 and 16:34 for composing its texts to sanctify the entire people in Israel. The commandments in Lev 16 are not just directed to an individual’s sins, but to the present and past sins of an entire group. This makes the issue much more complex: how to set sin aside, how to save guilty consciences, and how to deflect divine displeasure, all of which are echoed in Jubilees.

Leviticus 16 provides the way the people become clean before the Lord by making atonement (Lev 16:30, 34), which is repeated in Jub. 5:17–18; 34:18. The author of

Jub. 34:18
Therefore it is decreed for the children of Israel that they mourn on the tenth (day) of the seventh month…so that they might atone for them(selves) with a young kid on the tenth (day) of seventh month, once a year, on account of their sins because they caused the affliction of their father…

Jubilees added the phrase in 5:17, “if they return to him in righteousness,” while Lev 16:30 sounds as though the Day of Atonement were automatic.\(^{75}\)

ii) Covenant and Restoration

The author of Jubilees reflects the theme of the covenant in Jub. 1:17–18; 14:17–20; 15:4 and Jub. 50. John C. Endres argues:

Israel’s covenant theology has been mediated through priestly texts as well as those considered ‘Levitical,’ and it emphasizes actions and effect (blessings and curses) along with the holiness of persons, places and times. In Jubilees, however, the priestly concern with holiness achieved even greater prominence as the author masterfully blended it into his concept of a covenant community.\(^{76}\)

The following examples illustrate this point:

Lev 26:44
… I will not spurn them, or abhor them so as to destroy them utterly and break my covenant with them; for I am the Lord their God;

Lev 26:12
And I will walk among you, and will be your God, and you shall be my people.

Lev 19:2
Speak to all the congregation of the people of Israel and say to them: You shall be holy, for I the Lord your God am holy.

Jub. 1:5
... I have not abandoned them on account of all of the evil which I am establishing between me and you today on Mount Sinai for their descendants.

Jub. 1:17
And I shall be their God and they will be my people truly and rightly.

Jub. 1:18
And I shall not forsake them, and I shall not be alienated from them because I am the Lord their God

Jub. 30:8b
... for Israel is holy unto the Lord, and every man who has defiled (it) shall surely die; they shall stone him with stones.

The influence of law and covenant in Lev 26\(^ {77}\) appears at the beginning of Jub. (1:5), and

---

\(^{75}\) Kugel, *Walk through Jubilees*, 56.

\(^{76}\) Endres, *Biblical Interpretation in the Book of Jubilees*, 236.

\(^{77}\) Most importantly, Lev 26 manifests an interest in Abraham and the Abrahamic covenant (26:9, 42), but that is not exclusive. See Bautch, *Glory and Power, Ritual and Relationship*, 54–56; James W. Watts, “The Historical and Literary Contexts of the Sin and Guilt Offerings,” in *Text, Time and Temple: Literary*,
later in the chapter where Jub. 1:17–18 affirms the re-established covenant from Lev 26:12. This is, in fact, one of the major themes in Jubilees.\textsuperscript{78} Jubilees 1:17 depends upon Lev 26:12 with its command that the Israelites return to God in repentance so restoration will be given to them as God promised (cf. Jub. 1:15–18).

The idea of “return” is a significant motif in Lev 25 and 26. Leviticus 25:10 warns people to return to their property and their clan (יִשׂרְאֵל) in order to obey his commands. Bergsma suggests that the idea of “returning to the mother” bears a conceptual analogy to the jubilee mandate to return to the family-clan and familial inheritance in Lev 25:10.\textsuperscript{79}

The author of Jubilees predicts a restoration of the people,\textsuperscript{80} a topic which dominates Lev 26. God’s purification of his people is one of the major themes in Leviticus, a point which the book of Jubilees echoes by mentioning their sins and their fathers’ sins from Lev 26:40. The texts in Leviticus, declaring the Lord’s sanctification of his children, have been adapted in Jub. 1:23. The Levitical covenant and restoration provides the basic ideology for the composition of Jubilees.

d. Priestly Concerns: Levi (Genealogy), Priestly Books (Cultic Laws and Lore)

The final set of themes that I will discuss in this chapter is all related to the priesthood: Levi the person, and cultic images. The book of Jubilees focuses on Levi, who is the only one of Jacob’s sons to inherit his father’s and ancestors’ books (Jub. 45:15); and


\textsuperscript{78} Kugel, \textit{Walk through Jubilees}, 21. The point of the book of Jubilees is that none of these judgements came because God abandoned Israel, but because of their own contrariness, which is the theme of Lev 26 as well.


\textsuperscript{80} Jubilees 1:22–25 encapsulates the peoples’ disobedience and their return to God who loves them as a father loves his son, a concept which Lev 26 strongly presents. See Bautch, \textit{Glory and Power, Ritual and Relationship}, 127.
Levi as a priest might have had the responsibility to renew them for his descendants. Levites later took priestly roles, and Jub 31:16 connects Levi to all other sons of Jacob and to the Lord.\(^81\) Leviticus does not mention Levi; however, Lev 26:42 reflects on the reestablishment of God’s covenant with the patriarchs where Jacob is given priority, which appears to influence the author of Jubilees.

#### Lev. 26:42

*Then will I remember my covenant with Jacob; I will remember also my covenant with Isaac and also my covenant with Abraham, and I will remember the land.*

#### Jubilees 2:20

*And I have chosen the seed of Jacob from among all that I have seen. And I have recorded him as my firstborn son, and have sanctified him for myself for ever and ever.*

Jubilees names Jacob as God’s firstborn in Jub. 2:20 and affirms the establishment of the covenant through Jacob and his descendants in Jub. 15:10. This theme is found clearly in Lev 26:42, where Jacob is listed before Isaac and Abraham. According to Jub. 30–32, the author affirms Levi as the seed of Jacob and raises him to the level of a priest who had received blessings and was elevated above his brothers. God’s remembrance of his covenant with the patriarchs in Lev 26:42 is rewritten in Jubilees by extending the blessings to Jacob’s descendants.\(^82\) The patriarchs behaved like priests (Jub. 3:27; 4:25); other forefathers brought sacrifices (Adam, Noah, Abraham) but these concepts are not limited to Jubilees.\(^83\) In Jubilees, the author seems to acknowledge the patriarchs’ covenant,

---


which is mentioned in Lev 26:42, and thereby Jacob’s son Levi becomes a significant figure.

Jubilees connects the covenant with Abraham’s faithfulness to God’s commands. The covenant with Abraham gives blessings to the land and to his children (Jub.14:18–28, 15:1–4). The author asserts that the Lord blesses Abraham with descendants in order to establish a further covenant with them (15:4, 15:9–10). Here, the descendants of Abraham become significant. But Jacob’s son Levi is also very important, for he is considered to be a person who maintains and renews all the laws he received from his ancestors. Levi becomes the priest of the Most High God (32:1), tithes are given to him (32:8), and all the books of the ancestors are given to Levi (45:15). The author of Jubilees describes Levi as having responsibility to preserve the laws in the books and renew them for his children until this day (Jub. 45:15). To achieve this command, Leviticus should be taken seriously as a guideline.

Echoes of Levitic cultic images from Lev 2:2–5 are also found in various places in Jubilees, for instance, a pleasing aroma being one of the main cultic images in Leviticus evident in the book of Jubilees. The following example is based upon my own use of electronic search instruments and seems to confirm that the use of Leviticus is more widespread than most scholars have previously thought.

---

84 In Jub. 16:28 and Lev 23:40–42, it can be seen that the author employed the theme of feasts from Leviticus into Jubilees by adding expressions in order to make the text sacred.
86 According to Jubilees, Moses’ covenant was not just written by Moses himself but it was handed down to Moses from Noah and Abraham’s generation (cf. Jub. 6:17–38; 15:25–34; 27:22–24; 32:2–9, 18–19, 21–24).
87 Davenport says, “the blessing will be upon Levi’s children, that it will last throughout the ages, and that it is spoken under the influence of the spirit of prophecy means that A understood it to characterize the situation of the entire Levitical tribe as it should be in his own day as in the future (Jub. 13b–17).” See Davenport, Eschatology of The Book of Jubilees, 60.
Lev 2:2
And bring it to Aaron’s sons the priests. After taking from it a handful of the choice flour and oil, with all its frankincense, the priest shall turn this token portion into smoke on the altar, an offering by fire of pleasing odour [aroma] to the Lord.

Jub. 6:3
...and he offered up a sweet aroma which was pleasing before the Lord.

Jub. 21:7
You will offer it all together on the altar (as) a burnt offering, (as) a sweet aroma before the Lord.

Jub. 32:4
...well pleasing for a sweet-smelling aroma before God.

Jubilees 6:3–4 emphasizes that Noah offers not only sacrifices but also a sweet aroma, “...a food offering with a pleasing aroma to the LORD” (Lev 2:2). The author of Jubilees expands this concept from Lev 2:2, confirming that the Lord made a covenant that there would be no more judgement by a flood when He smelled the sweet aroma.

D. Conclusion

In this chapter I have argued that the book of Jubilees is strongly influenced by Leviticus in two ways. The first of these has not been commented upon extensively by scholars who have worked on Jubilees. It is striking that, in addition to the obvious control of the narrative of Genesis and Exodus, Leviticus, especially chapter 26, has played a significant role in the structure of the opening and closing sections of the final edition of Jubilees, which begins and ends with the theme of Sabbaths from Leviticus and narrates the texts in relation to the Sabbath theme. The warning from Lev 26 is restated in Jub. 1:10 and the theme of Sabbaths, sanctification, and covenant in Lev 26 control the structure and content of the beginning and end of Jubilees (Jub. 2:19; 50:2–3).

In addition Jubilees adopts the term jubilee from Lev 25 and 27 to provide its chronological system. This term is found only in Leviticus. The entire book of Jubilees is based on a chronological system from Lev 25–27, and the calendrical system in Jubilees is adopted from Leviticus to inform the description of the appointed festival times, especially
Sabbath observance. There is other evidence of the direct and indirect influence of Leviticus. For instance, Lev 26:1–13, 14–46 includes both God’s promises of blessing and judgement, according to whether or not Israel obeyed the commands. These two themes, blessing and judgement, in terms of God’s covenant and His plan of restoration for His chosen people, are prominent at the beginning of Jubilees.

Second, beyond the structural framing significance of Leviticus 25–27, Jubilees echoes several important themes, most of which are derived from Lev 16–27, that scholars have subsequently identified as the Holiness Code. Chief among these is the Sabbath: Jubilees insists that the Sabbath belongs to the Lord and that the Sabbath’s regulations should be applied to the land as well as to the people of Israel. The authors of Jubilees employed other themes derived from the laws, chronology, covenant, and priestly ideology of Leviticus in significant ways.

Cumulatively, Leviticus influenced the book of Jubilees in terms of structure and contents, not just partially or in selected sections, but in the entire process of its composition.
Chapter IV. Leviticus in the Temple Scroll

A. Introduction

In this chapter, I will discuss some of the ways that Leviticus has influenced the Temple Scroll with respect to its structure, content, ideology, and expressions. Although the compilers of the Temple Scroll have relied on many biblical passages to compose new laws, my main focus will be on the use of Leviticus in this composition.

The two principal copies of the Temple Scroll were discovered in 1956. 11Q19 (11QT\textsuperscript{a}) is well preserved except for the loss of the opening columns and damage to the tops of the columns throughout the scroll, damage thought to have been caused by the way Kando stored the scroll between 1956 and 1967. In 11Q20 (11QT\textsuperscript{b}),\textsuperscript{1} nine or ten columns are missing before the first preserved column and eight columns are missing at the end of the manuscript. 11QT\textsuperscript{a} is the longest scroll to survive from the eleven caves at Qumran, for it unwinds to a full twenty-eight and a half feet.\textsuperscript{2} The compiler(s)\textsuperscript{3} seems to have collected laws from many parts of the Pentateuch, especially Exodus and Deuteronomy, but interestingly, the name Moses is omitted in this scroll. This omission seems to be intended to demonstrate that the scroll contains a direct revelation from God, without Moses as an intermediary, thereby presenting a new law for the new age.\textsuperscript{4}

---


\textsuperscript{3} The principal copies of the Temple Scroll seem to have been compiled or edited by a “compiler” or “author” from several sources, which might indeed have had “authors.” In this chapter I will generally refer only to the composition itself to avoid confusion about authors or editors. This is an ongoing scholarly discussion about the social affiliation of the compiler/author of the composition. As with the book of Jubilees, the Temple Scroll was found in more than one copy in the Qumran Caves—it is widely acknowledged to be consistent with sectarian ideology but is not necessarily a sectarian composition itself (Oral communication with George Brooke, May, 2017).

The compiler collected various documents from different times and sources to compose the Temple Scroll. In the section on purity laws, many of its purity regulations are similar to those found in other Qumran documents (D/CD). The opening sentence describes the building of the temple, its courts, and other temple regulations with the purpose of describing the temple that Solomon should have built, but never did. The text implies that the contemporary Jerusalem Temple is inadequate and polluted. Finally, the text reworks a large part of Deuteronomy and, by expanding Deut 17, provides ways to defend the nation from its enemies and describes the ideal king for the nation of Israel.

The law in the Temple Scroll is based on Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy, all of which have been reworked. The date of the compilation of the Temple Scroll is broadly agreed. Yadin has proposed that the text was composed in the late second or early first century BCE, and Hengel, Charlesworth, and Mendels support a slightly later date in the early first century BCE date because they see the King’s Law as written against Alexander Jannaeus (103–76 BCE).

As to the style of the Temple Scroll, God speaks in the first person singular. He is not referred to in the third person singular in order to emphasize that God directly addresses God’s people. As Alex Samely has commented, “only the Temple Scroll represents a substantial, stand-alone text that transposes what, in the ‘biblical’ books, are

---

6 Much of the contents are also reflected in 4Q524.
10 According to Yadin, the replacement of third person with the first person for God is normal in the scrolls. See Yadin, *Temple Scroll* 1, 71–3.
divine commandments—reported as speech, but from a third-person perspective—into continuous first-person divine speech.11

Representing God’s divine speech provides corresponding authority to encourage the people to strictly follow the law since God himself is the lawgiver. It is also notable that the first person singular is used more than fifty times in Leviticus. In the Temple Scroll, the third person singular is replaced mostly by the first person singular.12 Similar direct speech has been used in the Torah, such as in Exodus, but the form of the first person singular is especially dominant in Leviticus. In fact, God personally purifies the sanctuary, land, and other objects in Leviticus, which suggests the influence of Leviticus on the Temple Scroll.13

The parallel examples below show first person singular in Leviticus in reference to the Lord, as does the Temple Scroll.

Lev 11:44
For I am the Lord your God

Lev 20:24
You shall inherit their land, and I will give it to you to possess… I am the Lord your God.

Lev 25:38

11QT^a 29:8
I shall sanctify my [te]mple with my glory, for I shall make my glory reside

11QT^a 53:8
In my sight, I am YHWH, your God

11QT^a 60:16
When you enter the land which I am going to give you, you shall not learn to do

11QT^b 12:7


13 To show how the Temple Scroll depended on Leviticus, I have presented examples from the Scroll and the MT in parallel. Throughout the examples in this chapter, I have used an underline with bold for verbal overlaps, underline with italics for similar phrasing and ideas, and italics without underlining for compatible ideas.
I am the Lord your God, who brought you out of the land of Egypt to give you the land of Canaan, and to be your God.

In the following sections, I will present ideas reflecting the influence of Leviticus on the Temple Scroll in three main ways: First, I will show how the compiler of the Temple Scroll relied heavily upon Leviticus when formulating his theological agenda. Second, I propose that many of the motifs used in the Temple Scroll are heavily dependent upon Leviticus. And finally I will suggest that Leviticus serves as the base text for several sections of the Temple Scroll.

B. The Theological Agenda of the Temple Scroll

11QT⁹ 29:2–9 is a key editorial section of the Temple Scroll. In this section, the Temple Scroll mentions the plan for the eschatological age. From this passage, we learn that God will come to build his Temple with his own hands (col. 29:9–10).¹⁴

Regarding the covenant with Jacob in col. 29:9–10, the text preserves only the name of Jacob and then it breaks off:

11QT⁹ 29:9–10

(29:9) for I will cause My glory to dwell upon it until the Day of Creation, when I Myself will create My temple; (29:10) I will establish it for Myself for everlasting in fulfilment of the covenant that I made with Jacob at Bethel

Lev 26:42

Then will I remember my **covenant with Jacob**: I will remember also my covenant with Isaac and also my covenant with Abraham, and I will remember the land.

There is no doubt that Lev 26:42\(^\text{15}\) has a key influence on col. 29:9–10, but there are at least two different ways of understanding this covenant. First, some scholars argue that Lev 26 has extensive effect on the Temple Scroll and the compiler read into that chapter all three patriarchs’ names, Jacob, Isaac, and Abraham for the composition of the Temple Scroll. Michael Wise suggests that Lev 26 was influential in the compiler’s thoughts in three ways: 1) Lev 26:9–12 reiterates the terms of the promises made to Jacob at Bethel; 2) Lev 26:3–15 elaborates on the conditional element of the promises God makes in Gen 28:15, a concept which the Temple Scroll adopts, thus initiating the promises that follow in 29:7b–10; 3) taken as a whole, the primary theme of Lev 26 concerns life in the land and whether that life will be one of blessings or curses.\(^\text{16}\) Wise also points out that Lev 26:42 is the only text that juxtaposes the name of Jacob with the term “covenant,” thus showing its clear influence on the composition of col. 29.\(^\text{17}\)

---

Second, other scholars argue that the Temple Scroll assumed only the person Jacob from Lev 26, since only Jacob is mentioned in the surviving text. In addition, Isaac and Abraham do not fit into the narrative of the Temple Scroll, whereas Jacob and Levi reasonably fit into its narrative. At this point, I am not choosing either position since we have a lack of textual evidence; however, on both sides of the argument scholars agree that Lev 26:42 is one of the most significant passages for the composition of the covenant with Jacob at Bethel, a position I will argue in the following sections of this chapter.

The compiler of the Temple Scroll used Lev 26 as a basic source, though other texts such as Ezek 37 are used in col. 29 as secondary texts. The following discussion considers four issues related to the use of Lev 26 in the Temple Scroll.

First, the covenant with Jacob in Lev 26:42 is the base text for col. 29:9–10. It is not found in the book of Genesis, but only in Lev 26:42. Brooke suggests it is clear that Lev 26:42 must be the base text that explicitly refers to the covenant with Jacob in the Temple Scroll. This covenant with reference to all three patriarchs is found in Exod 2:24, “… God remembered his covenant with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob,” and 2 Kgs 13:23, “… covenant with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob,” whereas in Lev 26:42 the covenant is connected with Jacob distinctively, “then I will remember my covenant with Jacob ….” These examples clearly indicate that col. 29:10 repeated the order found in Lev 26:42, namely that Jacob occurs first in the Temple Scroll and last in other texts. Burgmann suggests that contemporary apocalyptic tendencies influenced the insertion of col. 29:7–10

---

18 Cf. Jub. 1:10; Gen 28:10–22; 35:1–15. In Jub. 3 the installation of Levi as priest is linked with Jacob’s stay at Bethel. See Maier, Temple Scroll, 86.


20 This area is still under debate between those scholars who think that Jacob is mentioned first of three, and those who think that only Jacob is mentioned, since the rest of the scroll has to be restored; however, the scholarly consensus is that col. 29:10 depends on Lev 26:42.
between the feasts and the section on the building of the temple.\textsuperscript{21} This suggests the compiler composed the texts with the belief that the Lord would establish the temple by himself to prove that he has kept the covenant with Jacob at Bethel (col. 29:8–10). The significant role of the covenant with Jacob in Lev 26:42 exemplifies the use of Lev 26 in the composition of the text.

Second, in addition to the use of Lev 26 as base text, Ezek 37 is used as a secondary text in col. 29. The compiler of the Temple Scroll recalls the covenant in col. 29:7 and 10, which references Ezek 37:23 and Lev 26:12, 42, 45.

\begin{quote}
\textit{I will accept them, and they shall be my people, and I will be theirs forever.} \\
\textit{And will be your God and you shall be my people} \\
\textit{Then will I remember my covenant with Jacob; I will remember also my covenant with Isaac and also my covenant with Abraham, and I will remember the land.}
\end{quote}

In col 29:7, the compiler depends on Ezek 37:23 for its word order; it is possible Ezek 37:23 may also have been used as a secondary text in terms of the specific covenant with Jacob.

Jacob in col. 29:10, which clearly uses Lev 26:42. Though the compiler also seems to echo language from Ezek 37, col. 29:7 and 10 clearly depend on Lev 26:12 and 42:

Lev 26:12 And will be your God, and you shall be my people.

Lev 26:42 Then will I remember my covenant with Jacob: I will remember also my covenant with Isaac and also my covenant with Abraham, and I will remember the land.

The above example contains verbal overlaps. Leviticus 26:42 lies behind col. 29:10, which is a stronger connection than with Ezek 37:26, which states “I will make a covenant with them” without specifying the recipient. The editor makes an eschatological point because the purpose of the temple is to fulfil the covenant that God had formed with Jacob (11QT\[a\] 29:10, Lev 26:42. Cf. Jer 31:32). The temple is to be a part of the new creation at the end of days. Brooke has clearly distinguished between the temple described in the plans for the Temple Scroll and the eschatological temple in col. 29, the divinely created sanctuary that God promised Jacob at Bethel.

Third, in addition to the use of Lev 26 as a base text, the compiler uses Exod 15:17–18 and 4Q174 1 2i:3 as secondary texts. The Temple Scroll adds the expression: “I

---

22 Yadin, Temple Scroll 1, 184.
will establish it for myself” (וְנָבֵא בָּעָלָהּ לִי col. 29:10), which echoes “the sanctuary, O Lord, that your hands have established” (מַקְרֵהוּ אֶלֹהִי מַחְשֶׁבֶת יָדְךָ Exod 15:17), and “[-- A temple of] the Lord are you to prepare with your hands…” (מַקְרֵהוּ אֶלֹהִי מַחְשֶׁבֶת יָדְךָ) 4Q174 1 2i:3). The compiler clearly describes the man-made earthly temple that God had commanded to be built; nevertheless, eventually God himself would “create my temple…all times” in accordance “with Jacob at Bethel.” 25 Thus col. 29:10 echoes Exod 15:17–18 and 4Q174 1 2i:3 in terms of God’s plan to build the eschatological temple, but this text is still based on the covenant made with Jacob in Lev 26:42. It is clear that Exodus 15:17–18 and 4Q174 1 2i:3 are supplementary texts.

Fourth, the covenant with Jacob in col. 29:9–10 is linked to Lev 26 in terms of Sabbath and creation. 26 In col. 29:9 the day of blessing is the day of new creation (כרזת הָבֵרָה) that is “at the End of Days,” fulfilling the covenant. 27 Antoinette Collins suggests “the ‘day of blessing’ could also be identified with the only day recorded that God has blessed—that is, the Sabbath” (Gen 2:3). 28 The Temple Scroll deals with blessing and covenant, closely linked to Lev 26, and with God’s glory, which is linked to Lev 9:6 and 23. In col. 29:9–10, the covenant with Jacob still controls the ideology in terms of the Sabbath. Tov suggests “the allusion to Sabbath and the indwelling of God in the people and the entire land conform to the characteristic of the covenant with Jacob. This seems to be a text of particular holiness—a mini ‘holiness code’ as in the Book

---

25 Yadin, Temple Scroll 1, 113.
27 Yadin, Temple Scroll 1, 177. Jub. 1:16, “…and they will be a blessing…and I shall build my sanctuary in their midst.” The possessive form of writing in Jubilees is closely related to the eschatological view from Lev 26. Yadin suggests that הָבֵרָה indicates the end of days, therefore implying an eschatological meaning. He provides two suggestions—day of blessing (כרזת הָבֵרָה i.e, the End of Days) or the day of (new) creation (כרזת הָבֵרָה). According to Yadin the compiler believed in the earthly temple “on which I will settle my glory” (11QTא 29:8) and a possible eschatological (future) temple that God would build on “the day of blessing/day of creation.” See Yadin, Temple Scroll 1, 113 and 2, 125.
Thus, it appears that the compiler of the Temple Scroll in col. 29:9–10 borrows the ideology of Sabbath and holiness from Lev 26 in the composition of the Temple Scroll.

To bring these ideas together, Lev 26 significantly influences 11QT a 29. The unique expression of the covenant with Jacob in Lev 26:42 controls the ideology of col. 29. The compiler of the Temple Scroll used other texts, such as Exodus and Ezekiel, but the examples in this section clearly show that Lev 26 is the base text controlling the Temple Scroll in col. 29.

C. Motifs from Leviticus

Beyond simply focusing on the construction of a building, the Temple Scroll includes several themes related to cultic practices. More than half of the Temple Scroll concerns the structure of the temple and its courts. These passages include a discussion of the temple, courts, festivals, sacrifice, and purity laws and are all rewritten from various parts of the Pentateuch. While not much material is employed from Gen 1 through Exod 15 in the development of the Temple Scroll, Leviticus has heavily influenced the compiler in relation to those themes.

The next section builds on the previous argument and presents three examples of how Leviticus is used most prominently in the Temple Scroll: first, as general cultic practice, second, as light and lamps, and third, as sacrifice and land.

---

31 The Book of Jubilees elaborates on Gen 1 to Exod 15 and the Temple Scroll elaborates on Exod 25 to Deut 34. Both texts freely adjusted what the compiler disagreed with or disliked from the biblical passage.
32 In this section, I have provided parallel examples of the Temple Scroll and Leviticus but not all of them are explicit examples; however, these examples prove the use of Leviticus in the Temple Scroll in one way or the other.
1. General Cultic Practices

Two instances show the use of Leviticus with respect to cultic practices in the Temple Scroll. First, col. 34:7b–14b is strikingly dependent on Lev 1:5b–12b for its structure, content, and ideology. This column deals primarily with the process of the burnt offering, echoing Lev 1:5–12. Column 34:7b–14b copies the order of Lev 1:5b–12b with minor changes and borrows its ideology from Lev 1. Second, the priestly role from Leviticus has influenced col. 22:5–8. The following example contains verbal overlaps and similar phrasing and ideas that is based upon my own use of electronic search instruments and provides new information to the discussion of the use of Leviticus in the Scrolls.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lev 1:5b</th>
<th>11QT* 34:7b–8a</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>דаш את החוטה על החרטוםpek</td>
<td>מ setCבשת את הדם [מלומדת] 7b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dashing the blood against the sides of the altar</td>
<td>(7b) Gather [all the blood] in bowls (8a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The burnt-offering shall be flayed and cut up into its parts</td>
<td>to sprinkle on the foundation of the altar, all around</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lev 1:6</th>
<th>11QT* 34:9–10a</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>את החוטה ואת הקופים ברוחفين</td>
<td>את הגלлот ואת הרוחמים 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(9) the wheels and flay the bulls’ skins from their flesh; next, they shall cut them up (10a) into pieces</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(10a) And washing (11a) the entrails and legs.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lev 1:9a (cf. 2:13a)</th>
<th>11QT* 34:10b–11a</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>But its entrails and its legs he shall washed with water</td>
<td>מ setCבשת את הרוחמים את הפרים 11a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(10b) Afterward they may burn them in the fire upon the altar</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lev 1:13</th>
<th>11QT* 34:13a–14</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>והם היו זוהרים את ארבעת המים (ו)</td>
<td>והם היו זוהרים את ארבעת המים 13a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>They shall wash the four vessels (and)</td>
<td>(14) The sons of Aaron shall put fire on the altar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(11b) Afterward they may burn them in the fire upon the altar</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

105
But the entrails and the legs shall be washed with water. Then the priest shall offer the whole and turn it into smoke on the altar; it is a burnt-offering, an offering by fire of pleasing odour to the Lord. (13a) The priests, the sons of Aaron, are to burn the entirety (14) upon the altar as an offering by fire, a pleasing odor before the Lord.

In this example, it is apparent that Lev 1:5b–13 controls the structure and content in col. 34:7b–14 as follows: First, 11QTa 34:7b–14 (cf. Col. 52:19–21 and Lev 17:3–6) is dependent upon the structure and order of Lev 1:5b–13. Column 34:7b–14 does not follow the order with explicit words or expressions; however, the order in col. 34:7b–14 is very similar to Lev 1:5b–13: sprinkle blood (Lev 1:5b // col. 34:7b–8a), cutting in pieces (Lev 1:6 // col. 34:10a), washing the entrails and legs (Lev 1:9a // col. 34:10b–11a), fire upon the altar (Lev 1:7a // col. 34:11b–12a), priestly role, and pleasing aroma to the Lord (Lev 1:13 // 34:13a–14).

There are minor additions and omissions; col. 34:13a–14 does not include the expression “the entrails and the legs he shall wash with water” since it was mentioned in col. 34:10b–11a. In this example, the Temple Scroll uses Lev 1, which might indicate the compiler used the whole book of Leviticus given evidence that Lev 26 has been used in a significant way in col. 29.

The connections between the two texts are shown in the following brief summary. Column 34:7b–8a, “gather [all the blood] in bowls to sprinkle on the foundation of altar” uses similar ideology; col. 34:8a echoes Lev 1:5b: “and throw the blood against the sides of the altar”. The expression לִֽטְּשָׁן (33) is rather close to a verbal overlap. The expression

---

33 This purity law also seems to be dependent on Lev 17:3–6; Schiffman, “Temple Scroll,” 3036–3107, esp. 3064–6.
34 Yadin suggests that as strangers or non-priests it was possible to slaughter a holy thing. And the compiler uses the idea of salting in col. 34:10 from Lev 2:13: “...with all your offerings you shall offer salt.” See Ezek 43:24, “...and the priests shall sprinkle salt on them and offer them up as a burnt offering to the Lord.” The compiler’s emphasis on the fact that all offerings need to be salted links to Lev 2:13, “you shall season all your grain offerings with salt.”
35 Yadin, Temple Scroll 2, 147.
“at the base or foundation of the altar” (אֲלֵי-סֵלָה נַשֵּׁךְ) is used eight times in Lev 4–9.

Column 34:8a, “and throw it around against the base or foundation of the altar,” echoes the Levitical expression.\(^{37}\) Also, “cut them up into pieces” (טָלַק אָחָים נַחֲפָתִים) in col. 34:9b–10a echoes “cut into pieces” (טָלַק אָחָים נַחֲפָתִים) in Lev 1:6; “washing the entrails and legs” (טָבַשׁ הָרֹאשׁוֹת לְאַרְאֵי הֲרָעָב) in col. 34:10b–11a echoes “its entrails and its legs he shall wash with water” (טָבַשׁ הָרֹאשׁוֹת לְאַרְאֵי הֲרָעָב) in Lev 1:13; and col. 34:13a–14\(^{39}\) depends on Lev 1:7a and 9b in terms of the priestly role and pleasing aroma to the Lord. “Pleasing aroma to the Lord” (רְאוֹשׁ נַחֲפָתִים לַגָּדוֹל) is used in Leviticus from Lev 1 through Lev 26. This use of similar expressions provide evidence that col. 34:7b–14 depends upon Lev 1 for its structure and ideas.

Second, the Temple Scroll in 11QT\(^a\) 22:5–8a is also influenced by the Levitical sacrificial process listed in Lev 3:2–11, which also contains verbal overlaps and similar use of phrasing and ideas. The following example is based upon my electronic instruments and seems to provide close relationship how Lev 3:2–11 influenced 11QT\(^a\) 22:5–8a:

---

\(^{37}\) Yadin considered that the compiler of the scroll borrowed from Lev 1:5 and added רְאוֹשׁ, which is also from Leviticus. See Yadin, Temple Scroll 2, 145.

\(^{38}\) Column 34:9–10 uses the plural “נַחֲפָתִים” (“they shall cut them up”), which is also in the plural in the LXX at Lev 1:6; however, the Hebrew text of Lev 1:6 uses the singular “נָחֲפָת” (“Then he shall cut in pieces”). The scroll systematically put pronouns in the plural so that the content is close to the approach of the LXX. See Riska, House of the Lord, 146.

\(^{39}\) In col. 34:13 הקֶשֶׁת לְאַרְאֵי הֲרָעָב but only the priest is mentioned in Lev 1:9, and Yadin suggests that the text of the scroll follows “and Aaron’s sons the priests shall offer” (אֱלֵיה-סֵלָה בְּכָל-(כָּל) Lev 1:5). See Yadin, Temple Scroll 2, 147.
Then the priest shall turn these into smoke on the altar as a food-offering by fire to the Lord.

They shall burn [their offering] and libation.

[To the Lord. And they shall set aside an offering from the rams and from the lambs]

The phrase “throw the blood on the side of the altar”\(^{40}\) from Lev 3:2 is repeated in col. 22:5. The Temple Scroll did not display all the listed regulations from Lev 3, but in col. 22:6 the reconstructed expression, “the usual re[gulations],” is found and could refer to regulations in Lev 3, since col. 22:7–8 echoes Lev 3:11. 11QT\(^a\) 15:5–9 concerns the “ram of ordination”\(^{41}\) and the expression “the fat tail near its spine” (ජෙනී [ජෙනී අලුත් විශේෂය අරුණා මේ] 11QT\(^a\) 15:8) is based on “which shall be removed close to the backbone, the fat that covers the entrails” (ජෙනී අලුත් විශේෂය අරුණා මේ ආශ්වේ පිටුරේ) (Lev 3:9).\(^{42}\)

The Temple Scroll uses the list from Lev 3 in both 11QT\(^a\) 15:5–9 and 22:5–8, with minor changes. Leviticus 3:2 is reflected in 11QT\(^a\) 22:5 that Aaron’s sons sprinkle (throw) the blood against the side of the altar. 11QT\(^a\) 22:6–7 and Lev 3:9, 11 use the term “fat” on the altar and subsequently refer to burning the offering. Column 22:5–8a does not include the same words from Lev 3:2–11 but follows the order from Lev 3:2–11, making the texts very similar.

---

\(^{40}\) The book of Leviticus deals with this subject twenty-three times from Lev 1 through 17. Other biblical books, like Exodus and Numbers, mention this same procedure but the Temple Scroll follows the structure of Lev 3 to explain the sacrifice. Leviticus 17:11 concludes “for the life of the flesh is in the blood, and I have given it for you on the altar to make atonement for your souls, for it is the blood that makes atonement by the life.”


2. Lamp and Light

In 11QT⁹ 9:12–14, the lamp and light are considered as a “statute forever throughout generations,” which seems to be linked to Exodus and Leviticus;⁴³ however, Lev 24:3–4 appears to be the particular source for the motif of lamp and light in col. 9:12–14. In this section, it is clear that the compiler borrows the ideology rather than the structure or content from Leviticus. Column 9 is very fragmentary and it is not easy to ascertain accurate data. Though col. 9 employs the process of harmonization⁴⁴ with Exodus, the use of Leviticus is still dominant in col. 9:12–14. One of the reasons for this development may be that Exodus does not provide a detailed process of sacrifice while Leviticus does. The reconstructed text in 11QT⁹ 7:21–22 states, “[… according to the regulation; it shall be a burnt-offering, a fire-sacrifice of a fragrance [appeasing to yhwh. […] they shall burn this oil in the lamps.”⁴⁵ By comparing Lev 24:2–4 and Exod 27:1, we can see that the texts from Leviticus provide a more detailed process of keeping the light and lamp as an eternal statute. The following example contains verbal overlaps and compatible ideas.

---
⁴⁴ Yadin has already pointed out that harmonization is one of the main organizing features of the scroll. See Yadin, Temple Scroll 1, 74–77.
Command the people of Israel to bring you pure oil of beaten olives for the lamp, that a light may be kept burning regularly.

Lev 24:3–4  
(3) Aaron shall set it up in the tent of meeting, outside the curtain of the covenant, to burn from evening to morning before the Lord regularly; it shall be a statute for ever throughout your generations. (4) He shall set up the lamps on the lampstand of pure gold before the Lord regularly.

Exod 27:21  
It shall be a perpetual ordinance to be observed throughout their generations by the Israelites.

In this example, the Temple Scroll suggests that Aaron and his sons, who were priests, will prepare this eternal statute for the next generation. 11QTa 9:12 states, “all its lamp [shall] give light you shall put” (all its lamp [shall] give light you shall put). The beginning of col. 9:12 was restored by Yadin, according to Exod 25:37 and Num 8:2, and he also suggests that the texts were interpreted literally—namely, that all the lamps were turned to the front of the lampstand.

The compiler interprets other biblical passages literally; however, Lev 24:2–3 influences the contents of col. 9:12–24 in asserting that Aaron shall arrange the lampstands from evening to morning. Numbers 8:2 commands Aaron to set up the lamps, but the context of Lev 24:3 is closer to col. 9:12–14. Column 9:13 echoes Exod 27:21 and Lev 24:3, but the

---

47 Yadin, Temple Scroll 1, 184.
compiler’s reference to Aaron’s role and its eternal statute for the generations has the contents of Lev 24 in mind.

Leviticus 24:3 distinctively declares that the lamp should be arranged before the Lord as a statute forever (םייח תמהות, 11QTª 9:14; Lev 24:3). Both Exod 27:21 and Lev 24:3 use the expression “the statute forever” in relation to light; later the Temple Scroll connects it to the expression of pleasing aroma, which is dominant in Leviticus. It seems that col. 9:12–14 (cf. 11QTª 7:21–22) harmonizes texts from Exodus, Numbers, and Leviticus; nevertheless, Levitical texts are still dominant in their use of similar expressions and regulations.

3. Land and Idolatry

The themes of land and sacrifice in Leviticus are prominent. The land was an inheritance from the Lord (Lev 20:24) and was owned by the Lord. The land of Israel in Leviticus is also related to honouring God; the land would be defiled if people did not honour God (Lev 26:33) and His commandments (Lev 18:25). The theme of land is significant in Numbers and Exodus as well; however, Leviticus controls the ideology of the theme of the land in the Temple Scroll. The following section compares the vocabulary in col. 51:16 with vocabulary in Leviticus. It also surveys the ideology of land in Leviticus that appears in the Temple Scroll. The next example has uses of phrasing and ideas that are compatible with Leviticus. The following example is based upon my own use of electronic instruments and seems to confirm that the use of Leviticus is closely related to constructing ideas in this part of the Temple Scroll.

Lev 20:24a

אֲמַרְתֵּן אַשְׁרָא אֲחַרְתִּי נִתַּנְתִּי לַפֶּהֱמָּה לָדֶּרֶשׁ

11QTª 51:16

אֲמַרְתֵּן אַשְׁרָא אֲחַרְתִּי נִתַּנְתִּי לַפֶּהֱמָּה לָדֶּרֶשׁ

48 Seventeen times from Lev 1 through 26, whereas Exodus uses the expression three times.

49 The Levitical text seems to provide more accurate information about this forever statute in terms of light and lamp (cf. Lev. 24:3).
But I have said to you: *You shall inherit their land, and I will give it to you to possess.*

Lev 26:1

The land that I am about to give you as an inheritance (cf. 11QT a 56:12) forever

Lev 26:9

I will look with favour upon you and make you fruitful and multiply you; and I will maintain my covenant with you.

11QT a 51:19–21

11QT a 59:11b–12a

You shall make for yourselves no idols and erect no carved images or pillars, and you shall not place figured stones in your land, to worship at them; for I am the Lord your God (cf. Deut 16:22)

11QT a 51:16

I will look with favour upon you and make you fruitful and multiply you; and I will maintain my covenant with you.

11QT a 51:16

(11b) I will save them (12a) to the land of their fathers. So I will redeem them and multiply them

First, though the compiler deals with the inheritance of the land in col. 51:16, found in various places in Torah, various aspects of the vocabulary are relevant. Exodus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy use the word לֵיתָן, while Lev 20:24 uses רֵי in examples shown above, meaning “inherit or possess.” Column 51:16 uses רֵי instead of לֵיתָן. This is not a unique word in Lev 20:24, since other instances of רֵי can be found in other biblical texts such as Ps 25:13; 37:9 and Deut 16:20; however, the book of Leviticus uses the word רֵי in 20:24 twice. Column 51:16 uses the same word, רֵי, which means “to be an heir to someone”50 while the meaning of לֵיתָן is “to maintain as a possession.”51 The land in Lev 20:24 is focused on the land as God’s inheritance to be given to the Israelites as heirs to possess, an influence indicated by the addition of the word forever in col. 51:16.

51 Koehler and Baumgartner, “לֵיתָן,” HALOT, 2:686
Second, the ideology of the land in Lev 26:1, 9, the Lord’s command to the Israelites to protect the land from moral uncleanness (Lev 18:25), influenced col. 51:19–21 and 59:11b–12a. Column 51:19–21 maintains that the ritual cleanliness of the land is God’s command and is linked to the promise and covenant in col. 59:11b–12a. The land of Israel is to be given by God to Israel as part of a covenant requiring separation from the nations and from their idolatrous practices (11QTa 51:19–21; 60:9–16), which is also emphasized in Lev 26. Column 51:15, 19–21 and 52:2–3 closely follow the concepts from Lev 20:24 and 26:1 to protect the land the Lord gave them as an inheritance. Once the Temple Scroll moves to the passage in Deut 16:22, it takes advantage of a parallel formulation in order to include related material from Lev 26:1.

In sum, the Temple Scroll borrows motifs such as cultic practices, lamps and light, and land and idolatry from other texts, particularly Leviticus. The compiler begins with the commandment to build a temple (Exod 28) and then proceeds through the temple plan, which includes the process of sacrifices and purity laws relevant to the various temple structures. Much of the content, ideology, structure, and laws from Leviticus influence sections of the Temple Scroll to varying degrees. The compiler of the Temple Scroll not only reuses the biblical passages, but also extends the ideology by adding words to emphasise certain aspects.

---

52 Molly M. Zahn sees col. 52:2–3 as a combination of Deut 16:22 and Lev 26:1 because of the phrase “do not erect for yourself a standing stone” in Deut 16:22; however, Lev 26:1 also contains this phrase. See Molly M. Zahn, Rethinking Rewritten Scripture: Composition and Exegesis in the 4QReworked Pentateuch Manuscripts, STDJ 95 (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 186.


54 Zahn, Rethinking Rewritten Scripture, 186.

55 Schiffman, Courtyards, 445.

D. Leviticus as a Base Text for Purity Laws

Leviticus is used in some sections of the Temple Scroll as a base text to compose certain laws, especially purity laws\(^{57}\) that are central to both Leviticus and the Temple Scroll in order to make the rules clearer and stricter. In cols. 48:1–51:10, the concern for purity continues, but the subject shifts from the temple to the land, that is, to people and objects in the towns.\(^{58}\) This shift of the purity laws from the temple to the people and objects in the Temple Scroll echoes the Levitical approach to considering holiness from God to animals (sacrifices), space (sanctuary), people (including priests), and land.\(^{59}\) The concept of holiness originated from God and was expanded to include human beings and objects, including the sanctuary and the land.\(^{60}\)

In this segment, I will discuss three substantial sections: the purity laws (11QT\(^a\) 48:3–5a; 50:20–51:2), sacrifices and festivals (11QT\(^a\) 18:2–12; 19:3), and grain offerings (11QT\(^a\) 20:9–14).

1. The Purity Laws

Purity laws in the Temple Scroll are used extensively in cols. 45–51:1a. I will focus on 11QT\(^a\) 48:3–51:2\(^{61}\) and 11QT\(^a\) 45:15–17 in this section.\(^{62}\) These two passages

---


\(^{58}\) Dwight D. Swanson, *The Temple Scroll and The Bible: The Methodology of 11QT*, STDJ 14 (Leiden: Brill, 1995), 175. Schiffman suggests that the compiler of the Temple Scroll extended the rules from the Levitical camp and the Temple Mount to the entire sanctuary, thus expanding the purity laws along with its architectural plan for an expanded *temenos* (*the Temple City*). See Schiffman, *Courtyards*, 17.

\(^{59}\) Choi, “Exegetical Interpretation of Leviticus 19:1–18,” 10. The Temple Scroll not only prefers the more stringent of the possibilities the Torah offers, but also expands the purview of the stringency to the law. Cf. Lev 15 and Num 5:2. See Himmelfarb, *Kingdom of Priests*, 94.

\(^{60}\) The Temple Scroll articulates its notion of sanctity and the presence of sanctity spread from the temple to the land of Israel (col. 47:3–6). This concept is the way Leviticus is described in terms of expanding the nature of holiness from God to human beings and from human beings to nature or objects. Likewise, the Temple Scroll considers the entire land as sacred space. See Schiffman, *Courtyards*, xxvii–xxviii; Ian C. Werrett, *Ritual Purity and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), 125.

\(^{61}\) The purity laws in cols. 48–51 focus specifically on the holiness of the people, which reflects the Levitical theme of holiness (cf. Lev 19 and col. 51:8 “holy”). See Reinhard G. Kratz, “Law and Narrative in
significantly depend on Lev 11:21–31 and Lev 15:13 in terms of words and expressions, as well as in terms of their meaning. The following example contains verbal overlaps and similar use of phrasing and ideas.

Lev 11:21
וְזָכַר הָאִישׁ מְאֹרַחְתָּם מִפְּרָצָיו וְנִשַׁבֶּהָם מְאֹרַחְתָּם שַׁעַרְתֶּם עַל אָדָם וְאֵין לָאָדָם שַׁעַרְתֶּם

11QT 48:4b–5a
אֲרָבָּא אָרָב הָעַר בָּלַע וְלָאָרָבָּא נִשַּׁבֶּהָם עַל אָדָם וְאֵין לָאָדָם נִשַׁבֶּהָם

But among the winged insects that walk on all fours you may eat those that have jointed legs above their feet, with which to leap on the ground.

Lev 11:22
וְיֵשׁ לְבֵית הַגֵּדָה בָּלַע וְנִשַּׁבֶּהָם עַל אָדָם וְאֵין לָאָדָם נִשַּׁבֶּהָם

11QT 48:3–4a
הֵא אֲרָבָּא מְאֹרַחְתָּם עַל אָדָם וְאֵין לָאָדָם מְאֹרַחְתָּם

(3b) Also, among the winged insects that go about on four feet you may eat those that have jointed legs above their feet, which both leap on the ground.

Lev 11:29
וַיֵּלֶד הָעַר בָּלַע וְנִשַּׁבֶּהָם עַל אָדָם וְאֵין לָאָדָם נִשַּׁבֶּהָם

11QT 50:20
כָּל שֶׁמָּרֵי עָרִים מָעָר הָוָאִיר וְהָוָאִיר

Everything which swarms upon the ground will be unclean: the weasel, the mouse, the great lizard according to its kind, and the gecko.

Lev 11:30
וַיֵּלֶד הָעַר בָּלַע וְנִשַּׁבֶּהָם עַל אָדָם וְאֵין לָאָדָם נִשַּׁבֶּהָם

11QT 50:21
כָּל שֶׁמָּרֵי עָרִים מָעָר הָוָאִיר וְהָוָאִיר וְיֵשׁ בֵּית הָוָאִיר וְיֵשׁ בֵּית הָוָאִיר

The great lizard, the sand lizard, and the chameleon. Anyone who comes in contact with them after they dead


Wise suggests that the redactor of the Temple Scroll drew from one or more collections of purity regulations and inserted them in the end of one section of the Temple Scroll (cols. 45–47), and that he has continued to construct his section in cols. 48–51. See Wise, Critical Study, 133–34. See also 11QT 45:18 and Lev 14:1–8: 9–32. The Temple Scroll relies heavily on the purity laws from Leviticus, but I have chosen certain sections of the Temple Scroll that seem to be influenced heavily by Leviticus.
Lev 11:31

These are unclean for you among all that swarm; whoever touches one of them when they are dead shall be unclean until the evening.

Lev 15:13

When the one with a discharge is cleansed of his discharge, he shall count seven days for his cleansing; he shall wash his clothes and bathe his body in fresh water, and he shall be clean.

11QT a 48:3–51:2

(15) Any man who wishes to purify himself from a genital emission must count seven days as a cleansing period. On the seventh day he must launder his clothes and bathe his entire body in running water. Afterwards he may enter the city of the temple.

Three observations can be made regarding 11QT a 48:3–51:2: First, this passage uses Lev 11:21–22 in terms of order and contents. Second, this passage, along with 11QT a 45:15–17, relies upon Lev 11:29–30 and 15:13 (cf. Lev 14:8) in its use of words. Third, this passage uses the ideology of not touching the dead from Lev 11:31.

---

The first observation is that 11QTᵃ 48:3–51:2 uses Lev 11:21–31 as a base text.⁶⁴ Column 47 does not continue in col. 48 and the beginning of col. 48 does not include all the laws on clean and unclean animals from Lev 11:22–31 and Deut 14. This implies there might be additions to the beginning of col. 48⁶⁵ because these two columns are not connected naturally and the beginning part of col. 48 is missing. The compiler combines two texts from Lev 11:21–31 and Deut 14 at the beginning of col. 48 before using Lev 11:22–31. Though the author harmonizes these two texts,⁶⁶ Lev 11:21–22 can be considered the controlling text in terms of words and expressions.⁶⁷ The Temple Scroll follows the process of ritual cleanliness from Lev 15:13 in 11QTᵃ 45:15–17, such as by counting seven days, washing one’s clothing and bathing one’s flesh in living water, but as Werrett points out, the Temple Scroll in this section ignores some rules, such as providing two turtledoves or two pigeons for atonement (Lev 15:14–15).⁶⁸

The Temple Scroll adapts Lev 11:21–22 in col. 48:3–5a and adds the term

---


⁶⁵ Yadin, Temple Scroll 2, 206.

⁶⁶ The compiler finishes the first sentence according to the shorter Lev. 11:20 “All winged insects that crawl upon all fours are detestable to you,” since the space appears to be too short for the longer version found in Deut 14:19 and Deut 14:20, “you may eat any clean winged creature.” See Yadin, Temple Scroll 2, 206–207.


⁶⁸ Werret, Ritual Purity and the Dead Sea Scrolls, 155
Yadin considers this to be the most ingenious piece of editing. The author uses the word from Leviticus, rather than Deut 1:8, and he uses לָמוֹת instead of לֹא מָמוֹת, with the objective of harmonizing the text—“locusts of any kind” (תָּשׁעְרֵיהֶן קִלְטִימִן) with Leviticus. The author, in this case, is trying to combine two texts from Leviticus with Deut 14:19–20. Yadin suggests that Lev 14:20 has been used rather than Deut 14:19–20 because the compiler of the Temple Scroll fills the space at the beginning of col. 48; however, cols. 48–52 closely follow the structure and contents in Lev 11:22–31, which implies that Lev 11 is controlling the section in 11QT 48:3–51:2, not Deut 14.

In addition, col. 48:4b–5a echoes, with a slight variation, line 4b–5a: “That go about on four feet you may eat” (הָאֲבֹלוֹתָה לַעֲדוֹת יָדַעְתָּֽם) is very similar to the expression “to go on all fours you may eat” (הָאֲבֹלוֹתָה לַעֲדוֹת יָדַעְתָּֽם Lev 11:21). The author also follows Lev 11:21, rather than Deut 14:20, because the definition of “you may eat any clean winged creature” (פְּלֵגֶה יָדַעְתָּֽם Deut 14:20) is explained in Leviticus and reduces the contradiction presented by these two texts. Thus, it is apparent that Lev 11:22–31 is the base text for cols. 48:3–5a; 50:20–21; 51:1, with omissions and additions.

The second observation concerns the heavy reliance of the author of 11QT 50:20–21 on Lev 11:29–30. This section of the Temple Scroll begins by “loosely quoting the list of eight unclean swarming animals (קַרְנֵי) from Lev 11:29–30.” The lists of the unclean things are Levitical words that can be found only in Lev 11. Column 50:20–21 does not include all the names from Lev 11; however, col. 50:20–21 echoes Lev 11:29–30 in expressions such as “unclean, on the ground” before the list names.

---

69 Yadin, Temple Scroll 2, 207.
70 Yadin, Temple Scroll 2, 206–207.
71 The purity laws from Leviticus (17:15–16; 5:2–3; 5) are applied and a life of holiness is required of those who live in the land of Israel, for priests and community members alike. The command from Lev 19:2 “be you holy” could have influenced the ideology of the Temple Scroll in this section of purity laws. See Jacob Milgrom, “The Qumran Cult: Its Exegetical Principles,” 165–80, esp. 167.
Finally, the Temple Scroll borrowed the prohibition on touching a carcass from Lev 11:31 in col. 51:1–2, with small changes. The expression “you are not to defile yourself with them” (יוֹנָה אֵשֶׁת אָדָם אֱלֹהִים בְּכָלָכָלָם) is heavily influenced by Lev 11:31, which explains the meaning of defiling “dead shall be unclean” (דְּמָעְתָּם תִּנְשָׁר). This seems to have influenced the expression “a dead [creeping thing] becomes impure” (אֹדַע בְּכָלָכָלָם) col. 51:2). The idea that touching carcasses makes one unclean is clearly a concept derived from Leviticus. Deuteronomy 14:18 warns the people not to touch carcasses, but the text does not explain how one may become pure again.

Touching carcasses is strongly discouraged in Lev 11, and those who touch carcasses are commanded to wash their clothes (11:25, 28, 40). However, the author of the scroll chooses to expand this purity law by harmonizing Lev 11 with “wash his clothes and bathe himself in water” (וַיִּקָּח אֵשֶׁת אָדָם אֱלֹהִים וַיָּבֵא עֵצֶם-נַחֲלָתָם וַיָּבֵא עֵצֶם-כְּנַחֲלָתָם), even though Num 19 does not limit the prohibition to carcasses (i.e., it includes human bones or a grave [Num 19:16]). The author expands the text of Lev 11:25, 28, 40 by using Num 19:16 to include bones, skin, and nails.


2. Sacrifices and Festivals

In general, the list of festivals in the Temple Scroll corresponds to those given in Lev 23 and Num 28–29. First-fruits festivals in cols. 18:10–23:9 are closely related to Lev

---

73 Cf. 11:24, 25, 27, 28, 31, 32, 39, 40.
in terms of the number and calculation of dates for its nonbiblical first-fruit festivals.75

Leviticus 23:12–19 controls the structure and word order of 11QT18:1–12; 19:3, with minor changes. As Leviticus defines the Sabbath as an eternal statute, the Temple Scroll strongly relies on the Sabbath as a statute forever.76 My argument is based on two observations: First, the Temple Scroll uses the same or similar words with minor changes, and second, the Temple Scroll’s understanding of the Sabbath is based on the Levitical understanding of the Sabbath.77

Lev 23:12–19
12 a lamb a year old
12Male lamb
14 until that very day
19 with one male goat for a sin offering (Lev 23:12)
13 grain offering and drink offering
13 Wine, one-fourth of a hin.

11QT18:1–12; 19:12–13
1 ...lamb a year old
2 for this ram
3 on this day
4 One male goat for sin offering
5 grain offering and drink offering
6 a quarter of hin of wine for

Num 28:26–31
28:27, 15:11 ram
28:30 with one male goat
28:31 grain offering…and their drink offering
15:5 one-fourth of hin of


76 Due to space, I have provided only key words or expressions to show how Lev 23 controls the structure of 11QT18:1–12; 19:12–13.

77 The reconstructions follow the suggestions by Yadin, Temple Scroll 2, 75.
First, the above example clearly shows that 11QT\textsuperscript{a} 18:1–12; 19:12–13 depends extensively on Lev 23:12–19, even though 11QT\textsuperscript{a} 18:1–12; 19:12–13 does not follow the order of Lev 23. The texts in the Temple Scroll emphasize and extend the notion that the sin offering is to include the wave offering, accompanied by a grain offering and libation.\textsuperscript{79} In this section, the compiler of the Temple Scroll borrows most of the words or expressions from Lev 23 and applies them with minor changes to the order.

Second, the compiler of the Temple Scroll uses words, expressions, and ideology from Leviticus. In col. 18:2–10, the Temple Scroll echoes each of the sin offering regulations from Lev 23:12–19.\textsuperscript{80} The Temple Scroll depends on concepts from Leviticus

\textsuperscript{78} Cf. Lev 16:34, 17:7.

\textsuperscript{79} Swanson, \textit{Temple Scroll}, 21. Lev 14:10. Lev 14–18 also describes the process of the sin offering of the male goat, which Jub. 7:2–3 describes. Yadin suggests that the Temple Scroll relied upon most of these concepts from the book of Leviticus. See Yadin, \textit{Temple Scroll} 1, 146–8.

\textsuperscript{80} The application of Lev 23 in cols. 21:12–23:1 is very strong; therefore, it is reasonable to assume that the compiler of the Temple Scroll depends on Lev 23 to compose a new law, with some modification of
texts such as “a year old ram,” “on this day,” “male goat,” “cereal offering,” and “drink offering.” The compiler also adds certain words. The added הָזֶה in line 2 and the repetition of the term in line 9 (“the one ram”) emphasizes the addition of a ram to the Leviticus provision for the offering.\(^81\) In line 3, “on this day” (רְבָּעִים בָּעָם), some space is left between ה and ז due to a flaw in the skin or an erasure,\(^82\) and it is very clear that Lev 23:14 “until that very day” (שֵׁם שֵׁם הָעֵץ הָלֵב) influences the Temple Scroll as a base text. Yadin suggests that Num 28:27 and 30, “with one male goat” (שֵׁם יָתְמָה אֶלְפִּים), are the base text for this line because of the similar phrase found in line 3, “a male goat for a sin offering” (לָהֵם אֱלִילָה), but Num 28:30 does not explain the addition of “sin offering” (לָהֵם אֱלִילָה). Line 4 describes the importance of the sin offering, which is discussed in Leviticus more than fifty times. For example, the phrase “One male goat for a sin-offering” (שֵׁם יָתְמָה אֱלִילָה) clearly bears a similarity to line 4.\(^84\) In col.18:2–12, the author uses both Num 28 and Lev 23 in order to reconstruct the texts.

Regarding the Sabbath law in 11QT\(^a\) 18:11–12; 19:13, the Temple Scroll expands Lev 23:15–16 to make the law stricter. Milgrom suggests that “the fifty-day interval that Scripture mandates between the New Barley and New Wheat festival (Lev 23:15–16) is

---

\(^{81}\) Yadin, Temple Scroll 2, 77.

\(^{82}\) Yadin, Temple Scroll 2, 77. He suggested a partial restoration מְחַרָה מִרְדָּשׁ הָיְתָה לֶחֶם [וָיֵה הַחָן] according to Lev 23:21 מְחַרָה מִרְדָּשׁ הָיְתָה לֶחֶם נַאְפָּרָה בָּשָׂר הָיְתָה לֶחֶם מָרָה לָחֶם מְחַרָה מִרְדָּשׁ הָיְתָה לֶחֶם מְחַרָה מִרְדָּשׁ הָיְתָה לֶחֶם מְחַרָה מִרְדָּשׁ הָיְתָה לֶחֶם מְחַרָה מִרְדָּשׁ הָיְתָה לֶחֶם מְחַרָה מִרְדָּשׁ הָיְתָה לֶחֶם מְчַרָה מִרְדָּשׁ הָיְתָה לֶחֶם מְчַרָה מִרְדָּשׁ הָיְתָה לֶחֶם מְчַרָה מִרְדָּשׁ הָיְתָה לֶחֶם מְчַרָה מִרְדָּשׁ הָיְתָה לֶחֶם מְчַרָה מִרְדָּשׁ הָיְתָה לֶחֶם מְчַרָה מִרְדָּשׁ הָיְתָה לֶחֶם מְчַרָה מִרְדָּשׁ הָיְתָה לֶחֶם מְчַרָה מִרְדָּשׁ הָיְתָה לֶחֶם מְчַרָה מִרְדָּשׁ הָיְתָה לֶחֶם מְчַרָה מִרְדָּשׁ הָיְתָה לֶחֶם מְчַרָה מִרְדָּשׁ הָיְתָה לֶחֶם מְчַרָה מִרְדָּשׁ הָיְתָה לֶחֶם מְчַרָה מִרְדָּשׁ הָיְתָה לֶחֶם מְчַרָה מִרְדָּשׁ הָיְתָה לֶחֶם מְчַרָה מִרְדָּשׁ הָיְתָה לֶחֶם מְчַרָה מִרְדָּשׁ הָיְתָה לֶחֶם מְчַרָה מִרְדָּשׁ הָיְתָה לֶחֶם מְчַרָה מִרְדָּשׁ הָיְתָה לֶחֶם מְчַרָה מִרְדָּשׁ הָיְתָה לֶחֶם מְчַרָה מִרְדָּשׁ הָיְתָה לֶחֶם מְчַרָה מִרְדָּשׁ הָיְתָה לֶחֶם מְчַרָה מִרְדָּשׁ הָיְתָה לֶחֶם מְчַרָה מִרְדָּשׁ הָיְתָה לֶחֶם מְчַרָה מִרְדָּשׁ הָיְתָה לֶחֶם מְчַרָה מִרְדָּשׁ הָיְתָה לֶחֶם מְчַרָה מִרְדָּשׁ הָיְתָה לֶחֶם מְчַרָה מִרְדָּשׁ הָיְתָה לֶחֶם מְчַרָה מִרְדָּשׁ הָיְתָה לֶחֶם מְчַרָה מִרְדָּשׁ הָיְתָה לֶחֶם מְчַרָה מִרְדָּשׁ הָיְתָה לֶחֶם מְчַרָה מִרְדָּשׁ הָיְתָה לֶחֶם מְчַרָה מִרְדָּשׁ הָיְתָה לֶחֶם מְчַרָה מִרְדָּשׁ הָיְתָה לֶחֶם מְчַרָה מִרְדָּשׁ הָיְתָה לֶחֶם מְчַרָה מִרְדָּשׁ הָיְתָה לֶחֶם מְчַרָה מִרְדָּשׁ הָיְתָה לֶחֶם מְчַרָה מִרְדָּשׁ הָיְתָה לֶחֶם מְчַרָה מִרְדָּשׁ הָיְתָה L

\(^{83}\) In line 4, Num 28:30 יָתְמָה אֶלְפִּים is reflected in line 4b–5a “[... and a male] goat for a sin offering to [atone]” [רְפָּאָה יָתְמָה אֶלְפִּים]. The author here harmonizes texts from Leviticus and Numbers to reduce the conflict by producing a festival law including sin offerings from Lev 23:19 and atonement from Num 28:30. Yadin suggests that according to the scroll, sacrificing the male goat for the sin offering is also to be accompanied by a cereal offering and a drink offering. See Yadin, Temple Scroll 2, 75.
expanded by the Temple Scroll to the New Wine, New Oil, and Wood Offering festivals (cols. 19-25).”

In 11QTa 18:10–13, the word שבת means literally “Sabbath,” and “perfect Sabbath” (кол. 18:11) refers to the weeks terminating on the Sabbath day, a concept based on “full Sabbath” (Lev 23:11, 15). And all of the first-fruit festivals were to be celebrated on Sabbaths.

11QTa 19:7–8 depends upon the assertion in Lev 23:21 that the Sabbath is to be a holy convocation as a statute forever, another implication that Lev 23:21 might influence col. 19:7–8. The Sabbath regulations are found in CD 10:14–11:18a and Jub. 1:10. Leviticus 16:31 declares that the Sabbath is a statute forever (הַיָּמִשׁ שָׁבָת). Though Exodus and Leviticus both share this expression, Lev 16:31 has very clear instructions that the statute lasts forever (סְפַרְקָם). The following example contains similar use of phrasing and ideas and it is based upon my own use of electronic search facilities.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lev 23:21</th>
<th>11QTa 19:7b–8 (cf. 17:3)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>המֶלֹךְ תְּבֹא בָּעֵבֶר</td>
<td>[תָּמֵא הַיָּמִשׁ שָׁבָת] 7b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>מַגְּלָה חוֹדוֹת שָׁבָתָּהּ</td>
<td>[מַגְּלָה חוֹדוֹת שָׁבָתָּהּ] 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>לֹא יָמְרוּ בָּעָלָם</td>
<td>לֹא יָמְרוּ בָּעָלָם</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>This is a holy convocation; you shall not work at your occupations. This is a statute for ever in all your settlements throughout your generation. They shall do no work.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


generations.

11QT\textsuperscript{a} 19:7b–8 paraphrases Lev 23:21 to describe regulations on the Sabbath. The structure and contents of Lev 23:12–19\textsuperscript{88} heavily influence cols. 18:2–12; 19:13, with a few changes.\textsuperscript{89} In lines 10–13, no direct biblical passages explicitly link the day of the Waving of the Sheaf that is to take place fifty days earlier than the sin offering with any produce of the field. However, the redactor of the Temple Scroll prescribes a scale of sacrifices for the sheaf—waving to be commensurate with a major feast.\textsuperscript{90} A wave-offering (תָּרְפִּים), which is mentioned in col. 18:12, is often used in one of two ways: Leviticus refers to an animal or a harvest offering, and Numbers refers to the Levites (Num 8:11). In addition, the author of the Temple Scroll echoes the Sabbath regulations “seven weeks, seven full weeks” (שבשה שבועות семь שבועות ממאתה) col. 19:12; cf. cols. 18:11–12; 19:12–13) from Lev 23:15. The expression “and from the day after the Sabbath, seven weeks” (שבת שבועות семь ושבועות) is found only in Lev 23:15.

These examples show that the Temple Scroll uses biblical passages from Leviticus in several ways: in verbal overlaps (for certain laws), in paragraphs (for structure), or in ideology (for what is implicit in the text).

3. Grain offering

The passage on the grain offering in cols. 20:9–14 follows Lev 2:1a–13 with respect to its purpose and procedure. Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers describe grain offerings, but Lev 2:1a–13 is the base text for col. 20:9–14 because the author of the

---

\textsuperscript{88} Yadin also observes that Lev 23:12–14 seems to influence the author of the Temple Scroll, at least the imagery of: a) waving the sheaf from the first fruit of the harvest (without designating the type), b) sacrificing a male lamb without blemish, c) the ban on eating either bread or parched or fresh grain “until this same day,” and d) it is a statute forever. See Yadin, \textit{The Temple Scroll}, 1:101.

\textsuperscript{89} Leviticus 23 seems to influence cols. 17–29. 11QT\textsuperscript{a} 17:6 echoes Lev 23:5 that they keep the Passover to the Lord. The offering from Lev 23:38 also influences 11QT 29:5–6. The Law for Atonement in the Temple Scroll (25:10–27:10) is influenced by Lev 16, 23 and Num 29.

\textsuperscript{90} Yadin, \textit{Temple Scroll} 1, 89.
Temple Scroll closely follows the order of the grain offering from this text. Numbers 5:15 does not agree with Lev 2:1b–2 because Num 5:15 states that the participant should not pour oil and frankincense on the offering, while Lev 2:1b–2 encourages pouring oil and frankincense; the author of the Temple Scroll follows Lev 2:1b–2 in col. 20:10–11.

Lev 2:1a

When anyone presents a *grain-offering* to the Lord

Lev 2:1b–2a

(1b) the worshipper shall pour oil on it, and put frankincense on it, (2) and bring it to Aaron’s sons the priests. After taking from it a handful of the choice flour and oil, with all its frankincense, the priest shall turn this token portion into smoke on the altar (cf. Lev 6:8, 9–10; 9:17)

Lev 2:13b

You shall not omit from your grain-offerings the salt of the covenant with your God

Lev 2:13b–14a

(13b) You are to put salt on all your offerings, never relaxing (14a) [the covenant to use salt, forever.]

The author of the Temple Scroll in col. 20:9–14 selects passages from and follows the order of Lev 2:1–13. Columns 20:9b with its inclusion of “regulations [משנה]” suggests that the author of the Temple Scroll follows the rules from Lev 2:1–13. “from [every Grain offering that is accompanied by frankincense, or else offered dry, they are to take a handful — (11a) the memorial portion—and burn it on the altar.” in col. 20:10–11 agrees with Lev 2:1b–2a, which Lev 2 describes in detail. In col. 20:13–14, the author of the Temple Scroll follows the adding of salt in every offering from Lev 2:13, which is only found in Leviticus. Salt mentioned in Exod 30:35 is defined as “pure and holy” and in Num 18:19 it is referred to...
as a covenant. Thus, the author of the Temple Scroll follows the procedure for grain offerings only from Lev 2:13.

E. Conclusion

In this chapter, I have attempted to show how the book of Leviticus extensively influenced the structure, content, and ideology of the Temple Scroll. I have arranged my argument in three sections which have (1) set out the theological agenda of the Temple Scroll, especially as that is evident in col. 29, (2) described the significant motifs from Leviticus that occur in various places in the scroll, and (3) shown how Leviticus sometimes forms the base text in the composition.

Based on examples and parallels in my discussion above, four conclusions can be drawn. First, the use of the first person singular in Leviticus seems to heavily influence the whole rewriting strategy of the Temple Scroll where the Lord is presented as speaking in the first person singular. “I am YHWH your God” is found frequently in Leviticus, whereas Exodus uses this construction only three times.91 Thus it is reasonable to assume that the compiler of the Temple Scroll has Leviticus in mind.

Second, Lev 26:42 heavily influences 11QT® 29:2–10, a key editorial section of the Temple Scroll. This is made clear when the compiler of the Temple Scroll adapts the covenant with Jacob at Bethel from Lev 26:42 in col. 29:9–10, since this covenant with Jacob is found only in Lev 26:42. Though there are two different scholarly views about this covenant, both sides strongly agree that the Temple Scroll borrowed this key passage from Leviticus. The theology of the reestablishment of the covenant in Lev 26:42 seems to influence the covenant in col. 29:9–10. Inasmuch as the Temple Scroll presents the content of a renewed covenant, Lev 26 plays a key role in naming that covenant. Consequently, the

91 Exodus 6:7; 16:12; 20:2.
theology of the book of Leviticus may be assumed to play a significant, controlling role in the construction and presentation of the ideology and structure of the Temple Scroll.

Third, the Temple Scroll uses motifs from the book of Leviticus, such as cultic practices (11QTa 34:7–15; Lev 1:5–9), placement of lamp and lights (11QTa 9:12–14; Lev 24:2–4), and themes of land and sacrifice (11QTa 51:15, 19–21; Lev 20:24 and 26:1, 11QTa 2:5–8; Lev 3:2–11). These examples show that the author of the Temple Scroll borrows motifs from the book of Leviticus to compose a new text for ritual practices in a pre-eschatological period. For example, col. 34:7b–14 clearly follows the structure and order of Lev 1:5b–9b with minor changes. 11QTa 9:12–14 (‘lamps and light’) borrows the concepts of arranging the lamps and the statement that it should be a statute forever from Lev 24:2–4, again clearly showing the influence of the strict law from Lev 24:2–4.

Finally, I have attempted to show how some passages from Leviticus serve as a base text for the Temple Scroll. One section of the purity laws in 11QTa 48:3–51:2, that is col. 48:3–5a, heavily depends on Lev 11:21–22, and other passages in col. 48:3–51:2 follow the structure, words, or expressions of Leviticus very closely. The purity laws from Leviticus and its emphasis on the theme of holiness (Lev 19:2) are especially evident in the Temple Scroll, even though the compiler had a choice of concepts from other Pentateuchal books. The many passages from Leviticus imply that the compilers of some of the sources and the final editors of the Temple Scroll may have had the complete book of Leviticus in mind.
Chapter V. Leviticus in the Damascus Document

A. Introduction

In this chapter, I will attempt to establish that the book of Leviticus influences the composition of the Damascus Document (D). The laws and regulations in Leviticus are reflected frequently and consistently throughout D.¹ My arguments are organized as follows: In section A, I will briefly describe the basic information presented in D; in second B.1, I will discuss the use of Leviticus in the structure of D; in section B.2, I will discuss parallel passages from D and Leviticus in order to argue that Levitical themes influence the Damascus Document.

The Cairo Genizah copies of the Damascus Document (CD) have drawn worldwide scholarly attention before and after the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls in the 1940s and 1950s. The two mediaeval manuscripts from Cairo are usually referred to as manuscripts A and B. These two manuscripts are divided into Admonitions (CD 1–8 [19–20]) and Laws (CD 9–16).² Manuscript A is the older (tenth century CE) and longer of the two manuscripts, while MS B dates from the twelfth century CE.³ There is a partial overlap between the two texts; however, there are also significant differences between the two (e.g., major differences can be found between MS A 7:4–8:2 and MS B 19:1–14).⁴ Brooke suggests that the text was motivated over the years by differences in messianic beliefs

manifested in each of the versions and that MS B, in which only one messianic figure is mentioned, is more original (“the Messiah of Aaron and Israel”).

The laws in D can be divided into legal rulings for all Israel and regulations governing life in the specific community, which is different from the Temple Scroll in which the text does not refer to a specific community or group. Maxine Grossman states, “They have conflicts with certain other Jewish groups, who fail to understand scripture appropriately, and whose standing in God’s world is problematic. And they are in expectation of a significant and immediate change in the state of the world.” In support of Grossman’s position, it appears that the author of D reuses the Torah to create the New Covenant community in the land of Damascus (CD 6:19), and there is evidence that this author uses Leviticus significantly to write part of the composition, especially some of the legal materials.

After the legal section, D continues with the community rules (CD 12:22–14:19) and the penal code (CD 14:18b–22; 4QD). According to Hempel, this penal code was

---

influenced by the community of the Yahad from the beginning.9 Schiffman suggests that
the penal code was intended to be read to potential candidates as part of the training for
their membership in the community so that new members would understand its
significance when they were being sworn in.10

It is clear that the full publication of the 4QD fragments must be used to analyse the
literary construction of D as a whole.11 In this chapter, I will include 4QD, 5QD, and 6QD
manuscripts, but the main focus will be on CD, since CD closely reflects the other three
documents. Before going into more detail, I will introduce three examples from Leviticus
that the compiler uses in significant ways throughout the composition of D.

First, several expressions suggest that D uses Leviticus to develop a particular view
of its community. For example, the expression יָדוֹת, used three times in CD (1:1, 2:1
and 2:14 and also in 4QD12), occurs in the Hebrew Bible in the singular.13 However, D
uses the plural imperative form of יָדוֹת to refer to certain groups instead of to an
individual. The following example contains similar use of phrasing and ideas, based upon
my own use of electronic search search instruments, showing how Lev 26 is reminiscent of
the conditional commands in CD 1:1, 2; 2:14; 20:32b–33a.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lev 26:14</th>
<th>CD 1:1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>בְּכָל־מַעֲמֹּק אָנָּה לֻּלֻּלֶּכֶת לָלַטִּיט לֵאָל לֹא יַעֲמֹּק אָנָּה</td>
<td>רֹאֵשׁ וָסְדֵּי קְרִיִּים וָסְדֵּי מָחָרָה וָסְדֵּי יָדוֹת לֻּלֻּלֶּכֶת לֵאָל יַעֲמֹּק אָנָּה</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>But if you will not obey me, and do not</td>
<td>So listen, all you who recognize</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

10 Lawrence H. Schiffman, *Sectarian Law in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Courts, Testimony, and the
12 In CD, three exhortations are found: description of the covenant (1:1–24), uncovering the path of
the wicked (2:2), and the deeds of God (2:14) by recounting forefathers’ history. See William Loader, *The
Dead Sea Scrolls on Sexuality: Attitudes toward Sexuality in Sectarian and Related Literature at Qumran*
(Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2009), 95–96; Dionysia A. van Beek, “A Temple Built of Words: Exploring
13 Cf. 1 Sam 8:9; Isa 44:1; Amos 7:16; Jer 37:20; Dan 9:17. Even Exodus uses only the imperative
of יָדוֹת in the singular form.
observe all these commandments, righteousness, and consider the deeds of

Lev 26:18a

And if in spite of this you will not obey me

Lev 26:21a

If you continue hostile to me, and will not obey me

Lev 26:27a

But if, despite this, you disobey me

CD 1:2

CD 2:14

CD 20:32b–33a

The warning from Lev 26 has been applied to the beginning and ending of CD with a command to listen to the New Covenant (CD 1:1; 20:32b–33a).

CD 1:2

CD 2:14

CD 20:32b–33a

Though the compiler of D does not use exact expressions from Lev 26, passages in CD 1:1, 1:2, 2:14 truly echo the warning in Lev 26. It seems that the author of D keeps Lev 26 in mind to compose its text since D begins with a command to listen to all the new laws. The use of שמע strongly echoes the threatening language of Lev 26:18a, 21a, 27a, where שמע is used in the plural.

This shows clearly that the language of warning in Lev 26 influences D.

A second example of D’s use of Leviticus can be seen in the regulations concerning the period for purification. In 4QD⁶ 6ii. 5, there is mention of “on the eighth day” (יומ השהני) and “on the eighth day” (יומ השהני). These time periods are similar to Lev 15:14, which employs the expression “on the eighth day” (יומ השהני). In 4QD⁵, the authors use a seven-day time period for becoming clean, found in Lev 15:14. It is on the

eighth day that the priests are considered to be clean and then able to enter the sanctuary and the tent in D. Thus, we see that the D fragments depend upon Leviticus’ time period to be clean.\textsuperscript{15}

A third example is the well-known influence of Leviticus on the legal passages in the 4QD fragments. In particular, Lev 19:17–18 is found in the 4QD fragments, as is shown below (cf. CD 9:2–8b). Aharon Shemesh suggests “this particular ordering of the laws in CD 9:2–8 is due to the dual source of the law of the talebearer: Lev 19:16 and 27:29.”\textsuperscript{16} The example below shows how 4QD\textsuperscript{e} 8ii:10 and 4QD\textsuperscript{e} 6iii:17 (CD 9:2–8) significantly uses Lev 19:17–18 which contains verbal overlaps and similar use of phrasing and ideas.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lev 19:18a</th>
<th>4QD\textsuperscript{e} 8ii:10</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>You shall not take vengeance or bear a grudge against any of your people</td>
<td>Take no vengeance and bear no grudge against your kin folk</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lev 19:17</th>
<th>4QD\textsuperscript{e} 9i:3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>You shall not hate in your heart anyone of your kin; you shall reprove your neighbour, or you will incur guilt yourself.</td>
<td>[You (CD 9:8) shall reprove your fellow and not bear] the sin [yourself]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


As has been shown, 4QD⁴ 8ii:10 and 4QD⁵ 6iii:17, reflect Lev 19:18 in its ideology, order, and content. In this example, we see that because God knows the actual problem that exists, God can therefore avenge. However, it is not permitted for human beings to retaliate.¹⁷

These examples lead to a discussion of the use of Leviticus in D in greater detail.

B. The Use of Leviticus in D

1. Structure of D and Lev 26

a. Preliminary Comments

I have developed my view of the structure and contents of D by considering Joseph Fitzmyer’s proposed outline of the Damascus Document (CD, 4QD, 5QD, and 6QD)¹⁸ and the material subsequently published by Joseph Baumgarten in DJD XVIII.¹⁹ Both Fitzmyer and Baumgarten identified several uses of Leviticus in D. In addition, I have used electronic search facilities to identify further phraseology from Leviticus that seems to indicate that the Damascus Document as a whole was widely influenced by the book.²⁰

That influence can be seen in the overall structure of D, particularly in the way in which there are allusions to Lev 26 in several key passages of the composition. However, the influence is also strong in the choice of topics in the various sections of D and in how the discussion of these topics is phrased.

I have not included all allusions to Leviticus in the outline below because many are insignificant and do not directly affect the findings of this chapter. The outline below is not

---


¹⁹ Baumgarten, *DJD* XVIII, 1–199. I have especially referred to the outline for all the D manuscripts on pp. 3–5.

²⁰ I have used word search in Accordance Bible software for one word, two words, and three or more words that can be found in Leviticus and D.
an attempt at providing a definitive structure of some notionally reconstructed Damascus Document, but is a tentative list of the key uses of Levitical words, expressions, and ideology in D, arranged under headings suggested by the running content of D. The result is not a definitive structural outline but is a useful tool for seeing the richness of the use of selected passages from Leviticus in parts of D and the overall influence of Leviticus on D’s ideology. Maxine Grossman asserts:

But the evidence of Damascus Document cannot be taken as a straightforward or transparent reflection of historical reality. Rather, the text reflects an ideological stance—a selective reading of scripture, a specific understanding of communal identity, and a programmatic view of history—and the righteous covenant community of the text must be recognized, similarly, as an ideological construct.\(^{21}\)

Various texts in D rely upon Levitical passages, which indicate the author was dependent upon and engaged with Leviticus and its ideology. The outline illustrates the significant number of passages in Leviticus that influence D. Some of the uses of Leviticus are clear verbal overlaps, while others are similar uses of phrasing and ideas. The important point is that D uses most of Lev 26, which will become evident in my argument below; allusions to Lev 26 are indicated in bold in the following structural outline.

b. Structural Outline (4QD\(^{a-b}\); 5QD; 6QD; CD A-B)

I. Introductory Columns in 4QD texts (not in CD)

II. God’s Saving Plan in History: the Admonition (based mainly on CD)

A. Introduction

1. Meditation on the Lessons from History (CD 1:1–2:1)
   
   CD 1:1; 2:2; 2:14 / Lev 26:14, 18, 21, 27
   
   CD 1:3 / Lev 26:40
   
   CD 1:4, 17; 7:13; 19:10, 13 / Lev 26:25, 45
   
   
   CD 1:8 / Lev 20:24; 26:39 [4QD\(^{a} 2i:12 / Lev 20:24, 25:46\]
   
   CD 1:18 / Lev 26:25 [4QD\(^{b} 2i:21\]

---

2. Predestination of the Upright and the Wicked (2:2–13)
   CD 2:6 / Lev 19:31
   CD 2:18, 21 / Lev 26:3

3. Second Meditation on the Lesson from History (2:14–4:12a)
   CD 3:7–15 / Lev 18:5; 26:14, 18, 27, 33
   CD 3:7 / Lev 20:24
   CD 3:10, 13 / Lev 26:3, 33–34

   1. CD 4:17 / Lev 20–21.
   2. CD 4:17 / Lev 25:37
   3. CD 4:18 / Lev 20:3; 26:2.

C. The Community of the New Covenant (6:12–7:9a [6Q15 3:5=CD 6:2b; 6Q15 4:1–4=CD 5:13–14; 6QD15 3:1–5a= CD 5:18; 6:2a])
   1. The Expected Life to Enter the Sect and Marriage (6:12–7:9) CD 6:2 / Lev 26:45
      CD 6:5 / Lev 26:43 [4QD* 3ii:12; 4QD* 2:7 / Lev 26:42, 43, 45]
      CD 6:18 / Lev 23:11; 23:15, 16; 24:8
      CD 6:19 / Lev 23:11, 15, 16; 24:8 [4QD* 3ii.23]
      CD 6:20 / Lev 16:20; 22:14
      CD 6:20 / Lev 19: 18
   2. Diverse Fates of those Who are Faithful to the Covenant and of those Who are Apostates (7:9b–8:21 [= (ms. B) 19:5b–34])
      CD 7:9 / Lev 26:15
      CD 8:2, 5–6; 9:1; 19:18 / Lev 19:17–18; 26:46; 27:29
   3. Conclusion (CD 19:35–20:34)
      CD 19:4–6, 13 / Lev 26:14–15, 25, 40; 27:16
      CD 20:18 / Lev 25:14 [4QD* 3:3 / Lev 17:10; 20:3, 6, 18]
      CD 20:29 / Lev 26:45

III. 4QD Prescriptions (not in CD)
   4QD* 6i:9 / Lev 13:33
   4QD* 6i:13 / Lev 13:12; 13:13; 14:3, 7, 54, 57
   4QD* 6ii:4 / Lev 15:14, 29; 23:36, 39
   4QD* 6ii:9 / Lev 22:10
   4QD* 8ii:10 / Lev 19:18
   4QD* 8ii:9 / Lev 14:8; 16:26, 28

A. Rules for Entrance into the Covenant and for Oaths (15:1–16:16)
   1. Oaths
   2. Regulations within the Community (9:1–10:10a; 5QD)
      CD 9:8b–16a [5Q12 1:3–5=CD 9:8b–10]
      CD 9:16b–10:3
      CD 10:4–10a
   3. Rites to be Observed in the Community (10:10b–12:18)
      CD 10:10b–13
CD 10:14–11:18a [4QD³ 3ii:24 / Lev 23:3]
CD 11:17–18 / Lev 23:38
CD 11:18b–12:11a [cf. 6Q15 5:1–5]
CD 12:11–18 / Lev 20:25
CD 12:15b–17a / Lev 22:4–6

B. The Organization of the Community (12:19–14:19)

1. Community
2. The Penal Code (14:20–22)
   CD 14:4–6, 13–15 / Lev 19:9, 33
3. Liturgy for the Feast of the Renewal of the Covenant [4Q columns]

V. Conclusion (not in CD)
   4QD³ 11:3–4, 5 / Lev 26:15, 31, 43
   4QD³ 11:7 / Lev 26:11, 15, 30, 43.

C. Analysis of the Structural Outline

i) General Comments

The majority of Levitical passages are found in the Admonition section, CD 1–8
and 19–20; some of the allusions are found in the Law section, 15–16, 9–14.²² The above
structural outline illustrates D’s dependence upon Leviticus, especially Lev 17–26, which
dominates its contents.²³ As Eibert Tigchelaar says, “the influence of Leviticus 26 on the
Damascus Documents is apparent in quotations, all allusions, and use of the same
vocabulary.”²⁴

The influence of Lev 26 on D is evident in its structure, as illustrated in the outline,
and in its themes. Leviticus 26 has particularly influenced the historical section of D (CD

²² Eibert Tigchelaar, “The Cave 4 Damascus Document Manuscripts,” in The Bible as Book: The
Hebrew Bible and the Judean Desert Discoveries, ed. Edward D. Herbert and Emanuel Tov (London: The
²³ According to Philip Davies, the structure of CD has not been understood due to the lack of “the
boundaries of source-material or redactional sub-divisions in the Admonition, or explain how it grew into its
present form.” However, the structural outline in this section should be able at least to help see the influence
of the structural formation of Leviticus in D. See Philip R Davies, The Damascus Document Covenant: An
Interpretation of the “Damascus Document,” JSOTSup 25 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1982), 49;
Jonathan G. Campbell, The Use of Scripture in the Damascus Document 1–8, 19–20, BZAW 228 (Berlin: de
Composite Citations in Antiquity: Jewish, Graeco-Roman, and Early Christian Uses, ed. Sean A. Adams and
Seth M. Ehron, LNTS 525 (London: Bloomsbury, 2016), 92–118.
1:1–2:1). It seems the author of D already has Leviticus in mind while constructing the various sections of D. Leviticus 26 is shown in the historical section (CD 1:1–2:1; 3:7), the community of the new covenant (CD 6:2), covenantal life (4QD 4 2i:21, 4QD 11.4), and the conclusion (CD 19:3).

As section II.A.1 shows, the warning with the “sword” in Lev 26:25 heavily influences the beginning and ending of CD A–B. The compiler of D seems to take this expression and uses it throughout the composition to remind the reader of the warning from Lev 26. Bilhah Nitzan notes, “Qumran writings deal not only with the theoretical idea of repentance, but also with those activities in which the men of the Community are to realize repentance in daily life.”

The ideology of repentance and judgement of Lev 26:25 is applied in D.

As sections II.C.3 shows, the covenant from Lev 26 was probably part of the basis for developing the New Covenant idea in D (CD 20:12. Cf. Jer 31:31), namely, that the purposes of the religious elite are to exegete the meaning of the laws and encourage the laws to be written on the hearts of the members of their community.

The ideology of the covenant in Lev 26 was developed to become the New Covenant. Dwight Swanson argues, “Even in CD the term ‘new covenant’ should not be limited in reference to a narrow frame of reference, i.e., internal fractions in the Damascus Document, but be seen to be part of a larger difference of opinion within Judaism regarding covenant renewal.”


26 The New Covenant urges all Israelites to obey the commands but only people who enter the group with an oath would have an opportunity to learn the covenant. Once they entered the group, they were required to learn it with all their heart and soul (CD 15:7–9). See Hultgren, From the Damascus Covenant, 77–140; Robert Eisenman, “An Esoteric Relation Between Qumran’s ‘New Covenant in the Land of Damascus’ and The New Testament ‘Cup of The New Covenant in (His) Blood?’” RevQ 83 (2004): 439–56.

Second, various themes from Leviticus seem to contribute to the composition of D. Levitical themes such as the patriarchs, Sabbath, land, and three Nets of Belial are found in D. Not all of these examples are discussed with verbal overlaps, but the compiler of D seems to use Levitical words, expressions, or ideology throughout the composition. In the examples which I will discuss below, there are instances of verbal overlaps but also examples that reflect the ideology of Leviticus. The frequent mention of the theme of the patriarchs is evident in II.A.1. The expression “the covenant of forefathers” in CD 1:4 is found in Lev 26:45 and Jer 11:10.28

Sections II.A, IV.A.3, and IV.B describe Sabbath regulations (also extant in 4QD*). The regulations about the Sabbath in D depend on the explanation provided in Leviticus. For example, Lev 23:38 mentions a specific time period for the Sabbath, which seems to influence 4QD* 3ii:24, “…the Sabbath day according to specification and holidays…” and CD 10:14, “About the Sa[bb]ath, how to keep it properly.”

Leviticus describes the land as inherited from God and as desolate. D relies on the Levitical understanding of land and its blessing and fruits shown in section II.A.1 (CD 1:8) and as desolate due to disobedience of the Lord’s commands in section II.A.3 (CD 3:10).

The Three Nets of Belial (CD 4:12–5:15) in the Admonition Section (II.B) are fornication, wealth, and polluting the sanctuary, concepts that are explained according to the interpretation of Leviticus.29 Cumulatively, the book of Leviticus heavily controls and influences the compiler of D.

ii) Leviticus 26 as a Major Influence in D

28 Jeremiah 11:10, “They have turned their back to the iniquities of their forefathers, who refused to hear my words…” In Jer 11:10; however, it is not related to the covenant of the forefathers that the Lord remembered.
Leviticus 26 is important to the overall structure of D in addition to themes concerning covenant, holiness, and other topics, and it borrows from Lev 26 both at the beginning and the end of the account. The language of warning of Lev 26 is reflected in CD 1:1–3; 2:2; 2:14. George Brooke notes, “in CD 1, 3–4 there are allusions both to Lev 26:40 with its characteristic use of M’L, ‘to be unfaithful,’ and to Lev 26:42 and 45 with their highly distinctive language of ZKR BRYT, ‘remembering the covenant’ (cf. CD VI, 2).”

Warning, disobedience, and punishment from Lev 26 are also reflected in 19–20. John Kessler suggests, “Leviticus 26 presents a very conflicted view of the nation’s capacity to respond. Its heart is described as proud, uncircumcised and in need of radical change.” The basis for the composition of D may have been the warning and consequences presented in Lev 26. I find Stephen Hultgren’s opinion persuasive:

This chapter of Leviticus ends the so-called Holiness Code (Lev 17–26), the laws of which feature prominently in the precepts of D … Thus it is not a surprise that allusions to Lev 26, the chapter that stands at the very end of the Holiness Code and outlines the consequences of obedience and disobedience to the covenant, should give structure to CD VII:9–VIII:12 (and XIX:5b-25a), which follows closely on VI:1:1b-VII: 4a and also stands at the end of its document (or rather its part of the document, the admonition), outlining the consequences of obedience and disobedience to the covenant.

However, as my structural outline shows, Lev 26 influences not only particular sections of D but also the entire structure of D.

---

32 See section II and IV in the structural outline. CD begins with, “now listen” in CD 1:1 and ends with disobedience in CD 20:29, and restoration in CD 20:34.
In this section, I will look more closely at the use of Lev 26 and its influence on the structure of D.35 The section on punishment in Lev 26:14–45 is twice as long as the section on reward in Lev 26:3–13, also evident in the structure of CD in its beginning and ending.36 The themes of warning and references to the forefathers in Lev 26 also seem to heavily influence the structure of D.37

First, D relies upon the theme of sword and enemy from Lev 26:25 throughout the document.38 In Lev 26:25, God is the one who will bring a sword when the Israelites disobey the command and the punishment will be to deliver them into the hand of the enemy. D does not use the term “enemy” but does use “sword,” a term related to forsaking the covenant, throughout the text.39

Lev 26:25

For when Israel abandoned Him by being faithless, He turned away from Israel and from His sanctuary and gave them up to the sword.

CD 1:17 (4QD 2 i:21)

For the curse of his covenant took hold on them, because of this they were handed over to the sword.

CD 3:10b–11a

And so were handed over to the sword because they abandoned the covenant of God,

---

35 See section I. B, II. A. 1. and section IV in the structural outline.
36 Cf. CD 1:3–4, 3:7–8, 6:2, 7:13 // Lev 26:14, 18, 21, 27.
37 See section II. A. 1. in the structural outline.
CD 7:13
All who backslid were handed over to the sword (cf. CD 8:1)

CD 19:10
But all the rest will be handed over to the sword

CD 19:13
But the rest were given to the sword that makes retaliation for covenant violations

The warning and punishment for not honouring God’s covenant in Lev 26:25 is reflected in the structure of D in the use of the term “sword” in CD 1 and CD 19. CD 20 goes on to assert that the disobedience to the covenant is a consequence of not heeding the warning in Lev 26. Hultgren notes:

Lev 26:15–15 and 26:25 … speak of the consequences of the breach of the covenant (see Lev 26:15). That speaks for the fundamental and original unity of the whole of the section VII, 9–VIII, 12 (with XIX, 5b–25a). I contend that Lev 26:25 is the primary source for the motif of the “sword” that features so prominently in the midrash.40

The phrase in CD 1:4, “and gave them up to the sword” (ויהוה לחריה) is similar to Lev 26:7–8, which states “and they shall fall before you by the sword” (ויהוה לאפקים לחריה), “and your enemies shall fall before you by the sword” (ויהוה לאפקים לחריה).

Second, the compiler of D adapted the ideology of the Israelites’ unfaithfulness to the covenant from Lev 26 in the composition of D, shown in CD 1:4b–5a; 6:2 and 20:29.

Lev 26:9
I will look with favour upon you and make you fruitful and multiply you; and I will maintain my covenant with you.

CD 1:4b–5a
But when He called to mind the covenant He made with their forefathers, He left a remnant (5a) for Israel and did not allow them to be exterminated

CD 3:13
Moroha λασάνεια ἐν ὀφελό

40 Hultgren, From the Damascus Covenant, 32.
But if they confess their iniquity and the iniquity of their ancestors, in that they committed treachery against me and, moreover, that they continued hostile to me

Lev 26:44

אַלּוּ בְּעָם כָּלְכָלָה סְלָמָה אֲרוֹם אֲלוֹהָם
לא מָאָסְתַּה לְמַעַלְכָלָה לְכָלָה
ךָרָהֵם אֵלֵּה כָּלְכָלָה אֲלוֹהָם

Yet for all that, when they are in the land of their enemies, I will not spurn them, or abhor them so as to destroy them utterly and break my covenant with them; for I am the Lord their God

Lev 26:45

וְויָהֲלֵם לְדַנְיָהּ רַחֵם יָרֵאָהָם אֲלוֹהָם לְכָלָה
מְלַכָּה מְשֲכָהָם חָיוֹת לְכָלָה
לְאֲלוֹהָם אֵלֵּהּ

but I will remember in their favour the covenant with their forefathers whom I brought out of the land of Egypt in the sight of the nations, to be their God: I am the Lord.

The covenant with the patriarch in Lev 26:9, 42 is reflected in CD 1:4; the will of the Lord for the remnant in Lev 26:44 is reflected in CD 1:5a (cf. 2:11–12; 3:12f). God left the remnant and “with this remnant He made his Covenant with Israel forever, revealing to them the hidden things in which all Israel had gone astray.” 41 Remembering the covenant by God in Lev 26:42 is a key passage for the ideology of the remnant in CD 1:4 that implies God is the one who established the covenant with Israel forever (CD 3:13). CD 1:4 simply mentions that he remembered the covenant without including detailed information that can be found in Lev 26:42, 45. 42 In addition, Lev 26:40 is reflected in CD 20:29.


The unfaithfulness of the forefathers to the covenant from Lev 26 is apparent in both CD 1 and CD 19. This example contains similar use of phrasing and ideas.

Lev 26:15

if you spurn my statutes, and abhor my ordinances, so that you will not observe all my commandments, and you break my covenant

Lev 26:25

I will bring the sword against you, executing vengeance for the covenant; and if you withdraw within your cities, I will send pestilence among you, and you shall be delivered into enemy hands

CD 1:20 (4QD 2i:23)

Violated the covenant, broke the precept, banded together against the life of the just man, their soul abominated all those who walk

CD 19:13a

But those who remained were delivered up to the sword, which carries out the vengeance of the covenant.

The warning of future violation of the covenant in Lev 26:15 and 25 is reflected in CD 1:20 and 19:13a. The cursing in CD 19:5–6 echoes the cursing in Lev 26 and relies upon its description of the result of disobedience to the covenant. Jonathan Campbell asserts that “we can be sure that allusion to Lev 26 informs CD at this point, because that scriptural passage reappears as the source of numerous other phrases in CD, as well as of a more general story-line important for our author.” It is clear that Lev 26 is reflected in CD 1:1–21. All of these examples indicate that Lev 26 influences more than merely the beginning section of CD; it is the key text for the structure, content, and ideology of D.

2. The Themes of Leviticus in D

The purpose of the Damascus Document is to provide a correct interpretation of the Torah to Israel, because D seems to understand that disobedience was not merely wilful

---

45 Campbell, *Use of Scripture*, 31.
but also partly caused by misunderstanding the Torah (CD 6:4–11). Its texts depend upon Levitical themes—patriarchs, Sabbath, land, and the Three Nets of Belial—for its composition. The use of these themes is shown in the structural outline in section B.1.b.

a. Patriarchs and Covenant

The theme of the patriarchs, which is described in Lev 26:42, is central to D. The covenant with the forefathers, their disobedience, and repentance in Lev 26 are reflected in both the beginning and end in D. Hultgren notes that “in Lev 26:42–45 God promises that even if Israel should fall into disobedience and be scattered among nations, God will remember his covenant ‘to be their God.’” The next example contains verbal overlaps, based upon my use of electronic search instruments that show the use of Leviticus as highly influential with respect to the theme of covenant.

Lev 26:42

Then **will I remember my covenant with Jacob; I will remember also my covenant with Isaac and also my covenant with Abraham**, and I will remember the land.

Lev 26:45

But **will I remember in their favour the covenant with their forefathers** whom I brought out of the land of Egypt in the sight of the nations, to be their God: I am the Lord.

4Q4D 4:3 (4Q4D 2:9)

But **God remembered the covenant of the forefathers**

CD 1:4 (4Q4D 2:9)

But when **He called to mind the covenant He made with their forefathers**

CD 6:2a

But **God called to mind the covenant of the forefathers**

CD 20:17

Reproaches in justices. But those who repent of the sin of **Jacob have kept God’s covenant**.

---

47 Nitzan, “Repentance in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years*, 144–70, esp. 157; Loader, *The Dead Sea Scrolls on Sexuality*, 83. (Cf. MMT C 26–30.)

Leviticus 26:42 and 45 are reflected in 4QD\textsuperscript{4} 4i:3; CD 1:4, 6:2a, 20:17. In most biblical passages in the Torah, such as Lev 26:45 and Jer 11:10, “אֲבָאֹבּ” is understood as “forefathers.” In these two examples of the use of the term “forefathers” in biblical passages, it is Lev 26:45 that uses the phrase, “the covenant of the forefathers,” mirrored in several places in D. In addition to relying on Lev 26, D develops the patriarchal theme from Abraham to the sons of Jacob, as shown below:

\[
\text{יְהוָה יַעֲבֹרֶנָּהּ} \quad \text{לָא} \quad \text{לְאֶתְכֶם} \quad \text{רְשָׁמוֹ} \quad \text{אֲבָאֹבּ} \quad \text{CD 3:3b}
\]
\[
\text{לָא} \quad \text{תַּחְתֵּל} \quad 
\text{רְשָׁמוֹ} \quad \text{אֲבָאֹבּ} \quad \text{CD 3:4a}
\]

(3b) And he passed them on to Isaac and to Jacob and they too observed them. They too were recorded as friends (4a) of God and eternal partners in the covenant.

D describes patriarchs as those who kept the covenant according to the correct calendar, relying on the Levitical calculation.\textsuperscript{49} The warning in Lev 26 simply implies not only God’s covenant, but also a request to the Israelites to return to the Lord. CD 20 contains the themes of transgression, repentance, return, and restoration found in Lev 26 in relation to the covenant of patriarchs, which is constantly repeated throughout D. The covenant with patriarchs in Lev 26 controls the compiler of D to such an extent that CD assimilates the covenant with the patriarchs from beginning to end.

b. Sabbath and Land

This section considers the themes of Sabbath and land together because proper observance of the Sabbath was considered necessary for the return to the land.\textsuperscript{50} First, D


\textsuperscript{50} Exodus 31:15 and Deut 5:14 mention that the seventh day is the Sabbath. However, Leviticus provides more information, calculating its date for the Sabbath, which seems to have influenced the Sabbath theme in D. See Cana Werman, “CD XI:17: Apart from Your Sabbaths,” in \textit{The Damascus Document a Centennial of Discovery: Proceedings of the Third International Symposium of the Orion Center for the

For six days shall work be done; but the seventh day is a sabbath of complete rest, a holy convocation.

It shall be to you a sabbath of complete rest, and you shall deny yourselves; on the ninth day of the month at evening, from evening to evening you shall keep your sabbath.

CD 6:18a (4QD\textsuperscript{a} 3ii:24) makes a firm statement: “they must keep the Sabbath day according to specification and the holy days,” without mentioning how. Leviticus 23:3 and 23:32 provide the information for calculating the right date for the Sabbath (cf. Lev 23:15–16, 23).\footnote{CD 10:18–23 describes the detailed rules for speaking, court proceedings, discussion, activity, travel, eating, and drinking on the Sabbath day. The rules of Sabbath in D are not related to polluting the altar by presenting an offering while being unclean (CD 11:19–20). See Weyde, Appointed Festivals of YHWH, 11–17.} Wassen comments that the Sabbath Code provides a rigorous interpretation of the commandments to abstain from work on the seventh day (Exod 20:8; 31:12–17).\footnote{Jubilees 6:20–22 and 11QTh\textsuperscript{a} 19:9 share a similar idea, which implies that these two texts might share a common source. The sectarian Halakah is used as a primary source of conceptual inspiration for these laws. See David Henske, “‘The Day after the Sabbath’ (Lev 23:15): Traces and Origin of an Inter-Sectarian Polemic,” DSD 15 (Leiden: Brill, 2008): 225–47, esp. 232.} However, D seems to be more reliant on Leviticus when it comes to the detailed lists relating to the Sabbath.

\footnote{Wassen, Women in the Damascus Document, 93. The theme of the Sabbath is significant in both Exodus and Leviticus. Exodus warns of death when speaking about the Sabbath, while Leviticus is concerned with land. D seems to be influenced by the Sabbath in Leviticus rather than Exodus because D does not include death when the Sabbath law is broken. D is more concerned with the detailed information about the Sabbath because the purpose of D is to interpret the laws correctly to help the people listen to and obey the laws in the D community.}
Without Leviticus as a guide, it seems difficult to keep the Sabbath day, according to specification and the holy days. CD follows the injunction in Lev 23:3 that no one should work on the Sabbath, and it extends the ruling further with many lists to help Israel understand the precise way they were to keep it. CD seems to be stricter on the Sabbath laws because of a concern that the remnant may pollute their spirit once again.

Second, D fragments employ the ideology of land from Leviticus, particularly the theme that the Lord bequeathed his land (Lev 23:10; 25:2), which is reflected in CD 1:7–8. The laws in CD imply that the covenant of the forefathers brought the remnant back and allowed them to become the children of the Lord. Since the laws in D could be applied to everyone equally, they were required to follow the commandments, but the anger of the Lord would thus also be applied to all who disobeyed (CD 19:31–33). The example below shows the devastation of their inheritance of God’s land due to their disobedience. The next example shows both verbal overlaps and the similar use of phrasing and ideas.

---

Lev 20:24  
You shall inherit their land, and I will give it to you to possess, a land flowing with milk and honey.

CD 1:7–8a  
(7) He visited them and caused to grow from Israel and from Aaron a root of planting to inherit (8a) His land and to grow fat on the good produce of His soil.

Lev 26:32  
I will devastate the land, so that your enemies who come to settle in it shall be appalled at it (cf. 26:33, your land shall be desolated).

CD 5:21 (4QD<sup>b</sup> 2:5)  
And the land was devastated, for they had spoken rebellion against the commandments of God through Moses.

---

54 Hempel comments that the bulk of this section recalls how past generations brought divine punishment upon themselves by following guilty thoughts and lustful eyes from the generation of the watchers of the exile. See Hempel, Damascus Text, 28.
CD 1:7–8 employs the ideology from Leviticus, particularly that God owned the land and gave it to His people from the beginning. Leviticus 23:2 and 25:2 say that God gave His land to Israel with a covenant and that the land will produce good fruits if they keep the commands—concepts mirrored in CD 1:8. The ideology of God’s judgement on the land for disobedience to the command and covenant in Lev 25 is reflected in CD 5:21, and also found in both CD 1 and 19.

c. Three Nets of Belial

The Damascus Document introduces the Three Nets of Belial in CD 4:15: fornication, wealth, and defiling the sanctuary, which are based on Isa 24:17 and Jer 5:26, 48:43–44. D describes fornication and defilement of the temple in detail (CD 4:19–5:21), themes which are found in Leviticus. Regarding the three-sin pattern in MMT, Hanan notes that the word תָּזֶז (treachery or deceit or evil) with which lists of three cardinal sins opens in MMT, should be interpreted in accord with Lev 5:15–16.” Levitical texts provide detailed information in relation to fornication and defilement of the temple. Devorah Dimant notes:

“Fornication” refers to transgressing the Torah incest laws by unlawful marriages, “wealth” concerns misuse of the temple dedicative gifts and other dues and possession of “wicked wealth,” and “defilement of the temple” is committed by unlawful intercourse with menstrual women.

---


56 MMT C 8–9; Elisha Qimron and John Strugnell, Qumran Cave 4. V. Miqṣat Maʿase Ha-Torah, DJD X (Oxford: Clarendon, 1994), 58–59.

57 Hanan Eshel, Exploring the Dead Sea Scrolls, 38–39.

Forbidden unlawful marriage and defilement of the temple are mentioned in Leviticus in great detail, found mainly in Lev 18 and 21, and the impurity of menstruation is found in various places in Leviticus. As Grossmann notes, “all of human history is a period of wickedness, dominated by Belial and those who are sympathetic to or innocent victims of, his false standards of practice and behavior.”

D relies on the treatment of fornication and defilement of the temple in Leviticus to compose the Nets of Belial, as shown in the comparisons below:

Lev 15:31
Thus you shall keep the people of Israel separate from their uncleanness, so that they do not die in their uncleanness by defiling my tabernacle that is in their midst.

Lev 18:13
You shall not uncover the nakedness of your mother’s sister, for she is your mother’s flesh.

Lev 18:20, 22–23
Thus allowing him to defile the altar

CD 4:17–18a
The first is fornication; the second is wealth; the third is defiling the sanctuary

CD 5:6b–7a
They also defile the sanctuary, for they do not separate clean from unclean according to the Law, and lie with a woman during her menstrual period.

CD 5:9a
The sister of your mother you shall not draw near; she is the flesh of your mother

CD 11:20b
Thus allowing him to defile the altar

---

(20) You shall not have sexual relations with your kinsman’s wife, and defile yourself with her. (22) You shall not lie with a male as with a woman; it is an abomination. (23) You shall not have sexual relations with any animal and defile yourself with it, nor shall any woman give herself to an animal to have sexual relations with it: it is perversion.

The purity law of Leviticus is adapted in D, enjoining its community to maintain purity and holiness. The Two Nets of Belial (defiling sanctuary and fornication in Lev 15:31 and 18:20, 22–23) are reflected in CD 4:17–18a and CD 5:6b–7a. Leviticus 15:31 warns against defiling the tabernacle to preserve purity, which had to be preserved.62 Jacobus Naudé states, “such a concept of holiness is reflected in the community’s daily life of keeping the biblical laws of purity, festivals, etc.”63 CD 5:8–9a reuses the language of Lev 18:13 concerning fornication. The compiler of D made a slight alteration in this example and CD applied the prohibition, “a man to marry his maternal aunt” in Lev 18:13, to apply equally to women.64 D applies the ideology of holiness in Leviticus to the entire community.

The theme of holiness in Leviticus is not limited to the sanctuary itself; it is extended from the sanctuary to the city, also reflected in CD 4:16–17 and CD 12:1–2. In

---


Leviticus, purity regulations, especially for priests, are expanded. Milgrom suggests the requirement for priestly purity and holiness in Lev 21:10–15 is “for the entire lifetime of the high priest and not just for the seven days of his consecration.”

In terms of fornication, CD 5:9a borrows the Law of Moses from Lev 18:13. Leviticus 18:6–18 provides detailed information about sexuality and warns that the land will be desolated if the community does not keep these commands. The understanding of fornication is ambiguous, due to use of the expression הַנַּגְיָה. Having two wives in a lifetime (הַנַּגְיָה) is considered to be fornication as they understand Gen 1:27, but this is also one of the most disputed texts in the copies of CD. The ideology of the Three Nets of Belial is dependent upon Leviticus, especially fornicating and defiling the sanctuary.

Grossman notes:

For this special community, an understanding of collective identity is grounded in the priestly images of the text: from the Zadokite priesthood of Ezekiel (CD 4:3–4), to the Aaronites who are given certain authoritative roles in communal leadership and perhaps a more generalized Levitical priesthood, hinted at in the Levi quotation and the various references to a Levitical presence in the community.

As shown in the outline above, D focuses generally on priestly images from various places in Lev 16–27, the chapters that modern scholarship associates with the Holiness Code (H).

Philip Davies notes, “the collection of laws in CD … cover matters of holiness,

---

66 If this expression is correct, then a man should not remarried. However, many scholars insist that such interpretation is false. A man cannot have another wife while the first one is alive. See J. A. Fitzmyer, “Divorce among First-century Palestinian Jews,” ErIsr 14 (1978): 106–10.
discipline, Sabbath observance and commerce.” The rules for sexuality in Lev 18:6–18 mainly concern men, but CD includes both men and women (CD 5:9–10). “This text utilizes a slight alteration of its normal gender construction as an exegetical tactic that ultimately confirms the passive and secondary role of women with respect to the normative male covenant,” according to Grossman.

CD 5:9a–10 adds the phrase, “But the law of consanguinity is written for males and females alike” (משמעת הערירה לאומרים ואמים נשים), directly from Lev 18:3, extending that law. Sidnie White Crawford argues that the importance of holiness and the purity of the land from Leviticus’ Holiness Code influences CD’s new composition of laws for all Israelites.

In summation, D agrees with Leviticus that the Law of Moses should be obeyed and respected; however, fornication should be considered more seriously. It seems that the author of CD reads Leviticus very closely and applies it carefully to make sure the CD community understands the meaning of fornication well. According to Wassen, the closer reading of Leviticus influences the way CD applies the law to both men and women equally. It appears that D purposely includes men and women in terms of the fornication law because CD 5:10 asserts that fornication causes uncleanness to both men and women and also that it pollutes their spirit (CD 5:11). CD does not describe the second net of wealth but chooses to expand on fornication, which implies that the author of CD seems to have chosen particular laws from Leviticus in order to protect the CD community.


Grossman, Reading for History, 52.


See Wassen, Women in the Damascus Document, 121; Rabin, The Zadokite Documents, 19.

See Wassen, Women in the Damascus Document, 121.
d. Disobedience in General

The instruction to observe and keep God’s commandments in Leviticus appears frequently in D. Part of its purpose in doing so was to establish the New Covenant.\(^\text{75}\) D uses the past tense in various places to remind the Israelites of their disobedience of the commands.

CD 1:1–2 commands all to listen to the deeds of God, CD 2:2–3 calls all members of the covenant to listen to the ways of the wicked, and CD 2:14–15 encourages the children to listen to the deeds of God, especially concerning what pleases God and what God rejects. The compiler of D points out Israelites’ disobedience throughout, shown in the examples below. The following example is based upon my own use of electronic search instruments and offers something new to the discussion of the use of Leviticus in the Scrolls.

Lev 18:4

אֲשֶׁר לֵאמֹר בְּמִצְוֹתָיו אֲשֶׁר הַקּוֹרֶה תְּשִׁיטָה

My ordinances you shall observe and

my statutes you shall keep, following them: I am the Lord your God. (cf. 18:5).

Lev 19:37

וּתְהַקָּרֵב אֶת הָעֵדֶּנֶּה אֶת הָכִלָּה מְפַשֵּׁפֶת

You shall keep all my statutes and all my ordinances, and observe them: I am the Lord.

Lev 23:24

שָׁמַע בָּאֵר לְאָרְפֵּי מִדְּבָּר תָּלֶשֶׁת

Speak to the people of Israel, saying: In

CD 2:18b

אֱשֶׁר לֵאמֹר בְּמִצְוֹתָיו אֲשֶׁר הַקּוֹרֶה תְּשִׁיטָה

For they did not observe the commandments of God.

CD 2:21

וּתְהַקָּרֵב אֶת הָעֵדֶּנֶּה אֶת הָכִלָּה מְפַשֵּׁפֶת

And did not keep the commandments of their Maker, until finally His anger was aroused against them.

CD 3:7b–8a

וּתְהַקָּרֵב אֶת הָעֵדֶּנֶּה אֶת הָכִלָּה מְפַשֵּׁפֶת

(7b) and they did not listen (8a) to their Maker’s voice or the commandments of

---

\(^{75}\) Hempel points out that it lies in the nature of halakhic exposition, of course, that the interpretations arrived at often have different conclusions from the halakhic decisions taken in other groups. See Hempel, *Laws of the Damascus Document*, 72; Hilary Evans Kapfer, “Attitude Toward the Temple as a Test Case,” *DSD* 14 (2007): 152–77.
the seventh month, on the first day of the month, you shall observe a day of complete rest, a holy convocation commemorated with trumpet blasts.

Lev 26:3
CD 19:20a
אַשְׁרֶה בְּשֵׁעַת יָוִם אַשְׁרֶה בְּשֵׁעַת יָוִים
Each man did what was right in his eyes and each one has chosen the stubbornness of his heart (cf. 3:2–3).

If you follow my statutes and keep my commandments and observe them faithfully.

Even though the command to observe God’s commandments is not limited to Leviticus, it is fair to note that the compiler of D kept the Levitical command with its warning in mind. Angela Kim Harkins notes:

There are also spiritually elite individuals who possess a pre-eminence, a “perfect holiness” (טומא תחומי, CD 7:5; 20:7). The complex stratification and internal diversity of the readers and hearers of D indicate scenarios in which individuals move constantly between states of inclusion and exclusion, with the most grievous offenses (via., flagrant crimes committed by long-standing members, CD 14:24) marked as especially deserving of expulsion.76

According to CD, the Sabbath and covenant are not being kept as commanded in Lev 26. Placing these instances of general disobedience in the past tense ties them to themes from Leviticus.

It is true that this section recalls the past generation’s disobedience and its result, but CD 2:14–3:14 more likely explains the past and God’s divine punishment by using increasingly higher judgement. For example, His anger burns (CD 3:9), and then they were handed over to the sword (CD 3:11). We can observe God’s anger (CD 3:8) and judgement (CD 7:9), and how God’s burning anger was applied to the Israelites (CD 8:18b–19). The word “commandments” (้งתאַשְׁרֶה) first appears in CD 2:18 and mainly appears in the Admonition (CD 1–8, 19–20) section. CD 3 includesאסָרִה four times and that word appears in Lev 4:2, 13, 22, 27; 5:17; 22:31, and 27:34. CD includes the same commandments as those found in Leviticus, but Leviticus uses a different writing style.

The word מְנַחֵם in Lev 4:2, 13, 22, 27; 5:17 is used with the conditional clause if. However, it does not refer to the past but is God’s warning for the future generation, if they do not keep the commandments.

C. Conclusion

In this chapter I have argued that the compiler of the Damascus Document uses Leviticus extensively with respect to its structure and themes. In regard to structure as mentioned in the introduction, God’s command to listen in Lev 26 is reflected in CD in both the beginning and the end of the document.

This warning in Lev 26 is consistent throughout the composition of D, as the structural outline shows. The influence of Lev 26 in D is significant in the repeated descriptions of the community’s unfaithfulness and God’s remembering the covenant, as in Lev 26:42. God’s warning against unfaithfulness in Lev 26:26 is found in CD 1:3–4a, 17; 3:10–11; 7:13; 19:13. This confirms the persistent use of Lev 26 throughout D, reminding the readers how important it is to remember and keep the laws. The theme of God’s faithfulness to the covenant in Lev 26 is also found throughout D (cf. CD 1:4b; 3:13; 6:2; 20:29), as is the community’s unfaithfulness to the covenant (CD 1:20; 19:13; 20:29). The promise of God’s restoration from Lev 26 is also found in CD 7:9–8:4a (19:5b-32a).

With regard to themes from Leviticus, I have shown that many passages of D are heavily influenced by Leviticus: patriarchs and covenant, Sabbath and land, Three Nets of Belial, and disobedience in general. Some of the references are verbal overlaps and some are implicit; however, cumulatively Leviticus seems to have been very influential in the composition of D.

The theme of the patriarchs and covenant with the forefathers, their obedience, and God’s faithfulness in Lev 26:42 and 45 is reflected in CD 1:4, 6:2, 20:17. The ideology of
Sabbath and land in Leviticus is also found in CD 6:18 and 10:14, as the compiler of D relies upon themes found in Leviticus, that the land was devastated by the Lord because of disobedience (CD 5:21). Levitical purity laws in relation to fornication and defilement of the temple are found in the Three Nets of Belial in CD 4:15, 4:19–5:21, as it is used in Leviticus. The particular nature of fornication and of defiling the sanctuary treated significantly in Leviticus is reflected in D. Leviticus contains many cultic laws and commands the people were required to keep but were not observing. This disobedience is pointed out in CD 2:18, 2:21; 3:7b–8a, and 19:20.

Overall, Leviticus is a major resource for compiling the Damascus Documents. Leviticus often controls the structure in several significant ways, and the use of its ideology is obvious in the composition of D. The data and research in this chapter, especially concerning Lev 26 and the Holiness Code, show that Leviticus is a major foundational text for D. Why might this be? Most probably, of all the places in the Torah, it was certain sections of Leviticus that provided the theological resources for addressing the overwhelming problem of Israel’s ongoing disobedience in the Second Temple period.
Chapter VI. Leviticus in MMT

A. Introduction

I will argue in chapter VI that Leviticus is used both explicitly and implicitly in Migṣat Ma‘ase Ha-Torah (“some works of the law”—MMT). This document has at least three distinct sections: calendric, halakhic,¹ and homiletic, represented as sections A, B, and C respectively.² Leviticus plays a significant role in ordering section B and influences ideology in section C. MMT is interpreted in several ways, but a majority of scholars suggest that it encapsulates a debate between sectarian and non-sectarian.

MMT is extant in six fragmentary manuscript copies (4Q394–399). Qimron and Strugnell estimate that the surviving text covers roughly two-thirds of the original. According to palaeographers, the oldest manuscript dates from about 75 BCE, the youngest from about 50 CE.³ The copies come from Qumran but the composition of this text was almost certainly pre-Qumran. The majority of scholars consider the writing of this composition to have taken place in late second-century BCE.

Many scholars have considered MMT to be a Halakhic letter,⁴ since it employs some elements of the letter form. In its original version, MMT was likely written to persuade opponents to adopt a particular view of the law (4Q397 14–21, 7–10). However, six fragmentary copies of MMT suggest that the original purpose of MMT changed from being a letter to

---

¹ I realize I have used this word in this chapter anachronistically; however, I have found no better term.
something more like an educational tool in subsequent decades. The purpose of MMT may have been to persuade its intended recipient to think of the law in a certain way to educate them.\footnote{It is still too ambiguous to determine the purpose (addressees) and its date. Steven Fraade argues that MMT was written for insiders rather than outsiders. See Steven D. Fraade, “To Whom It May Concern: 4QMMT and its Addressees(s),” \textit{RevQ} 76 (2000): 507–26.}

Brooke comments:

> Although the composition might be construed as some kind of letter sent at some point probably in the second century B.C.E., the text was copied through the first century B.C.E., indicating that it was not a flash in the pan for a single readership, but understood as of didactic value or authority or as having some other significance for subsequent generations as well.\footnote{See George J. Brooke, “Authority and the Authoritativeness of Scripture: Some Clues from the Dead Sea Scrolls,” \textit{RevQ} 100 (2012): 507–23. Fraade suggests that this letter was written to help the opponent understand the way to properly worship God and the right practices to be holy and clean. See Fraade, “To Whom It May Concern,” 507–26.}

Based upon Brooke's argument, the author of MMT might have used ideology from Lev 11 in terms of purity regulations with intentional educational purpose that provide clearer and stricter rules.

> Subsequently, MMT was copied within the sectarian movement and probably used as a pedagogical tool to reinforce priestly identity. The role of Leviticus in this work highlights the significance of priestly issues in debates both within the sectarian movement and also in the wider Jewish community.

The legal aspects of MMT are influenced by the Pentateuch, especially Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers, but I will focus on the contribution of Leviticus to its composition. I will examine passages in MMT that quote Leviticus almost exactly, similarly, or in terms of shared ideology. Because the manuscripts of MMT are very fragmentary and difficult to read, I have used the reconstruction of the whole composite text of MMT as presented in DJD X as a basic source for examples in this chapter.\footnote{Qimron and Strugnell, \textit{DJD} X, 1–178.} In his recent edition of MMT, Elisha Qimron has republished the
composite text in exactly the same order and arrangement as in DJD X but with some improved readings. He has shown that for all practical purposes it is still appropriate to work with DJD X.®

The rulings in MMT, especially in what is labelled as section B, are concerned with sacrifice, slaughtering, ritual purity, priestly marriages, and other boundary markers. There are explicit Levitical scriptural references in MMT B. In Section C the theme of cursing, blessings, and holiness is also influenced by Leviticus. Not only the contents of MMT but also its structure is controlled by Leviticus (sections B and C). Therefore, I will argue below that Leviticus significantly influences the entire structure of MMT.

The identity of the original addressees is debatable, but we can assume at least a certain purpose for MMT by looking at the texts, beginning with C 7:

(4Q397 14–21, 7) [But you know that] we have separated from the majority of the people and from all their uncleanness

In addition to the above line, other lines in MMT seem to express the purpose of MMT separating and keeping clean recipients from the unclean. Nevertheless, without knowing the identity of the addressee, it remains a challenge to define the precise purpose of MMT. C 7 suggests an author and addressee(s), but it is still difficult to determine the relationship between “we” and “you.” 9

The sender was initially identified with the Teacher of Righteousness and the addressee with the Wicked Priest, 10 but such a view is only an assumption and is not confirmed explicitly

---


9 Adele Reinhartz, “We, You, They: Boundary Language in 4QMMT and the New Testament Epistles,” in Text, Thought, and Practice in Qumran and Early Christianity: Proceedings of the Ninth International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, Jointly Sponsored by the Hebrew University Center for the Study of Christianity 11–13 January, 2004, ed. Ruth A. Clements and Daniel R. Schwartz, STDJ 84 (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 89–105, esp. 89. Reinhartz states on p. 89, “This line makes two clear points. First, it identifies an author or authors (‘we’) and an addressee or addressees (‘you’). Second, it establishes a boundary line between ‘us,’ that is, the author(s)’ group and ‘the multitude of the people,’ on account of impurity.”

in the text. Even though we do not have clear evidence concerning who the addressees were, we can still investigate how and why MMT uses Leviticus.\footnote{For the various scholarly views on the addressee of MMT, see Brooke, “Luke-Acts and the Qumran Scrolls, 80–82; Kampen, “4QMMT and New Testament Studies,”130–32; Fraade, “To Whom It May Concern,” 507–526; Based upon these articles, many laws and regulations in MMT could be seen as having a pedagogical purpose rather than a polemical one. Fraade says, “purposes of the 4QMMT: to instruct members, or prospective members, in the ‘correct’ understanding of Israel’s sacred scriptures and history… 4QMMT was composed as a ‘pseudo—letter,’ that is, that it was composed with intramural study as it fiction, but in the form of a communication between the leadership of the community and its extramural opponents.” See Fraade, 514–24. According to Grossman, “the purpose of this text—as articulated in its concluding section—is to rectify this misunderstanding and provide a source of proper edification for people outside the community who might be willing to reconsider their errors.” See Grossman, Reading for History, 59; George J. Brooke, “Authority and the Authoritativeness of Scripture,” 507–23.}

Two scholars, Bernstein and Brooke, have discussed the way MMT uses biblical texts. Bernstein argues that MMT contains some biblical language and that much of its contents are the product of scriptural interpretation.\footnote{Moshe J. Bernstein, “The Employment and Interpretation of Scripture in 4QMMT: Preliminary Observations,” in Reading 4QMMT: New Perspectives on Qumran Law and History, 29–51, esp. 46.} In relation to several legal issues in B, Brooke focuses on explicit citations where biblical texts influence either the content or the structure of MMT.\footnote{Based upon Brooke’s argument, MMT heavily depends upon Leviticus for its structure, content, and ideology. See Brooke, “Explicit Presentation,” 67–88, esp. 83.} Brooke points to various influences of biblical citations and argues that certain formulaic words such as הָעֵדַּת (“it is written”) need to be seen as introducing explicit citations.\footnote{Brooke explains the difference between הָעֵדַּת and וָאֶלֶךְ: “הָעֵדַּת is nearly always associated with scripture explicitly or in summary form, whereas the opinions of the group behind MMT are expressed in terms of thinking or considering or saying.” See Brooke, “Explicit Presentation,” 71.} Though it is true there is no clear overall scriptural basis for the order of section B, certain sections in B are clearly controlled by Leviticus, as later discussion in this chapter will show. This discussion will consider the influence of Leviticus on the overall structure of MMT, what parts of Leviticus dominate MMT, and what might be its purpose.
B. Uses of Leviticus in MMT Section B

I will begin my argument by exploring how MMT has used and worked with Leviticus. Over a period of time (from the end of the second century BCE through the end of the first century BCE), the genre of MMT changed from a circular letter to a pedagogical manual. The use of Leviticus in MMT may have been one of the factors that kept MMT in circulation and in use in the sectarian movement. Section B reveals its purpose by beginning with the expression “these are some of our pronouncements (rulings)” (אלאו המכתבים הרחבים B1).

Within the fragmentary opening statement, there is a reference to purity (ח sergeant), which is a concept chiefly found in Leviticus and Numbers; issues of purity and impurity are the main focus of B. My discussion will highlight three important themes from Leviticus explicitly or implicitly adapted in MMT ideology. Though there are few explicit examples of the use of Leviticus in MMT, there are enough to conclude that Leviticus plays a substantial role in the formation of MMT, an assertion supported by the many implicit examples of the use of Leviticus to be discussed below.

The following sections will highlight and discuss important Levitical themes and how these Levitical themes are adapted and utilised by MMT.

1. Slaughtering

a. Purity of Hides and Bones

The rules about purity of hides and bones are distinctive regulations covered in Leviticus. MMT depends on the ideology of Leviticus to compose the rule in B 21–24. The Leviticus

---

15 The legal section B in MMT is not just a list of laws or regulations, MMT actually shows the “structural analysis of text” which seems to depend upon the book of Leviticus. See Marvin Lloyd Miller, Performances of Ancient Jewish Letters: From Elephantine to MMT, JAJSup 20 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2015), 228.
17 Some of the examples that follow are dependent on identifications made by Qimron and John Strugnell; others are my own, through my interpretations and interactions with the general comments in DJD X and elsewhere.
passages prohibit the handling of carcasses in several ways. B 21–24 extends this prohibition with an addition not to make handles for vessels from their bones or their hides and not to “have access to the sacred food” (B 21–23). The ideology is clearly dependent on Lev 11:24–25, 27–28. However, the author of MMT seems to have adjusted the law to align it with Lev 11:24–25, 27–28. The following example contains similar use of phrasing and ideas; based upon my own use of electronic search instruments that offers new insights to the discussion of the use of Leviticus in B 21–24.

Lev 11:24–25, 27–28

(24) By these you shall become unclean; whoever touches the carcass of any of them shall be unclean until the evening (25) and whoever carries any part of the carcass of any of them shall wash his clothes and be unclean until the evening. (27) All that walk on their paws, among the animals that walk on all fours, are unclean for you; whoever touches the carcass of any of them shall be unclean until the evening (28) and the one who carries the carcass shall wash his clothes and be unclean until the evening; they are unclean for you.

(21) Concerning the hide of an unclean animal, one is not allowed to make handles for vessels from their bones or their hides; (22) concerning the hide from the carcass of a clean animal: he who carries such a carcass shall not have access to the sacred food… … … (24) […] and concerning the […] that they use to … … …

The impurity level of slaughtered animals’ skins (ץ보험) declared to be equal to that of its flesh (בשר) in B 21–22 provokes a practical issue. The animals’ hides were material for vessels that carry many kinds of offerings, so the author of MMT believed that unclean animals’ skins or

---

19 They prohibit touching (Lev 5:12), they prohibit touching and carrying (Lev 11:24–28), they prohibit touching, falling, and eating (Lev 11:35–40). This ideology is found in 11QTa 47:7–17 as well. 20 Qimron and Strugnell, *DJD* X, 1, 155; Yadin, *Temple Scroll 1*, 277 (cf. 11QTh 51:4–5 and 47:7–15); Schiffman, *Courtyards*, 131–32.
leather for vessels could contaminate its contents. Thus, MMT specifically prohibits the manufacturing of handles from bones and vessels from hides (B21–22). In addition, MMT protects the sacred pure food by creating a strict boundary without mentioning the time period of cleansing stated in Lev 11:39 (until evening). The focus in MMT, not only on the one who touched or carried the objects, but also on the things that were touched, implies that the laws became stricter. In this case, MMT depends on the ideology of Leviticus and its rules about purity of hides and bones with additions and omissions.

b. Place for the Slaughter of Animals

In the halakhic section, cultic and purity regulations are largely based on Leviticus and Numbers. The sanctity of various places is discussed in two passages in MMT: in a halakha dealing with slaughter in the camp (B 27–33), and the entry of dogs into Jerusalem (B 58–62).21 B 27–33 echoes Lev 17:1–9, especially 17:3 and in B 27–33, as can be seen by the author’s use of the expressions “outside the camp” (תבש מยา) and “an ox or a lamb or a goat” (מצה ניב) which are taken verbatim from Lev 17:3. The word “lamb” (כובד) appears seven times in Leviticus, and it is collocated with goat (כובד), which appears in B 28 as well. It is not a paraphrase but an explicit restatement of Leviticus in MMT.

Lev 17:3

If anyone of the house of Israel slaughters an ox or a lamb or a goat in the camp, or slaughters it outside the camp

B 27b–28a

[מצב ניב] לא מ纯净 לא ירשמהシェחא שארEĞİים

[מצב ניב] לא מ纯净 לא ירשמהシェחא שארEĞİים

[and re]garding that which is written [should an individual slaughter in the camp or slaughter] outside the camp ox, sheep or goat

B 27–28 is based on Lev 17:3–4, as noted by Qimron (cf. 11QT a 52:13–16). The term “camp” (מַחֲנֵה) is used seventeen times in Leviticus; the camp was separated from the inside to the outside. Leviticus 17:3–4 states that anyone who does not slaughter an ox, lamb, or goat in front of the Tent of Meeting shall be cut off, a concept that indicates Leviticus influences the author of MMT.23

The Levitical idea that the camp is a place where holiness should be maintained and all uncleanness kept outside of the camp (Lev 14:8) is evident in MMT, which considered Jerusalem as a holy camp (4Q394 8iv: 10). The author of MMT follows detailed instructions from Leviticus to maintain its holiness.24 In MMT, God commands not only His people but also the physical space around his people to be holy.

MMT does not mention the biblical text when the word “it is written” (בַּתּוֹכָּה) is used in Leviticus 17:3 is paraphrased, according to Qimron and Strugnell,25 however, with a slight change.26 B 27b–28a does not paraphrase Lev 17:3 to deliver the same idea, but rather the author

---


25 Qimron and Strugnell, DJD X, 140–41, write of the use of מַחֲנֵה, “This word is known in MH as a technical term introducing scriptural citations. In MMT it never introduces biblical verses ... it would therefore seem that מַחֲנֵה is not intended to introduce a verbatim quotation from Scripture, but rather to introduce the statement which was derived from such a verse” like Lev 17:3 in MMT.

26 Brooke defines paraphrase as the use of alternative words to express the same or a similar idea. Here in B 27–28, there is not a single major word that does not come from the scriptural source in Lev 17. See Brooke, “Explicit Presentation,” 72.
copies expressions from Lev 17:3 and adds more words to make it clearer, thus an explicit use of scripture in MMT. Apparently the author of MMT has Leviticus in mind either as a base or as a secondary source to compose this manuscript.

Since MMT has been preserved very poorly, it is not easy to interpret the text, but it is not difficult to discover the text’s overarching theme: animal slaughter, both profane and sacred, at the temple (B27–35). Its purpose is to protect the people from guilt and punishment and to make readers aware that the priests are responsible for caring for all these matters (B26b–28a). It therefore reconstructs biblical texts to explain these concepts. The combination of Lev 17:1–9 and Deut 12:20–28 (two contradictory laws) produces a stricter rule for the people to avoid punishment by forbidding any kind of slaughtering outside the Jerusalem temple. Clearly, the significant themes of purity and holiness in Leviticus are adapted in B 27b–28a and influenced by Lev 17:3.

c. The Slaughter of Animals

According to Qimron and Strugnell’s reconstruction in DJD X, B 36–38 is based on Lev 22:28. A biblical background to the law of B 36–38 is found in Deut 22:6–7 and Lev 22:28, though Deut 22:6–7 is not related to sacrificial killing or sacred rituals but is a more general rule

---

27 Qimron and Strugnell, _DJD X_, 112.
28 Reinhard G. Kratz, ““The Place Which He has Chosen”: The Identification of the Cult Place of Deut 12 and Lev 17 in 4QMMT,” in _Meghillot: Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls V-VI. A Festschrift for Devorah Dimant_, ed. Moshe Bar-Asher and Emanuel Tov (Jerusalem: Bialik Institute/Haifa University Press, 2007), 57–80, esp. 61–62. These two texts (Lev 17:1–9 and Deut 12:20–28) contradict the laws regarding slaughter. According to Lev 17:1–9, the law is intended to remove all sacrifice outside the central sanctuary while Deut 12:20–28 allows slaughter outside the cultic space into the sanctuary. The editor of MMT seems to resolve this conflict that “Leviticus meant to indicate only that it was permitted to sacrifice as many shelamim as desired, and that non-sacral slaughter was permitted anywhere.” See Schiffman, _Courtyards of the House of the Lord_, 134–35; Weissenberg, “Centrality of the Temple in 4QMMT,” 293–305,” esp. 123. The passage of 4QMMT can be compared with 11QT 52:13–53:8, as the same law in Lev 17:3 is linked with Deut 12:6 and 12:13–15.
about mothers and eggs. B 36–38 refers to Lev 22:28 and its command not to kill both an ox or sheep and their young in one day.

Leviticus 22:28 introduces rules about killing (שָׁבָה, גּוֹי) pregnant animals (הַגָּוִיָּהוּ, הַגָּוִיָּהוּ) and their offspring (גּוֹיָהוּ, גּוֹיָהוּ) on the same day (בַּיִן, בַּיִן), which is reflected in B 36–38, with slight reconstruction. The author of 4QMMT has written at B36, “one must not sacrifice] the mother and the fetus on the same day” (והֶשֶּׁבֶתָה שָׁבָה לְשָׁבָה אֵין הָאָמָה הָיוּ הַיְלָהוּ בֵּית אָמָה), and replaced שָׁבָה with בַּיִן; B36 clearly echoes “But you shall not kill an ox or a sheep and her young in one day” (וְהָיָה אֵין שָׁבָה אֵין הָיוּ הַיְלָהוּ בֵּית אָמָה) Lev 22:28). It appears that MMT applies this biblical law to pregnant animals. The editor of MMT uses Lev 22:28 to provide the specific reason for which the offering of pregnant animals is forbidden. 4Q396 1–2 i 4 uses the citation

30 Qimron points to two things regarding this ruling: “it is forbidden to slaughter pregnant animals and a fetus found alive within a (dead) pregnant animal must be ritually slaughtered before it may be consumed.” See Qimron and Strugnell, DJD X, 157.
31 “According to the restoration it is possible that this law only refers to sacrifice, not to “non-sacral” slaughter” See Schiffman, Courtyards of the House of the Lord, 137–39; Bernstein, “Employment and Interpretation of Scripture,” 40.
33 Schiffman, Courtyard of the House of the Lord, 139.
of the formula בחרה, which implies that the author(s) of MMT interpret the basis of this ruling as scripture.\textsuperscript{34} The law not to sacrifice pregnant animals is parallel with the law not to sacrifice a parent and child on the same day in 11QT\textsuperscript{b} 52:5–7.

Leviticus 22:28 says mother and calf should not be killed on the same day, a ruling written not only for economic reasons but also for religious reasons. This verse also makes it clear that killing can happen unintentionally or unexpectedly, but it does not speak directly to the case of pregnant livestock. Instead, the emphasis is on religious obligations and their observance.\textsuperscript{35} Kugler suggests whatever one thinks of the quality of the author’s logic, its foundation is clear: it depends on “relexicalizing” the Leviticus passage and on claiming that fresh vocabulary as the rule translation of Leviticus’ meaning.\textsuperscript{36} B36–38 clearly adapts the information of the law about pregnant animals from Leviticus.

2. Sacrifice

a. The Cooking of Purification Offerings

The precepts of the Torah mentioned in MMT display various offerings described in Leviticus.\textsuperscript{37} B 5b–8a, which is fragmentary, depends on the ideology and expressions of Lev 6:28; this example contains similar use of phrasing and ideas.

\begin{align*}
\text{Lev 6:28} & \quad \text{B 5b–8a} \\
\text{An earthen vessel in which it was boiled shall be broken; \textit{but if it is boiled in a bronze vessel, that shall be scoured and rinsed in water}.} & \quad \text{[5b] [.ceilו מים] 5b} \\
& \quad \text{[שנה מחמתו [אコンテンツ] 6]} \text{[במדת אין ימי בה. א] 7} \text{[ברקן ותת ב] 8a}
\end{align*}

(5b) [And concerning the sacrifice of the purification-offering] (6b) 

\textit{that they cook in a}

\textsuperscript{34} Werrett, “Reconstruction of 4QMMT,” 211.
\textsuperscript{35} Cf. 4Q270 2ii:15 and Lev 22:28.
\textsuperscript{37} In MMT B 5–8 the sin-offering, 9–13 the cereal-offering, 36–38 the ritual state of sacrificial animal, 55–58 liquid streams, and B 54 the purity of the temple.
The idea of cooking the purification offering echoes Levitical ideology, as seen in words from Lev 6:28, “to boil” (יָשֵׁב), “vessel” (מַעַל), and “to scour” (סָמַך) adapted in B 5b–8a. MMT follows the process of preparing a sin offering from Lev 6:21; the purification offering, which is holy, could be boiled either in an earthenware or bronze vessel. The vessel should be broken if it were made with clay (בָּשֵׁב), and the bronze vessel should be purified by boiling (יָשֵׁב), cleaning (סָמַך), and rinsing (מַעַל). MMT adapts the strict rules for cleaning a vessel with preparing a sin-offering from Lev 6:28. One possible explanation for using a bronze vessel and its treatment is to avoid “forbidden sacrificial remnants.” As Qimron mentions, MMT possibly either protests against violating the law of dealing with the remains of sacrifices (יָשֵׁב) or against cooking other sacrifices in the vessels of the purification offerings. Leviticus 6:22–23 says the priest from among Aaron’s sons shall sacrifice an offering to the Lord, but all remains from the offering shall not be eaten and burned (יָשֵׁב). The cooking of the purification offering in MMT comes from Leviticus since it is not found in other places in the Torah and uses the same words and ideology.

b. Remains of the Meal Offering

B 10–11 concerns consuming the last meal offered in the temple and protecting the holy things of the people of Israel. B 10b–11a borrows the rhetoric and content from Lev 7:15 and

---

38 Qimron and Strugnell, *DJD X*, 149.
39 The word צָמֲח in biblical passages has a verb form that means “to polish” and which uses a pual form “to wash away” in Lev 6:21 (Lev 6:28 NRSV). The word צָמֲח as a noun form in MMT, which means “broth.” The strict rule of purification from Lev 6:21 was applied to the laws of purification offering in MMT.
40 Qimron and Strugnell, *DJD X*, 149.
41 Qimron and Strugnell, *DJD X*, 149.
19:6 to construct a law that deals with the remains of the meal offering. Schiffman states, “it is significant that 4QMMT takes as a unit the meat, fat and meal offering, understanding them all to be required to be eaten on the very day the sacrifice is offered.” This requirement is found especially in Lev 7:15 and 16, though Lev 7:16 allows a participant to eat the remaining food if it is a freewill offering. In B 10b–11, MMT depends on Lev 7:15 with its rule to finish all the food on the same day.

Leviticus 7:15 and 19:6 need clarification. “On the day it is offered (מַעַן בֵּית הַנַּעְלֵי הָעָלָה בֵּית הָעָלָה) in Lev 7:15 suggests that the offering must be consumed by the first sunset after it is offered, i.e., the end of the day, but “until morning” (בֵּית בֵּית) permits continued consumption through the night. But “on the day of your offering it shall be eaten, and on the next day” (בֵּית בֵּית בֵּית בֵּית בֵּית בֵּית בֵּית בֵּית בֵּית בֵּית בֵּית בֵּית בֵּית בֵּית בֵּית בֵּית בֵּית בֵּית בֵּית בֵּית בֵּית בֵּית בֵּית בֵּית בֵּית בֵּית בֵּית בֵּית בֵּית בֵּית בֵּית בֵּית בֵּית בֵּית בֵּית בֵּית בֵּית בֵּית בֵּית בֵּית בֵּית בֵּית бֵּיֵי הַנַּעְלֵי הָעָלָה בֵּית הָעָלָה) in 19:6 requires interpretation. MMT follows the end of Lev 7:15, “you shall not leave any of it until the morning,” implying parts of the offering must be consumed before sundown. MMT respects the strict rule and time period that Lev 7:15 allows.

---

42 Qimron and Strugnell, *DJD* X, 47, 51–52. Brooke, “Explicit Presentation,” says, “instead of a quotation we have a combination of scriptural terminology being used to produce the desired halakic ruling that everything should be eaten before sunset,” 71.


for the leftover offering to last until the following dawn.\textsuperscript{45} Qimron and Strugnell state, “[the] rabbis interpreted the word מְנַּעֲיַה as including also part of the following night. This is according to their general rule that in sacrificial matters night follows day, and in accordance with the second statement in this biblical source (רָאָא יִקְיָא יִמְסֶה יְדָרְכָה).”\textsuperscript{46}

Since these two passages seem contradictory, the author of MMT combines the two and allows no room for misinterpretation. B 10b–11a intends the meal sacrifice to be consumed without providing the extra time that is found in Lev 17:5 and 19:6, ameliorating error in the matter. Thus, it makes the ruling stricter to avoid mistakes in applying this biblical law. MMT harmonizes and resolves the tension produced by ambiguous biblical witnesses.\textsuperscript{47} B 11b–13a depends on Lev 22:15–16, warning priests to protect the people from causing guilt. Though it does not depend upon Lev 22:15–16 in terms of explicit examples of words or expressions, it is clear that its ideology, regarding the priest’s responsibility is applied in B 11b–13a.

\begin{verbatim}
Lev 22:15–16
15 No one shall profane the sacred donations of the people of Israel, which they offer to the Lord, (16) causing them to bear guilt requiring a guilt-offering, by eating their sacred donations: for I am the Lord; I sanctify them.

B 11b–13a
(11b) [For the sons of] (12) the priest[s] are responsible to take [c]are of this matter [so as not to] (13a) bring guilt upon the people. (Cause the people to bear punishment)
\end{verbatim}

Bernstein describes the priests’ responsibility to instruct the people how not to be guilty as follows: “Leviticus 22:16 is not cited with ‘as it is written’ or ‘as it says’ as the basis of the law, but there is no doubt from MMT’s formulation that it is the biblical

\textsuperscript{45} Schiffman, Courtyards of the House of the Lord, 124.

\textsuperscript{46} Qimron and Strugnell, DJD X, 151. Based upon Qimron, “The sect interpreted the law as referring to the cereal offering that should be eaten before sunset so that nothing would be left over for the next morning.”

\textsuperscript{47} Qimron and Strugnell, DJD X, 152.
source for this sentence, warning the priests not to cause laypersons to incur guilt.\footnote{B11a–13b summarizes Leviticus regarding the priests’ responsibility, including Aaron and his sons, to remember God’s command not to profane the holy things of the people of Israel.}

The ideology regarding the unclean period until the sun goes down in Lev 22:27 is echoed in B 15–16a.\footnote{People who have diseases, such as leprosy, or who have contact with the dead are considered unclean until evening (Lev 22:24–25).}

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Lev 22:7} & \quad \text{B 15–16a} \\
\text{When the sun sets he shall be clean; and afterwards he may eat of the sacred donations, for they are his food.} & \quad \text{(15) it is at sunset that all become pure} \\
& \quad \text{(16) so that the pure may sprinkle upon the impure one.}
\end{align*}
\]

B 15 says, “the sun must set (ה’hui בתהמש)’” while Lev 22:7 says, “when the sun sets (nuu התשא),” but since only Lev 22:7 possesses this detailed explanation, its influence is clear.

c. The First-Fruits of the Fourth Year

B 62–63 discusses the fruits of the fourth year considered to be holy so that they can be sacrificed to the priest (cf. 11QT\textsuperscript{a} 60:2–14). It is apparent that B 62–63 adapted the words from Lev 19:23–25, when we compare the words from both texts.\footnote{The following example contains verbal overlaps and compatible ideas.}

\footnote{Bernstein, \textit{Reading and Re-Reading Scripture}, 460. Bernstein comments that the author of MMT applied the passage from Leviticus to the law in terms of the proper time for the consumption of offering. Even though it was not a direct citation, it is very clear that 4QMMT is influenced by Levitical consumption rules for offerings. Deuteronomy 23:11 states, “bathe himself in water, and as the sun sets, he may come inside the camp”; however, this passage is not dealing with sacred food but with impurity of “a nocturnal emission.”

\footnote{MMT depends upon Levitical expressions: לֹא יֹאכַל אֵין (להי באיתא) in Leviticus and מַאֲכַל אֵין (מהי באיתא) in MMT; לאִינֶה in Leviticus and מַאֲכַל in MMT; לאִינֹרֵפ in Leviticus and מַאֲכַל in MMT; לאִינֶה in Leviticus and מַאֲכַל in MMT. Leviticus 19:25 commands that the first fruits should be offered to the Lord (לֹא יֹאכַל אֵין) and Lev 23:10 commands that the first fruits of the harvest be offered to the priest. Qimron and Strugnell observe that B 62–63 and Lev 19:23–25 have similar words but the receiver (subject) of the first fruit is different. MMT combine Lev 19:23–25 and 23:10 to make this law. See Qimron and Strugnell, \textit{DJD X}, 164; Azzan Yadin, “4QMMT, Rabbi Ishmael, and the Origins of Legal Midrash,” \textit{DSO} 10 (2003): 130–49.}}
Leviticus 19:24–25 and 23:10 concern the first fruits from a tree planted for the first time. MMT echoes the words and contents from Lev 19:23–25 by stating that the fruit of the first three years are not edible, according to biblical law, because the fruit was considered as uncircumcised (ךְּלֵֽעַדְּקָה) and not holy. The fruits of the fourth year were considered holy (ךְּלֵֽעַדְּקָה רֶגֶעַדְּקָה) and all of these fruits belong to the Lord and should be offered to the Lord with praise (ךְּלֵֽעַדְּקָה רֶגֶעַדְּקָה לֶבַנֶּס). Since the land belongs to the Lord, all of the first fruits should be offered to the Lord.

Qimron and Strugnell suggest that “the halakha in MMT seems to say that the fruits of the tree or the vineyard in its fourth year belong to the priests, just as the first fruits belong to the priests.” This concept is from the biblical law found in several passages from Leviticus dealing

---

51 In the sectarian group, they “often equate the Torah’s ‘holy’ with perquisites of the priests.” And the priests should eat these foods. The theme of holiness of the fruits of the fourth year (Lev 19:23–25), the tenth of the cattle and flock (Lev 27:32) seems to influence the composition of MMT. See Harrington, “Holiness in the Laws of MMT,” 124.

52 Ezekiel 44:30 references first fruits to the priest; however, it does not include the years, as Leviticus does. The fruits of the fourth year (“holy for giving praise”) also appear among the priestly gifts itemized in the Temple Scroll at the beginning of col. 60. Qimron and Strugnell, DJD X, 165; Schiffman, Courtyards of the House of the Lord, 140–43.

53 The fruits of the fourth year (ךְּלֵֽעַדְּקָה רֶגֶעַדְּקָה) also appear among the priestly gifts itemized in the Temple Scroll at the beginning of col. 60. Qimron and Strugnell, DJD X, 165; Schiffman, Courtyards of the House of the Lord, 140–43.

54 Qimron and Strugnell, DJD X, 164. According to Lev 27:9–34, the offering was to be presented to the priest.
with fruit tithe to the priest. B 62–63 uses Lev 19:23–25 and 23:10, two separated laws, in one place: “the fruit produced by such trees in their fourth year is to be dealt with like first fruit belonging to the Priest” (B 62–63).

d. Impurity of Lepers

B 64b–67a concerns impurity of lepers and is dependent upon Lev 14:8. The laws of impurity of lepers in halakha in early rabbinic sources are very detailed because the purity process was very complicated. The main difficulty lay in identifying the various types of leprosy and in defining the degrees of purity and impurity proper to each type. Most of the halakha about lepers contain the detailed symptoms, but MMT is not concerned with such details. Since MMT is more concerned with preserving the holiness of the temple, it deals with how priests keep lepers away from the temple and from objects that are ritually pure. The degree of lepers’ impurity during the various stages of their purification is adapted by MMT from the biblical laws. The following contains verbal overlaps and similar uses of phrasing and ideas.

55 Leviticus 27:30 states that such a tithe is to be given to the priests (cf. Lev 27:30–32 and MMT B 62–64 the law about the fruits of the tree). See Qimron and Strugnell, DJD X, 164.
56 Qimron and Strugnell, DJD X, 166.
57 On general purity rules such as trees, lepers, and sacred food, Leviticus highly influences the structure and contents of B 62–72 and B 68 B and begins with priestly “opinion and explanations” by using an introductory phrase “and you know.” See Johann Maier, “Purity at Qumran: Cultic and Domestic,” in Judaism in Late Antiquity: Part Five, The Judaism of Qumran: A Systemic Reading of the Dead Sea Scrolls, ed. Alan J. Avery-Peck, Jacob Neusner, and Bruce D. Chilton, HdO 56 (Leiden: Brill, 2001), 91–124, esp. 97–105; Miller, Performances of Ancient Jewish Letters, 236.
Leviticus distinguishes between stages in the purification of a healed leper with directives for treating each stage, and MMT follows this ordering of purification stages.

The first stage to become pure, according to Lev 14:8, is to wash (חנינו) and shave (בלע),58 applied in B 66 as “he shaves and washes” (שנילא ומכס). The word אשת in the laws of Torah is interpreted in the DSS as a “house” or “any dwelling place”; MMT takes the word אשת in the verse “but live outside his tent” (לאת לא עשת על כא) in Lev 14:8 to be בית “house.”59 In this first stage of purification, lepers are to be isolated inside cities since they defile houses if they enter. MMT also does not permit lepers (including healed ones) to enter the house because sacred food can be found there.

The second stage of purification is to live outside the tent for seven days (Lev 14:8), an idea found in B 66–67a, and to wait until sunset to eat or touch sacred food.60 With the process of Levitical purification in mind, MMT composes new instructions for the Israelites by following the order of Lev 14 in its stages of purification in B 68–70 and Lev 14:19–20 for the priestly role in purifying lepers.

---


59 Qimron and Strugnell, *DJD X*, 134.

60 Werrett, *Ritual Purity*, 187. Leviticus 22:7: “When the sun goes down he shall be clean, and afterward he may eat of the holy things, because they are his food.”
shall make atonement on his behalf and he shall be clean.

B 68–70 concerns sacrifice (הָעַנָּנִים) and sin offering (הָעָצָמָה) for those who unknowingly break a commandment. In Lev 14:20, the priest offers burnt offerings (הָלוֹא) and grain offerings (תַּעַן) to make lepers clean, but B 69–70 includes an offering without including the priest’s role, though with a strong emphasis (להָלָהְנַמ כְּדֶמָם) on the purification of offerings as in Lev 14. In summation, B 64b–70 depends heavily on the Levitical way of purifying the lepers through a specific process.

e. Purification Process

B 71–72 concerns the last stage of purification, based on Lev 14 and 22:7. This passage maintains the view that if a leper has made his purification offering, he might be allowed to eat the sacred food (לֶאַהֲבֵרִים מְהֹּדְרָהִים) without waiting until sunset on the eighth day. The ruling in MMT is in accordance with the more stringent approach characteristic of the sect in matters of ritual purity.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lev 22:7</th>
<th>B 71–72b</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>When the sun sets he shall be clean; and afterwards he may eat of the sacred donations,</em> for they are his food.</td>
<td><em>Moreover, while they (still) have the impurity of leprosy, one should not let them eat of the sacred food</em> (until sunset) on the eighth day.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The mention of sunset (הָעַנָּנִים) in B 72b has been influenced by Lev 22:7 “when the sun goes down (הָעַנָּנִים כְּדֶמָם).” The process of the purification stage is stricter in MMT, since the sect

---

61 Leviticus 14:31 provides one for a sin offering and the other for a burnt offering, along with a grain offering. And the priest shall make atonement before the Lord for him who is being cleansed.

62 Qimron and Strugnell, *DJD X*, 169. The Hebrew Bible in Lev 14 does not mention sunset but MMT requires it and it is possible that they found this support from Lev 14:21–23. The word ‘y¢InyImVÚvAh מְהֹּדְרָהִים’ on the eighth day in Lev 14:23 occurs at the end of B 72.

63 The Hebrew Bible mentions both the purification of the leper and eating of hallowed things after purification and sunset. The reference in Lev 22:7 is to the eating of a hallowed thing by anyone who touches an impure person, not by a leper. See Jacob Milgrom, “The Scriptural Foundation and Deviations in the Laws of Purity of the Temple Scroll,” in *Archaeology and History in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, ed. Lawrence H. Schiffman, JSPSP 8 (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1990), 94. Qimron points out “the leper must wait until sunset on the eighth day of his purification before he may eat of the sacred food,” which eventually seemed to make Levitical law become stricter.
apparently demanded a purification period of seven (full) days before eating sacred food, waiting until sunset on the eighth day to ensure the completed time for purification.

The rulings in Leviticus for the stages of purification control not only the content but also the structure of B 64–72. The three stages in the purification of a healed leper from Lev 14 are followed closely in MMT: he should wash with water (B 66; Lev 14:9), shave and immerse on the seventh day (Lev 14:20), and bring his offering on the eighth day (B 71–72b). Leviticus 14 governs MMT in its requirement that the sacred food be clean and holy, separated from lepers.

3. Illegal Mixtures and Marriages

The theme of holiness in Leviticus becomes very significant in MMT in attributing the holiness of God to the entire people of Israel. B 75–82 does not allow priests to marry ordinary Israelites; this seems to be against Lev 21:7–15, which allows a priest to marry any Israelite; however, the restated law in B 75–82 is ambiguous. Qimron and Strugnell say, “there is evidence that in the Second Temple period priests would marry only women from priestly families.”

Intermarrying is significant for a priest’s holiness, but B 75–82 also deals with fornication, clean animals, and sowing plants. The next example contains an explicit quotation.

Lev 19:19

You shall keep my statutes. You shall not let your animals breed with a different kind; you shall not sow your field with two kinds of seed; nor shall you put on a garment made of two different materials.

B 76b–79

(76) Concerning the [pure] animal (77) it is written that one must not let it mate with another species; and concerning his clothes [it is written that they should not] (78) be of mixed stuff; and he must not


64 Qimron and Strugnell, *DJD X*, 174; Werrett, *Ritual Purity*, 201–02.
sow his field and vi[neyard with mixed species]. (79) [Be]cause they (Israel) are holy, and the sons of Aaron are ho[liest of holy]

B 77–79 uses similar expressions and ideology as Lev 19:19, concerning not mixing different kinds of seed. While B 77–79 includes species, clothes, mixed seed, and vineyard with mixed species (מלאים), MMT might have harmonized Lev 19:19 and Deut 22:9, which enjoins one to “not sow a vineyard with two kinds of seed,” though Lev 19:19 controls the contents and ideology of B 77–79. The word מלאים (improper mixture or mingled) in Leviticus sets the boundary that makes the people and nation holy before the Lord,65 and MMT adapts this use of מלאים.

The subject of fornication and illegal marriage in B 75–76a, 80–82a is based on Lev 21:7, 13–15. The marriage of the priest in Lev 21:13–14 influences B 80–82 to prohibit a priest from marrying anyone from the laity. Qimron suggests this is based on Lev 21, where הרה refers to a woman who is not suitable because she is not from a priestly family.66 MMT designates “Israel as holy and the priests as most holy.”67 The following example is based upon my own use of electronic search instruments and seems to confirm that the use of Leviticus is more widespread than most scholars have previously thought.

B 75–76a

Concerning the fornication which is practiced among the people, although they are children of the holy seed (76) (of) holiness, as it is written, Israel is holy.

---

67 Martha Himmelfarb, Between Temple and Torah: Essays on Priests, Scribes, and Visionaries in the Second Temple Period and Beyond, TSAJ 153 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2013), 35.
(7) They shall not marry a prostitute or a woman who has been defiled; neither shall they marry a woman divorced from her husband. For they are holy to their God.

(13) He shall marry only a woman who is a virgin. (14) A widow, or a divorced woman, or a woman who has been defiled, a prostitute, these he shall not marry. He shall marry a virgin of his own kin, (15) that he may not profane his offspring among his kin; for I am the Lord; I sanctify him.

The priest must take as his wife a virgin from his own family (בָּשָׂר), not a widow, divorcée, profaned woman, or harlot. 68 Since the limitations for marriage for the priest are very stringent, Lev 21:13–14 lists the illegitimate unions in stages. The priest should marry from his own people or Israelites to preserve a pure pedigree throughout the priesthood. This prohibition is due to a ban against the mixing of kinds, but it also expresses the need to protect the holiness of both priest and people in 81–82a: “And they unite with each other and pollute the holy seed as well as their own seed” (וְיִדְעֶהוּ וְיִדְעֶהוּ אֲשֶׁר תַּעֲמַד אַתָּה אֲשֶׁר אָרְאָה). Leviticus 21:15 states, “that he may not profane his offspring among his kin” (אֲשֶׁר תַּעֲמַד אֲשֶׁר אָרְאָה). B 80–82a uses the words people (בָּשָׂר), seed (וּז), and defile (כָּזֶב) from Lev 21:13–15. MMT B 80–82a extends this law from the high priest to other priests. MMT applies the biblical law in a stricter way concerning the priests, as well as the people, in order to become holy (cf. Lev 21:7, 13–15). In Lev 21:7 marriage with an outsider (שָׂרָה) defiles the holy seed of lay Israelites as much as priestly marriages with outsiders defile their seed. 69 Israelis and priests alike are subject to the rule of Lev 21:7, 70 hence the stricter provision in B 75–82.

---

68 Its literal meaning is “from his own people,” which has been understood as a reference to taking a wife from the people of Israel (Ezek 44:22).

69 According to Himmelfarb, the holy seed in B 81 must “refer to priests, since it is (male) priests who are forbidden to marry the בָּשָׂר בָּשָׂר in Lev 21:7.” See Himmelfarb, Between Temple, 35; Nicholas T. Wright, “Justification and Eschatology in Paul and Qumran: Romans and 4QMMT,” in History and Exegesis: New Testament Essays in Honour of Dr. E. Earle Ellis for His 80th Birthday, ed. Sang-Won (Aaron) Son (London: T&T Clark, 2006), 104–32.

C. Use of Leviticus in MMT Section C

Section C of MMT is dominated by Deuteronomy. However, the command to be holy and the regulations on cursing and blessing from Leviticus influence MMT explicitly and implicitly. In this section, I will briefly attempt to show that Leviticus influenced section C with respect to separation from the majority and through blessing and cursing. In Lev 26, God separated his people from uncleanness with warnings and blessings (Lev 26:3–14) and with cursing (Lev 26:14–39). These two subjects are placed at the end of each section in Leviticus to enjoin the Israelites to remember. MMT not only depends upon Leviticus, but also adds a detailed explanation of the reason for remembering in C 31–32, “for your own welfare and for the welfare of Israel.”

1. Separate from the Majority

In the epilogue (the hortatory conclusion), the author of MMT echoes that the people should be separated from their uncleanness, which clearly is found in Leviticus. The following example contains similar use of phrasing and ideas, based on my own use of electronic search instruments and offers new insights to the discussion of the use of Leviticus in MMT.

Lev 15:31a; 20:24, 26 (C 7b) Thus you shall keep the people of Israel separate from their uncleanness,
(20:24) … I am the Lord your God; I have separated you from the peoples, (20:26) You shall be holy to me; for I the Lord am holy, and I have separated you from the

(C 7) [But you know that] we have separated from the majority of the people and from all their uncleanness (C 8) [and] from being party to these matters or going along with them in these things.

---

72 The theme of holiness heavily influences MMT, Temple Scroll, and D. In MMT, some former separation already had taken place (C 7), which echoes Leviticus’ theme on separation to be holy. See Davies, “Judaism(s) of the Damascus Document,” 27–43; Lawrence H. Schiffman, *Qumran and Jerusalem: Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls and the History of Judaism* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2010), 112–17.
other peoples to be mine.

The theme of purity and holiness is significant in Leviticus (16–26), a theme that demands separation from the majority of the people and objects in order to keep holiness within the community. Grossman states,

Which [4QMMT C7] gives the reader reason to understand the communal separation as a response to the inappropriate behaviour of the rest of the populace, rather than as a poor reflection on the community or on the reader personally... in place of historic implications, this covenental reader might focus on the ongoing and personalized significance of the text, which reflects the covenanter’s own importance as an interpreter of Torah and his own place as an obedient follower of God’s commandments.

There are no explicit texts linking Leviticus and MMT in this case, but the priestly opinions in C seem to be influenced by Leviticus’ theme of holiness and encouragement of the Israelites to be obedient to the commandments, which also reflects the covenant that God established.

2. Blessings and Curses

The blessings and curses in section C are based on various scriptures. Section C 20–21 (4Q398 11–13 3–4) mentions the blessings and curses in the book of Moses.

And so we see that some of the blessings and curses have already come that are written in the book of Moses.

C 20a–21 describes a biblical theme and “MMT’s perspective on the curses and blessings of the Mosaic covenant of the Torah is one of progressive fulfillment in the course of a theological

---

74 Grossman, Reading for History, 83.
75 Section C 15–6 “[that you call them to] your [mind] and return [to him with all] your heart and with [all] your soul” is based on Deut 4:30 and 30:1–2. Section C commands Israel to return to God and his commandments, especially “at the end of days.” Also this list of blessings and curses form the concluding section of biblical sources: the Book of the Covenant (Exod 23:20–31), the Deuteronomic Code (Deut 28:1–68), and the Holiness Code (Lev 26:3–45). See Wilson and Wills, “Literary Sources of the Temple Scroll,” 275–88; Steven D. Fraade, “Rhetoric and Hermeneutics in Miṣṭat Ma’ase Ha-Torah (4QMMT): The Case of the Blessings and Curses,” DSD 10 (2003): 150–61.
perspective of salvation history.” The command for the Israelites to return to the Lord in C 21–22 echoes not only Deut 30:1–4 but also Lev 26 that the warning and judgement of the Lord would not be applied if the Israelites return to the Lord in repentance.

MMT uses the imperative form in the C section to call on the people to “remember” (4Q398 11–13, 6 and 4Q399 1 i, 9), which reminds the reader of Lev 26. It is the Lord’s re-established covenant (Lev 26:42 and 45) that requires the Israelites to remember. In these texts, three imperatives are found: יִנָּהַתֵּנוּ, יִנָּהַתֵּנוּ, יִנָּהַתֵּנוּ. MMT emphasizes the significance of remembering and following the written commands from the Torah.

And the […] Now] remember the kings of Israel[!] and consider their works carefully.

Remember David, he was a pious man

MMT encourages the reader to “remove your evil thoughts and the counsel of Belial” (C 29), a statement that could be related to terms of warning, judgement, and blessing from Lev 26. This section from MMT points out that their effort to stay away from evil and turn back to the Lord had not been successful. The final hope that the audience might “rejoice at the end of time, finding that some of our statements are correct” (C 30) is related to warnings and covenants for the future in Lev 26.


79 “Remember” and “consider” in C 23, “remember” in C 25, and “consider” and “ask” in C 28.
D. Considering Leviticus in MMT Overall

The discussion in section B shows that purity laws with regard to slaughtering, sacrifice, and illegal marriages in B are closely related to Leviticus explicitly and implicitly. Both Qimron and Werrett agree that 4QMMT’s halakhic laws are systematic, stringent, and consistent.\(^\text{80}\) In addition, von Weissenberg supports the view that the author(s) of MMT had a biblical model in mind, especially Deuteronomy.\(^\text{81}\) However, as I have attempted to show in this chapter, the author(s) of MMT relied on Leviticus more heavily than previous scholars have recognised. As an example, most of the purity rulings in MMT B follow the order of purity laws in Leviticus. Many parts of the laws in MMT depend upon the order of the laws in Leviticus, with minor exceptions. Though B 64–72 does not follow the order of Leviticus, they implicitly follow borrowed ideology from Leviticus.

MMT composes laws in B with slight changes, but the overall structure of MMT mostly follows the order in Leviticus. The evidence from most of the examples in this chapter is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MMT</th>
<th>Leviticus</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>B 5–8</td>
<td>Lev 6:19–21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B 9–16</td>
<td>Lev 22:7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B 15–17</td>
<td>Lev 7:15; 19:6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B 27–33</td>
<td>Lev 17:3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B 62–63</td>
<td>Lev 19:23–25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B 71–72</td>
<td>Lev 22:7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B 75–82</td>
<td>Lev 21:7, 13–15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B 78–98</td>
<td>Lev 16–26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C 7–8</td>
<td>Lev 26:15, 31–32</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This structure depends, with minor exceptions, on Levitical order and structure.\(^\text{82}\) Based upon these data, it is fair to say that Leviticus influences the structure of MMT, and the compiler of MMT likely has the structure of Leviticus in mind in its composition and uses it as a primary

\(^{80}\) Qimron and Strugnell, *DJD X*, 190.

\(^{81}\) Weissenberg, “Centrality of the Temple,” 231. Weissenberg suggests the author(s) of MMT may have been influenced by the earlier halakhic issues such as CD/D or 11QT, which could have explained the different genre. See pp. 230–31, however; according to my research in this chapter, the author(s) of MMT have been influenced by Leviticus significantly in terms of its contents and structure in the similarities between the two texts.

\(^{82}\) In Lev 22:7 the idea that after the sun goes down he shall be clean influences both B 15–16 and 71–72, since these two texts deal with similar leprous issues and its cleanness. B 71–72 may have been added later; however, the selected texts in MMT in this chapter mostly follow the order in Leviticus. Cf. Qimron and Strugnell, *DJD X*, 136
source. In light of the fact that MMT was originally addressed to outsiders, clearly Leviticus and its interpretation would have been a widespread issue of contention. The multiple copies of MMT imply that the text was reproduced, probably for internal purposes in the community as a teaching tool. This suggests that Leviticus and its interpretation were a significant part of the curriculum.

E. Conclusion

In this chapter, I have shown that Leviticus influences the genre, content, structure, and purpose of MMT. Various sections of MMT are closely influenced by Leviticus’ ideology, especially in the B section; the blessing and cursing in Lev 26 shape a key aspect of the ideology of the C section. From this research, we can see clearly that issues such as slaughtering, sacrifice, marriage, judgement, and blessing, all of which are important topics in Leviticus, indicate the close dependence of MMT on Leviticus.

When MMT commands the Israelites to be pure and holy, it is influenced by the theme of holiness in Leviticus. In constructing this so-called letter, the compiler of MMT reflects on a wide range of cultic practices from Leviticus, with extensions and greater strictness, using Leviticus’ texts to persuade his audience to follow the laws correctly in order that the holiness of the community might be preserved.

In section B, the author’s emphasis on maintaining purity uses Leviticus to explain the process of slaughtering and sacrifice and the prohibition of illegal mixed marriages. MMT uses Levitical texts to explain the place of slaughter,\(^\text{83}\) purity of hides and bones,\(^\text{84}\) and the slaughter of pregnant animals.\(^\text{85}\) Significantly, the author of B combines contradictory laws from Leviticus to

\(^{83}\) B 27–33 / Lev 17:3.


produce a clearer law to help the audience understand the text. In B 64–72, MMT not only borrows the ideology of Leviticus but also follows the detailed process of purification provided by Leviticus.

Prohibitions regarding illegal mixture and marriage from Lev 21 are also a base text for B 75–82, with the purpose of protecting the priests and ensuring that the people are holy. Based upon all of this evidence, we can conclude that without Leviticus, it would have been difficult for the author of MMT to compose section B.

In Section C, though the author of MMT does not duplicate passages from Leviticus explicitly, the motif of blessing and cursing from Lev 26 is applied in C implicitly; the priestly encouragement to the Israelites to be separated from the majority to become clean is obviously influenced by Levitical texts. Overall, the author of MMT uses Leviticus texts and legal passages to persuade and convince the audience to accept the new reconstructed law to maintain purity in order to keep the covenant with the Lord.

As the survey in this chapter shows, parallels between MMT and Leviticus indicate that the book of Leviticus as a whole prompted, in large part, the order of the construction of MMT as it is now found. The influence of Leviticus on the process of the composition of MMT is clear. Leviticus provided the author with the authoritative tool for outlining and prescribing the sacred space, which was so fundamental to priestly identity.

---

Chapter VII. Leviticus in Other Texts

A. Introduction

In this chapter I will summarize the use of Leviticus in several other texts from the Qumran Caves that I did not discuss in previous chapters. The aim of this chapter is to show the breadth of the influence of Leviticus throughout the scrolls’ corpus, both in early or pre-sectarian compositions (such as Jubilees and the Temple Scroll), and also in traditions contemporary with sectarian compositions (such as D and MMT). Early or pre-sectarian compositions are identified as such through the absence of technical sectarian terminology and scholarly consensus concerning the likely date of the composition. The traditions contemporary with sectarian compositions or in sectarian compositions themselves are to be found in works whose final form seems to belong to the first century BCE, not least because the manuscript evidence implies such a date.

Chapter II showed that Leviticus scrolls are extant in various sizes and languages. Not only does this indicate the widespread use of Leviticus, but also it very probably indicates that Leviticus was used in various settings for a range of purposes. Chapters III—VI provide evidence that Leviticus has been used in certain compositions to control literary structure, textual content, and thematic ideology.¹ In summary, Leviticus was a significant influence in Jewish literature as is attested in the Dead Sea Scrolls from the Qumran Caves. This chapter will describe and analyse the use of Leviticus in several other compositions.

Since we have very limited, incomplete documents, this chapter will discuss the use of Leviticus pragmatically. It is not possible to look at every composition for hints of Leviticus, since many manuscripts are fragmentary and what could be said about them would be of limited value to my overall argument. Thus, I will consider the most likely

¹ Previous chapters highlight the significant use of Leviticus in matters such as chronology (III), cult (IV, V and VI), structure (III, V and VII), Sabbath, and covenant (III, IV, V, and VI). Special attention has been paid to the role of Lev 26 (III, IV, V, and VI).
identifications of Leviticus in various scrolls, giving examples that directly or indirectly show the influence of Leviticus in relation to several matters that have already been identified as significant in earlier chapters. Thus this chapter will largely confirm the picture that I have portrayed in the detailed presentation of the four compositions in chapters III–VI.

As outlined in chapter I, in order to have a general idea of the use of Leviticus in other compositions, I have depended upon Johann Maier’s index² and Biblical Quotations and Allusions in Second Temple Jewish Literature³ as basic resources for identifying verbal overlaps and other allusions. Those two indexes are very helpful for understanding the way Leviticus has been used in other compositions. However, my research uncovered even wider use of Leviticus than those resources suggested. Through the use of selective searches with Accordance Bible software, I was able to determine that those two indexes missed some possible allusions. As a result, this chapter includes more examples than were proposed in the two indexes.

I have arranged the discussion of these other texts in relation to two eras: early or pre-sectarian traditions (third to second centuries BCE), and traditions in compositions whose final form seems to belong to the first century BCE. The purpose of this chapter is not only to establish the influence of Leviticus on other compositions, but also to highlight the use of Leviticus from earlier to later traditions to show the wide range and continuous use of Leviticus in these scrolls from the Qumran Caves.

---
² Maier, Die Qumran-Essener, 161–82.
B. Dependence on Leviticus in Other Compositions

1. Early or Pre-sectarian Traditions (Third to Second Centuries BCE)

The most extensive examples of the use of Leviticus in early or pre-sectarian traditions are the Aramaic Levi Document and the Genesis Apocryphon. These early pre-sectarian (or non-sectarian) works have been described as socially disembodied, since they have no direct reference to any movement or following with which they were explicitly associated.\(^4\) The Aramaic Levi Document as a composition can be dated “to the third century or very early second century BCE.”\(^5\) The Genesis Apocryphon as a composition is variously dated between the late third century and the early first century BCE.\(^6\) The Apocryphon of Jeremiah is dated to the second century BCE because of its historical scheme and textual affinities.\(^7\) The use of Leviticus in these early or pre-sectarian traditions indicates the ongoing and pervasive significance of the book in the late Second Temple period.

a. Aramaic Levi Document (ALD)

The fragments of ALD indicate that the work was known at Qumran. In these fragmentary Aramaic texts, certain themes, such as priesthood and sacrificial processes, are dependent upon Leviticus. As mentioned the ALD was composed in the third or early


\(^5\) Jonas C. Greenfield, Michael E. Stone, and Esther Eshel, *The Aramaic Levi Document: Edition, Translation, Commentary*, SVTP 19 (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 19. The editors give the following reasons for that dating: the date of the manuscripts, the quotation of ALD in other compositions (D), and the influence of ALD on works such as Jubilees.


second century BCE. It concerns Levi’s consecration to the priesthood and his teaching to his children. The surviving manuscript has no beginning or end. The texts are fragmentary, which makes it difficult to determine its literary genre. What follows is one significant example from ALD 8:1–6 that is dependent upon Lev 1:5, 8–9 and 2:13.

The first part of the example involves Lev 1:5 and 8 concerning the process of sacrifice and is found in ALD 8:1. The following example contains similar use of phrasing and ideas; I have added Lev 1:8 to this example from my own use of electronic search instruments.

**Lev 1:8**

יהוה ראהคา יראת הכהנים

שתה להב ראש ונחתה על העון וההרג פניהם

Aaron’s sons the priests shall arrange the parts, with the head and the suet, on the wood that is on the fire on the altar

**Lev 1:5b**

והנה במבי以下の מעברי בdisconnect השכנת

Aaron’s sons the priests shall offer the blood, dashing the blood against all sides

**ALD 8:1**

ויהי המחתת את אלעזר על מצבתו ויתמה

.&nbsp;תְּרֵין לְאָב מָה לִבְּעִל שַׁמִּי

And when you have offered up any of these woods upon the altar and the fire begins to burn them, you should then begin to sprinkle the blood on the sides of the altar.

---


10 The numbering follows the Aramaic text based on Bodleian manuscripts c and d which contain better preserved text that contains multiple overlaps with 1QLevi 45, 4QLevi 2–6, and 4QLevi. The Qumran manuscripts are very fragmentary so for ease of reference the better preserved medieval manuscripts are used as the point of reference. The edition used for ALD is that of Greenfield, Stone, and Eshel, The Aramaic Levi Document: Edition, Translation, Commentary.
of the altar that is at the entrance of the tent of meeting.

Aramaic Levi Document 8:1 depends upon Lev 1:5 and 8: preparing the offerings, burning them, and sprinkling the blood on the sides of altar. The process of sacrifice in Lev 1 is not exactly applied in ALD 8:1, though the prescriptions for sacrificial procedures found in ALD 8:1 are likely to be from Leviticus, since ALD 8:4–6 continually echoes the Levitical processes of sacrificial offerings.

The second part of this example concerns a parallel which shows the detailed order in Lev 1:8–9 and 2:13 as an influence in ALD 8:4–6. The following example contains similar use of phrasing and ideas; I have added Lev 2:13 from my use of electronic search instruments that seems to confirm the use of Leviticus is more widespread than most scholars have previously thought.

---

Lev 1:9

המר ידכאתה ולהערפיים这座ה פנק

but its entrails and its legs shall be washed with water (cf. Lev 1:12–13).

Lev 2:13

רשל ילחופי וממקהו עפלו שלמה לן

All of them salted with salt as is fitting for them in their proper amount.

ALD 8:4b

And after the haunches the hindquarters are washed, with the entrails

ALD 8:5

וכולם מלוחים במלוח חזה כדי במלח מליחין

You shall not omit from your grain-offerings the salt of the covenant with your God; with all your offerings you shall offer salt.

ALD 8:6

לך ונתה קדמים אל יעילה

an offering by fire of pleasing odour to the Lord.

Pleasing odour before the Most High God

---

[11] Lev 1:5 (“...throw the blood against the sides of the altar”) influenced ALD 8:1 (“...you should then begin to sprinkle the blood on the sides of altar”). Since both ALD 8:1 and Lev 1:6 used the word “sprinkle (קרביא)”, the idea of sprinkling or throwing the blood on the side of altar is probably influenced by Lev 1:5.
The process of sacrifice in ALD—washing (8:4), salting (8:5), and pleasing odor (8:6)—is heavily dependent upon Lev 1:9 and 2:13. Schiffman notes, “Aramaic Levi specifies the order in which the various parts of the animal, all slated, are to be offered,” based upon passages from Leviticus; specific instructions to sprinkle blood on the sides of the altar also occur frequently in Leviticus. It is interesting that ALD used sacrificial laws from Lev 1. At the very least, this parallel shows that the author of ALD used Leviticus from the beginning.

Aramaic Levi Document 8:5 echoes Lev 2:13, which concerns seasoning a grain offering with salt. Notably, seasoning a grain offering with salt is not found in other texts in the Torah, except in Lev 2:13. Exodus 30:35 contains the expression “seasoned with salt,” but this refers to incense, not to a grain offering. The cultic practice described in Leviticus is used in this early pre-sectarian tradition, which clearly recognises the authority of the prescriptions of Leviticus. Since ALD emphasizes cultic practices, it is plausible that this document had a comprehensive view of atonement as their cultic practices are portrayed. The process of the sacrifice offering in ALD 8:4–6 depend on both Lev 1:9 and 2:13.

These examples indicate that the ideology and sacrificial description from Leviticus significantly influence certain parts of the early ALD. The presence of such details from

---


14 Leviticus 1:5, 11; 3:2, 8, 13; 4:18; 5:9 etc.

15 Michael E. Stone, “Enoch, Aramaic Levi and Sectarian Origins,” *JSJ* 19 (1988), 159–70, esp. 168–9. A second important feature of the Aramaic Levi Document is the subsuming of all the messianic functions, both priestly and royal, under the priestly figure. This is clearly a very particular and distinctive point of view.
Leviticus in Aramaic traditions is suggestive of the influence of Leviticus in priestly circles where the traditions of ALD were used.

b. Genesis Apocryphon

The Genesis Apocryphon is one of the first Dead Sea Scrolls from Qumran Cave 1 to be discovered. Like ALD it is an Aramaic composition that is dependent upon earlier Hebrew scripture. This scroll can be divided into at least three sections: Lamech (0–5:25), Noah (5:26–18:24), and Abram (18:25–22:34). The sacrificial law from Leviticus in Noah’s description of his offering in col. 10:15–17 is influenced by Levitical traditions, such as those found in the book of Jubilees, that retell the stories of the patriarchs from Genesis in a “somewhat stylized fashion.” The parallels included in this section show the use of expressions and ideology from Leviticus in the Genesis Apocryphon and indicate how the rewriting of Genesis makes explicit the priestly concerns of some parts of Genesis itself.

In the first example, 1Q20 10:15 alludes strongly to Leviticus in use of the expression “he shall pour out at the base of the altar” (Lev 4:18) and follows the procedure of performing sacrifice prescribed in Leviticus. The following example contains verbal overlaps and similar use of phrasing and ideas. Also Lev 4:18 and 19 are added from my own use of electronic search instruments.

\[
\text{Lev 4:18b} \quad \text{1Q20 10:15}
\]

and the rest of the blood he shall \textbf{pour out at the base of the altar} (cf. Lev 4:7).

\[
\ldots \text{I poured out their blood at the base of the altar, and I burned all}
\]

---


Lev 4:19
their flesh on the altar, and thirdly the turtledoves.

Lev 2:13
You shall not omit from your grain-offerings the salt of the covenant with your God; with all your offerings you shall offer salt.

1Q20 10:16
...on the altar as an offering [...]
upon it I placed fine flour soaked with oil together with frankincense as a grain offering.

1Q20 10:17
 [...] Upon all of them I was sprinkling salt.

1Q20 10:15 echoes especially Lev 4:18b in that “pour out the blood at the base of the altar” is mainly found in Leviticus (but only once in Exod 29:12). The language in 10:15 “at the base of the altar” reflects Lev 4:7 and 18b. In col. 10:15–17 the detailed process of sacrificial offering is based upon Lev 2:13 and Lev 4:18b–19, though the order has been changed. The particular expression and ideology of Leviticus clearly influence the description of the sacrifice in col. 10.

However, the description in col. 10:15–17 is more deliberate about the order of the procedure, suggesting that the Genesis Apocryphon is careful to reflect on the scriptural precedents by mentioning the pouring out of blood and seasoning of all the elements, not just the sacrifice itself.

---

18 Bernstein, “Genesis Apocryphon,” 157–75, esp. 169; Machiela, The Dead Sea Genesis Apocryphon, 52–53; Daniel K. Falk, The Parabiblical Texts: Strategies for Extending the Scriptures Among the Dead Sea Scrolls, LSTS 63 (London: T&T Clark, 2007), 69–70. Based upon Falk’s description, Lev 4:13–21 specifies a bull for a sin offering and the separate burning of fat and pouring out of blood; whereas, Num 15:22–26 specifies a bull for a burnt offering along with grain and drink offering, and a male goat for a sin offering. The rabbis harmonized the two regarding Lev 4 as the general case and Num 15 as a specifiable case.


20 Bernstein, Reading and Re-Reading Scripture, 166–8.

21 Falk, Parabiblical Texts, 70 (cf. Lev 7:26/1Q20 11:17).
The second example is the story of Noah’s planting a vineyard in 1Q20 12:13–15, which is dependent upon Lev 19:23–25. The following example contains similar use of phrasing and ideas and verbal overlaps.

Lev 19:23
When you come into the land and plant all kinds of trees for food, then you shall regard their fruit as forbidden; for three years it shall be forbidden to you; it must not be eaten.

Lev 19:24
In the fourth year all their fruit shall be set apart for rejoicing in the Lord.

Lev 19:25
But in the fifth year you may eat of their fruit, that their yield may be increased for you: I am the Lord your God.

1Q20 12:13
Then I began to cultivate the earth together with all my sons. I planted a large vineyard on Mount Lubar; when four years had passed, it produced wine for me.

1Q20 12:14
vacat ... дола крмения ...פוס הד הלנהו קרסיאו ... all... Blank And when the first festival ..., on the first day of the first feast of the month,

1Q20 12:15
…that belonged to my vineyard. I opened this vessel and began to drink it on the first day of the fifth year since planting.

The ideology and expression of 1Q20 12:13–15 in terms of drinking wine on the first day of the fifth year is based upon Lev 19:23–25. The Apocryphon (12:19; 15:21) alters the account of Noah’s drunkenness in light of the prescriptions of Leviticus about viniculture. In addition, the time period after which it is permitted to eat the fruit in the fifth year in Lev 19:25 is not found anywhere else in the Torah. Therefore, 1Q20 12:15 depends upon Lev 19:25, indicating that Leviticus strongly influences the Genesis Apocryphon in this section. Leviticus influences the Genesis Apocryphon to show in
particular how the righteous Noah kept the law and how his deeds can be understood as appropriate actions to be copied by those who read or hear these stories about him.\(^{22}\)

c. Apocryphon of Jeremiah

In this section I will briefly mention two reflections of Leviticus, one in 4Q385a (apocrJer C\(^5\)) and one in 4Q390 (apocrJer E). The Apocryphon of Jeremiah (4QapocrJer) is a prophetic style text written in Hebrew from the viewpoint of Moses and full of the language of Jeremiah. As mentioned it is most likely to be a non-sectarian composition from the second century BCE. 4Q385a and 4Q390 also contain rules and commands from the Torah and point the judgement of God to the disobedient, all of which are matters found in Leviticus as well as other scriptural passages. At least two examples from Lev 26, on disobedience and judgement, seem to be reflected in the Apocryphon of Jeremiah, although the language of Jeremiah is also present.\(^{23}\)

First, many of the motifs linked with disobedience by not keeping God’s covenant in 4Q385a 18ia_b:8–9 seem to have ideas which are compatible with Lev 26, as is its warning using the conditional clause as follows:

\begin{align*}
\text{Lev 26:14} & \quad \text{4Q385a 18ia_b:8} \\
\text{But if you will not obey me, and do not observe all these commandments} & \quad \text{[that they should listen] to the voice of Jeremiah concerning the things which God had commanded him} \\
\text{Lev 26:21} & \quad \text{4Q385a 18ia_b:9} \\
\text{If you continue hostile to me, and will not obey me, I will continue to plague you sevenfold for your sins} & \quad \text{[to do,] that they should keep the covenant of the God of their fathers in the land}
\end{align*}


you forgot] the festivals of My covenant, and you profaned My name and My holy things.

[jou defiled] My Temple, and you offered [your sacrifices to the] goat-demons and […]

The warning of God to the Israelites about judgement in Lev 26:14, 18, 21, 27 is reflected, albeit not in a strong way, in 4Q385a 18ia_b:8–9. The Apocryphon of Jeremiah uses the past tense to remind the Israelites of their disobedience to God’s covenant and commands.

Second, the Lord’s judgement with the sword and concern with the remnant from Lev 26:25 and 36 is reflected in the ideology and expressions in 4Q390 1:9–10.

Lev 26:25

I will bring the sword against you, executing vengeance for the covenant; and if you withdraw within your cities, I will send pestilence among you, and you shall be delivered into enemy hands.

Lev 26:36

And as for those of you who survive, I will send faintness into their hearts in the lands of their enemies

4Q390 1:9

So I shall hide my face from them, give them into the hand of their enemies, and hand [them] over

4Q390 1:10

And as for those of you who survive, I will send faintness into their hearts in the lands of their enemies

In the parallel above, 4Q390 1:9–10 seems to echo Lev 26:25 and 36, regarding God’s judgement with the sword. The idea of the remnant in Lev 26:36 and of God’s faithfulness to the covenant with the forefathers in Lev 26:42 seem to be echoed in 4Q390 1:9–10, both in terms of words and ideology.
2. Works Whose Final Form Belongs to the First Century BCE

a. 4QTohorot A (4Q274)

4QTohorot A is a legal text concerned with purification laws. Although some of the topics discussed in the composition could reflect debates from earlier periods, it is likely that the final form of the work belongs in the first century BCE. The one manuscript copy that survives is written in a script from the early Herodian period, which is estimated to be the first century BCE.24 The meaning of Tohorot (טוהרót) is “cleanliness” or “purity,” as in the last six orders of the Mishnah, which concern themes of impurity, ritual impurity, uncleanness from leprosy, unclean foods, ritual immersion, and uncleanness of unwashed hands.25 Here I will discuss just one example of a purity law from Leviticus that has influenced the language of 4QTohorot A.

The ideology and expressions of this purity law from Leviticus are reflected heavily in 4Q274. In Lev 15:1–33 the emphasis throughout is on four matters: 1) the character of the discharge that signifies flux-uncleanness, 2) the effects of the status of uncleanness; objects that are subject to uncleanness, 3) how the uncleanness is transmitted, and 4) the mode of purification and attendant cultic rite signifying the regaining of the normal status of cleanness. The purity laws in 4QTohorot A are presented in several ways as dependent upon Leviticus. For example, the texts in 4Q274 1i:3–5 echo Levitical language and ideology with respect to menstrual impurity in women. The following example contains verbal overlaps and similar use of phrasing and ideas.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lev 13:45b–46a</th>
<th>4Q274 1i:3b–4a</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>יריכא גולו רחית [בר חנ]</td>
<td>4b כ די הזר אפר ממה ממה</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>יריכא יאשך眚ה יאשך¤ יאשך</td>
<td>5b כ ע הר אש יאש¤ יאשך יאשך¤</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>סלךימיו אשך יאשך¤ יאשך</td>
<td>4a כ נא יאש¤ יאשך¤ יאשך¤</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(45b) and cry out, ‘Unclean, unclean.’

(46a) He shall remain unclean as long as he has the disease

Lev 15:5

(3b) For as it says, ‘Unclean, unclean.’ (4a) he shall cry all the days which [he] has [the affliction]

Lev 15:5

And if she has touched anything, she shall wash her clothes and bathe and then she may eat

4Q274 1i:5a

Anyone who touches his bed shall wash his clothes, and bathe in water, and be unclean until the evening.

Lev 15:19

4Q274 1i:4b–5a

When a woman has a discharge of blood that is her regular discharge from her body, she shall be in her impurity for seven days, and whoever touches her shall be unclean until the evening.

4Q274 1i:4b–5a

(4b) And she who has a flow of blood, for seven days let her not touch the man who has a discharge or any vessel [that he touches or (5a) that he has lain upon or sat upon]

The expression, “Unclean Unclean,” in 4Q274 1i:3b is a verbal overlap found only in Lev 13:45. The process to become clean in 4Q274 is almost the same as the description of purification in Lev 15.26 The requirement to be clean before eating food in 4Q274 1i, 5a is found in Lev 15:5 and 22:4: “none…may eat of the holy things until he is clean.” The expression “may eat” in relation to eating holy or clean food is found in Leviticus repeatedly.27

The term “seven days” in relation to the period for becoming clean in 4Q274 1i:4b–5a related to a woman’s menstrual impurity, is found mainly in Leviticus. For example, the woman with a discharge of blood in her body who should not be touched for seven days mentioned in Lev 15:19 is reflected in 4Q274 1i:4b–5a. The expression and ideology of the purity law in Lev 15 is clearly the base text for 4Q274.28

---

27 Lev 11:2, 3, 9, 21–22, 39; 19:25; 25:12, etc.
28 Most of Lev 15 is related to the texts from Tohorot A. Leviticus 15 describes the boundary of the unclean regarding discharge of a woman, as follows: 1) whoever touches her shall be unclean until evening; 2) anything that she lies or sits on during her impurity shall be unclean; 3) anyone who touches her bedding, and anyone who touches any object on which she has sat, shall be unclean; 4) and if a man lies with her, her impurity is communicated to him. These details seem to be applied to Tohorot.
Leviticus in 4QTohorot A seems to reflect an aspiration that the laws of Leviticus should be strictly observed in daily life and not just understood as the expression of an ideal.

b. War Scroll

In this brief section I will not consider all the manuscripts of the War Scroll but focus on two examples of the influence of Leviticus that are clear in the principal copy of the Rule, 1QM (1Q33). The purpose of this section is to show that Leviticus is not only of interest to those concerned with composing legal texts, but is also in the minds of those who wrote other compositions.

The War Scroll is an eschatological ritual work with apocalyptic motifs that was probably compiled over several generations. The version present in 1QM was written in the early Herodian period (30–1 BCE). Many texts from Qumran have an eschatological orientation, such as 1QSa and 11QMelch; however, one of the most elaborate and distinctive eschatological compositions is the War Scroll.

In 1Q33 17:2–3, the judgement of God against Nadab and Abihu and God’s eternal covenant is dependent upon Lev 10:1–3 and Lev 24:8; 26:36, 42. 1Q33 17:2–3 is based upon the ideology of Leviticus: though God’s judgement happened, God’s faithfulness to the covenant remains.

First, the compiler of the War Scroll preferred Levitical texts rather than other texts from the Torah; in this case, it appears that 1Q33 17:2 is based upon Lev 10:1–3.

1Q33 17:2

Now Aaron’s sons, Nadab and Abihu, each took his censer, put fire in it, and laid incense on it; and they offered unholy fire before the Lord, such as he had not commanded them.

But, as for you, remember the judgment [of Nadab and Abi]hu, the sons of Aaron, by whose judgment God showed Himself holy before [all the people].
And fire came out from the presence of the Lord and consumed them, and they died before the Lord.

But Nadab and Abihu died before the Lord when they offered unauthorized fire (cf. 26:61)

Both Lev 10:1–2 and Num 3:4; 26:61 mention the judgement of God upon Nadab and Abihu found in 1Q33 17:2, but 1Q33 17:2 adds a further comment on the nature of God’s holiness which reflects the phrasing of Leviticus. As a result it seems that the author of 1Q33 17 has Leviticus in mind rather than the passages from Numbers. As Brooke notes, “it is not simply a spiritualisation of war, the depiction of the combat between good and evil as an internal spiritual struggle; it is a ritual campaign manual for those who have to fight an external enemy.”

These struggles and wars also seem to be echoed in Lev 26, which concerns judgement on those who do not listen to God’s commands.

The phrase “remember the judgement [of Nadab and Abihu]” seems to be related to the future judgement found in Lev 26. Warning about future judgement and the remnant in Lev 26:36 and 42 is possibly reflected in 1Q33 17:3 and 1Q33 13:7 with compatible ideas and some similar phrasing as follows. The following example contains similar use of phrasing and compatible ideas, based upon my own use of electronic search instruments, showing that the use of Leviticus is more widespread than noted from previous investigations by scholars.

---


And as for those of you who survive, I will send faintness into their hearts in the lands of their enemies.

Then will I remember my covenant with Jacob; I will remember also my covenant with Isaac and also my covenant with Abraham, and I will remember the land.

You made a covenant with our fathers, and established it for their seed.

The judgement of God, remnant, and covenant in Lev 26 is reflected in 1Q33 17:2b–3 and 13:7b, probably borrowing the ideology and motif of God’s judgment from Leviticus and applying it in the composition of 1Q33. These passages seem to share certain ideas with key sections of the Damascus Document as described in chapter V.

c. 4QHalakah A (4Q251)

4Q251 (4QHalaka A) dealing with halakhic issues is one of three Halakha texts (4Q251, 4Q264a and 4Q472). 4Q251 consists of twenty-six fragments. Its script is formal Hebrew handwriting, dating to the early Herodian period. The date of composition is probably earlier, but like 4Q274 its final form probably belongs in the first century BCE. Some of the halakhic issues in 4Q251 are dependent upon Leviticus. This section

---


33 The sacrificial law from Lev 7:13 appears in 4Q251 9:4, sexual law from Lev 18:13 appears in (4Q251) 11:12, the harvest rules from Lev 19:23–25 appear in 4Q251 10:8–9, the law about a pregnant animal from Lev 22:27–28 appears in 4Q251 12:1–2, the rule about firstfruits from Lev 23:17 appears in (4Q251) 9:4, and Jubilee from Lev 27:21 appears in 4Q251 14:2. The author of 4Q251 adopts various laws,
provides one example of laws concerning sexual prohibitions in the family in Lev 18 and 20 that are reflected in 4Q251 17, 1–6. The following example contains similar use of phrasing and ideas.

Leviticus 18:6–18 deals with prohibited relationships that may have influenced 4Q251 17 since this text includes most of the prohibited relationships from Lev 18; however, 4Q251 17:3 extends this prohibited relationship to include a brother’s or sister’s daughter. Though Leviticus 18 and 20 also deal with relationships with animals, 4Q251 deals only with human relationships.34

---

34 CD A 5:7b–11a mentions the prohibition against uncle-niece marriages, which is parallel to Lev 18:12–13; the prohibition of marriage between an uncle and a niece is recorded also in 11QTa LXVI:15–17
4Q251 17:1–2, which begins with the prohibited relationship with a wife of a son’s father (Lev 18:7), is reconstructed in 4Q251 17:3 to include a brother’s or wife’s daughter, which is missing in Lev 18:11–12. 35 4Q251 does not contain all the detailed prohibited relationships from Lev 18, but 4Q251 at least follows the order of Lev 18 and adds more material based on Lev 18. Something of the same concern with Lev 18 and 20 is reflected in the harmonized version of the chapters in 11QpalaeoLev².

d. The Rule of the Community (1QS)

Although there are several versions of the Rule of the Community from Qumran Cave 4, in this section I will simply discuss some of the evidence for the use of Leviticus in the Cave 1 version of the Rule (1QS). 1QS is dated to the first half of the first century BCE. 1QS contains several sections concerned with ritual purity and the metaphorical use of temple language; it also describes communal meals. 36 This section provides three examples of the reflection of Leviticus in 1QS: separation from uncleanness, sacrifice, and covenant. 37

The theme of separating clean from unclean in Leviticus is reflected in 1QS in various places. 38

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lev 15:31</th>
<th>1QS 8:24</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ואם בָּכָנָה יִשְׂמָמְתָהּ וְחָבוּרָה</td>
<td>אַתֶּם בָּכָנָה יִשְׂמָמְתָהּ וְחָבוּרָה</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

35 Cf. Lev 20:19
37 Leviticus 19:18 seems to be the basis for communal behaviour as reflected in 1QS 7:8–9. See Metso, Serekh Texts, 46–7; Shani Tzoref, “The Use of Scripture in the Community Rule,” in A Companion to Biblical Interpretation in Early Judaism, ed. Matthias Henze (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2012), 203–33, esp. 205.
38 1QS 2:16; 5:1, 10, 18; 7:3, 5; 8:13, 24; 9:9, 20.
Thus you shall keep the people of Israel separate from their uncleanness, so that they do not die in their uncleanness by defiling my tabernacle that is in their midst.

Lev 20:25

You shall therefore make a distinction between the clean animal and the unclean, and between the unclean bird and the clean.

1QS 9:9

Have failed to cleanse their path by separating from perversity and walking blamelessly.

1QS 9:20–21a

(20) He shall instruct them in every legal finding that is to regulate their works in that time, and teach them to separate from every man who fails to keep himself from perversity (21a) from perversity.

In Lev 15:31 and 20:25a two kinds of separation are commanded: separation between human beings and separation between animals. In 1QS, separation of human beings from perversity and from a pure meal echoes Lev 20:25a in its concern to protect cleanness.39

More specifically, 1QS 8:10 deals with an acceptable sacrifice and proper atoning for the land. The author of 1QS introduces the concept of eternal statutes (לְדוּתָם שלֹא), an expression found in Lev 16:31 that refers to Sabbath keeping.

Lev 16:31

It is a sabbath of complete rest to you, and you shall deny yourselves; it is a statute forever.

1QS 8:10

Upholding the covenant of eternal statutes. They shall be an acceptable sacrifice, atoning for the land.

---

The expression, “eternal statute,” appears around twenty times in Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers, but Leviticus contains more than ten references that include the prohibition of eating blood or drinking wine (Lev 3:17, 10:9), keeping the Sabbath (Lev 16:31), and celebrating feasts (Lev 23:4). In Leviticus the Sabbath is introduced as an eternal statute (Lev 16:31), which is connected with the desolation of the land in relation to not keeping the Sabbath. 1QS 8:10 does not refer to the Sabbath directly, but this text commands the community to uphold the eternal statutes that will be an acceptable sacrifice that atones for the land. Leviticus 16:31 links the eternal statute of the Sabbath with the land, which becomes a significant theme in the latter part of Leviticus. The request to be holy, a concept that sets the community apart (1QS 8:11), sounds similar to the command to be holy in Leviticus. 1QS might have been used as authoritative for the communities at Qumran and elsewhere.41

The eternal covenant in 1QS 4:22 is influenced by Lev 26:42.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lev 24:8</th>
<th>1QS 4:22b</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Every sabbath day shall set them in order before the Lord regularly as a commitment of the people of Israel, as a covenant forever.</td>
<td>Indeed, God has chosen them for an eternal covenant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Then I will remember my covenant with Jacob, and I will remember my covenant with Isaac and my covenant with Abraham, and I will remember the land.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

40 The expression (ברויאָלָה קְדוֹשָׁה לָאָלֶּהֶם עַל-ם מֵדֱעָה) “they shall be set apart as holy in the midst of the council of the men of the Yahad” in 1QS 8:11 implies that the entire sect is a segregated group (1Q8:10-11). See Regev, Sectarian in Qumran, 36.

Thus, though 1QS does not use Leviticus texts explicitly, the ideology of the covenant of Lev 26 is present in 1QS 4:22b. Shani Tzoref states, “the characteristic is directly related to motive—the author of 1QS recasts biblical languages and concepts for his sectarian purposes, especially to present the Community as the righteous remnant of Israel, destined for salvation through proper observations of God’s Torah.” The ideology in Lev 26 indicates that the covenant is forever, which confirms God’s faithfulness.

These three examples of allusions to Leviticus in 1QS confirm the priestly outlook of the movement, some of whose members took up residence at Qumran.

C. Conclusion

I have attempted to show various uses of Leviticus in some other texts from the Qumran Caves. This chapter provides evidence that Leviticus significantly influenced other compositions in relation to sacrificial laws, purity laws, sexual laws, judgement, and covenant. The ideology and content of the Levitical passages are key factors in the composition of other texts from the Qumran Caves.

First, as in the other compositions considered in Chapters III–VI, Lev 26 is again a major source behind the composition of various texts. In the War Scroll, Apocryphon of Jeremiah, and 1QS, Lev 26 and its concern with judgement and covenant is clearly found with identical expressions and ideological motifs. Leviticus 26 is surely an important foundational chapter for several other texts from the Qumran Caves, not only early or pre-sectarian compositions, but also later traditions contemporary with sectarian documents.

Second, priestly laws, purity laws, and sexual laws from Leviticus are influential in both early or pre-sectarian times and also in later traditions from the Qumran Caves. Aramaic Levi Document uses the sacrificial process of Lev 1, and the Genesis Apocryphon

42 Tzoref, “Use of Scripture,” 203–33.
is dependent on sacrificial law and eating the fruits in the fifth year as found in Leviticus. In addition, purity laws, sexual laws, and holiness from Lev 15, 18, 19, and 20 are found in the compositions discussed in this chapter. This research shows that the whole book of Leviticus influences a wide range of texts from the Qumran Caves, not just from a certain era, but in all periods of the three centuries before the fall of the temple in 70 CE.

Whoever collected all the manuscripts in the Qumran Caves was heir to a long tradition of the use and reuse of Leviticus. This chapter has not considered all the possible allusions to Leviticus in compositions other than Jubilees, the Temple Scroll, the Damascus Document, and MMT, but a varied sample of compositions, both non-sectarian and sectarian, confirms my thesis about the use of Leviticus in the late Second Temple period.
Chapter VIII. Conclusion

In this thesis I have attempted to demonstrate how Leviticus has been read and used in the Second Temple period as is attested in the manuscripts from the Qumran Caves. The influence of Leviticus is widespread in sectarian and non-sectarian texts and in texts from earlier and later times. My research shows that some Second Temple texts are purposely concerned with the ideology and content of Leviticus, which is used in various ways to influence the structure, ideology, and content of certain compositions.

Chapter II briefly describes twenty-five Leviticus manuscripts; these manuscripts indicate that Leviticus was probably read and heard as much as any other scriptural book, with the possible exception of the Psalms. Many of the manuscripts of Leviticus can be classified as large or very large scrolls, which imply that they could have been used for public cultic purposes. This indicates that the use of Leviticus was not optional but primary for Jewish communities in the Second Temple period.

The twenty-five Leviticus scrolls seem to indicate that Leviticus was continuously influential from 250 BCE (4QExod-Lev£) to the early first century CE (MasLevβ) and used for various purposes. The book of Leviticus was sometimes written with other texts, such as Numbers or Exodus, on a single skin, but most of the manuscripts of Leviticus that survive seem to contain just Leviticus by itself. The manuscripts generally support the view that the text of Leviticus was relatively stable, though a few of them contain minor variants.43

Several distinctive features of Leviticus scrolls from Qumran and elsewhere can be highlighted. Leviticus survives in three languages: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek. There are

43 Tov suggests that there was only a single edition of Leviticus in circulation in the latter half of the Second Temple period. There are numerous minor variants between the manuscripts, but Leviticus is parallel to the several editions of Exodus and the two editions of Numbers that are attested. See Ulrich, “A Revised Edition of the ‘1QpaleoLev-Num’ and ‘1QpaleoLevβ?’ Fragments,” 341–47.
both square Hebrew and Palaeo-Hebrew manuscripts. Though no complete book of Leviticus survives, many of the Leviticus scrolls can be assumed to have contained the whole book. The manuscripts are in various sizes, which suggest that they had various functions in cultic, educational, and private settings.

In chapter III, I have shown the influence of Leviticus on Jubilees in two respects. The first of these concerns the structure of the final form of the book. Leviticus 26 in particular heavily influences Jubilees and controls its structure, which begins and ends with the theme of Sabbaths from Leviticus and narrates the texts in relation to the Sabbath theme. In addition, the term *jubilees* comes from Lev 25 and 27, and the heavy influence can be seen in that the entire book is based on a chronological system from Lev 25–27.

Second, Leviticus influences many of the themes of Jubilees. The author of Jubilees employs the themes of Leviticus—laws, chronology, covenant, and priestly ideology—in significant ways. The calendrical system in Jubilees is adapted from Leviticus to inform the appointed festival times, especially Sabbath observance. The understanding of Sabbath—that the Sabbath belonged to the Lord and that the Sabbath should be applied to the land as well as to the people of Israel—is also from Leviticus.

Leviticus 26:1–13, 14–46 includes God’s promises of both blessing and judgement, according to whether or not Israel obeyed the commands. These two themes, blessing and judgement, in terms of God’s covenant and God’s plan of restoration for His chosen people, are prominent in the beginning of Jubilees, and Levitical laws and commands are apparently adapted by the author of Jubilees throughout.

Cumulatively, Leviticus influences Jubilees in terms of structure and content, chronology, and ideology, not just partially or in selected sections, but in the entire process of its composition. Whereas most modern readers can immediately recognize that Jubilees is a representation of Genesis and parts of Exodus, this thesis has shown that the editorial
frame of the book and much of its content is dependent upon Leviticus.

In chapter IV, I have shown that Leviticus extensively influences the structure, content, and ideology of the Temple Scroll. The use of first person singular in Leviticus seems to affect the whole rewriting of the Temple Scroll, where the Lord is presented as speaking in the first person singular. “I am YHWH your God” is found frequently in Leviticus, whereas Exodus only uses this construction several times, suggesting that the compiler of the Temple Scroll had Leviticus in mind.

As with the book of Jubilees, Lev 26 plays a prominent role. The influence of Lev 26:42 is evident in 11QTa 29:2–10, the key editorial section of the Temple Scroll. This is made clear when the compiler of the Temple Scroll in col. 29:9–10 adapts the covenant with Jacob at Bethel from Lev 26:42, the only place where the covenant with Jacob is found. Though there are two different scholarly views about this covenant, both sides strongly agree that the Temple Scroll borrowed this key passage regarding the theology of the reestablishment of the covenant from Leviticus. Given this, the theology of the book of Leviticus may be assumed to control the ideology and structure of the Temple Scroll.

The Temple Scroll uses motifs from the book of Leviticus, such as cultic practices (11QTa 34:7–15; Lev 1:5–9), placement of lamp and lights (11QTa 9:12–14; Lev 24:2–4), and themes of land and sacrifice (11QTa 51:15, 19–21; Lev 20:24 and 26:1, 11QTa 2:5–8; Lev 3:2–11). These examples indicate that the author of the Temple Scroll borrows motifs from the book of Leviticus to compose a new text for ritual practices in a preeschatological period. For example, col. 34:7b–14 clearly follows the structure and order of Lev 1:5b–9b, with minor changes. 11QTa 9:12–14 (“lamps and light”) borrows the concepts of arranging the lamps from Lev 24:2–4, and adds the statement that it should be a statute forever from Lev 24:2–4, again clearly showing the influence of the strict law from Lev 24:2–4.
Passages from Leviticus also serve as a base text for the Temple Scroll. One section of the purity laws in 11QTα 48:3–51:2, that is col. 48:3–5a, heavily depends on Lev 11:21–22, and other passages in col. 48:3–51:2 follow the structure, words, or expressions very closely. The purity laws from Leviticus and its emphasis on the theme of holiness (Lev 19:2) are especially evident in the Temple Scroll, even though the compiler had a choice of concepts from other Pentateuchal books. The many passages from Leviticus imply that the compiler of the Temple Scroll has the complete book of Leviticus in mind in its composition.

In chapter V, I have shown how the compiler of the Damascus Document used Leviticus with respect to its structure, content, and ideology. Once again Lev 26 is prominent. The warning in Lev 26 is consistently applied throughout D, as the structural outline shows. Several important themes from Leviticus are evident in D: the patriarchs and the covenant, Sabbath and land, Three Nets of Belial, and disobedience in general. Some of the references are clear verbal overlaps and some are more implicit; however, cumulatively Leviticus is very influential in the composition of D.

The theme of patriarchs and covenant with the forefathers, their obedience and God’s faithfulness in Lev 26:42 and 45 is reflected in CD 1:4; 6:2; 20:17. The ideology of Sabbath and land in Leviticus is also found in CD 6:18 and 10:14, as the compiler of D relies upon themes found in Leviticus, namely that the land was devastated by the Lord because of disobedience (CD 5:21). Levitical purity laws in relation to fornication and defilement of the temple are found in the Three Nets of Belial in CD 4:15, 4:19–5:21, as it is used in Leviticus. The particular nature of fornication and of defiling the sanctuary, treated significantly in Leviticus, is reflected in D. Leviticus contains many cultic laws and commands the people were required to keep but were not observing. This disobedience is pointed out in CD 2:18, 21; 3:7b–8a, and 19:20.
Overall, Leviticus is a major resource not just for compiling the Damascus Document, but also for explaining the purposes and identity of the community behind the composition. The data and research in this chapter, especially concerning Lev 26 and the Holiness Code, show that Leviticus is a major foundational text for D.

In chapter VI, I have shown that Leviticus also influences the genre, content, structure, and purpose of MMT. Various sections of MMT are closely influenced by Leviticus’ ideology, especially in the B section; the blessing and cursing in Lev 26 shape the ideology of the C section—Leviticus 26 appears yet again. From this research, we can see clearly that issues such as slaughtering, sacrifice, marriage, judgement, and blessing, all of which are mainly described in Leviticus, indicate the close link between MMT and Leviticus.

When MMT commands its readers to be pure and holy, it is influenced by the theme of holiness in Leviticus. In constructing this letter, the compiler of MMT respects the order of Leviticus and presents a wide range of cultic practices from Leviticus, with extensions and greater strictness, using Leviticus texts to persuade the audience to follow the laws correctly for their own protection. MMT uses Levitical texts to explain the place of slaughter, purity of hides and bones, and the slaughter of pregnant animals. Significantly, the author of B combines contradictory laws from Leviticus to produce a clearer law to help the audience understand the text. In B 64–72, MMT not only borrows the ideology of Leviticus but also follows its detailed process of purification.

Prohibitions regarding illegal mixture and marriage from Lev 21 are also a base text for B 75–82, with the purpose of protecting the priests and ensuring that the people are holy. Throughout, it appears the author of MMT adapted words and expressions from Leviticus in order to describe the laws more clearly and precisely. Based upon all of this
evidence, we can conclude that without Leviticus it would have been difficult for the author of MMT to compose section B.

In section C, though the author of MMT does not duplicate passages from Leviticus explicitly, the motif of blessing and cursing from Lev 26 as applied in C is implicit; the priestly encouragement to be separated from the majority, to become clean and remain pure, is obviously influenced by sections of Leviticus. As the survey in this chapter shows, parallels between MMT and Leviticus indicate the whole book of Leviticus prompts the construction of MMT in the order it is now found.

In chapter VII, I have attempted to show various uses of Leviticus in some other texts from Qumran. This chapter provides evidence that Leviticus significantly influences other scrolls in relation to sacrificial laws, purity laws, sexual laws, judgement, and covenant. Particular passages, ideology, or content from Leviticus become key factors in the compositions of other texts from Qumran.

As in the other texts from Qumran, Lev 26 is again a major source for composing scrolls. In the War Scroll, Apocryphon of Jeremiah, and 1QS, Lev 26 and its judgement and covenant are clearly found with identical expressions and ideology. Leviticus 26 lays a foundation for many other texts from Qumran, not only early or pre-sectarian texts but also later traditions contemporary with sectarian documents.

Priestly laws, purity laws, and sexual laws from Leviticus have been influential in both early or presectarian and later texts from the Qumran Caves. The Aramaic Levi Document uses the sacrificial process in Lev 1; the sacrificial law and time period for eating the fruits in the fifth year as found in Leviticus appear in the Genesis Apocryphon. In addition, purity laws, sexual laws, and notions of holiness from Lev 15, 18, 19, and 20 are found in these compositions. This research shows that the whole book of Leviticus
influenced other texts from Qumran, not just for a certain era, but from early to later traditions with sectarian documents.

A compelling argument for my assertions regarding the prevalence of Leviticus in the scrolls is that apart from Deuteronomy, there are more allusions to Leviticus in the scrolls than from other books of the Torah. In addition, the frequent references to Lev 26 suggest that this chapter from Leviticus played a significant role.

Taken together, I believe that all of these chapters provide convincing evidence of the prevalence of Leviticus in the minds and practice of the compilers and authors of the Scrolls from the Qumran Caves, both those that reflect the communities that preceded the sectarian writings as well as the sectarian movement itself, part of which was responsible for gathering the scrolls together in the caves at and near Qumran.

To sum up the argument of this thesis: the evidence of the influence and prevalence of Leviticus on the Dead Sea Scrolls is conclusive.
Bibliography


_____. “The Genesis Apocryphon and the Aramaic Targumin Revised: A View from Both Perspectives,” Pages 651–71 in vol. 2 of *The Dead Sea Scrolls in Context: Integrating the Dead Sea Scrolls in the Study of Ancient Texts, Languages, and


_____.


_____.


_____.


_____.


_____.


_____.


Choi, Baesick. “The Exegetical Interpretation of Leviticus 19:1–18 and the


Gillihan, Yonder Moynihan. *Civic Ideology, Organization, and Law in the Rule Scrolls: A


_____.


Himbaza, Innocent. “Textual Witnesses and Sacrificial Terminology in Leviticus 1–7.” Pages 97–111 in *Sôfer Mahîr: Essays in Honour of Adrian Schenker Offered by*


_____.

_____.


_____.

_____.


_____.


_____.

_____.

_____.


_____.


_____.


_____.


_____.


_____.

“Purity at Qumran: Cultic and Domestic.” Pages 91–124 in Judaism in Late Antiquity: Part Five, The Judaism of Qumran: A Systemic Reading of the Dead


_____.


_____.


_____. “The Composition of Jubilees.” Pages 22–35 in Enoch and the Mosaic Torah: The


____. “The Use of Scripture in the Community Rule.” Pages 203–33 in *A Companion to Biblical Interpretation in Early Judaism*. Edited by Matthias Henze. Grand Rapids,

_____.


_____.


Zahn, Molly M. Rethinking Rewritten Scripture: Composition and Exegesis in the 4Q Reworked Pentateuch Manuscripts. STDJ 95. Leiden: Brill, 2011.

