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CONTENTS

The Dead Sea Scrolls and Early Christianity: Introduction

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This issue of *JISMOR*, the product of the Center for Interdisciplinary Study of the Monotheistic Religions, includes the results of the studies conducted by its research fellows, as well as their activities in and outside Japan. Let me introduce the first part of it.

The Feature and Article parts include, three papers read at a workshop that took place on October 6, 2018 at the Imadegawa Campus of Doshisha University, welcoming back Professor Emanuel Tov of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, a specialist in the study of the Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls, who spent a sabbatical at the School of Theology of Doshisha University back in 2006. This time it was an opportunity for CISMOR's young scholars, who in 2006 some of them were still undergraduate students, to read papers and receive comments from professor Tov. Of the five papers presented in the workshop, three are published in this issue: the keynote address by Prof. Tov himself, together with the paper by Dr. Teppei Kato in the Feature part, and the one by Dr. Koji Osawa in the articles part.[1]

More than nine hundred different texts written in ink on scrolls made of leather are known today to have been found in the Judean Desert on the western side of the Dead Sea, for which they received the name "Dead Sea Scrolls" (=DSS). [2] The texts preserved in the dry and hot climate of the desert kept in clay containers in caves near the site known as Qumran, offer a wealth of material for the study of the Jewish and Christian Bible. Dating from the second century BCE up to the first century CE, and written in Hebrew and Aramaic, they are evidence of the development of the biblical texts and their evolution during that period into a canonical text. Within this wealth of texts scholars have distinguished between biblical canonical texts and texts that belonged to the people who lived in the region in segregated communities, and who either brought the manuscripts with them or wrote them in situ, having more composed beliefs and customs than those known from the Hebrew Bible in its Masoretic Text (=MT).

From the workshop on the Dead Sea Scrolls we are including here two papers; on the one hand, the paper by Prof. Emanuel Tov – a new interpretation of the possible way

of understanding on which manuscripts of the Hebrew Bible the early Christians based their citations and references, and on the other hand, the paper by Dr. Teppei Kato – a detailed discussion of one specific manuscript which was a product of Qumran's scribes, and is not a canonical text.

Prof. Tov's paper "The Biblical DSS as Representing Variety in Judaism and Early Christianity" details the possible evolution of the Hebrew Bible manuscripts, labeling the texts from the Judean Desert (texts from Murabba'at, Naḥal Ḥever, Naḥal Ṣe'elim, etc.) as Proto-Masoretic Texts (Proto-MT), while those from Qumran (labeled the Dead Sea Scrolls, and which have differing wording) as not Proto-MT; in Tov's words: "The Qumran community believed in an open textual approach, that included popular texts and texts that reflect a free copying of the MT texts (the MT-like texts), while the Judean Desert communities strictly held on the MT." Some of the most important pieces of evidence for this are the differing *Tefillin* found in on different sites. Tov then notes that "Proto-MT is further reflected in the *targumim*, the Jewish-Greek translations, and the Vulgate." Furthermore "no proto-MT texts were preserved at the early site of Qumran." Based on the assumption that the texts of the Hebrew Bible originated from and developed in Palestine, Tov has divided the manuscripts into two groups: one is the proto-MT which belonged to the intellectual elite, the other is what he termed as "popular" and includes the Septuagint (LXX) and the Samaritan Pentateuch (SP) which are similar to the Qumran texts. These variations led Tov to take further steps and look at the textual variety projected in the Greek New Testament usage of the Hebrew Bible texts. A large variety of examples discussed by him, bear witness to his conclusion that "it can be said that the textual situation in early Judaism and in Christianity developed along similar lines. Different types of texts were known in both Judaism and Christianity."

The second paper by Dr. Teppei Kato deals with a specific text from Qumran labeled 4QMMT (standing for the text coming from Cave number 4, and its title *Miqsat Ma'ase Ha-Torah*). This text was written by the people of Qumran and was considered by scholars to be a "sectarian" text, that is to say, belonging to the people who lived in Qumran, and who adhered to a strict set of closed laws regarding communal life, which did not follow the laws of the priesthood elite in Jerusalem before the destruction of the temple nor the laws laid down by part of the Rabbis after the destruction of the Jerusalem Temple in 70CE. Dr. Kato questions the reconstruction of the entire text, suggesting that several fragments show different paleography from the main text and further denotes the fact that no special

terminology points to the sectarian characteristic of the text. He thus concludes that identifying the DSS text 4QMMT as a sectarian text is doubtful.

Both these papers offer a glimpse into the current research of the Dead Sea Scrolls, as a representation of the voice of the Qumran community as well as a forerunner to early Christian writings.

Notes

[1] The third paper by Dr. Koji Osawa, under the article part, offers a comparative study of the figure of the Priest Aaron in the biblical texts and the Dead Sea Scrolls. The other two papers presented in the workshop, by Dr. Tetsu Kitamura, "Ezekiel in the Dead Sea Scrolls", and by Dr. Kaori Ozawa, "Angels in the Dead Sea Scrolls", are to be published elsewhere. For the detailed program of the workshop see *CISMOR VOICE* vol. 28, pp. 2-3. (http://www.cismor.jp/jp/series/voice/).

[2] For the Digital Library of the Dead Sea Scrolls by the IAA see the "Leon Levy DSS" https://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/explore-the-archive.

The Biblical DSS as Representing Variety in Judaism and Early Christianity

Emanuel Tov

I. Textual Variety in Judaism

The purpose of this paper is to examine the variety within Judaism and Christianity regarding the biblical texts used in each of these religious environments. We will focus more on the situation within Judaism than within Christianity since more texts are known for the former group.

We base ourselves especially on the situation in the Judean Desert, where a multitude of texts has been found. These texts reflect a different textual reality in Qumran and the other sites in the Judean Desert, Masada, Wadi Murabbaʿat, Wadi Sdeir, Naḥal Ḥever, Naḥal Arugot, and Naḥal Ṣeʾelim. These other sites house texts that belong to the group that preceded the Masoretic Text, and that are usually named the proto-Masoretic Text. On the other hand, in Qumran we witness a textual plurality that includes several "popular" texts. The difference between the various groups of texts is characterized as socio-religious and not chronological, that is, different texts were used at the same time by different groups in ancient Israel.

We first turn to the proto-Masoretic and Masoretic Text.

A. The (Proto)-Masoretic Text
1. Proto-Masoretic Texts: Definition[1]

There has been much progress in the research of the Masoretic Text since the first Judean Desert scrolls were found seventy years ago. The medieval components of the Masoretic Text, its vowels and accents, were not included in the ancient scrolls, and they continue to be studied as exponents of medieval texts based on earlier sources. However, the consonantal framework is ostensibly ancient, as it was preceded by virtually identical ancient texts such as those found in some of the Judean Desert scrolls that are now called proto-Masoretic.

A new term has been invented for these texts. Few scholars realize today that the term "proto-Masoretic" did not exist seventy years ago. At one point, scholars started using that term when describing Judean Desert scrolls that were so closely connected to the medieval

texts that the latter could be conceived of as the immediate continuation of the former. [2]

2. Proto-Masoretic Texts: Essence

Moving from terminology to content, I will try to identify the real proto-Masoretic texts. However, what is our frame of reference when comparing ancient sources with the medieval texts, since the latter differ among themselves in small details? The accurate Tiberian manuscripts often differ from the Sephardi, Ashkenazi, and Italian manuscripts while, within the Tiberian group, Codex L(eningrad) hardly differs from the Aleppo Codex. If we take Codex L as our point of reference, there are Judean Desert scrolls that differ no more from that codex than the medieval texts differ from one another. These Judean Desert scrolls differ slightly from Codex L, merely up to two percent of their words. This is the first circle of true proto-Masoretic scrolls that have their natural continuation in the medieval texts, for example, MasPs[a] (end of the first century BCE), MasLev[b] (30 BCE–30 CE), 5/6ḤevPs (50–68 CE), and MurXII (ca. 115 CE). The second circle, still within the Masoretic family, differs in up to ten percent of its words, in minute spelling differences and in small details in content and language. I assign the name "MT-like texts" to this group (while Armin Lange labels them semi-Masoretic texts[3]). Examples are 4QJer[a] (225–175 BCE), 1QIsa[b] (50–25 BCE), and 4QJer[c] (25–1 BCE).[4]

3. Opposition between Proto-Masoretic and Other Texts in Antiquity

One of the amazing facts about the Judean Desert text corpora is that they display a very clear dichotomy. The Qumran corpus is characterized by textual variety, while the other sites only reflect the proto-Masoretic text. The textual variety of Qumran includes a large number of MT-like texts in the Torah, along with a small number of texts that are close to SP and the LXX, and a large number of non-aligned texts in the other books. In my analysis, there are no Qumran texts that are long enough to be identified as proto-MT.[5]

There is only one explanation for the present situation: the community that lived at Qumran had textual preferences that differed from those of the Judean Desert communities. It is no coincidence that in the same period, between 50 BCE and 70 CE, only proto-Masoretic scrolls ended up at the Judean Desert sites, and no such scrolls were taken to Qumran. Instead, at Qumran we find evidence of a variety of textual profiles. This assumption is supported by the evidence of the tefillin (phylacteries) adding a sociological aspect to the textual evidence.

The Qumran tefillin differ from those from the Judean Desert sites (Murabba'at, Naḥal Ḥever, Naḥal Ṣe'elim, etc.). For the sake of argument, the latter will be named "Judean

Desert tefillin" even though Qumran is also found in the Judean Desert.

The Qumran community believed in an open textual approach, that included popular texts and texts that reflect a free copying of the MT texts (the MT-like texts), while the Judean Desert communities strictly held on the MT.

The many tefillin found at the Judean Desert sites differ from those at Qumran with regard to several parameters:[6]

Two different profiles of tefillin are recognized, as the inclusion of Scripture passages in the tefillin usually coincides with their textual character and the manufacturing methods:

a. Rabbinic-type tefillin from the Judean Desert contain the passages required by the rabbis together with the spelling and content of MT (both proto-MT and MT-like). They lack interlinear additions as a means of correcting,[7] do not break up words at the ends of lines, are written on neatly shaped pieces of leather, and disallow the writing on both sides of the leather and the squeezing in of letters at the ends of lines.

b. Tefillin from Qumran contain passages beyond those required by the rabbis, they use a harmonizing Bible text, which usually reflects the texts of the LXX and SP that were current in Israel as "popular" texts, and they are written in the spelling and morphology of the Qumran Scribal Practice type.[8] The Qumran tefillin differ from the rabbinic tefillin in all the manufacturing details described in the previous paragraph.[9]

4. Background of MT

I now turn to the nature of the proto-Masoretic texts. These individual texts, and therefore also the later MT, should be considered a mixed bag textually before they were incorporated in the collection now known as MT. A slight layer of unity was imposed on them at a later stage. In the first stage, each biblical book formed a textual unit separate from other Scripture books, and was subject to constant change. All the proto-Masoretic texts went through two stages of development; during the first stage, each Scripture book was inconsistent at all levels, both internally and externally, in comparison with other Scripture books, especially in matters of spelling,[10] and was subject to perpetual motion regarding its content. In the second stage, extreme care was taken to no longer change the text and from then onwards it became a very carefully transmitted text. However significant as these assumptions may be – and they are mere assumptions – they do not bring us closer to clarifying the enigmatic background of the proto-MT. I will thus try to collect a few snippets of information on the first stage of that text from internal and external sources. Internal data may give us some clues about the nature of the proto-MT

text by looking inside the text. External data help us to analyze the persons and sources that embraced the proto-MT. The proto-MT influenced these sources, and not vice versa.

a. There is no evidence regarding *the persons* who shaped the proto-Masoretic text. It is very enticing to assume that certain theological circles were involved in the rewriting of at least a minute layer of the proto-MT text before it became sacrosanct, but the evidence is still lacking.

i. A comparison of the proto-MT with other textual witnesses reveals some features about that text. Undoubtedly, this kind of comparison is subjective and in each book the evidence is different. In the Torah, the proto-MT provides a conservative text as opposed to a harmonizing and facilitating one in the other witnesses.[11] On the other hand, in Joshua 20 it offers a *harmonizing* text, bringing the earlier law of the city of refuge of the LXX based of Numbers 35 (P) into agreement with the laws of Deuteronomy 19.[12] *I could continue in this way.* In the story of David and Goliath, MT adds a long *theological* explanation to the story of the LXX, stressing that God can bring victory to his people even through unimportant people (1 Sam 17:12–31). In Jeremiah, the second layer of the proto-MT stresses the guilt of the nation and the centrality of God.[13] However, I do not know how much these revisional layers in MT have in common. For example, Stipp concluded that the added layers of the proto-MT in Jeremiah and Ezekiel have nothing in common although both expand the short text underlying the LXX.[14] This kind of analysis does not provide information on the background of proto-MT. We learn about the authors of the proto-MT books, or a layer in the development of these books, but not necessarily about proto-MT itself.

ii. By the same token, there is no proof that the proto-Masoretic texts changed the content in any way in line with the views of proto-rabbinic circles in spite of the attempt by Geiger[15] and others to find Pharisaic and anti-Sadducean changes in MT. Such theological changes as are found in the text were inserted by individual scribes.[16] The proto-Masoretic text influenced the rabbis and not the other way around, because the text could no longer be changed when these circles were operating.

b. Moving to *external evidence*, we would like to know which persons held on to the proto-Masoretic texts in early centuries. Turning to archeological and literary sources, we find the proto-Masoretic texts in two synagogues (see below), we find texts and tefillin in the hands of the Zealots on Masada and the followers of Bar Kokhba in the Judean Desert communities, and later in the rabbinic literature. On the one hand there is a long line of users of the proto-Masoretic texts that can be identified with proto-rabbinic, Pharisaic, and rabbinic circles, and on the other hand we can also identify the persons and

communities that did *not* use the proto-Masoretic texts (see below).

c. *Synagogues*. On rare occasions, there is physical proof that MT was stored in synagogues. Three scrolls found in two synagogues provide unequivocal proof of the presence there of proto-Masoretic texts.[17] The latest evidence pertains to the Leviticus scroll from the first or second century CE (based on paleography) found in the *aron ha-qodesh* of the En-Gedi synagogue.[18] That synagogue is dated from the late third/early fourth century to ca. 600 CE.[19] The text of this fragmentary scroll of Leviticus 1–2 agrees in all its details, including the paragraph breaks, with Codex L, making it the first ancient source to agree completely with the medieval MT text. The Masada Deuteronomy scroll[20] (Deut 33:17–34:6) contains merely sixty-seven partial words.[21] Both scrolls were placed under the synagogue[22] floor in two separate *genizot*.[23]

The Masada Ezekiel[24] scroll (35:11–38:14), dating to 50–1 BCE, containing four large fragmentary columns, likewise reflects the text of Codex L with a few exceptions.[25]

d. *The people behind the Judean Desert collections*. What the persons behind these two corpora, the Zealots of Masada and the followers of Bar-Kokhba, have in common is that they were freedom fighters and political rebels. At the same time, in religious matters they closely followed the guidance of the (proto-)rabbinic spiritual centers in Jerusalem. Some scholars stress the priestly influence on the leadership of the Second Jewish Revolt.[26] It is fair to say that we have access to only a small percentage of the proto-Masoretic text, possibly five percent, but since all the early texts are virtually identical to the medieval MT, I believe that also in the other books the proto-Masoretic texts would have been identical to the medieval text.

Furthermore, a close link between the rabbis and the proto-Masoretic text is reflected in the content of most Judean Desert tefillin, which are written in the MT orthography and reflect the instructions of the rabbis for the manufacturing of the tefillin (see above, § 3).[27]

At a later period, the great majority of the biblical quotations in rabbinic literature and the *piyyutim* (liturgical hymns) reflect the text of proto-MT. This trend is very clear and therefore the few deviations from MT in these sources[28] are negligible. Proto-MT is further reflected in the targumim, the Jewish-Greek translations, and the Vulgate.[29]

Thus, the proto-Masoretic text was in the hands of the Pharisees after 70 CE as well as before that time, in addition to being in the hands of similar circles that cannot always be exactly defined.[30] But this does not mean that the proto-Masoretic text shows traces of Pharisaic influence.

e. As a counterweight to the communities that used the proto-MT texts, I now turn to the persons and communities that did *not* use the proto-Masoretic texts. In the first place,

this is the Qumran community in whose midst we found only a single proto-Masoretic text, 8QPhyl I.[31] Other Qumran texts that have been considered proto-Masoretic are either too small or their character is too uncertain to be considered as such.

I found no evidence that any Second Temple composition is based on MT. This shows that MT was not used as the base for writing additional compositions. There are no clear indications that any of the Qumran scrolls, the Apocrypha, or the Pseudepigrapha are based unmistakably on MT to the exclusion of other sources. If one were to remove the idiosyncratic readings from the Temple Scroll or the pesharim, we would not be left with MT. Although some Qumran compositions and quotations are based seemingly on MT, this assumption cannot be substantiated when there is no opposition between MT and these other sources. In only one case is the text of MT quoted to the exclusion of other texts, but the evidence is limited. This pertains to the long MT text of Jeremiah when compared with the short LXX text, as shown by Armin Lange for Ben Sira and three Qumran compositions.

Lange demonstrated that the Hebrew text of Ben Sira quoted Jeremiah in a few readings according to the long version of MT and not the short version of 4QJer[b,d] and the LXX.[32] From his examples, I quote: Jer 1:10 = Sir 49:7; 18:6 = Sir 36(33):13. Likewise, the quotations from Jer 33:17, 15 in 4QCommGen A (4Q252) 5:2, 3–4; Jer 29(36):21 in 4QList of False Prophets (4Q339), 5–6; Jer 27:12 in 4QBarkhi Nafshi 3:3 follow the long text of MT and not the short text of the LXX.[33]

f. The *earliest evidence* for the proto-MT (texts from Masada from 50 BCE) is much later than the earliest MT-like texts from Qumran (4QJer[a] ascribed to 225–175 BCE). In my view, this discrepancy resulted from the fact that no proto-MT texts were preserved at the early site of Qumran, and the communities that preserved the MT-like texts in the Judean Desert at a later period took with them more recent scrolls. From early times onwards, the procedure of creating precise scrolls was based on a physical comparison with a master copy stored in a central place. Only in this way could the exact identity of all scrolls be achieved. At the same time, less precise scrolls were created by scribes who freely inserted a few changes into these scrolls.

We were able to trace the history of the persons and communities that embraced the proto-MT; however, we have to be modest about these conclusions because they are instructive regarding the socio-religious environment of the proto-MT, but not about the proto-MT text itself, which remains enigmatic (see below, n. 46). We do not know much about the origin of that text before it became the proto-MT text. We may never be able to solve that issue although, at least in the Torah, there may be some clues.[34]

B. The Popular Texts of Palestine[35]

My working assumption is that in the Torah the proto-MT is the text of the intellectual and religious elite of Palestine, and that the other texts were kept with the people. In the Torah the proto-MT reflects a conservative text that was kept by the groups that may be named the forerunners of MT. The Qumran community held on to the non-MT texts that may be considered popular. Among these we find SP, the LXX, and several additional texts, such as texts that were copied in a free copying style. By the same token, there are many harmonizing texts of the Torah that were kept by the people that were not the elite, among them especially SP and the LXX that display clear secondary features. I call these popular texts, a term first used by Paul Kahle (but not for these texts). I do not know yet whether this distinction can be carried through in the other books.

One of the assumptions in my textual outlook is the idea that the SP group and the LXX are closely connected. The assumption of a common ancestor of the LXX and the SP group was first surmised in the 1815 monograph by Wilhelm Gesenius, who guided the discussion of the SP and LXX in a sound direction.[36] In Gesenius' view, the two traditions derived from a common source that he named the "Alexandrino-Samaritan edition."[37]

1. *The SP and the LXX*

Central in my analysis are both the large number of agreements between the SP and LXX, and their special nature.[38] These two sources agree frequently in secondary readings in all the books of the Torah. For example, in most of the differences between the SP and MT in Jacob's blessing in Genesis 49, the SP agrees with the LXX.[39] This closeness is visible especially in their shared and separate harmonizing pluses, but also in individual readings. In each of the books of the Torah, the LXX contains even more harmonizations than the SP. Until one does a word-for-word analysis of each of the Pentateuchal books one does not realize how often the LXX and SP agree in secondary readings (see below). This agreement is extended to the so-called pre-Samaritan Qumran scrolls. Compared with MT, the two sources also have in common a revision of the genealogical lists in Genesis 5 and 11, in which revisional and hence secondary traits are recognizable.[40] These combined data lead to the suggestion that the LXX and SP have a common background in secondary readings, even though they actually disagree as often as they agree.[41] Although the books of the Torah differ in content, the LXX and SP must have undergone a similar textual development or they were based on a common base text in all five books, although at a later stage the two texts went in separate directions.

2. *Compositions Based on the Common Text Base of LXX-SP*

The assumption that the LXX and SP derived from a common text base is supported by the fact that several rewritten Bible compositions are closer to the common text of the LXX and the SP than to MT (11QT[a], 4Q252 [4QComm Gen A], *Jubilees* in its Ethiopic versions, Pseudo-Philo, Genesis Apocryphon, as well as 4QTestimonia). In fact, there are no rewritten Bible compositions that are based clearly on MT instead of the LXX and SP.[42]

An additional group of texts based on the common LXX-SP base are the liturgical texts: two different branches of tefillin from Qumran[43] and three liturgical Qumran texts that contain the same pericopes as the tefillin (4QDeut[j,k1,n]).[44]

3. The Character of the Two Text Blocks in the Torah

The two tradition blocks differ not only in content but also in character. The texts of block II (all texts except for MT) are closely connected by links in common secondary features as opposed to mainly primary features in block I, MT. However, I stress that MT also contains some secondary features.

The novel idea of subdividing the textual witnesses of the Torah into two text blocks is closely connected with the perception of two different scribal approaches, conservative and popularizing.[45]

In this binary division, the primary nature of the texts cannot be proven. The discussion thus moves to the presence of secondary readings, among which harmonizations take a central position. The texts of block I are characterized by the absence of secondary features, and those of block II are characterized by their presence.

When stressing the secondary features of block II, I not only focus on elements that enable the characterization of these texts, but I also try to grasp their central features. It so happens that harmonizing additions represent the most characteristic *textual* feature of the LXX in the Torah. In a similar fashion, Esther Eshel has argued that the pre-Samaritan scrolls should be named "harmonistic" and not "pre-Samaritan," and she expanded that group to include texts such as 4Q158, *tefillin*, and *mezuzot*. I expand that group even further. My working hypothesis is that the texts that I have assigned to text block II are characterized by secondary textual features and the one text that is assigned to block I, MT, carries far fewer such features.

What is not included in the working hypothesis is the situation in the other books. If we preferred MT in the Torah as the most authentic text form, this is not the case in Samuel, Jeremiah, and possibly additional books. This can only mean that the persons who composed the archetype of MT did not use the same kind of copies for these books as they

used for the Torah.

4. *Popular Texts in the Post-Pentateuchal Books*

In the post-Pentateuchal books we also witness conservative and popular texts, as we do in the Torah, but the picture is different. In the Torah, most non-MT texts are popular, while this is not the case in the other books. In Samuel, we cannot characterize with certainty any text as conservative/precise or popular. Probably the LXX reflects such a text. In Jeremiah, the opposition between the two text forms is not along these lines either. Both the short and the long texts are fine texts, deriving from different stages in the development of the book. Likewise, the Qumran scrolls of Joshua are fine scrolls that differ in content from MT; the LXX of Joshua reflects a manuscript that is equally as old as MT or predates it. On the other hand, in Isaiah, the Minor Prophets, Qohelet, Canticles, Lamentations, and Psalms, we do have several popular scrolls, some of which were penned by the QSP school. Among the LXX books, several are of a midrashic nature, especially 1 Kings (3 Kingdoms), and they should be considered non-conservative.

The nature of MT remains enigmatic.[46] While the Torah in MT is a conservative text, the MT of Samuel and possibly Hosea is not. In several books, it clearly is not the oldest text, and therefore the rules for evaluating the books in MT differ between the Torah and the post-Pentateuchal books.

II. Textual Variety in Christianity

Within Christianity, the textual variety is of a different sort, referring to the employment of two different types of Greek text. The writings of the New Testament are our only source of information for early Christianity. They are in Greek, yet they reveal information about the Hebrew background of the NT, the texts used by the evangelists and Paul. Even the text used by some early Christian authors is relevant.

The early Christians made much use of the text of the Hebrew Bible, but signs of the direct use of the Hebrew Bible have not been preserved. All that has been preserved are the Christian texts in Greek. We thus learn indirectly about the use by the early Christians of Hebrew sources, since their exegetical systems resembled those of the members of the Qumran community. The exegetical system of the Qumran pesharim has much in common with that of the Gospels, as both communities base their belief on the Hebrew Bible.

We now turn to the question regarding which text form of the Bible was used by the early Christians. We noted above that the backgrounds of the individual proto-MT books

differ, but when we reach the first century CE, the proto-MT already exists as one textual unit, and we can ask legitimately about the approach of the early Christian sources towards the Jewish texts of the Hebrew Bible. The quotations from the NT could have been based on one of several sources. Did the early Christians use the proto-MT, the Bible of the Pharisees such as found in the Judean Desert in sites other than Qumran? Yes, and no. Not directly; that is, we have no Christian sources that quote from the Jewish Masoretic Bible in Hebrew, but the NT Gospels and Paul often quote from that text via a Greek intermediary. For, to all intents and purposes, the *kaige*-Th Greek revision of the LXX reflects the proto-MT text, which is the text that may be identified with Pharisaic and rabbinic circles. The NT often quotes the so-called *kaige*-Th text of the Greek Bible and not the LXX. In other words, the text of the very people that the NT often criticizes is quoted in the NT. However, in my view, the quotation of the Pharisaic text did not necessarily imply acceptance of the ideas of the Pharisees. In any case, most of the quotations were from the LXX, but we wonder why the text of *kaige*-Th was quoted.

In my view, the early Christians' choice of a text was narrowed down to a few options; the quotations were in Greek as the literature of the New Testament was in Greek. It was therefore natural that the existing Greek translations, which were Jewish translations, were chosen as the base text for the quotations. At that point, there existed no Christian-Greek translations of the Hebrew Bible, and, in fact, at no point in time were there any Christian-Greek versions of the Hebrew Old Testament.

When do we recognize NT Scripture quotations that differ from the LXX and are closer to MT than to the LXX *ad loc.*? Since most quotations reflect the LXX (OG), these unusual quotations reflect a special situation. This situation is recognized especially when the LXX *ad loc.* differs from MT because of its different Hebrew *Vorlage* or its free translation character. In the case of the free translation of the LXX of Isaiah, we can recognize these relations rather easily. In such cases, we can often identify the versions that are quoted in the NT, especially the *kaige*-Th revision from the first century BCE, which preceded the writing of the NT books. This version revised the OG towards a literal representation of the Hebrew text then current in Israel (the proto-Masoretic text), which later continued as the medieval MT. This line of research was initiated by Barthélemy within the realm of LXX studies,[47] and was continued within NT studies by such scholars as Dietrich-Alex Koch, Menken, and Wilk.[48] It is now clear that Matthew and Paul often quoted from *kaige*-Th.[49] There is no reason to assume that Matthew and Paul produced these literal translations, because the agreements between the quotations and known revisions such as *kaige*-Th are too obvious.[50]

A well-known example of such a quotation is the one from Isa 25:8 in 1 Cor 15:54 quoting not the LXX (κατέπιεν ὁ θανατός ἰσχύσας = MT בִּלַּע הַמָּוֶת לָנֶצַח), but *kaige*-Th, κατεπόθη ὁ θανατός εἰς νῖκος. The quotation reflects a variant understanding of MT's vocalization בִּלַּע ("he devoured") as בֻּלַּע ("was devoured"), as well as a different etymological understanding of לָנֶצַח as "to the victory."

I have no precise statistical information as to which manuscript tradition prevailed in the various NT writings, that of the OG or of the Hebraizing revisions. However, clearly the LXX (OG) was quoted in most writings of the NT,[51] and the use of an early Greek Scripture revision by Matthew and Paul pertains to a minority of the quotations. The use of the LXX in the Apocalypse of John is *sui generis*.[52]

It remains intriguing that Paul used both the LXX (OG) version and the *kaige*-Th revision for the same biblical book (Isaiah), apparently under the same conditions, and in the same epistles (Romans, 1 Corinthians).[53] Paul likewise quotes from revisional texts in 1 Kings (3 Reigns) and Job,[54] but in these cases he quotes more frequently from the LXX (OG).[55] It seems to me that Paul quoted from different versions concurrently or possibly he revised some of his own writings according to different LXX manuscripts.[56] Probably the type of text that was used by Paul and that was often central to the development of his ideas was not important to him. That is, during his travels, Paul based himself on the text that happened to be available to him in the communities in which he stayed. This situation caused him to use texts of a different nature, even Greek texts that derived from the Pharisaic circles with which he polemicized.

The case of Matthew's Bible is similar and, at the same time, different. Matthew reflects both the LXX (OG) and an early revision, but these two sources probably derived from different layers in Matthew's compositional process. The quotations from the OG (such as Matt 3:3 // Mark 1:3 = Isa 40:3 LXX) in Mark and Luke derived from Mark and Q (Luke), and Matthew altered them only slightly, as shown by Menken.[57] At the same time, the ten fulfillment prophecies in Matthew[58] reflect a revised Greek text such as *kaige*-Th in Isaiah, Jeremiah, the Minor Prophets, and the Psalms. According to Menken, this was Matthew's Bible that he must have known when he composed his Gospel in the last decades of the first century CE; on the other hand, according to Menken, the quotations from the LXX reflect Matthew's sources. Thus, Matthew himself did not use two different types of the Greek Bible, but he adhered to the Greek revised Bible text.[59]

The use made by an individual author of different Greek versions reflects the textual situation in Palestine at that time, as known from the finds from the Judean Desert. From the first century BCE onwards, there was an ever-growing discomfort with the LXX

version because of its deviations from the Hebrew text then current in Palestine. Revisions of the LXX (OG) started to appear. Our major source of information for this development is the Minor Prophets Scroll from Naḥal Ḥever from the first century BCE, which reflects the *kaige*-Th revision. Barthélemy characterized this revision as *Les devanciers d'Aquila*, describing it as "précédée d'une étude sur les traductions et recensions grecques de la Bible réalisées au premier siècle de notre ère sous l'influence du rabbinat palestinien." At Qumran, also in the Judean Desert, we found other Greek fragments that reflect the LXX version and are probably even closer to the OG than to the text of our main uncials.[60] Some of these Greek fragments are earlier than the Naḥal Ḥever scroll of the Minor Prophets (between the end of the second century BCE and the beginning of the first century CE). These Greek fragments, found at different localities in the Judean Desert, thus reflect different socioreligious conditions paralleled by the Hebrew texts found in these localities. Both the Hebrew and Greek texts from Qumran reflect a community that practiced openness at the textual level and was not tied to MT, while the other Judean Desert sites represent Jewish nationalistic circles that adhered only to the proto-rabbinic (proto-Masoretic) text in Hebrew and the Jewish revisions of the LXX towards that Hebrew text.[61]

In sum, it can be said that the textual situation in early Judaism and in Christianity developed along similar lines. Different types of texts were known in both Judaism and Christianity. In Judaism, there were diverging conservative and popular texts, and only the latter were used as the base for compositions based on the Hebrew Bible. Likewise, in the Greek-speaking Jewish-Christian community, there were two different Greek texts, the LXX (OG) and a Pharisaic revision of the LXX (OG), named *kaige*-Th. Both were used in early Christian writings without reflecting any ideological intentions.

Notes

1 For a longer version of the first part of this study, see my paper "The Socio-Religious Setting of the (Proto-) Masoretic Text," *Textus* 27 (2018): 134–52.

2 If I am not mistaken, this term was first used by William F. Albright in an influential 1955 study launching his "local texts theory." In this study, he wrote about the three text "recensions" located in three different localities, Babylonia ("the proto-Masoretic text-tradition"), Egypt ("the Egyptian recension of the LXX"), and Palestine. See William F. Albright, "New Light on Early Recensions of the Hebrew Bible," *BASOR* 140 (1955): 27–33, here 30. Indeed, the program "Google Books Ngram Viewer" indicates that this term did not appear in the literature written in the English language prior to 1955.

3 Armin Lange, *Handbuch der Textfunde vom Toten Meer, I: Die Handschriften biblischer Bücher*

von Qumran und den anderen Fundorten (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009), 16.

[4] On all these texts, as well as all other scrolls mentioned in this study, see Armin Lange, "2.2. Ancient Hebrew Texts," in *Textual History of the Bible*, *The Hebrew Bible, Vol. 1B, Pentateuch, Former and Latter Prophets*, ed. Armin Lange and Emanuel Tov (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 22–59.

[5] The only exceptions are 8QPhyl I and 4QGen[b] (50–100 CE), but the latter text, although classified as a Qumran text, probably derived from one of the other Judean Desert sites. See James R. Davila in Eugene Ulrich and Frank Moore Cross, eds., *Qumran Cave 4.VII: Genesis to Numbers*, DJD XII (Oxford: Clarendon, 1994 [repr. 1999]), 31.

[6] The data are provided in the tables and analysis in my study "The *Tefillin* from the Judean Desert and the Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible," in *Is There a Text in This Cave? Studies in the Textuality of the Dead Sea Scrolls in Honour of George J. Brooke*, ed. Ariel Feldman, Maria Cioată, and Charlotte Hempel, STDJ 119 (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 277–92.

[7] These additions are forbidden according to y. Meg. 1.71c: "One may hang <the letter above the line> in scrolls, but one may not hang <the letter above the line> in *tefillin* or *mezuzot*."

[8] For a description, see Emanuel Tov, *Scribal Practices and Approaches Reflected in the Texts Found in the Judean Desert*, STDJ 54 (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 261–73.

[9] The distinction between the two main types is not absolute, since one tefillin found at Qumran (8QPhyl I) is of the rabbinic type. Furthermore, some tefillin that were found at Qumran do *not* contain nonrequired passages and are not written in the QSP (4QPhyl C, D-E-F, R, S, XQPhyl 4). This fact probably indicates that the Qumranites not only produced new tefillin, but also imported tefillin from outside. The content of the Qumran tefillin was probably adapted from tefillin that had been imported.

[10] MT is an inconsistent collection, in spelling both within and between the books, in sense divisions, *pisqah be'emsa pasuq*, the extraordinary points, in linguistic features distinguishing the Torah from the other books, and in the separation of the early and late books.

[11] See my study "The Development of the Text of the Torah in Two Major Text Blocks," *Textus* 26 (2016): 1–27. http://www.hum.huji.ac.il/units.php?cat=5020andincat=4972, accessed March 29, 2018.

[12] See Emanuel Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible*, 3rd ed., rev. and enl. (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2012), 294–97 (henceforth: *TCHB*).

[13] See *TCHB*, 243.

[14] Hermann-Josef Stipp, *Studien zum Jeremiabuch*, FAT 96 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2015), 127–40.

[15] Abraham Geiger, *Urschrift und Übersetzungen der Bibel in ihrer Abhängigkeit von der innern Entwickelung des Judentums*, 2nd ed. (Frankfurt a. Main: Madda, 1928; Breslau: Heinauer, 1857); Alexander Rofé, "The Onset of Sects in Postexilic Judaism: Neglected Evidence from the Septuagint, Trito-Isaiah, Ben Sira, and Malachi," in *The Social World of Formative Christianity and Judaism, Essays in Tribute to Howard Clark Kee*, ed. Jacob Neusner et al. (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1988), 39–49 (40–41); idem, "Sectarian Corrections by Sadducees and Zealots in the Texts of the Hebrew Bible," *RivB* 64 (2016): 337–47.

[16] For example, Emanuel Tov, "Theological Tendencies in the Masoretic Text of Samuel," in *After Qumran: Old and Modern Editions of the Biblical Texts: The Historical Books*, ed. Hans Ausloos et al., BETL 246 (Leuven: Peeters, 2012), 3–20.

[17] The two Masada scrolls are luxury scrolls, as determined by their low rate of scribal intervention and their large top and bottom margins. See Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 125–29. The size of the top margin of the En-Gedi scroll cannot be verified because of the shrinkage of the leather following

the fire.

[18] See Segal, "Leviticus Scroll."

[19] Yoseph Porath et al., *The Synagogue of Roman-Byzantine En-Gedi* (forthcoming). In this case, the archeological evidence for the synagogue is later than that for the scrolls themselves; this shows that the scrolls could have been used for a considerable time, which is not unusual in a synagogue environment. In the meantime, see the statements of Porath in Segal et al., "An Early Leviticus Scroll," 3.

[20] MasDeut (1043/1–4) [Mas 1c]; see Shemaryahu Talmon, "Hebrew Fragments from Masada," in *Masada VI, The Yigael Yadin Excavations 1963–1965: Final Reports*, ed. Shemaryahu Talmon and Yigael Yadin (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1999), 51–58.

[21] This scroll contains the end of the book. It is not impossible that the last sheet(s) were damaged due to excessive use (cf. the re-inking of the last column of 1QIsaᵃ). I am aware that this fragment is of a very limited scope, but its luxury character (see n. 16), usually connected with MT content, should be taken into consideration as well. See Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 127. All of them agree with Codex L, including one paragraph break (33:19/20), with the exception of one spelling detail (33:19 MT Codex L ושפוני; MasDeut ושפני). The scroll has been dated to the early Herodian period (30–1 BCE). See Talmon, "Hebrew Fragments," 53.

[22] It is unclear whether the building already served as a synagogue in that period, but Yigael Yadin, *Masada, Herod's Fortress and the Zealots' Last Stand* (Jerusalem/Tel Aviv/Haifa: 1966), 181–92 thinks that this was the case. In any event, when the Zealots arrived, they definitely used the building as a synagogue. See Ehud Netzer, *Masada III, The Yigael Yadin Excavations 1963–1965, Final Reports, The Buildings, Stratigraphy and Architecture* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society and the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1991), 402–38.

[23] See Lee I. Levine, *The Ancient Synagogue: The First Thousand Years* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 35–41

[24] MasEzek (1043–2220) [Mas 1d], see Talmon, "Hebrew Fragments," 59–75.

[25] Eight differences in spelling, three differences in small details. In paragraph breaks, MasEzek is almost identical to some of the medieval texts as recorded by Talmon, "Hebrew Fragments," 73. On the other hand, the common text of Codex L and MasEzek differs often from that of LXX in these chapters.

[26] See David M. Goodblatt, "The Title *Nasi* and the Ideological Background of the Second Revolt," in *The Bar Kokhva Revolt—A New Approach*, ed. Aron Oppenheimer and Uriel Rappaport (Jerusalem: Yad Izhak Ben Zvi, 1984), 113–32. Heb.

[27] Remarkably, the same distinction between two types of Hebrew evidence (textual variety at Qumran and the exclusive use of the proto-MT at the other sites) is recognizable in the *Greek texts* found in the Judean Desert. The Greek Pentateuchal texts from Qumran reflect the central tradition of the LXX, and sometimes an earlier stage, occasionally differing from MT. On the other hand, 8ḤevXII gr from Naḥal Ḥever embodies a first-century BCE Jewish revision of the OG Minor Prophets towards the proto-Masoretic text. Thus, both the Hebrew and Greek texts from Qumran reflect a community that displays an open approach to the Scriptural text, not tied down to the proto-MT, while the other sites in the Judean Desert represent an approach of adhering only to the proto-Masoretic text in their Hebrew and Greek texts. The information from the Nahal Ḥever scroll thus enriches our knowledge of the social setting of the proto-Masoretic texts in a way that has not been utilized in the past for understanding the Hebrew texts. At the same site of Naḥal Ḥever we find not only the proto-Masoretic scrolls of Numbers, Deuteronomy, and Psalms, but also a Greek Scripture version that Barthélemy connected with rabbinic Judaism

in the title of his prepublication of that scroll. Barthélemy exaggerated when forging a link between the individual translation options and rabbinic exegesis.

28 See Tov, *TCHB*, 33.

29 See my study "The Aramaic, Syriac, and Latin Translations of Hebrew Scripture vis-à-vis the Masoretic Text," in Emanuel Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible, Qumran, Septuagint: Collected Essays, Volume 3*, VTSup 167 (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 82–94.

30 I gratefully acknowledge some of the criticisms of David Andrew Teeter, *Scribal Laws, Exegetical Variation in the Textual Transmission of Biblical Law in the Late Second Temple Period*, FAT 92 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2014), 227–37.

31 The proto-MT 4QGen[b], although classified as a Qumran text, probably derived from one of the Judean Desert sites, and needs to be detached from the Qumran corpus. See n. 5.

32 Armin Lange, "The Book of Jeremiah in the Hebrew and Greek Texts of Ben Sira," in *Making the Biblical Text: Textual Studies in the Hebrew and the Greek Bible*, ed. Innocent Himbaza, OBO 273 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2015), 118–61.

33 Armin Lange, "Texts within Texts: The Text of Jeremiah in the Exegetical Literature from Qumran," in *Is There a Text in This Cave?*, 187–208; idem, "The Text of the Book of Jeremiah according to Barkhi Nafshi and the Rule of Benedictions," in *Reading the Bible in Ancient Traditions and Modern Editions: Studies in Memory of Peter W. Flint*, ed. Andrew B. Perrin, Kyung S. Baek, and Daniel K. Falk, EJL 47 (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2017), 289–306.

34 I think that historical changes in the history of the Jewish people may have played an important role in the creation of the two text blocks in the Torah, that of the MT and that of all other texts, as described in my study "The Development of the Text of the Torah." The second text block may have been created in Palestine after the return from the exile, while the first one, a conservative text, could have been brought back from Babylon with the exiles. Thus already Albright, "New Light" and Frank M. Cross, "The Evolution of a Theory of Local Texts," in *Qumran and the History of the Biblical Text*, ed. Frank M. Cross and Shemaryahu Talmon (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1975), 306–20. Alternatively, the second text block could have co-existed all along with the first block in Palestine. The SP and the derivatives of the LXX-SP group are indeed Palestinian, while all theories about the geographic background of the first text block are mere hypotheses.

35 For this segment, see my study "From Popular Jewish LXX-SP Texts to Separate Sectarian Texts: Insights from the Dead Sea Scrolls," *The Samaritan Pentateuch and the Dead Sea Scrolls,* ed. Michael Langlois, CBET 94 (Leuven: Peeters, 2019), 19–40.

36 Wilhelm Gesenius, *De Pentateuchi Samaritani origine indole et auctoritate commentatio philologico-critica* (Halle: Bibliotheca Rengeriana, 1815).

37 Ibid., p. 14. Gesenius explained the background of the similarity between SP and the LXX by saying that "the Alexandrian translation and the Samaritan text derived from Judean codices which were similar to each other." This text, adopted by both the Jews of Alexandria and the Samaritans in Palestine, removed many problems from the original text, and should therefore be characterized as secondary.

38 For a detailed analysis of the close relation between the LXX and the SP group, see my study "The Shared Tradition of the Septuagint and the Samaritan Pentateuch," in Emanuel Tov, *Textual Developments, Collected Essays, Volume 4* (2019), 357–72.

39 This pertains to fourteen of the twenty different content differences between MT and the SP in verses 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 22, 23, 26.

40 Emanuel Tov, "The Genealogical Lists in Genesis 5 and 11 in Three Different Versions," in idem,

Textual Criticism … Collected Essays, Volume 3, 221–38.

[41] The use of secondary readings as a guiding principle in composing the stemma follows Paul Maas's principle of *Leitfehler* (indicative errors): Maas, *Textual Criticism*, 42–49; trans. of "Textkritik," in *Einleitung in die Altertumswissenschaft*, I, VII, ed. A. Gercke and E. Norden. These common secondary readings are so significant that the occurrence of a good number of them suffices to characterize textual witnesses. By the same token, the occurrence of a good number of common harmonizations in SP and the LXX suffices to characterize these two sources as textually close to each other. When this is recognized, the large deviations of the SP can be ascribed easily to a secondary factor (subsequent content editing of SP) even though these editorial manipulations are of a greater magnitude than the harmonizations themselves.

[42] For details, see my study "The Textual Base of the Biblical Quotations in Second Temple Compositions," in *Hā-ʾîsh Mōshe: Studies in Scriptural Interpretation in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature in Honor of Moshe J. Bernstein*, ed. Binyamin Y. Goldstein, Michael Segal, and George J. Brooke, STDJ 122 (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 280–302.

[43] See my study "The *Tefillin* from the Judean Desert and the Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible" and the analysis above (notes 8–10).

[44] 4QDeut[j] contains sections from Deuteronomy 5, 8, 10, 11, 32 and Exodus 12, 13; 4QDeut[k1] contains sections from Deuteronomy 5, 11, 32. 4QDeut[n] contains sections from Deuteronomy 8 and 5. In this list the sections from Deuteronomy 8 are not covered by the tefillin. On the close connection between these texts and the "Qumran tefillin" and the possibility that some of them served as master copies for these tefillin, see my study "The Qumran Tefillin and Their Possible Master Copies," in *On Wings of Prayer. Sources of Jewish Worship, Essays in Honor of Professor Stefan C. Reif on the Occasion of his Seventy-Fifth Birthday*, ed. Nuria Calduch-Benages, Michael W. Duggan, and Dalia Marx, Deuterocanonical and Cognate Literature Studies 44 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2019), 135–49.

[45] For details on these two approaches, see my study "The Development of the Text."

[46] See my study "The Enigma of the Masoretic Text," in *Theologie und Textgeschichte, Septuaginta und Masoretischer Text als Äußerungen theologischer Reflexion*, ed. Frank Ueberschaer, Thomas Wagner, and Jonathan Miles Robker, WUNT 407 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2018), 45–70.

[47] Dominique Barthélemy, *Les devanciers d'Aquila*, VTSup 10 (Leiden: Brill, 1963).

[48] Dieter-Alex Koch, *Die Schrift als Zeuge des Evangeliums. Untersuchungen zur Verwendung und zum Verständnis der Schrift bei Paulus*, BHT 69 (Tübingen: Mohr, 1986), 102–98; Maarten J. J. Menken, *Matthew's Bible: The Old Testament Text of the Evangelist*, BETL 173 (Leuven: Leuven University Press/Peeters, 2004); Florian Wilk, "The Letters of Paul as Witnesses to and for the Septuagint Text," in *Septuagint Research: Issues and Challenges in the Study of Greek Jewish Scriptures*, ed. Wolfgang Kraus and R. Glenn Wooden, SCS 53 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 2005), 253–71.

[49] For example, Wilk, "Letters of Paul," 264: "In twenty-one quotations … Each time the Greek version seems to have been reworked to align it with the Hebrew text. Each time, again, this version concurs more or less with one of the translations done by Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion." Koch provides different statistics (see n. 48).

[50] This point is made by Menken, *Matthew's Bible*, 280 and passim.

[51] Thus David S. New, *Old Testament Quotations in the Synoptic Gospels and the Two-Document Hypothesis*, SCS 37 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1993), 122–23; Thomas, "Old Testament Citations."

[52] The Apocalypse of John is close to the LXX in most of its quotations, which contain some idiosyncratic LXX renderings. See Gregory K. Beale, "A Reconsideration of the Text of Daniel

in the Apocalypse," *Bib* 67 (1986): 539–43. See also L. Paul Trudinger, "Some Observations Concerning the Text of the Old Testament in the Book of Revelation," *JTS* 17 (1966): 82–88, who stresses that the Apocalypse often reflects Th-Daniel. See further the insightful paper of Hermann Lichtenberger, "Das Alte Testament in der Offenbarung des Johannes," in *Die Septuaginta und das frühe Christentum: The Septuagint and Christian Origins*, ed. Thomas Scott Caulley and Hermann Lichtenberger (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2011), 382–90.

[53] Among other places, the LXX (OG) is reflected in Isa 10:22 (Rom 9:27); 29:14 (1 Cor 1:19); 29:16 (Rom 9:20); 40:13 (Rom 11:34); 45:23 (Rom 14:11); 52:5 (Rom 2:24); 59:7 (Rom 3:15); and 65:1–2 (Rom 10:20–21). Revisional texts are reflected in the following verses (for a thorough analysis, see Koch, *Die Schrift*, 59–83, who lists all the verses mentioned here): Isa 8:14 (Rom 9:33); 25:8 (1 Cor 15:54); 28:11 (1 Cor 14:21); and 52:7 (Rom 10:15).

[54] 1 Kgs 19:10 (Rom 11:3), 19:18 (Rom 11:4); Job 5:13 (1 Cor 3:19), 41:3 (Rom 11:35).

[55] For some examples, see Koch, *Die Schrift*, 51–57.

[56] This is one of the options mentioned by Wilk, "Letters," 267: "… either Paul's citations originated from at least three different versions of the Septuagint, or its revision toward the Hebrew had not been carried out consistently."

[57] Menken, *Matthew's Bible.*

[58] Matt 1:22–23 = Isa 7:14; 2:15 = Hos 11:1; 2:17–18 = Jer 31:15; 2:23 = Judg 13:5, 7; 4:14–16 = Isa 8:23–9:1; 8:17 = Isa 53:4; 12:17–21 = Isa 42:1–4; 13:35 = Ps 78:2; 21:4–5 = Zech 9:9; 27:9–10 = Zech 11:13.

[59] Menken, *Matthew's Bible*, passim, and summary on pp. 280–83.

[60] See my study "The Greek Biblical Texts from the Judean Desert," in *Hebrew Bible, Greek Bible, and Qumran: Collected Essays*, TSAJ 121 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008), 339–64.

[61] Ibid.

4QMMT Reconsidered:
Is It Really a Sectarian Text?

Teppei Kato

Abstract:

This paper takes up two topics concerning the so-called *Miqtsat Maʿasei Ha-Torah* (4QMMT): a general overview of the related research history and the ongoing discussion over its sectarian nature. The text has usually been considered a sectarian document sent by the leaders of the Qumran sect to the leaders of the priestly establishment in Jerusalem, as seen, for example, in the discussion between Lawrence H. Schiffman and James C. VanderKam. However, this assumption should be reconsidered. According to the research trends of recent years, for example the works by Steven D. Fraade, Adele Reinhartz, and Maxine L. Grossman, almost all of the commonly accepted theories about 4QMMT, including the definition of the genre, the date of the document, and the identification of the personal pronouns' antecedents, have come into question.

Introduction

The so-called *Miqtsat Maʿasei Ha-Torah*, or 4QMMT, is one of the most important but problematic texts discovered at Qumran. Norman Golb expressed his vivid impression of the text by saying, "Once read…such a manuscript can never be entirely 'forgotten.'"[1] Moreover, Charlotte Hempel raised the issue of the text's problematic nature: "MMT, perhaps more than any other text from Qumran, was read in light of a number of preconceptions."[2]

This paper mainly covers two topics involving this text. First, I give a general overview of the research history of 4QMMT, especially the research trends in recent years, to demonstrate that almost all of the commonly accepted theories about 4QMMT in the early period of this research—the definition of the genre, the date of the document, the identification of the antecedents of personal pronouns "we," "you," and "they" —are in question these days. Second, I deal with the presumed sectarian nature of 4QMMT. 4QMMT is usually considered a sectarian text[3] in scholarly discourse, for example in the discussion between Lawrence H. Schiffman and James C. VanderKam on the identification of the Qumran community. Although their discussion relies such an that assumption, the notion itself that 4QMMT is a sectarian text should be reconsidered.

The Structure of 4QMMT

4QMMT consists of six manuscripts, numbered 4Q394, 4Q395, 4Q396, 4Q397, 4Q398, and 4Q399, found in Cave 4 in 1953. According to the paleographic dating, these manuscripts were produced from 75 BCE to 50 CE, but even the oldest preserved manuscript is unlikely to be an autograph. Since all of the manuscripts are fragmentary and none of them contains the entire corpus, in volume 10 of DJD, published in 1994, John Strugnell and Elisha Qimron created a composite text, that is, a hypothetical text eclectically reproduced.[4]

This composite text has three parts: a calendar with introductory remarks (section A), a list of laws (section B), and a hortatory epilogue (section C). Just like the calendars of the *Community Rule* and the *Temple Scroll*, the calendar of section A, which is attested in only one copy (4Q394), adopts a 364-day soli-solar calendar system, which is one of the characteristics of the Qumran community.

The list of laws (section B) is reconstructed from 4Q394, 4Q395, 4Q396, 4Q397, and 4Q398 1-3. In this section, we can find writings on twenty issues of Jewish law: 1. The offering of the wheat of the Gentiles (B 3); 2. The sacrifice of the purity offering (B 5); 3.

The sacrifce of the Gentiles (B 8); 4. The sacrifice of peace-offerings (B 9-10); 5. The purity of the heifer used of the sin-offering (B 13); 6. The skins of the cattle and sheep (B 18); 7. The skins and bones of unclean animals (B 21); 8. The skin of the carcass of a clean animal (B 22-23); 9. … (B 24); 10. Pregnant animals (B 36); 11. Eating pregnant animals (B 37); 12. The Ammonite, the Moabite, the bastard and the man, whose testicles have been crushed and one whose penis has been cut off, who enter the congregation (B 39-40); 13. The blind (B 49); 14. The deaf (B 52-53); 15. Pouring of liquids (B 55); 16. Dogs are not to be brought into the sacred camp (B 58); 17. The planting of fruit trees in the land of Israel (B 62); 18. The lepers (B 64); 19. The impurities of a man (B 72-73); 20. Fornication practiced by the people (B 75).

As clearly seen from this list, the object of concern in section B is not theological matters but issues of Jewish law. Moreover, here the "we" group explains the laws to the "you" (pl.) group, whereas the "they" group commits such a serious legal violation that the "we" group cannot overlook it.[5]

The epilogue (section C) is reconstructed from 4Q397, 4Q398 11-17, and 4Q399. In comparison with the list of laws, the discourse in the epilogue is more dialogical. Furthermore, not only a "you" (pl.) group but also a specific "you" in singular can be found, while a "they" group only infrequently appears. At the beginning of the epilogue, the "we" group gives the famous statement of separation, saying "you know that we have separated from the mass of the people…and from mingling with them in these matters and from being in contact with them in these matters" (C 7-8). Furthermore, "you should understand the Book of Moses and the Books of the Prophets and David and all the events of every age" (C 10-11), since otherwise "you will depart from the way and…evil will befall you" (C 12). The author also refers to the kings known from the history of Israel, alluding to Deuteronomic theology. These kings are described as "seekers of the Law" (C24), whom "you" must remember and whose works "you" must understand. By following "some of the observances of the Law" (מקצת מעשי התורה; C27) as "we" taught, you and your people will be benefited.

Accepted Theories of 4QMMT and Their Dissolution

Since the text was officially introduced to the scholarly community in 1984,[6] 4QMMT has been researched in various ways. Many scholars have tried to determine various aspects of 4QMMT such as the definition of the genre, the date of the document, and the identification of the antecedents of the personal pronouns "we," "you," and "they."[7]

However, these accomplishments in the early period of this research history have been put into question these days.

The early editors of 4QMMT, John Strugnell and Elisha Qimron, determined the genre, the date of the document, and other characteristics as follows: 4QMMT is a halakhic letter sent by the leaders of the Qumran sect to the leaders of the priestly establishment in Jerusalem.[8] More precisely, the author who calls his group "we" is actually the Teacher of Righteousness, while the addressee "you" in either singular or plural is the author's opponent, a Hasmonean high priest in Jerusalem who was later called the Wicked Priest. If this is the case, it is reasonable to estimate that 4QMMT is dated to around 150 BCE, namely, the time when the Teacher of Righteousness lived in the community according to the *Damascus Document* (CD-A, col. I, ll. 6-9). Moreover, since "we" addresses "you" in a conciliatory tone in the epilogue, the members of the community are likely to have not yet completely separated themselves from Jerusalem, when 4QMMT was formed. In other words, Strugnell and Qimron regarded 4QMMT as an extramural document sent by the Qumran community to the outsiders against them.

Steven D. Fraade, however, conducted a "rhetorical experiment," in which he demonstrated that 4QMMT could be read as an intramural document.[9] According to Fraade, "we" as a collective persona actually never criticized the addressees but rather positively tried to include them. Also in the statement of separation in the epilogue, the authors separated themselves from the mass of the people, not from the addressee. In other words, 4QMMT is a document that is more pedagogical than polemical. Accordingly, Fraade concludes that 4QMMT is a pseudo-letter, that is, a document composed not as a letter for communication with outsiders but as a text for sectarian instruction. Furthermore, according to Fraade, there are only two parties in 4QMMT, since the "you" group is in fact a part of the "we" group (the "we" group encompassing the "you" group as opposed to the "they" group).

Adele Reinhartz in particular pays attention to the designations of "we," "you," and "they" in 4QMMT.[10] As seen above, some scholars, including Fraade, assume that 4QMMT refers to two parties, while others believe it refers to three parties. For the scholars who believe the two-party hypothesis, "the addressee is part of the same movement as the writer, but geographically and/or theologically somewhat removed from the author's group."[11] However, the scholars who believe the three-party hypothesis remain in the majority. Among these scholars, some consider the "we" group to be members of the Qumran sect including the Teacher of Righteousness, the "you" group a currently sympathetic Hasmonean leader, and the "they" group the multitude of the people

(the Pharisees or the proto-Pharisees).[12] Other supporters of the three-party hypothesis, on the other hand, reverse the identification of the "you" group and the "they" group, i.e., the "you" group includes the Pharisees and the "they" group includes the pro-Hasmonean Temple establishment.[13] Reinhartz herself, however, agrees with the two-party hypothesis based on her analysis of pronoun usage in some New Testament letters. In other words, like Fraade, Reinhartz also considers 4QMMT to be an intramural document written by the community for the instruction of its own members or potential members.

Under the strong influence of the "rhetorical experiment" of Fraade, Maxine L. Grossman examined the genre of 4QMMT.[14] Grossman presupposed three genres that were likely to be suitable for 4QMMT and analyzed how different each case would be depending upon the difference in genre. First, if we read 4QMMT as an epistle, it can be assumed that there are specific authors and addressees living in different places spatially and conceptually but nevertheless contemporaneously. Accordingly, the logical conclusion of reading 4QMMT as an epistle leads us to regard the probable author as the Teacher of Righteousness and the probable addressee as the Wicked Priest in the period of the community's foundation. Second, if we read 4QMMT as a treatise written in the period of foundation, it can be observed that the authors tried to be reasonable with their opponents, who were originally insiders, by telling the history of the community's foundation in a conciliatory voice. In this case, the addressee is not necessarily always the Wicked Priest, since the document can be interpreted as a compilation of general issues, not as the product of one specific conflict. Third, if we read 4QMMT as a document-after-the-fact, the author is not a member of the community in the early period. Accordingly, this way of reading does not tell us who established the community and when this person did it but how the later generations remembered and constructed the history of the community. Based on an analysis of these three cases, Grossman concluded that 4QMMT can be read in various ways depending on how readers identify its literary genre.

From reading the above three recent studies, we learn that we have no certainty at all about 4QMMT.[15] Almost all aspects of the commonly accepted theories are now in question: 4QMMT might be a polemical-extramural letter or a pedagogical-intermural treatise; there might be two parties or three parties; the author might be the Teacher of Righteousness or someone else; the addressee might be the Wicked Priest or someone else; the document might be dated to the early period of the community around 150 BCE or to the later period or perhaps even to the pre-Qumranic period.

Discussion between Schiffman and VanderKam

Before moving on to the sectarian nature of 4QMMT, we clarify the discussion between Lawrence H. Schiffman and James C. VanderKam on the identity of the Qumran community, since this discussion relies upon the assumption that 4QMMT is a sectarian text.

The crucial point of Schiffman's argument is that the earliest members of the Qumran community must have been the Sadducees, not the Essenes, in light of the list of laws in 4QMMT. According to Schiffman, at least four of the twenty laws agree with the opinions attributed to the Sadducees in tractate *Yadayim* 4.6-7 in the Mishnah (hereafter, m. Yad.).[16]

The first is whether books defile the hands. In the Mishnah, the Pharisees believe that the Bible defiles the hands, but secular books do not, whereas the Sadducees believe that all books defile the hands. The decision of the Sadducees here agrees with the laws of 4QMMT B 18-23, namely, the law prohibiting the bringing of skins of animals slaughtered outside the Temple into the Temple, and the law stipulating that such skins defile the person who brings them:

> **m. Yad. 4.6:** The Sadducees say, "We protest against you, O Pharisees, for ye say, The Sacred Scriptures render the hands unclean but the books of the Sectarians do not render the hands unclean."

> **4QMMT B 18-23:** (18) Concerning the skins of the cattle and the sheep … from (19) their skins vessels … they are not to (20) bring them to the Sanctuary … (21) … And furthermore concerning the skins and bones of unclean animals, they shall not make from their bones and from their skins (22) handles of vessels and … And furthermore concerning the skin of the carcass (23) of a clean animals, he who carries their carcass shall not touch the sacred purity.

The second issue concerns the ritual purity of bones. According to the Mishnah, the Pharisees believe that the bones of unclean animals are clean enough to make spoons, but the bones of a human are as unclean as his flesh. The Sadducees, on the other hand, insist that all bones, including those of human, are unclean. This Sadducean view is likely to agree with the discourse in 4QMMT B 18-23 and B 73-74:

> **m. Yad. 4.6:** Rabban Jochanan ben Zakkai said, "… Behold they [the Pharisees] say, The bones of a dead ass are clean, and the bones of Jochanan the High Priest

are unclean after his death."

4QMMT B 73-74: (73) We say that every bone to which (74) flesh is or is not attached is to be treated according to the law of the dead or slain.

The third issue involves the so-called *Nitzoq*, namely, the dispute over whether a stream of liquids conveys impurity: When pure water is poured from a pure container into an impure container, does the water becomes impure? The Sadducees believe that such impurity will return from the impure container back to the pure one through the stream, whereas the Pharisees reject this opinion. The same opinion as that advocated by the Sadducees can be found in 4QMMT B 55-58:

m. Yad. 4.7: The Sadducees say, "We protest against you, O Pharisees, for ye pronounce clean the interrupted flow [of liquid from vessel to vessel]."

4QMMT B 55-58: (55) And furthermore concerning the pouring (of liquids), we say that it contains no (56) purity. And furthermore the pouring does not separate the impure (57) from the pure for the poured liquid and that in the receptacle are alike, (58) one liquid.

The fourth issue has been taken as counterevidence of the third issue. The Pharisees in the Mishnah criticize the Sadducees for claiming that the water run-off from a burial ground is not impure. This statement of the Sadducees is inconsistent with their assertion that a pure container will become impure because of its connection to an impure container through a stream. Accordingly, this contradiction is used as proof by the Pharisees that the Sadducees maintain an inconsistent attitude in light of the third issue:

m. Yad. 4.7: The Pharisees say, "We protest against you, O Sadducees, for ye declare clean the channel of water that comes from a burial ground."

According to Schiffman, the author of 4QMMT accepts the Sadducean viewpoint with respect to these four issues but denies the Pharisaic opinions. Since Schiffman considers 4QMMT to be a sectarian document, he identifies the Qumran community as, in fact, the Sadducees, rather than the Essenes as usually assumed.

Based on his viewpoint of 4QMMT, Schiffman built up his hypothesis regarding the

development of the Qumran community:[17] The earlier members of the community were the Sadducees, and they were opposed to accepting the Hasmonean authority that replaced the Zadokite high priesthood after the Maccabean revolt (168-164 BCE). Then, some Zadokites who were dissatisfied with the situation separated themselves from the majority in Jerusalem to form their own sect, calling themselves the Sons of Zadok, since they considered themselves to be the true Israel. The Sadduceans who remained in Jerusalem adopted a new order that would be attributed to the Pharisees under the Hasmonean priests, and thus they no longer practiced the old Sadducean teachings. Although the Sons of Zadok initially intended to reconcile with the priests in Jerusalem, they gradually abandoned such hope and eventually became so radical that they cut off their connection with the outside world. Thus, since the original Sadducean people were isolated, they changed their attitudes to conform with the Essene sectarian manners and eventually formed their own community.

The scholar who entirely disagrees with Schiffman's theory is James C. VanderKam.[18] Following the conventional theory, VanderKam claims that the Qumran community is that of the Essenes, based primarily on evidence from the Roman geographer Pliny the Elder and the contents of the scrolls themselves as opposed to the descriptions of Essene beliefs and practices left by Josephus and others. According to VanderKam, there was no reason for Pliny to make a fake report, and there are many points of similarity between the descriptions of the Essenes in Josephus' *Jewish Wars* and those in the *Community Rule*. However, VanderKam acknowledged that three of Schiffman's four points give proper evidence of similarity to the Sadducean opinions in 4QMMT (VanderKam questions only the first issue, in which the defilement of hands is discussed). Nevertheless, VanderKam still claims that Schiffman's theory is an ill-founded argument for three reasons: first, there may well have been many areas in which the Sadducees and the Essenes agreed with one another; second, it is no simple matter to decide how much credence to give to the record of Sadducean-Pharisaic disputes in the Mishnah; and third, Schiffman ignores not only the numerous testimonies of Pliny and Josephus about the Essenes but also the non-Sadducean doctrines found in the Qumranic sectarian texts. According to these reasons, VanderKam concludes:

> The evidence from people like Josephus and Pliny (or his source), who had actually witnessed the ways and theology of the Essenes, and the data from central Qumran texts can hardly be outweighed by the few legal details on which Schiffman relies.[19]

In other words, VanderKam confirms the Essene hypothesis because the evidence that supports it is more convincing than that of Schiffman's theory. Accordingly, VanderKam rejects Schiffman's theory, although he does not disprove it, or rather he partially admits its validity.

Is 4QMMT Really a Sectarian Text?

Schiffman's theory and VanderKam's adherence to the conventional theory are irreconcilable. As VanderKam claims, Schiffman's theory cannot be posited without ignoring Pliny and Josephus as witnesses; on the other hand, as Schiffman argues, the similarity to Sadducean views in 4QMMT is so apparent that even VanderKam has no choice but to accept it. Just as parallel lines never converge, so Schiffman and VanderKam will never succeed in narrowing their differences on the identification of the Qumran community. However, there is one necessary precondition that both sides must meet in order to validate their theories: verifying the sectarian nature of 4QMMT. 4QMMT is clearly considered a sectarian text, since both Schiffman and VanderKam found points of similarity between 4QMMT and various sectarian texts (e.g. the *Temple Scrolls*), especially with regard to the 364-day soli-solar calendar system.[20]

It remains in question, however, whether 4QMMT actually is a sectarian text.[21] In the early period of this research history, the sectarian nature of 4QMMT was taken for granted, since the editors Strugnell and Qimron regarded the author as the Teacher of Righteousness and the addressee as the Wicked Priest. However, we should recall that the accepted theories of 4QMMT have drastically changed. If 4QMMT were not a sectarian text, Schiffman's theory and VanderKam's refutation would both be reasonable, since the identification of 4QMMT and that of the Qumran community would have turned out to be incorrect.

There are two reasons why we need to question the sectarian nature of 4QMMT: First, some scholars conclude that the calendar of section A does not apply to the rest of the sections.[22] The major part of the calendar appears only in fragments 4Q394 1-2 (originally numbered 4Q397), and the brief ending part is preserved at the beginning of 4Q394 frgs. 3a-4 col. i, 1-3. Since the manuscript 4Q394 also contains the beginning part of section B, the calendar has been considered a part of 4QMMT. However, the only thing this fact proves is that one of the manuscripts of 4QMMT preserved the calendar. It is still uncertain whether another manuscript also contained it. Moreover, the paleographical analysis makes it difficult to believe fragments 4Q394 1-2 were truly part of manuscript 4Q394.

Accordingly, it is impossible to assert that 4QMMT is a sectarian text by simply raising the fact that the composite text of 4QMMT contains the calendar.

Second, in neither the list of laws nor the epilogue do we find any technical terminology that suggests the characteristics of sectarian texts.[23] Henry W. Morisada Rietz proposed the methodology and criteria of categorization between the documents that were actually composed by members of the Qumran community and the documents that functioned as traditional writings for use by the community but that did not originate within the community.[24] According to Rietz (and his predecessor Devorah Dimant), the most useful criterion for determining Qumran authorship is the distinctive use of certain technical terms.[25] In the so-called sectarian documents produced in the Qumran community, we usually find the following terminologies: פקיד, משכיל, מבקר, סרך, יחד, הכוהן, איש/מטיף הכזב, מורה הצדק, דורשי החלקות, בני שחר, בני צדק, בני חושך, בני אמת, בני אור הרשע. Moreover, the terms related to dualism, predestination (תעודה), and biblical exegesis (פשר) also frequently appear. 4QMMT obviously does not contain any of these terms. Steven Fraade pointed out that some expressions found in 4QMMT, such as "to understand" (הבין ב-), also appear in the *Damascus Document* and the *Community Rule*,[26] but it is still debatable whether these expressions can really be used as keywords. 4QMMT is more likely to fit the category of documents that functioned as traditions for the community but did not originate within the community. According to Rietz, three criteria should be applied to confirm whether a document has been actually used in the community:[27] first, the number of extant manuscript copies; second, evidence that the manuscripts were copied at Qumran; and third, references, allusions, or quotations found in Qumran writings. In examining 4QMMT, we find no evidence that it meets the second and third criteria, but it might be fair to say that 4QMMT played an important role in the Qumran community because at least six copies of the manuscript remain.

Conclusions

Given the two reasons for concern discussed above, the sectarian nature of 4QMMT is cast into doubt. If 4QMMT is not a sectarian text, some features attributed to the Sadducees in Schiffman's theory might not pertain to the Qumran community but to another community established in the pre-Qumranic period.[28] Furthermore, if 4QMMT is not a sectarian text, the Qumran community can still be identified as Essene without ignoring the witnessing of Pliny, as VanderKam claims. Throughout the development of the research history of 4QMMT, the accepted theories regarding the definition of the genre,

the date of the document, and the identification of the personal pronouns' antecedents have come into question. Consequently, the sectarian nature of 4QMMT must also be extensively reconsidered.

Notes

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1   Norman Golb, *Who Wrote the Dead Sea Scrolls? The Search for the Secret of Qumran* (New York: Scribner, 1995), 315.

2   Charlotte Hempel, "The Context of 4QMMT and Comfortable Theories," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Texts and Context* (Charlotte Hempel, ed., Leiden: Brill, 2010), 289.

3   As for the term "sectarian texts," I follow the usage of Michael O. Wise, Martin G. Abegg, Jr., and Edward M. Cook, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A New Translation* (Revised Edition; New York: HarperOne, 2005), 13, who give a careful but general definition, stating that these texts "presuppose a particular kind of organization and share a distinctive set of doctrines, a unique theological vocabulary, and a special perspective on history, things absent from other Qumran texts and other sort of Judaism in general … These texts, it seems clear, were the central documents of the group or groups behind the Dead Sea Scrolls, and these are the ones we would designate as sectarian."

4   Elisha Qimron and John Strugnell eds., *Qumran Cave 4.V: Miqsat Ma'ase ha-Torah* (Discoveries in the Judaean Desert 10; Oxford: Clarendon, 1994). For philological criticism on the reconstructed texts, see, for example, Miguel Pérez Fernández, "4QMMT: Redactional Study," *Revue de Qumran* 18 (1997): 191-205; Idem, "4QMMT: Linguistic Analysis of Redactional Forms Related to Biblical and Rabbinic Language," in *Sirach, Scrolls, and Sages* (Takamitsu Muraoka and J.F. Elwolde, eds., Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 33: Leiden: Brill 1999), 205-22; Ian Werret, "The Reconstruction of 4QMMT: A Methodological Critique," in *Northern Lights on the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Anders K. Petersen, Torleif Elgvin, Cecilia Wassen, Hanne von Weissenberg, Mikael Winninge, and Martin Ehrensvärd, eds., Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 80; Leiden: Brill, 2009), 205-16; Hanne von Weissenberg, "4QMMT—Some New Readings," in *Northern Lights on the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 217-21; Elizur A. Bar-Asher Siegal, "Who Separated from Whom and Why? A Philological Study of 4QMMT," *Revue de Qumran* 25 (2011): 245-46.

5   4QMMT B 80-82: "And you know that some of the priests and [the people mingle] [and they] unite and defile the [holy] seed and also their [seed] with whores f[or] …" All of the English translations of 4QMMT in this paper follow Geza Vermes, *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English: Revised Edition* (London: Penguin Books, 2011).

6   Before the official publication, a "bootleg" version of the text was available, and an increasing number of scholars became aware of its importance. See Norman Golb, *Who Wrote the Dead Sea Scrolls?* 270-72.

7   Hanne von Weissenberg, *4QMMT: Reevaluating the Text, the Function, and the Meaning of the Epilogue* (Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 82; Leiden: Brill, 2009), 8.

8   Elisha Qimron and John Strugnell, "An Unpublished Halakhic Letter from Qumran," in *Biblical Archaeology Today: Proceedings of the International Congress on Biblical Archaeology, Jerusalem, April 1984* (Janet Amitai, ed., Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1985), 400.

9   Steven D. Fraade, "To Whom It May Concern: 4QMMT and Its Addressee(s)," *Revue de Qumran* 19 (2000), 507-26.

10 Adele Reinhartz, "We, You, They: Boundary Language in 4QMMT and the New Testament Epistles," in *Text, Thought, and Practice in Qumran and Early Christianity* (Ruth A. Clements and Daniel R. Schwartz, eds., Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 84; Leiden: Brill, 2009), 89-105.

11 John Kampen, "4QMMT and New Testament Studies," in *Reading 4QMMT: New Perspectives on Qumran Law and History* (John Kampen and Moshe J. Bernstein, eds., SBL Symposium 2; Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1996), 129-44, esp. 131. For another example of the two-party hypothesis, see George J. Brooke, "Luke-Acts and the Qumran Scrolls: The Case of MMT," in *Luke's Literary Achivement: Collected Essays* (Christopher M. Tuckett, ed., The Library of New Testament Studies 116; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995), 72-90.

12 John Strugnell, "MMT: Second Thoughts on a Forthcoming Edition," in *The Community of the Renewed Covenant: The Notre Dame Symposium on the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Eugine Ulrich and James C. VanderKam, eds., Christianity and Judaism in Antiquity 10; Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1994), 57-73; Lawrence H. Schiffman, "The Place of 4QMMT in the Corpus of Qumran Manuscripts," in *Reading 4QMMT*, 81-98.

13 Hanan Eshel, "4QMMT and the History of the Hasmonean Period," in *Reading 4QMMT*, 53-65; Daniel R. Schwartz, "MMT, Josephus and the Pharisees," in *Reading 4QMMT*, 67-80.

14 Maxine L. Grossman, "Reading 4QMMT: Genre and History," Revue de Qumran 20 (2001), 3-22.

15 Recently, Gareth Wearne more radically proposed a thought experiment, questioning: What would it look like if we viewed MMT as a letter sent not *from*, but *to* a separatist community (from the Temple Establishment)? See his "4QMMT: A Letter to (not from) the *Yaḥad*," in *Law, Literature, and Society in Legal Texts from Qumran* (Jutta Jokiranta and Molly M. Zahn, eds., Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 128; Leiden: Brill, 2019), 99-126. For similar perspectives, see Lester L. Grabbe, "4QMMT and Second Temple Jewish Society," in *Legal Texts and Legal Issues* (Moshe Bernstein, Florentino García Martínez, and John Kampen, eds., Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 23; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 89-108, esp. 90-91. The situation of the research on 4QMMT is seemingly getting more and more chaotic.

16 Lawrence H. Schiffman, "The Temple Scroll and the Systems of Jewish Law of the Second Temple Period," in *Temple Scroll Studies* (George J. Brooke, ed., Journal for the Study of Pseudepigrapha, Supplement Series 7; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1989), 239-55.

17 Lawrence H. Schiffman, "The New Halakhic Letter (4QMMT) and the Origins of the Dead Sea Sect," *The Biblical Archaeologist* 53 (1990), 64-73; Idem, "The Sadducean Origins of the Dead Sea Scrolls Sect," in *Understanding the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Hershel Shanks, ed., New York: Random House, 1992), 35-49; Idem, "Miqtsat Maʿasei ha-Torah," in *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Lawrence H. Schiffman and James C. VanderKam, eds., Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 1:558-60.

18 James C. VanderKam, "The People of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Essenes or Sadducees," in *Understanding the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 50-62; Idem, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Today* (2nd ed.; Grand

Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2010), 97-126. On the other hand, John J. Collins, *Beyond the Qumran Community: The Sectarian Movement of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2010), 45, takes a more moderate and conciliatory step, saying "…the halakhah of this tradition [= examples in 4QMMT] seems to disagree consistently with the positions later attributed to the Pharisees, and, at least in a number of striking cases, to agree with that of the Sadducees. This does not necessarily mean that the authors were Sadducees, only that they shared a tradition of legal interpretation with the Sadducees. This observation does not preclude the possibility that the authors might be Essenes, or belong to some other sect, since other factors would have to be taken into consideration to establish sectarian identity."

[19] James C. VanderKam, "The People of the Dead Sea Scrolls," 60.

[20] Lawrence H. Schiffman, "The Place of 4QMMT," 81-98; James C. VanderKam, "The People of the Dead Sea Scrolls," 58.

[21] Charlotte Hempel, "The Context of 4QMMT," 290; Hanne von Weissenberg, *4QMMT*, 19-20, 234-35.

[22] Charlotte Hempel, "The Context of 4QMMT," 290; Hanne von Weissenberg, *4QMMT*, 33-38.

[23] John Strugnell, "Additional Observations on 4QMMT: Appendix 3," in *Qumran Cave 4.V*, 205; cf. Charlotte Hempel, "The Context of 4QMMT," 284, n. 39; Hanne von Weissenberg, *4QMMT*, 20.

[24] Henry W. Morisada Rietz, "Identifying Compositions and Traditions of the Qumran Community: The Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice as a Test Case," in *Qumran Studies: New Approaches, New Questions* (Michael T. Davis and Brent A. Strawn, eds., Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2007), 29-52. For other technical terminologies, see Brent A. Strawn with Henry W. Morisada Rietz, "(More) Sectarian Terminology in the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice: The Case of תמימי דרך," in *Qumran Studies*, 53-64.

[25] As for the stylistic features of the sectarian texts, Devorah Dimant, "The Qumran Manuscripts: Contents and Significance," in *Time to Prepare the Way in the Wilderness* (Devorah Dimant and Lawrence H. Schiffman, eds., Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 16; Leiden: Brill, 1995), 23-58, propose the following three categories: first, they are written in Hebrew, not in Aramaic; second, they do not belong to the genre of apocalypse; and third, even though they do not contain specific terminologies, they are taken as halakhic, calendrical, chronological, or astrological texts. 4QMMT probably fits into the third category, but Dimant only refers to 4Q251 and the Temple Scroll as examples.

[26] Steven D. Fraade, "To Whom It May Concern," 514.

[27] Henry W. Morisada Rietz, "Identifying Compositions," 41.

[28] Florentino García Martínez, "4QMMT in a Qumran Context," in *Reading 4QMMT*, 15-27.

Aaron in the Dead Sea Scrolls:
Whitewash or Criticism

Koji Osawa

Abstract:

This essay considers the way in which the collection known popularly as the Dead Sea Scrolls, which were discovered in the areas around Qumran in modern day Israel, depicts the biblical figure of Aaron. Aaron was Moses' elder brother and the first high priest, yet in the Hebrew bible there are remarkably few instances of his own words. And because of the stigma attached to him in connection with "The Great Sin" which resulted from Aaron's central involvement in creating the golden calf found in Exodus chapter 32, it is not easy to objectively evaluate him. As in the Hebrew scriptures, personal accounts of Aaron are remarkably few in the Dead Sea Scrolls, even though much more is written about him in his official capacity as high priest. The distinguishing evaluative mark of this biblical figure must be in the way he is treated by the authors, specifically determining whether their intent was to exalt and preserve Aaron's relative stature by exalting the deeds of his descendants or whether their intent was to strictly censure him.

1. Introduction

This essay considers the depiction of Aaron within the Dead Sea Scrolls. Aaron is a controversial figure owing to the fact that, while on the one hand he was the brother of Moses and the first high priest, he is intimately associated with "the Great Sin,"[1] that is, the creation of the golden calf.[2] Despite his participation in the incident with the golden calf, Aaron is portrayed as worthy of his role as high priest in Jewish commentaries,[3] and in Christianity Aaron's frequent representation as a type of Christ[4] indicates the tendency to rectify his reputation, irrespective of his participation in "the Great Sin."

What kind of presence was Aaron in the eyes of the comparatively distinctive Jewish Qumran community[5] of the ancient world? The answer to this question will provide a missing link in the exegetical scholarship on this biblical figure. Conversely, it will also facilitate a more comprehensive understanding of the Jewish community; and it is the goal of this essay to tease out an answer to the greater question of whether it is possible to distinguish various communities through their interpretations of this biblical figure known as Aaron.

2. Aaron in the Bible

Before commencing an analysis of the Dead Sea Scrolls, let us verify the biblical passages which feature Aaron. The first mention of Aaron in the Hebrew bible (Exodus 4)[6] is by God when God appears to Moses in Midian where he makes a living tending sheep. God refers to Aaron as Moses' elder brother. Subsequently, Aaron is urged by God to meet Moses in the wilderness and the two present themselves before the elders of Israel (v. 27-31). Scripture does not explicitly state this, but it is widely believed that Moses and Aaron were already acknowledged by the people of Israel as leaders. Moses' and Aaron's geneology is recorded in Exodus 6, verses 16-20, where they are identified as the descendents of Jacob, Levi, Kohath, and Amram, who married Jochebed who gave birth to Moses and Aaron.

Shortly after God's appearance before Moses, Moses and Aaron go down to Egypt to seek the release of the Hebrews from Pharaoh who stubbornly refuses. Because of Pharaoh's stubbornness, ten curses befall the Egyptians, which leads to the eventual release of the Hebrews. The subsequent flow of time is not stated clearly in scripture, but it is probable that before the incident with the golden calf, Aaron was appointed and anointed high priest by God. The next context in which Aaron is mentioned is in connection with the golden calf rebellion. After that, he is almost never mentioned again aside from certain brief citations in connection with the law. Aaron's name comes up in connection with the law in the following

books of Leviticus and Numbers, where Aaron is recorded as earning the hot anger of the Lord for speaking against Moses for marrying a Cushite woman (Numbers 12). In Numbers chapters 14 and 16, Moses and Aaron become the targets of a popular rebellion, and in chapter 17, Moses and Aaron are found making intercession to the Lord for the sin of rebellion. After the rebellion over the lack of water, Aaron (and Moses) are prohibited by God from entering the Promise Land of Canaan and Aaron dies on Mount Hor (Numbers 20: 22-9). In the following book of Deuteronomy, reference to Aaron drops precipitously and the only other times his name appears in scripture are as the progenitor of the priestly tribe and with reference to historical events as partner to Moses.

Looking at the data, the word Aaron appears 347 times in the bible.[7] The name appears 115 times in Exodus, 110 times in Numbers, 80 times in Leviticus, and 17 times in Chronicles. Of the 347 times Aaron's name is mentioned, 110 times it is in conjunction with Moses and 47 times it is mentioned in conjunction with his descendents ("Aaron and his descendents…"). Aaron is referenced 66 times as progenitor/patriarch ("sons of Aaron," "descendents of Aaron," "children of Aaron"). Aside from these references, if we leave out personal references to Aaron, there are approximately 100 other references. Most of these are in connection with conversations with either God or Moses, and the triad of God, Moses, Aaron constitute the core actors in the records mentioning Aaron. The places where Aaron is referenced solely occur mostly in Leviticus and Numbers where he is recorded giving instructions to the people for rituals, and there is a clear association of Aaron with the office of high priest. Incidentally, Aaron's name is mentioned 8 times in connection with the golden calf incident.

In summary, then, it would be accurate to state that Aaron's life, vocation, and blood line are important topics taken up in Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers, but that aside from these points, Aaron is virtually disregarded in the remainder of the Hebrew bible.[8]

3. Aaron in the Dead Sea Scrolls[9]

With the image of the biblical Aaron spelled out above in mind, I will now examine references to Aaron in the Dead Sea Scrolls.[10] As it is possible to broadly categorize the scrolls into three types[11] which are completely extraneous to either the original Hebrew bible and its Aramaic translation, or to Hebrew and Aramaic language apocrypha and pseudepigrapha, I will differentiate my analysis according to the type of codex: biblical and non-biblical.

3-1. Biblical Codices

Among the roughly 900 codices unearthed in the Qumran caves, approximately 200 of them discuss biblical accounts.[12] According to the concordance of Martin Abegg, et al, Aaron's name appears 97 times.[13] Aaron is mentioned 59 times in Exodus, 15 times in Leviticus, 16 times in Numbers, 5 times in Psalms, and twice in texts considered to be biblical but which are impossible to classify. There are repetitions in some of the passages, but Aaron is mentioned in conjunction with Moses 36 times, while his name is mentioned in conjunction with his progeny (for example, "with his children," "with his descendents," etc.) 16 times. It is clear, then, that there is considerable overlap with biblical iterations of Aaron's name. It is believed that over half of the Pentateuch contained in the Dead Sea Scrolls is Masoretic text (hereafter referred to as MT),[14] but there are places where citations about Aaron do not conform to the MT, and so I will take up and analyze one of those instances.

3-1-1. 4Q22 (=4QpaleoExod^m)

Even though it is generally considered that this codex is part of Exodus, certain places do not conform to the MT. For reference, these codices are juxtaposed below alongside the MT, and passages containing Aaron's name are quoted.

MT Exodus 32: 10-11 (reformatted for ease of comparison with the codex)

<div dir="rtl">

י וְעַתָּה הַנִּיחָה לִּי וְיִחַר אַפִּי בָהֶם וַאֲכַלֵּם וְאֶעֱשֶׂה
אוֹתְךָ לְגוֹי גָּדוֹל.
יא וַיְחַל מֹשֶׁה אֶת פְּנֵי יְהוָה אֱלֹהָיו וַיֹּאמֶר לָמָה יְהוָה יֶחֱרֶה אַפְּךָ
בְּעַמֶּךָ אֲשֶׁר הוֹצֵאתָ מֵאֶרֶץ מִצְרַיִם בְּכֹחַ גָּדוֹל וּבְיָד חֲזָקָה.

</div>

Now leave Me alone, so that My anger may burn against them and consume them. Then I will make you into a great nation." But Moses sought the favor of the LORD his God, saying, "O LORD, why does Your anger burn against Your people, whom You brought out of the land of Egypt with great power and a mighty hand?

4Q22, col. 38, l. 1–4[15]

<div dir="rtl">

או[תך] לגוי גדול [ובאהרון התאנף יה]וה מאד להשמידו
ו[י]תפלל משה בעד א[הרון   [
י[ח]ל משה את] פנ]י [ויאו]מר למ]ה [יהוה יחר א]פך]
בעמך אשר הוצ]את   ו[בזרוע חזק]ה]

</div>

…I will make you into a great nation. Then the hot anger of the Lord burned against Aaron and tried to destroy him. Then Moses prayed for Aaron… Moses sought the favor of the Lord, saying, "Lord, why does your anger burn? Against the people your strong arm led out…

It is clear from this excerpt that the context is Exodus chapter 32, yet the underlined part does not exist in the MT. Curiously, however, passages which resemble the underlined part appear in Deuteronomy, chapter 9.

MT Deuteronomy 9: 19-21

יט כִּי יָגֹרְתִּי מִפְּנֵי הָאַף וְהַחֵמָה אֲשֶׁר קָצַף יְהוָה עֲלֵיכֶם לְהַשְׁמִיד אֶתְכֶם וַיִּשְׁמַע יְהוָה אֵלַי גַּם בַּפַּעַם הַהוּא. **כ** וּבְאַהֲרֹן הִתְאַנַּף יְהוָה מְאֹד לְהַשְׁמִידוֹ וָאֶתְפַּלֵּל גַּם בְּעַד אַהֲרֹן בָּעֵת הַהוּא. **כא** וְאֶת חַטַּאתְכֶם אֲשֶׁר עֲשִׂיתֶם אֶת הָעֵגֶל לָקַחְתִּי וָאֶשְׂרֹף אֹתוֹ בָּאֵשׁ וָאֶכֹּת אֹתוֹ טָחוֹן הֵיטֵב עַד אֲשֶׁר דַּק לְעָפָר וָאַשְׁלִךְ אֶת עֲפָרוֹ אֶל הַנַּחַל הַיֹּרֵד מִן הָהָר

For I was afraid of the anger and wrath that the LORD had directed against you, enough to destroy you. But the LORD listened to me this time as well. The LORD was angry enough with Aaron to destroy him, but at that time I also prayed for Aaron. And I took that sinful thing, the calf you had made, and burned it in the fire. Then I crushed it and ground it to powder as fine as dust, and I cast it into the stream that came down from the mountain.

This passage from Deuteronomy is where Moses alludes back to the notorious incident with the golden calf, first recorded in Exodus, chapter 32, and the first person subjective case refers to Moses. It appears that 4Q22 works Deuteronomy 9: 20 in to Exodus 32, but it is not a word-for-word incorporation; rather, there is a visible effort to reconcile text with context through adding the grammatical subject and changing the personal case of the verb.

At a formal level, it is possible to provisionally conclude that this text from Exodus contained in 4Q22 is not MT but rather closely resembles the Samarian Pentateuch.

Samarian Pentateuch, Exodus 32: 10-11[16]

י ועתה הניחה לי ויחר אפי בם ואכלם ואעשה

אתך לגוי גדול <u>ובאהרן התאנף יהוה מאד להשמידו</u>

<u>ויתפלל משה בעד אהרון</u>

יא ויחל משה את פני יהוה אלהיו ויאמר למה יהוה יחר אפך

בעמך אשר הוצאת ממצרים בכח גדול ובזרוע נטויה

In this way, Exodus 32: 10-11 of the Samarian Pentateuch mirrors 4Q22 in its incorporation of a slightly altered version of Deuteronomy 9:20 as contained in MT. As stated above, over half of the biblical codices of the Dead Sea Scrolls are MT, and research has revealed that 6.5% coincides with the Samarian Pentateuch [17] For that reason, though this is not a commonplace example, it is not unnatural that original biblical manuscripts of the Dead Sea Scrolls coincide with the Samarian Pentateuch. On the contrary, in the era when the Dead Sea Scrolls were finalized, there is reason to think that there was still no common biblical canon, and that there were rather any number of variant editions which were in circulation.

Putting aside for the moment the formal considerations, from the angle of pure content, this is the occasion in which the Lord's anger over the great sin involving the golden calf was focused on Aaron and in which Moses is recorded as making intercession. In the MT as well, God is similarly recorded as burning with anger, and as contained in the quotation above, Moses intercedes to ameliorate God's anger. It is clear that God is indignant toward the entire Israelite community, including Aaron, and later Moses rebukes Aaron directly. But the ninth chapter of Deuteronomy and the Samarian Pentateuch, resolutely specify Aaron's responsibility as the occasion for God expresses anger and record Moses' intercessory prayer for Aaron. It is possible to interpret this content as denigrating Aaron so as to accentuate Moses' virtue and rectitude. If we turn our attention to the manner in which the bible became canonized, it is possible to conceive that Deuteronomy 9 was constructed by D Source.[18] For that reason, it is possible to imagine that there was a motivation to denigrate the priesthood in general through strongly censuring Aaron who was the first high priest, yet this theory falls outside the purview of this essay's main purpose, so it will not be further elaborated here.[19] The hypothesis of this essay is that, while acknowledging the fact that there may not have been freedom to pick and choose from the canonical scripture or to make alterations, there is a reasonable possibility that the language of the canonized bible in which Aaron's name is specified and in which he is rebuked was intentionally utilized by the Qumran community, in accordance with Deuteronomy 9 and the Samaritan Pentateuch. Codices which would become the basis for the MT were likely widely circulated at the time; and if we surmise that it was not the wording of the 70 translators which scarcely differs, but rather the texts which most resolutely excoriate Aaron which were used, then it is reasonable to assume that there was some particular motivation behind this selection. At any rate, it would be safe to say that the Qumran community found textual censure of Aaron in connection with the golden calf incident to be a matter of course.[20]

Because the extant sources are incomplete, it would be a mistake to jump to conclusions; yet at the very least, within the contemporary state of scholarship, it is not

possible to determine a tendency by the Qumran community to pay particular attention to specific words and actions of Aaron, yet it is possible to state that in comparison with the MT anyway, Aaron's sinfulness with regard to the golden calf incident recorded in Exodus is more strongly emphasized.

3-1-2. Comparison with Contemporary Literature[21]

There is a reason for dwelling on the golden calf incident in the previous section. It is not the case that the emphasis on Aaron's sin and responsibility in contrast with the MT is a particularly noteworthy feature. Comparing the Qumran language with multiple writings from the period of the Second Temple, which is considered to be contemporary to the Dead Sea Scrolls, reveals a significant difference. As will be demonstrated in detail below, writings from the Second Temple Period which mention Aaron generally tend to go easy on him by judging him guiltless and playing down the severity of the sin. Of course, each individual piece of literature possesses a unique background and motivation in the writing's composition; but it is certain that at the very least, some of the writings from the Second Temple Period demonstrate such a tendency.

I will now look at a few specific examples. The first piece of literature is a work of Flavius Josephus who lived in the Roman empire in the 1st century C.E. In his chronicle of Jewish history entitled, *Antiquities of the Jews*, he spells out an historical narrative based upon biblical accounts. In *Antiquities*, he refers to the story of Exodus, yet he omits the account of the golden calf.(III, 5.7–8 [95–99])[22] Josephus' account parallels the biblical one up to the point at which, after forty days of tarrying at the foothills of Mt. Sinai, the Israelites were becoming anxious about Moses' trek up the mountain and not returning. After that, Josephus mentions how the leaders of the Israelites debated what to do about Moses' failure to return and emphasizes the variety of positions taken by the leaders and the grandeur of Moses as a patriarch. And even after that, there is absolutely no mention of the "Great Sin" but only a simple recognition that Moses returned. In other words, the peoples' response while Moses was absent resembles that during the golden calf incident,[23] yet Josephus omits this from his chronicles. What this omission means, then, is that Aaron's role in the incident is also neglected. In other sections of *Antiquities*, Josephus, who also descends from the priestly class, occupies significant space in describing God's selection of Aaron as high priest, including the motivation and propriety in doing so. With this in mind, Josephus is paying respect to Aaron's position as chief priest; and it is surmised that Josephus deliberately avoids including biblical passages which are unfavorable toward Aaron.[24]

As an approximate contemporary of Josephus, the *Book of Biblical Antiquities* (Lt.

Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum) was completed a little after the year 70 C.E., and in contrast to Josephus, the author includes an account of the golden calf which closely resembles that of the bible.

> Ch. 12, v. 2. But while he was in the mount, the heart of the people was corrupted, and they came together to Aaron saying: Make us gods that we may serve them, as the other nations also have. For this Moses by whom the wonders were done before us, is taken from us. And Aaron said unto them, Have patience, for Moses will come and bring judgement near to us, and light up a law for us, and set forth from his mouth the great excellency of God, and appoint judgements unto our people. 3. And when he said this, they hearkened not unto him, that the word might be fulfilled which was spoken in the day when the people sinned in building the tower, when God said: And now if I forbid them not, they will adventure all that they take in mind to do, and worse. But Aaron feared, because the people was greatly strengthened, and said to them: Bring us the earrings of your wives. And the men sought every one his wife, and they gave them straightway, and they put them in the fire and they were made into a figure, and there came out a molten calf.[25]

What is mentioned here at the outset is not the peoples' concern and uncertainty during Moses' absence but their corrupt hearts. This is the same assessment of Exodus 32, verse 7, and the reason for the peoples' assembly before Aaron is mentioned prior. Aaron does not straightway concede to the throngs pressing in upon him, ordering them to collect the golden earrings from their wives, but rather tries to appease them by insisting that Moses will return shortly. But because the people were implacable and would not listen to Aaron, he acquiesced to their wishes and ordered the earrings to be collected. The earrings which were collected were not thrown into the fire by Aaron but by the people, and out came a golden calf. Exodus records that Aaron "took the gold from their hands, and with an engraving tool he fashioned it into a molten calf." Even if Aaron's reply to Moses' rebuke contained in verse 24, "So I said to them, 'Whoever has gold, let him take it off,' and they gave it to me. And when I cast it into the fire, out came this calf!'" is true, it was still Aaron who is recorded as throwing the earrings into the fire. Even in Exodus 32 of the Septuagint, in which the subjective person changes frequently in other verses, in verse 24 the subject is Aaron, clearly signifying the strong possibility of an intentional alteration. To summarize, in the commentary in the *Book of Biblical Antiquities*, Aaron does not immediately accede to the demands of the people but rather tries to placate them. When that fails, fearing the multitudes, he acquiesces and orders the people to collect their gold earrings. Moreover, it is

not Aaron who throws the earrings into the fire, but the people. In contrast to Josephus who deliberately avoids mentioning the incident with the golden calf in order to preserve Aaron's reputation, the *Book of Biblical Antiquities* straightforwardly articulates the event, but matter of factly absolves Aaron of responsibility.[26]

Moreover, Philo of Alexandria (cir. 20 B.C.E. —50 C.E.) who wrote during approximately the same time and who is representative of Hellenistic Judaism also fails to mention Aaron in his rendition of the golden calf incident.

> *The Life of Moses* II : 161 "…When Moses was on the mountain talking closely with God, certain Israelites who were of unstable character took advantage of Moses' absence to blindly pursue impious customs. As though Moses' authority had come to an end. Abandoning any reverence for the Self-Existing One, they became fervent followers of Egyptian fables and folklore. 162. Then they crafted from gold an image of the most sacred Egyptian animal, a male cow, and offered up false sacrifices and formed false sacred chorales and sang dirges for hymns. And having their fill of strong drink, they were overcome by the double stupors of intoxication and stupidity."[27]

The unfolding of the incident here quoted can be said to follow the flow of Exodus 32: 1-6, but Aaron does not even make an appearance. Instead, responsibility is squarely pinned on "people of unstable character." It is possible to assert that Philo, at least on this occasion, is concerned about protecting the reputation of Aaron.[28]

From the above, it becomes clear that Josephus, The *Book of Biblical Antiquities*, and Philo, at least with regard to their representation of the golden calf incident, respect Aaron (as priest) and attempt to protect his reputation. The picture of Aaron in 4Q22 contrasts with that of Exodus and that of the Samarian Pentateuch, with which Exodus shares common features; and the picture of Aaron among these writings of the Second Temple Era can be said to be sympathetic.

3-2. Extrabiblical Codices

So can it be said about Aaron's depiction in the Dead Sea Scrolls that he is consistently criticized? The answer is an emphatic "no." As an example, I will examine how Aaron is treated in nonbiblical codices of the Dead Sea Scrolls. Here too, according to Abegg et al's concordance, Aaron's name appears 76 times.[29] Among these 76 instances, only 3 times is Aaron mentioned in conjunction with Moses, in contrast to the very frequent juxtapositions of "Moses and Aaron," and "Aaron and Moses" of the Bible. "The descendents of Aaron" is

mentioned twice and "the house of Aaron" is mentioned once. "The sons of Aaron" is mentioned 31 times and "Aaron's messiah," which does not appear at all in the Bible, appears 7 times. Among these extrabiblical codices of the Dead Sea Scrolls, much more is said of Aaron's descendents than of the activities of Moses and Aaron, which constitute the numerically overwhelming majority of Biblical references to Aaron. I will specifically consider those examples below.

3-2-1. "The Sons of Aaron"

As the words denote, the expression, "the sons of Aaron" is used to signify Aaron's children and descendents. On this point, the extrabiblical codices of the Dead Sea Scrolls are in grammatical agreement with the Bible. And as is true with the grammatical usage in the Bible, this expression also signifies the priestly lineage. Yet in establishing this point, scholars disagree on whether there is any difference with, for example, the seemingly analogous expression "the children of Zadok [30]" or whether both of them share the connotation of "priest/priesthood." Gary A. Anderson and colleagues are of the opinion that the two expressions are simply analogous[31]; while Charlotte Hempel maintains that, because references to "the sons of Aaron" and "the sons of Zadok" are not always cited together, but are in fact sometimes cited alone (such as in 4Q394–9=4QMMT), there is a nuanced difference in meaning or implication. This, coincidentally, is the position this author takes[32]; but because this point is not central to this essay, it will not be discussed further here.

This expression "sons of Aaron" is understood to mean that only they are qualified to hand down judgments regarding legal and financial decisions (Ordinances of the Community : 1Q28=1QS IX,7), which shows that they have a comparatively great authority in their communities as priests in the Bible. This expression focuses principally on the geneology of priests and accompanying roles, and does not find other meanings in Aaron than that he is the first chief priest.

3-2-2. "Aaron's Messiah"

It is principally the expression recorded as, "Aaron and Israel's messiah," which is absent in the Bible. It might well be an expression particular to the Qumran community's concept of the messiah and is considered to imply "the messiah who emerges from Aaron's descendents and the messiah who emerges from the people of Israel." This idea is premised upon the belief that in the last days, these two messiahs will arise and bring salvation.[33] It is believed that this juxtaposition of Aaron and Israel derives from the frequent juxtaposition in the Bible of Aaron and (the people of) Israel.[34] As indicated in Solomon's anointing as King

by Zadok the priest and Nathan the prophet in 1 Kings 1: 34, it is possible to interpret the priesthood as higher in rank than the kingship. Because of this, it is the view that "Aaron's messiah" stands above in rank the other messiah, that is to say, the descendent of David who rules over secular affairs.[35] As Craig A. Evans asserts, it is plausible to interpret the emphasis upon two messiahs rather than one as a strategic rectification of the integration of the roles of high priest and king during the Hasmonean Dynasty; but as this point also is not central to this essay's thesis, it will not be discussed further.

3-2-3. Other Points

Because, in the first place, of the vast number of partial codices, even if it is possible to confirm Aaron's name, details are often unclear. Nonetheless, I will take up one last point regarding citations involving Aaron.

Codex Damascus (hereafter, CD) 5.17–19[36]

מלפנים עמד משה ואהרן ביד שר האורים ויקם בליעל את יחנה ואת אחיהו במזמתו בהושע ישראל את הראשונה

When Moses and Aaron had previously been raised up by the hand of the King of Light[37], Belial reared Johanna and his brother according to his plans. When Israel was first saved/delivered.

Moses and Aaron who are with the King of Light are contrasted with Johanna and his brother who were reared by Belial. Belial is not portrayed in the Bible as an autonomous being; but in the Apocrypha, Pseudepigrapha, Dead Sea Scrolls, and assorted other sources, Belial is interpreted as a type of devil. Johanna and his brother are also absent from the Bible, but in various Jewish writings, even in Christian literature, including the New Testament, this pair frequently appears and are principally used as pronouns for evildoers.[38] In other words, Moses and Aaron are taken together as a pair and understood as embodiments of good, in contrast to the embodiments of evil. It is important to establish this point as a rare personal mention of Aaron.

Above I have outlined a rough sketch of the way in which Aaron is depicted in the extrabiblical codices of the Dead Sea Scrolls. Here too, as in the Bible, the expression "the sons of Aaron" signifies the priestly lineage, and the explanation of their roles and responsibilities stood out. For that reason, it is perhaps fitting that personal details of Aaron are remarkably sparse. But as can be seen in the expression "Aaron's (and Israel's) messiah," it is thought that the messiah who emerges from among Aaron's descendents will stand over

and above the messiah who emerges from the line of David. The following is also not a personal reference of Aaron, but it is reasonable to point out the emphasis on Aaron's lineage and bloodline as opposed to textual (Biblical) portrayals. As one of the few personal citations of Aaron, it is noteworthy that in the context of the contention between good and evil, Aaron is paired with Moses and manifestly cast in the light of the good.

4. Conclusion

A portrait of Aaron as contained in the entirety of the Dead Sea Scrolls will here be considered in light of the information reviewed thus far. I must strongly reemphasize the fact that the body of literature commonly referred to as the Dead Sea Scrolls is really nothing more than a collection of codices which have been unearthed. A complete picture of the body of literature that was circulated and preserved internally by the Qumran community continues to be uncertain. This being the case, despite the fact that much research and critical analysis of various aspects of the Dead Sea Scrolls continues (including this critical essay), even if the probability of a particular analysis is high, most cases lead to a provisional conclusion at best.

With that in mind, I will herewith attempt to make a cogent argument regarding the citations of Aaron in the Dead Sea Scrolls. To begin with, in the Biblical codices—though it depends upon the degree of importance accorded each particular book by the Qumran community—citations containing Aaron's name occur overwhelmingly in the book of Exodus. Yet most of those are not personal in nature but rather are in conjunction with Moses, typically of the following sort: "Moses and Aaron…" Further, it is quite remarkable that citations of Aaron in Exodus, chapter 32 coincide not with MT but with the Samaritan Pentateuch. It is probable that this scene in which God becomes furious with Aaron and in which Moses subsequently intercedes with God on behalf of Aaron is designed to extol Moses's virtue and censure Aaron. If we consider that the authors of the literature of the Second Temple Era—which is almost perfectly contemporaneous to the Dead Sea Scrolls— clearly demonstrate an intention to shield Aaron from censure and blame, we see how this fact is quite exceptional and how it was, in contrast, the desire of the Qumran community to highlight Aaron's sin and blame. It is reasonable to conclude that Aaron is targeted for unequivocal censure, both in the language prohibiting worship of foreign gods in the prologue of the Temple Scroll and from the fact that, even prior to revealing Aaron's status as the elder brother of Moses and as priest, the authors introduce Aaron with a pronounced stigma of guilt as instigator of the abominable golden calf incident.

By comparison, in apocryphal codices, the expression "the sons of Aaron" is used to

explain the roles and responsibilities of the priest, and at the same time to reinforce the idea that "Aaron's (and Israel's) messiah" is superior to the messiah who arises out of King David's lineage. And as is sketched out in CD, Aaron is portrayed, in conjunction with Moses, as the epitome of goodness within the context of the epic battle between good and evil. This being the case, it can be said that, despite personal citations of Aaron being few in number, the community of Aaron's descendents as represented in the Dead Sea Scrolls vis-a-vis that in the Bible is of significantly greater prestige. Predictably, then, it would be fair to say that Aaron's personal reputation in the Dead Sea Scrolls is correspondingly higher than it is in the Bible.[39]

As indicated above, the depiction of Aaron within the Dead Sea Scrolls does not fundamentally differ so greatly from that of the Bible. Many of the citations are not personal in nature but rather corporate, typically in conjunction with Moses or Aaron's descendants. The significance of the priesthood within the community is very apparent, yet it never singles out Aaron for any grandeur. Yet unlike the contemporary literature, it does not especially exonerate Aaron; rather, on occasion it is even harsher on Aaron than is biblical text. In contrast, the expectation upon Aaron's descendents in the Dead Sea Scrolls is unmistakably higher than it is in the Bible, and Aaron's personal reputation can be said to be relatively higher. In other words, the text transitions back and forth between censure and exoneration and praise of Aaron. Always underlying these alternative evaluations, however, is an acknowledgement that Aaron is responsible for "The Great Sin." The textual appraisals of Aaron are neither monolithic nor straightforward, but rather ambiguous, leaving room for a spectrum of reasonable interpretations. If other scrolls or communities which share similar Aaronic appraisals with the Qumran community and the Dead Sea Scrolls are uncovered, or if a critical breakthrough in theoretical analysis occurs, then it would be worth making a comparative judgment. With this as my conclusion, I express my hope that new documents will be discovered and advances in critical analysis will occur.

Notes

[1] It is an expression which is used only 5 times in the Hebrew Bible, and 3 of those times are in reference to the incident of the golden calf in Exodus 32.

[2] He collected the gold earrings from the people and crafted an image of a calf. (Exodus 32: 1-6)

[3] For Example, Sifre on Deuteronomy 307

[4] The New Testament letter to the Hebrews is mentioned as a concrete example. But in that passage, Jesus is identified not as of the Aaronic lineage but of the lineage of Melchizedek. For an exposition

on the difference between the Aaronic priesthood and the Melchizedek priesthood, see Moshe Reiss, "The Melchizedek Traditions," in *Scandinavian Journal of the Old Testament* 26.2 (2012), 259–265. In any event, there is no room to doubt Jesus' somber evaluation of the priestly duties.

5 This phrase is used to distinguish one particular group which preserved and utilized the so-called Dead Sea Scrolls, but one must be careful about using this phrase, including the phrase Dead Sea Scrolls. In other words, generally speaking, the name Dead Sea Scrolls refers to the collection of scrolls discovered in multiple caves in the area of Qumran along the Dead Sea, but strictly speaking, other scrolls which were discovered in areas like Waji Murabat, Nahal Hebelu, Masada, etc., ought to be included. If that is the case, then it would be more appropriate to expand the geographic area from merely the Qumran to the entire Judaean Desert (see Oxford University Press' anthology of the Dead Sea Scrolls entitled Discoveries in the Judaean Desert). Furthermore, it is a mistake to understand the Dead Sea Scrolls as some sort of complete opus which was methodically circulated, or even as a particular set of writings; and because a comprehensive picture of the scrolls has been lost, it is not possible to provide an accurate assessment of the percentage that remains. At the very least, however, is certain that a portion of the Dead Sea Scrolls is a reproduction which was used by a different community in a different region. Moreover, even granting for the moment that certain original language was included in the extant scrolls, the possibility that this language actually originated in a community outside of the Qumran community cannot be completely dismissed. This essay adopts the position articulated by Emanuel Tov who identifies the "Dead Sea Scrolls" as "a multitude of texts found in the Judean Desert." (See Emanuel Tov, "The Biblical DSS as Representing Variety in Judaism and Early Christianity," October 6, 2018 Workshop by the same name at Dōshisha University, Japan. The expression in footnote #1 has been juxtaposed without compromising the grammatical meaning) and utilizes the moniker "Qumran Community," while acknowledging all the multitudinous issues proceeding from the various terms associated with this body of writings. In recent years, superb surveys and translations of the entire Dead Sea Scrolls corpus have appeared in Japanese. In this essay, what follows is only an analysis of a particular text dealing with the Dead Sea Scrolls; therefore, for an outline of or background to the Dead Sea Scrolls, I recommend the following texts: Toki, Kenji. *Shikai Shahon: Saiko no Seisho wo Yomu*. (En. *Dead Sea Codices: Reading "The Oldest Bible"*): Tokyo, Kodansha Gajujutsu Bunko, 2015; Translation Committee's Translation of the Dead Sea Scrolls. *Dead Sea Scrolls* (tentatively 12 vol.): Puneuma Co. Ltd., 2018 to present, preface to each volume, pp. 1-12. With regard to the history of research on the Dead Sea Scrolls, see Geza Vermes' *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Qumran in Perspective*, Minneapolis, Fortress Press 1977, translated by Akio Moriya. The 2011 edition is particularly informative.

6 Moses repeatedly rejects God's command to return to Egypt to lead the people of Israel out. God, who says the following to Moses: "The anger of the Lord burned against Moses, saying, 'Do you not have an elder brother, the Levite Aaron? I know that he speaks well. And behold, he is already on his way to see you. He will see you and rejoice in his heart.'" (Exodus 4: 14; unless required, all following translations of the Bible and primary sources into Japanese will be the author's). In the Bible, in the structure of biblical time, and in the ordering of books, there are no mentions of Aaron prior to this sudden introduction.

7 Of course, there are many pronominal references to Aaron, so this number does not represent the actual number of references, but it does serve as a good benchmark. For sake of reference, there are

175 mentions of Abraham and 770 mentions of Moses.

[8] As a reference, there are only 5 citations of Aaron in the New Testament: Luke 1: 5; Acts 7: 40 (explanation of the golden calf incident); Hebrews 5: 40 & 7: 11 (explanation of the priesthood); Hebrews 9: 4 (mention of Aaron's staff). Not counting citations in connection with the relationship between Jesus and the priesthood, the New Testament is even less interested in Aaron's personal life than the Hebrew Bible.

[9] Hereafter, I refer to the number of times the word Aaron appears in the Dead Sea Scrolls, as in the Bible. Unlike the Bible, however, the citation index of the Dead Sea Scrolls covers only those codices which have been discovered and therefore is not necessarily representative of the degree of importance assigned to Aaron by the Qumran community.

[10] The citation index hereafter includes the reconstructed spelling of Aaron's name by modern scholars.

[11] Kenji Toki. Dead Sea Codices, pp 82-3.

[12] Kenji Toki. Dead Sea Codices, p 202.

[13] Martin G. Abegg et al., *The Dead Sea Scrolls Concordance, volume 3: The Biblical Texts from the Judaean Desert* (Leiden: Brill, 2010).

[14] Kenji Toki. Dead Sea Codices, p 205.

[15] Eugene Ulrich, *The Biblical Qumran Scrolls* (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 99.

[16] Abraham Tal & Moshe Florentin, *The Pentateuch - The Samaritan Version and the Masoretic Version* (The Haim Rubin Tel Aviv University Press: Tel Aviv, 2010).

[17] Kenji Toki. Dead Sea Codices, p 205.

[18] Richard E. Friedman, *The Bible with Sources Revealed: A New View into the Five Books of Moses* (New York: HarperOne, 2003).

[19] Friedman footnotes here the fact that, while Aaron's name appears close to 300 times in the three books of Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers, it appears only 4 times in Deuteronomy (twice in connection with the golden calf incident and twice upon Aaron's death). Friedman identifies the particularities of the Deuteronomy historians and the priesthood sources (Aaronic sources) here. (Richard E. Friedman, *The Bible with Sources Revealed*, 326)

[20] Regarding the treatment of the golden calf incident in the Dead Sea Scrolls, because mention of the incident in the unearthed scrolls is very sparse, it is difficult to make firm judgments. Even in the one place where it might be inferred that mention is made of the incident (4Q159: 4Q Ordinances A), because the scroll is fragmentary, the context cannot be clearly ascertained. It is possible to attribute the mention of sin and redemption in this fragment to the golden calf incident, but the omission of Aaron's name makes it somewhat dubious. F. D. Weinert links this reference to the passage in Leviticus 4: 13-21 where there is language about offering sacrifices. (F. D. Weinert, "4Q159: Legislation for an Essene Community Outside of Qumran?" in *Journal for the Study of Judaism* 5 (1974), 179–207, 184) John M. Allegro and Nozomi Abe connect this same passage with the golden calf incident, as does this author. (John M. Allegro, *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert V, Qumran Cave 4, I* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), 7; Abe, Nozomi. *Some Suggestions Concerning Research Methodology in Judaic Annotative History*. Book Review presented on June 6, 2018 at Tokyo University.)

[21] For more on this point see author's publication *Interpretive History of the Golden Calf Incident: Biblical Interpretation in Judaism and Syrian Christianity of Late Antiquity*. Kyōbun-kan: 2018,

pp68-72 in which an abbreviated and re-edited version is provided.

[22] The Greek original and English translation were used as reference. H. St. J. Thackeray, *Josephus, vol. IV* (London: William Heinemann, 1930)

[23] Note, however, that Exodus 32: 1 records, "When the people saw that Moses was tarrying on the mountain they came to Aaron and assembled around him, saying, 'Stand up and make for us gods who will walk before us, because we do not know what has become of this Moses who led us out of Egypt.'" but says nothing about the people's psychological condition or about their intention to create a golden calf. For that reason, it is possible to interpret this text as implying a widespread state of anxiety among the people.

[24] C. T Begg attributes to Josephus's writings the motivation of creating respect and empathy for his kinfolk (Jews) among non-Jews and states that were Josephus to have included an account of the golden calf incident, that goal would be compromised. (See "The Golden Calf Episode according to Pseudo-Philo", in *Studies in the Book of Exodus* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1996), 577–594, especially 592) On the other hand, Hata holds that there were three likely reasons Josephus did not include an account of the golden calf incident: 1) in order to preserve Aaron's blameless reputation of subsequent passages, 2) in order to observe the prohibition contained in the Mishna on translating Exodus 32: 1-2, 3) in order to respond to the aspersion cast on the Jews as donkey worshippers. (See *The Rewritten Bible*, Kyoto University Press: 2010, pp 214-15) L. H. Feldman builds on Hata's theory by adding that Israel's image and Aaron's behavior were problematic in that the Aaronic priestly class, to which Josephus himself belonged and which was a rival of the Levitical priestly class, were implicated in the golden calf incident. In Josephus' time, the political might of imperial approval frequently got intertwined with Jewish law and priestly regulations. (For example, see *Jewish Scrolls of Antiquity*, 20. 216-18) . The incident in which Aaron is rebuked and the Levites, in contrast, follow the divine will, can be seen as a significant embarrassment for Josephus.

[25] Isaka, Tamiko and Toki, Kenji. *Book of Biblical Antiquities*. Kyōbunkan, 2012, pp. 275-7.

[26] Regarding this point, F. J. Murphy states the following: "the Book of Biblical Antiquities does not convey an air of criticism toward the reputation of the priestly hierarchy." (*Pseudo-Philo. Rewriting the Bible* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 265). Begg points out the author's intention to try to free Aaron from any wrongdoing at the expense of the people.

[27] This is a Japanese translation from an English translation, which also made reference to the Greek original.

[28] So, with regard to the question why Philo mentioned this incident, Feldman asserts that it was to criticize idolatry. Philo was a leader of the Jewish community in Egypt and saw in the Egyptian way of life of those times something which appealed to Jews. For that reason Feldman boldly decided to include the incident in which the idolatrous Israelites garnered God's anger by worshipping the image of the golden calf, which template was Apis, who/which was viewed as the holiest of gods by the Egyptians. (See L. H. Feldman, "Philo's Account of the Golden Calf Incident," 247ff)

[29] Martin G. Abegg et al., *The Dead Sea Scrolls Concordance, volume 1: The Non-Biblical Texts from Qumran* (Leiden: Brill, 2003); Abegg et al., *The Dead Sea Scrolls Concordance, volume 2: The Non-Qumran Documents and Texts* (Leiden: Brill, 2016).

[30] A priest who served David and who is thought to be a descendent of Aaron's son Elʿazar. He is mentioned 52 times in scripture.

[31] Gary A. Anderson "Aaron," in *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea scrolls* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 1–2.

[32] Charlotte Hempel, "The Sons of Aaron in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Flores Florentino: Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Early Jewish Studies in Honour of Florentino García Martínez* (2007), 202–224.

[33] Pertaining to the eschaton, XHev/Se6 2,8, which was discovered outside Qumran and which is a collection of eschatological praise songs, mentions Aaron's name. Because it is too fragmentary, however, it is not useful in establishing literary intent.

[34] Exodus 16: 9, 18: 12, 34: 30; Psalms 115: 9-10, 115: 12, 118: 2-3, 135: 19. The perspective below is also that of Evans. Craig A. Evans, "Messiahs," in *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea scrolls*, 537–542.

[35] Erik Eynikel, "Moses or Aaron, Who Is the Most Important Figure in the Dead Sea Scrolls?," in *Mosebilder* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2017), 63–76.

[36] Philip R. Davies, *The Damascus Covenant* (Sheffield: JSOP Press, 1982), 244–247.

[37] The English translation for this term is typically "Prince of Light." Appropriate phrasing in Japanese has not yet been found.

[38] With regard to this pair, see Albert Pietersma, *The Apocryphon of Jannes and Jambres the Magicians* (Leiden: Brill, 1994), Koji Osawa, "The Role of a Pair of Magicians in Ancient and Medieval Jewish Literature" in *Studies on Jewish Life and Culture* vol. 24. Japanese Society for Jewish Studies, 2010, pp 1-12, and Koji Osawa, "A Look at the Development of Transmission and Propagation in Jewish Literature: the Case of Jannes and Jambres," *Studies on Jewish Life and Culture*, vol. 26. Japanese Society for Jewish Studies, 2012, pp 24-39.

[39] Erik Eynike concludes after comparing Moses' and Aaron's roles in the Dead Sea Scrolls that Aaron was a more significant person than Moses. (See Erik Eynikel, "Moses or Aaron," 75–76)

A Survey of Hieroglyphic Inscriptions from Hittite Anatolia [1]

Hajime Yamamoto

Abstract:

Hieroglyphs were a writing system used in Hittite Anatolia during the late second millennium as well as the first millennium BCE. Hittite hieroglyphic monuments can still be found in Turkey. The monuments attributed to the Hittite kingdom, which flourished during the years of 1650–1180 BCE, might reflect the political situation in that period, including the range of Hittite territories in Anatolia.

The author examined several Hittite hieroglyphic monuments from 2016 to 2018 in the regions of Central Turkey (2016), Western Turkey (2017) and Southern Turkey (2018). The monuments in southern Anatolia suggest the existence of a territory that competed with the Ḫattuša government, and the monuments in western Anatolia suggest there was a land that supported the Hittite dynasty. These monuments are important for understanding the end of the Hittite dynasty of Ḫattuša, since the historical information after the 12th century BCE, drawn from Hittite cuneiform texts, is rather limited.

1. Introduction

Hieroglyphs were used in Hittite Anatolia as well as cuneiform signs during the late second millennium. The hieroglyphs were initially employed on royal seals and, from the 14th century, they were also used for the inscriptions on monuments. Even after the collapse of the kingdom, their use continued in the Anatolia and northern Syria regions.[2] These hieroglyphic-inscribed monuments were left *in situ* in Turkey. Among these monuments, this paper introduces the ones erected during the Hittite kingdom period, which the author has investigated over the last three years.

Map of Hittite Kingdom
based on Michele Cammarosano, A Map of the Hittite World (2019/10/19)
https://osf.io/cbyv8/

Ehringhaus in 2005 introduced the known monuments built in the Hittite period.[3] Recently, Hawkins, an authority on Anatolian Hieroglyphic inscriptions, discussed the sanctity of the monuments.[4] As Hawkins suggested, some appear to have possessed sanctity because they were often located in mountains or on riverbanks, which were objects of worship for the Hittites. Since they were not necessarily placed at prominent spots such as on a hilltop, they likely did not function as border stones. However, we may be able to make conjectures about the political situation in Hittite Anatolia from their locations. These monuments are concentrated in Southern Turkey, but some remain along

the Aegean Coast in Western Turkey. Historically, these regions were important for Hittite control of Anatolia.

2. Survey in 2016

In 2016, the author visited the Hieroglyphic monuments in central Anatolia to survey the inscriptions made during the 13th century BCE.

2-1. Fraktin and Taşçi

The first monument visited was located at a village named Fraktin, Develi district, Kayseri. The relief, curved on an outcropping near the Zamantı River, portrays the Hittite king Ḫattušili III and the queen Puduḫepa pouring libations to the Storm god and the goddess Ḫepat, respectively. Above the figures, their names and titles are inscribed in hieroglyphs. The queen's epithet continues to its right, reading, "daughter of the land Kizzuwatna, beloved of gods."[5] This epithet emphasizes the fact that her place of origin was Kizzuwatna, a country in southern Anatolia, which had been annexed to the Hittite kingdom around the 14th century BCE.[6]

Contemporary reliefs also remain on the banks of the Zamantı River at a village named Taşçi, 30 km southeast of Fraktin. One relief portrays three figures with the words "Manazi, daughter of Lupakki the Army-Scribe (son of ?) Zida the MEŠEDI (-man), servant of Ḫattušili." If this Ḫattušili refers to Ḫattušili III, then this relief was also inscribed around the 13th century, as was that in Fraktin.[7]

| The relief of Fraktin | One of the reliefs of Taşçi |
| (photo by the author) | (photo by the author) |

2-2. İmamkulu and Hanyeri

A monument contemporary to the ones mentioned above is placed on a hill in İmamkulu, Tomarza district, Kayseri, 20 km west of Taşçi.[8] The hill is along a pass to Adana from Kayseri. There are several figures centered around "the Storm-god," with a naked goddess with two wings on its right and a warrior on its left. The latter figure is described in Hieroglyphs as "Kuwalanamuwa, prince." There is also a relief with the name of a prince, Kuwalanamuwa, on the same pass-road, about 10 km east of İmamkulu at Hanyeri, Tufanbeyli district, Adana. This second relief is carved on the surface of a rock cliff, showing a divine figure standing on the left and a larger warrior figure on the right. The warrior wears earrings, a skull cap on his head, and pointed shoes on his feet. He also holds a spear in his right hand and carries an arrow on his left shoulder with a dagger attached to his wrist.

These monuments have been dated to around the 13th century BCE, and they were placed along the pass from central Anatolia to the south. This indicates that the road on the pass was an important transportation route of that period. It also implies that these monuments had the function of indicating boundaries between the Hittite heartland and Kizzuwatna, which was once an independent land in Anatolia and the original home of Queen Puduḫepa.

The relief of İmamkulu
(photo by the author)

The relief of Hanyeri
(photo by the author)

2-3. Konya: Yalburt and Hatip

After visiting the monuments along the pass from Kayseri to Adana, the author went to the monuments of Yalburt and Hatip in Konya, in Central Turkey. The monument of Yalburt was a pool created near the top of the mountain, some 20 km northwest of the city center of Ilgın. The rock blocks, which surround the one-time water reserve, record the conquests of the lands in southwestern Anatolia by the Hittite king Tuduḫaliya IV.[9]

The last monument visited in 2016 was Hatip, about 10 km south of the city center of Konya. The reliefs and hieroglyphic inscriptions, though worn down, remained on a cliff in the village. On a surface of the cliff, to the right of a warrior figure, an inscription reads "Kurunta, the Great King, the Hero, the son of Muwatalli, the Great King, the Hero."[10] Kurunta was a nephew of Ḫattušili III and a cousin of Tuduḫaliya IV, and he was appointed as king of Tarḫuntašša by Ḫattušili III. The area of Hatip would have been located within the territory of Tarḫuntašša, which was probably west of Kizzuwatna. Given the fact that one of his titles in this inscription is "Great King," a title used only by a king in Ḫattuša, some scholars argue that Kurunta claimed an equal rank with the king in Ḫattuša.[11]

The blocks of Yalburt
(photo by the author)

The first block of Yalburt
(photo by the author)

The relief of Hatip
(photo by the author)

From Ehringhaus 2005, p. 104

3. Survey in 2017

The author surveyed the monuments in western Anatolia in 2017. These monuments date from the kingdom of the "land of Mira," which was part of the Arzawa lands that became vassal states of the Hittite kingdom at the end of the 14th century BCE.

3-1. Karabel and Akpınar

The first reliefs visited were located on a mountainside of the Karabel Pass, some 30 km west of the city center of Izmir.[12] Karabel A,[13] the largest relief among them, shows a warrior figure with a bow and arrow in his hands, a dagger at his waist, and a pointed cap on his head. To the right of this figure, the hieroglyphic inscription reads, according to Hawkins, "(King) Tarkasnawa, king of <the land> Mira, [son] of BIRD-li (?), king of the land Mira, grandson of […], king of the land Mira."[14] If we follow his understanding, the figure was the king of Mira during the reign of Tuduḫaliya IV.[15]

Near the Karabel reliefs, there is a huge relief with a divine figure on the mountainside of Mt. Sipilos in the north of Manisa, which is called Akpınar by locals. Since the hieroglyphic signs next to the figure are read as "Ku(wa)lanamuwa," whose name also appears in İmamkulu and Hanyeri (see above), the monument might have been built sometime in the 13th century BCE.[16]

3-2. Suratkaya

The inscriptions of Suratkaya were found near the top of Mt. Beşparmak (ancient Mt. Latmos) extending from Muğla and Aydın. Graffiti-like hieroglyphic signs remain in a large cavity of a huge rock. The readings of some signs have been suggested as "the land of Mira" and "Great Prince Kupaya."[17] If these are correct readings, the name might be Kupanta-Kurunta, the king of Mira in the reign of the Hittite king Muršili II.

Some Arzawa lands in western Anatolia were subjugated by the Hittite kingdom during the reign of Muršili II at the end of the 14th century BCE. In the reign of Tuduḫaliya IV, the land of Mira, as one of those lands, might have been viewed as strategically important for the Hittites in order to confront the anti-Hittite power base to the southwest. A pro-Hittite dynasty was established in Mira, and the territories of this state were adjacent to the Hittite borders. The monuments, located within the territory of Mira, seem to indicate the political closeness of the rulers of Mira to the leaders of the Hittite land.

Karabel A
(photo by the author)

Monument of Akpınar
(photo by author)

Inscriptions of Suratkaya
(photo by author)

4. Survey in 2018

The survey in 2018 focused on the monuments in central and southern Turkey. These included the monuments of Sirkeli and Hamite erected in the kingdom period as well as those in Kızıldağ and in Burunkaya, which were probably constructed after the collapse of the Hittite kingdom.

4-1. Sirkeli and Hamite

The relief and inscription at Sirkeli are carved on a rock standing on the bank of the Ceyhan River, at the lower elevations of Sirkeli Höyük in Adana. The inscriptions next to the figure wearing a long robe read as follows: "Muwatalli, the Great King, the Hero, the son of Muršili, the Great King, the Hero."[18] The figure is that of king Muwatalli II, who transferred the capital from Ḫattuša to Tarḫuntašša in the 13th century BCE. The area where the Sirkeli monument stands might be within or near the territory of the land of Tarḫuntašša.

The author then visited the monument of Hamite near Sirkeli. The warrior figure depicted on the surface of the rock, standing on a plain near the Ceyhan River, holds a mace in his right hand, an arrow on his shoulder, and a dagger at his waist. His appearance closely resembles that of the warrior seen in Hanyeri (above). The inscription next to the figure reads "x-Tarḫunta, the son of Tarḫuntapiya." The name of Tarḫuntapiya is known from the list of witnesses to the signing of a treaty between a Hittite king and Ulmi-Tešub, the king of Tarḫuntašša.[19] Since the treaty was concluded by either Ḫattušili III or Tuduḫaliya IV, we may assume that the relief of Hamite was also created sometime in the 13th century BCE. In any case, the reliefs in Sirkeli and Hamite might have been placed in the territory of the land of Tarḫuntašša, or at least they show a strong connection with that land.

Relief of Sirkeli

(photo by author)

Relief of Hamite

(photo by author)

4-2. Kızıldağ and Burunkaya

The survey of the monuments attributed to Tarḫuntašša continued in Konya after Adana. One of them was the monument at Kızıldağ, a mountain in the suburbs of the Karaman district. A possibly royal figure is depicted on a rock surface near the mountaintop. The figure holds a staff in his left hand and a bowl in his right hand. Next to his head are the signs of "Great King Hartapus." Another inscription, placed on the rock southeast of the inscription "Great King Hartapu," records, "The Sun, Great King, Hartapus, Hero, beloved of the Storm-god."[20] As mentioned earlier, the title "Great King" was used only by the Hittite king in Ḫattuša.

The final inscription surveyed was on the hill named Burunyaka in the village Güçünkaya, in the Aksaray district. It reads "[In] the place (to/for?) the celestial Storm-God, the divine Great Mountain (and) every god, the Sun, Great King, Hartapu…, (he) who conquered every country…".[21] Here, the royal names of Hartapu and Muršili appear. The king Hartapu might have been a king of Tarḫuntašša, which seems to have been located in this region, before and even after the collapse of the Hittite kingdom.

The territories of the Great King Hartapu might have extended to the areas where Kızıldağ and Burunkaya now stand. The identification of Muršili in the monuments mentioning Urḫi-Teššub (Muršili III was his royal name) has been suggested.[22] Since Urḫi-Tešub was deposed from the throne by his uncle Ḫattušili III, his family line was excluded from kingship succession in Ḫattuša. However, Kurunta, as the brother of Urḫi-

Teššub, was appointed as king of Tarḫuntašša by Ḫattušili III. Therefore, we can assume that the descendants of Kurunta or Urḫi-Teššub, sons of Muwatalli II, had responsibility for ruling the kingdom, and they might have competed against the central government in Ḫattuša sometime during the final days of the kingdom.

Figure of Kızıldağ
(photo by author)

Inscription of Burukakaya
(photo by author)

5. Conclusion

Strictly speaking, the Hittite stone monuments surveyed in this paper might not have been border indicators, but they can be used as keys to understanding the range of the Hittite kingdom's territory, indicating the regions that were the core of the kingdom and regions that were either vassal territories or areas that simply shared cultural features with the kingdom. The monuments were not only of the Hittite kingdom *per se* but also of the land of Tarḫuntašša and its possible succeeding state in the south-central part of Turkey and of the land of Mira in western Turkey. These monuments may have served a religious purpose on the one hand, but on the other hand they clearly had political connotations. For example, the ruler of each state might have taken advantage of the sacral function of the reliefs to claim their territorial control. In this regard, they can be seen as indicators of the political relationship between the authority of Ḫattuša and the rest of Hittite Anatolia.

Notes

1   This work was supported by The Kyoto University Foundation in 2016 and JSPS KAKENHI Grant-in-Aid for Young Scientists (B) number 17K13549. The pictures of the monuments discussed in this paper can also be seen at the following website of Hajime Yamamoto: https://hittiteanejphy.com/

2   For those Hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions and their translations, see J. David Hawkins, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions, Vol.1, Parts 1–3, Inscriptions of the Iron Age* (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2000) and Annick Payne, *Iron Age Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions* (Atlanta, Georgia: SBL Press, 2012).

3   Horst Ehringhaus, *Götter, Herrscher, Inschriften: Die Felsreliefs der Hethitischen Grossreichszeit in der Türkei* (Mains am Rhein: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 2005).

4   J. David Hawkins, "Hittite Monuments and Their Sanctity," in *Sacred Landscapes of the Hittites and Luwians*: *Proceedings of the International Conference in Honour of Franca Pecchioli Daddi Florence, February 6th–8th, 2014* (Anacleto D'Agostino, Valentina Orsi and Giulia Torri, eds., Firenze: Firenze University Press, 2015), 1–10.

5   J. David Hawkins, "Hittite Monuments and Their Sanctity," p. 3.

6   For Kizzuwatna and its annexation to Hittite territory, see Trevor Bryce, *The Kingdom of the Hittites* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 139.

7   For the reliefs of Taşçi and the reading of its inscription, see J. David Hawkins, "Excursus 7. Interpretation of the rock inscription TASÇI," in *Die Prinzen- und Beamtensiegel der hethitischen Großreichszeit auf Tonbullen aus dem Nişantepe-Archiv in Hattusa, mit Kommentaren zu den Siegelinschriften und Hieroglyphen von J. David Hawkins* (Boğazköy-Ḫattuša XIX) (Suzanne Herbordt, ed., Mainz: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 2005), pp. 292–293.

8   J. David Hawkins, "Hittite Monuments and Their Sanctity," pp. 3-4.

9   For the Yalburt inscriptions, see J. David Hawkins, *The Hieroglyphic Inscription of the Sacred Pool Complex at Hattusa (Südburg)* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1995), 66–85.

10   Horst Ehringhaus, *Götter, Herrscher, Inschriften: Die Felsreliefs der Hethitischen Grossreichszeit in der Türkei,* p. 102.

11   Kurunta, the king of Tarḫuntašša, might have been engaged in a conflict with Tuduḫaliya IV. See Trevor Bryce, *The Kingdom of the Hittites*, pp. 319–321. Singer argues the possibility that two Great Kings existed in the Hittite kingdom. See Itamar Singer, "Great Kings of Tarhuntašša," *Studi Micenei ed Egeo Anatolici* 38 (1996), 63–71. Given this possibility, even if direct conflicts between Tarḫuntašša and Ḫattuša did not occur, we can assume they competed with each other to some extent.

12   Billie Jean Collins, *The Hittites and Their World* (Atlanta, Georgia: SBL Press, 2007), 18.

13   Unfortunately, the relief was destroyed in 2019.

14   J. David Hawkins, "Tarkasnawa King of Mira," *Anatolian Studies* 48 (1998), 1–31.

15   See Trevor Bryce, *The Kingdom of the Hittites*, p. 306.

16   J. David Hawkins, "Hittite Monuments and Their Sanctity," pp. 2–3. However, there has been no confirmed identification of this "Kuwalanamuwa" with those in Hanyeri or İmamkulu.

17   Anneliese Peschlow-Bindokat and Suzanne Herbordt, "Eine hethitische Großprinzeninschrift aus dem Latmos. Vorläufiger Bericht," *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 2001, 363–367. Kupanta-Kurunta, the king of Mira, was an adopted son of the previous king of Mira, who subjugated Muršili II and his wife, who was a Hittite princess. However, Oreshko rejected the reading of "Kupaya." Rostislav Oreshko, "Hieroglyphic Inscriptions of Western Anatolia: Long Arm of the

Empire or Vernacular Tradition(s)?" in *Luwian Identities: Culture, language and religion between Anatolia and the Aegean* (Alice Mouton, Ian Rutherford and Ilya Yakubovich eds. Leiden: Brill, 2013), 345–420.

[18] Horst Ehringhaus, *Götter, Herrscher, Inschriften: Die Felsreliefs der Hethitischen Grossreichszeit in der Türkei* (Mains am Rhein: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 2005), 95–101.

[19] "Prince" Tarḫuntapiya appears as one of the witnesses to the treaty signing between a Hittite king and Ulmi-Tešub, the king of Tarḫuntašša. See Theo P. J. van den Hout, *Der Ulmitešub-Vertrag: Eine prosopographie Untersuchung* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1995), 211–215. There have been discussions on the identification of Ulmi-Tešub with Kurunta.

[20] Other inscriptions mention "Hartapu, the Great King" in Kızıldağ. For the inscriptions, see J. David Hawkins, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions, Vol. 1*, pp. 433–436. For Hartapu, see Trevor Bryce, *The Kingdom of the Hittites*, pp. 351–353.

[21] J. David Hawkins, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions, Vol. 1,* pp. 437–438.

[22] Trevor Bryce, *The Routledge Handbook of the Peoples and Places of Ancient Western Asia* (London and New York: Routlage, 2009), 392. The possibility that "Muršili" appearing in Kızıldağ and Burunkaya was Muršili II cannot be excluded.

Exploring Different Interpretations of Zionism
within American Reform Judaism:
Report on Historical Documents and Current Situation

Anri Ishiguro

Abstract:

This note is a report on part of my current research project exploring in what context a pro-Zionist slant within American Reform Judaism has emerged and how the term "Zionism" has been interpreted.

I conducted research at the American Jewish Archives (AJA), located at Hebrew Union College, the Reform Seminary in Cincinnati, Ohio, from February to March 2019. This report describes part of my research results. During my stay in the United States, I also had the opportunity to participate in the 2nd KAKEHASHI Project "Visiting Program to Los Angeles and San Francisco by Japanese Researchers of Jewish Studies," an exchange program launched by the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs. As part of the project, I was able to visit Temple Israel of Hollywood, a Reform synagogue where I met Rabbi John L. Rosove (1949-), the most recent National Chairman of the Association of Reform Zionists of America (ARZA).

In this report, also serving as a kind of record of my stay in US, I would like to present one aspect of Zionist views that positively interpret Zionism within American Reform Judaism, showing the historical transition of interpretations and the current viewpoint of on Zionism by introducing historical material stored in the AJA and Rabbi Rosove's view.

1. Introduction

At present, I am interested in learning how rabbis who identify themselves as "Zionists" have developed a pro-Zionist slant within American Reform Judaism. In particular, in the research project, "Criticism and Acceptance: Historical Development in Zionist Thought Among 20th-Century American Jewish Scholars," my objective is to answer the following questions while making reference to the historical transition of interpretations: Why did pro-Zionist rabbis emerge from Reform Judaism, which has generally disagreed with Zionism? Where did their understanding of "Zionism" come from and how do they understand the term "Zionism" itself?[1]

In order to pursue this research project, I researched material at the American Jewish Archives (hereinafter called the AJA) in Cincinnati from February to March 2019.[2] This note reports part of the research results. During a research period from March 17 to 24, 2019, I also had the opportunity to participate in the 2nd KAKEHASHI Project "Visiting Program to Los Angeles and San Francisco by Japanese Researchers of Jewish Studies," a program consisting of sending Japanese researchers to the United States as part of an exchange programs to enhance the better understanding of Japan, launched by the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs.[3] In this KAKEHASHI Project, ten early career scholars, including myself, visited Jewish facilities and institutions (higher education institutions, synagogues, museums, etc.) in Los Angeles and San Francisco.[4] The Project aims to deepen mutual understanding through meetings and exchanges with individual specialists and people in the local Jewish community. This research note records an example of the existence of a pro-Zionist rabbi in current Reform Judaism by introducing Rabbi Rosove, whom I met at Temple Israel of Hollywood and his view of "Zionism", which seems to be highly relevant to my current research project in particular.

Front of the AJA   Entrance of the Temple Israel of Hollywood

Both photos by the author.

2. American Reform Judaism and Zionism

Reform Judaism emerged not from the American context but from that of the European continent, particularly Germany. It is thought to have been shaped by Enlightenment and Jewish emancipation which influenced Jewish society beginning in the 18th century and originated from a change in the style of worship in Judaism as a response to modernization in the early 19th century.[5]

But the ways in which Reform Judaism developed in Germany and America are different. The creed of Reform Judaism in America was officially determined only in 1885 when the Pittsburg Platform was promulgated. However, as Thomas A. Kolsky briefly pointed out, Reform Judaism in America is generally considered to have developed in parallel with the process of German Jewish immigrants' assimilation to America.[6]

Reform Judaism had taken an official position against Zionism because Reform Judaism, aiming for a universal position, perceived Zionism, emphasizing its unique ethnicity, to be an obstacle to successful integration into American society. What Reform Judaism most clearly expressed as an anti-Zionist view would be the Statement of Principles by non-Zionist Rabbis issued by an anti-Zionist organization, the American Council for Judaism (ACJ) established by a few US Reform rabbis on August 12, 1942.[7] This statement declares that they could not tolerate political Zionism, no matter how special Palestine is to the Jews.

When discussing the current relationship between Reform Judaism and Zionism, it seems to be commonly perceived that this stance of Reform Judaism is anti-Zionist rather than non-Zionist which takes a wait-and-see attitude to the pros and cons of the Zionist movement.[8] This interpretation was also suggested to me by Dr. Jerome Chanes at City University of New York (CUNY) Graduate Center. (See footnote 27.)

But as shown in the left column of Figure 1, in light of history, pro-Zionists have certainly existed within Reform Judaism, even though some see them as exceptions. First of all, I will refer to Article 5 of the Pittsburgh Platform (1885) as a typical example of the anti-Zionist stance of Reform Judaism. As the article stipulates, a return to Palestine is not assumed (see Figure 1). Based on a statement such as this, a reasonable deduction is that Reform Judaism cannot agree with the Zionist movement.[9]

It can be seen, however, that the Columbus Platform (1937), promulgated after the Pittsburgh Platform, contains certain statements that could be interpreted as pro-Zionist. (See the right column of Figure 1.)

As Michael A. Meyer points out, Article 5 of the Columbus Platform (1937) includes elements of both political and cultural Zionism. The former advocates the need for a safe

harbor for fellow Jews, while the latter believes that the center of Jewish culture, Palestine, is spiritually required.[10]

Thus, just comparing the Pittsburgh Platform with the Columbus Platform makes it clear that, by 1937, there were different interpretations of "Zionism" within American Reform Judaism.
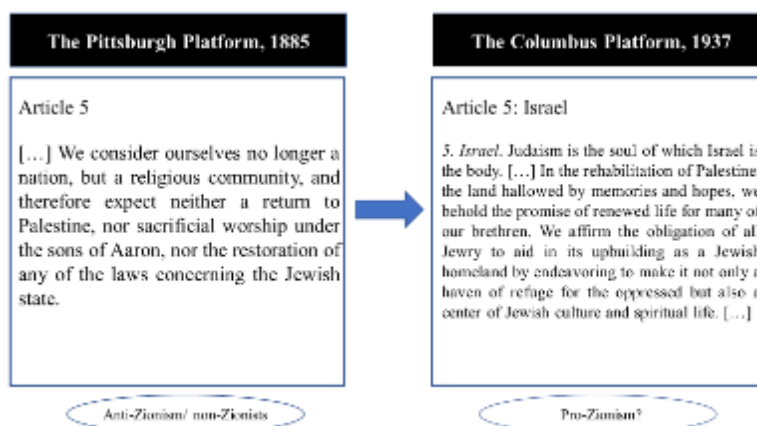
Figure 1

The Pittsburgh Platform, 1885		The Columbus Platform, 1937
Article 5 [...] We consider ourselves no longer a nation, but a religious community, and therefore expect neither a return to Palestine, nor sacrificial worship under the sons of Aaron, nor the restoration of any of the laws concerning the Jewish state.	→	Article 5: Israel 5. *Israel*. Judaism is the soul of which Israel is the body. [...] In the rehabilitation of Palestine, the land hallowed by memories and hopes, we behold the promise of renewed life for many of our brethren. We affirm the obligation of all Jewry to aid in its upbuilding as a Jewish homeland by endeavoring to make it not only a haven of refuge for the oppressed but also a center of Jewish culture and spiritual life. [...]
Anti-Zionism/ non-Zionists		*Pro-Zionism?*

Figure 1 is based on the website of the Central Conference of American Rabbis.
The Pittsburgh Platform:
https://www.ccarnet.org/rabbinic-voice/platforms/article-declaration-principles/
The Columbus Platform:
https://www.ccarnet.org/rabbinic-voice/platforms/article-guiding-principles-reform-judaism/
[Both accessed on October 18, 2019]

3. Stephen S. Wise's Pro-Zionist Stance: From the American Jewish Archives

In the previous chapter, while showing that anti-Zionist views are the mainstream in American Reform Judaism, I confirmed that some of Reform Judaism had a pro-Zionist slant by citing the Columbus Platform.

In this chapter, although space does not permit a detailed analysis, I would like to introduce Stephen S. Wise (1874-1949), a Reform rabbi, with a pro-Zionist stance within American Reform Judaism.

Rabbi Wise was born the son of Reform Rabbi Aaron Wise (1844-1896) in Budapest, Hungary on March 12, 1874 and his family moved to America when Stephen was one year old. In 1893, Stephen Wise, who was ordained as a rabbi by Adolph Jellinek of Vienna, became a Reform (or Liberal) rabbi and served at Temple Beth Israel in Portland, Oregon in 1900. Wise was part of a minority of Reform rabbis who were already Zionists at that time (see footnote 5). Rabbi Wise made efforts to establish the first nationwide Zionist organization, the Federation of American Zionists (FAZ), in 1898 (and served as honorary secretary of FAZ until 1904).

Since Rabbi Wise was not satisfied with the existing Reform Judaism, he founded the Free Synagogue in New York in 1907 as a place to promote social justice and freedom of expression; he served as a rabbi there until 1943. While he was interested in social problems as a rabbi of the Free Synagogue, he also continued to act as a Zionist. He helped establish the Provisional Executive Committee for General Zionist Affairs in 1914, and supported the draft provisions of the Balfour Declaration in 1917. The following year, he helped found the American Jewish Congress (AJC), and served as vice president, president and honorary president of the AJC for the rest of his life. From 1918, he was involved in AJC activities, and attended the Versailles Conference in 1919 as one of the representatives of the AJC representing the wishes of the Zionists in Palestine.[11] He also served as deputy representative of the Zionist Organization of America (ZOA) from 1918 to 1920, and then served as president of the Jewish Institute of Religion (JIR), which he founded in New York as a rabbinical training institution from 1922 to 1948. The JIR was consistently inter-denominational, but it was mainly Reform students who attended.[12] Rabbi Wise founded the World Jewish Congress (WJC) in 1936. He served as chairman of the Executive Committee of the WJC and assumed chairmanship of the American Emergency Committee for Zionist Affairs throughout the 1940s. He died in New York on April 19, 1949.

The remarks that clearly demonstrated his motivation for Zionist activities can be found in a statement at the World Union for Progressive Judaism meeting held in London in 1926.

> […] but I shall, and you will, rue the day unless before we adjourn tonight you make it very, very clear that we Zionists have a place, an entire place of welcome within the Liberal Jewish movement.[13]

According to Rabbi Wise's interpretation, liberal Judaism and Zionism were not

incompatible.

Document 1 in this research note is the last page of a three-page letter from Rabbi Wise to Mr. Saul Odess, which is one of the historical documents I consulted at the AJA. At the beginning, Rabbi Wise writes, "I came to believe that Jews in Poland are suffering the most horrible crises of a physical violence," and in the following pages he says that Palestine is the only land that can accept the Jews who became "homeless" and have nowhere to go. He also states that there is no other land except Palestine that is ready to accept "100,000 German Jews during the next four years."[14] But following on from this statement Rabbi Wise did resolve a major logical contradiction between the growing uprising of Palestinian Arabs since April 1936 and his Zionist activities based on the Liberal Judaism? But if so, how did he do it? Was he unaware of the situation in Palestine? At the moment, it remains a matter of speculation, but I believe that these questions will induce me to explore Rabbi Wise's view of Zionism.

In the next chapter, I will refer to an example of a present-day Reform rabbi.

4. Rabbi John L. Rosove's interpretation of "Zionism"
4-1. Visiting the Temple Israel of Hollywood and Meeting Rabbi John L. Rosove

On Monday morning, March 18, 2019, we visited Temple Israel of Hollywood as part of the 2nd KAKEHASHI Project "Visiting Program to Los Angeles and San Francisco by Japanese Researchers of Jewish Studies." Temple Israel of Hollywood is a Reform Jewish synagogue established in 1926 and is adjacent to a day school. This synagogue is also famous for Martin Luther King, Jr. having preached to the congregation from the bimah (a pulpit for reading the Torah in public) in 1965.[15] As I have already mentioned in the second chapter of this research note, Reform Judaism, like Orthodox Judaism, has in the past taken a position against the Zionist movement and Zionist thought. However, the synagogue is also known as one that possesses a Zionist-friendly lineage from its earlier rabbis. Among other things, what surprised us is the fact that the synagogue has collected and displayed some documents and art collections related not only to the spiritual Zionism of Jewish thinkers like Martin Buber, but also to historical personages who belonged to the mainstream of Zionist history, including the first original edition of Theodor Herzl's *Jewish State* (1896) and the ID card of Ze'ev V. Jabotinsky in France.[16] It is no exaggeration to say that such a collection is rare in Reform synagogues.

When we visited the synagogue, we were able to meet Rabbi John L. Rosove. His

blog and the blog of *Times of Israel* described our meeting in detail, including questions that our delegation asked Rabbi Rosove. [17] I will briefly introduce Rabbi Rosove's biography here, and then explain his interpretation of "Zionism" in the next section.

Rabbi Rosove, who had been Senior Rabbi at this synagogue since 1988, retired only a few months ago. While serving as a rabbi, he was engaged in Zionist activities. Rabbi Rosove is known as a leader of the modern Zionist movement in America, and was recently national chairman of the Association of Reform Zionists of America (ARZA)[18]. When I met him, he had been reappointed co-chair for Rabbinic and Cantorial Cabinet of J Street.[19]

When I visited the AJA to conduct research and met Professor Dr. Gary P. Zola in 2019 and Professor Emeritus Dr. Michael A. Meyer in 2018, both of them told me that Reform Judaism had initially been judged to be incompatible with Zionism and that it was believed to be completely different in its way of thinking from Zionism. That has not, however been the case in recent years.[20] It is therefore understandable that a person like Rabbi Rosove is a Reform rabbi and is at the same time engaged in Zionist activities. There is surely a gap in what Zionism meant to the mainstream of Reform Judaism a hundred years ago and what it means today. In other words, Rabbi Rosove's interpretation of "Zionism" seems to be different from the conception that had been common in Reform Judaism at the time of the Pittsburg Platform.

During the meeting, I commented to Rabbi Rosove, "The term 'Zionism' seems to be used in a very negative sense now, including the Israeli government's settlement activities." And I asked him, "What do you think about it?" Quite simply, he answered, "Zionism that we [including Rabbi Rosove] are seeking is basically different from political Zionism. Rather, [we] are required to present the [meaning of] true 'Zionism' [to the world] at present." Therefore what does he mean by the "true Zionism"? I will explain this in the next section.

4-2. Rabbi Rosove's interpretation of "Zionism"

Rabbi Rosove's book *Why Judaism Matters*, published in 2017, describes the view of liberal Judaism he wants to convey to the next (millennial) generation in the form of a letter to his two sons, Daniel and David. The book covers a variety of topics, such as family life, good and evil, secrets of a good life, and war and peace. Rabbi Rosove's interpretation of Zionism is most prominently explained in Part III ("Living in the World of Good and Evil, War and Peace").[21] He is critical of the Israeli settlements policy in the West Bank today, saying it has not implemented democracy.[22] But Rabbi Rosove has not

relinquished his position as a "Zionist." He consciously represents himself as a "liberal Zionist.[23]" He seems to perceive that the Jews living in America are inseparable from the State of Israel[24] and that the observance of "justice" is the duty of Zionism based on Deuteronomy 16:20 – Justice, justice shall you pursue, that you may thrive and occupy the land that [Adonai] your God is giving you.[25] In this part of his book, however, he does not give a concrete example of observing "justice." Indeed, he makes no suggestion to the Israeli government of how the problem could be solved.

For Rabbi Rosove, Zionist activities are mainly embodied in belonging to Zionist organizations such as ARZA mentioned above. The objectives of ARZA can be summarized in the following two points: (i) to consider Israel as playing an important role in maintaining Jewish identity and thus recognizing the necessity of Israel for Reform Jews in America, and also to dispatch delegations from the US to Israel often (and, in some cases, to encourage individual visits to Israel.); and (ii) to promote Israel in becoming a pluralistic and democratic nation-state.

5. Research Visions

In this research note, I pointed out that not all of Reform Jews in America were "anti-Zionists"; some rabbis historically showed an affinity for Zionism, and I also introduced an example of a rabbi acting as a "Zionist" by adding a new interpretation to it without abandoning the term "Zionism" even today. Furthermore, I have pointed to examples of Reform rabbis that had or have an affinity for Zionism (namely, Rabbi S. S. Wise and Rabbi Rosove). Both rabbis cannot be considered in the same way.[26] While Rabbi Wise was engaged in Zionist activities before the establishment of the State of Israel, Rabbi Rosove is an example of Zionism after the establishment of Israel. At least, attention should be paid to their different contexts. Unfortunately, I am unable to provide sufficient information in this research note, and it is not easy to make a definitive statement at this stage, but if I dare to presume to show the direction of my future research, I will explore more deeply the meaning of "liberal" Judaism or "liberal" Zionism, which are key terms connecting Rabbi S.S. Wise and Rabbi Rosove, in the sense of aiming for the realization of social justice as mentioned in Rabbi Rosove's understanding of "Zionism."

I have noted the example of Rabbi Stephen S. Wise to show that there was a pro-Zionist rabbi within American Reform Judaism. But it is also necessary to note that the pro-Zionist Reform rabbis such as Rabbis S. S. Wise and Judah L. Magnes were not in the mainstream of Reform Judaism during much of their lives. They interpreted Judaism in

their own way, and they were not representatives of early American Reform Judaism. So I must also pay attention to this point in my future consideration.[27]

- 3 -

As you know, the fund-raising instrument in the United States of the Jewish Agency for Palestine is the United Palestine Appeal, which is seeking $3,500,000 during 1936 for the settlement in Palestine of a maximum number of the Jews of Germany and other lands. The United Palestine Appeal is one of the participant organizations in the Council for German Jewry, headed by Sir Herbert Samuel, which is sponsoring the program for the emigration of 100,000 German Jews during the next four years.

The members of this Council have repeatedly emphasized that at least half, and probably more, of the German Jews would go to Palestine. In truth, there is no other land ready to accept them in such large numbers. To carry out this great program large funds are essential.

This week the Council for German Jewry announced in London that its first official act is the allocation of $1,250,000 this year for the settlement of German Jews in Palestine. This allocation was made possible because the United Palestine Appeal pledged to the Council the sum of $250,000 for this one item, if American Jewry's response will make it possible to do so. This is in addition to the regular program of the Jewish Agency for the colonization of Jews, the purchase of land and the general development of the Jewish homeland which the United Palestine Appeal is helping to finance.

When you think of the Jewish situation abroad this Passover, will you not consider the facts presented above? It is customary that during this season Jews in America express their gratitude for the liberty which is their own by making generous contributions to the cause of those who still need to be liberated.

As National Chairman of the United Palestine Appeal, I would be deeply grateful for a Passover message from you that you are contributing to the historic work which we are doing: enabling Jews to get out of the dark lands of intolerance into the bright haven of freedom in Palestine.

Faithfully yours,

Stephen S. Wise
National Chairman

Document 1: Letter from Stephen S. Wise to Mr. Saul Odess (April 1, 1936), (3 of 3 pages)
      MS49, Box4, Folder 8, AJA

Rabbi Wise's letter to Mr. Saul Odess was sent during the Passover season. Rabbi Wise as

National Chairman of the United Palestine Appeal (UPA) wrote in the fourth paragraph, "When you think of the Jewish situation abroad this Passover, will you not consider the facts presented above [i.e., the miserable state of the Jews in Germany and other European countries]?" Rabbi Wise put this question to Mr. Odess asking for his contribution to the project of liberating the German Jews from the intolerant dark land to the free shining haven of Palestine and concluded by thanking him in advance.

*The UPA was founded in 1925 as an American-led fundraising organization dedicated to helping the Jews inside and outside Germany settle in Palestine. The UPA was reorganized in 1936.

Rabbi John L. Rosove (the fourth person from the top left)
with delegates of the 2nd KAKEHASHI Project

Source: Asia Pacific Institute: Quarterly Update
http://links.ajcglobal.org/servlet/MailView?ms=MzY0ODgxNQS2&r=ODU5MTI2ODIz
ODAS1&j=ODIwMDM4MDAwS0&mt=1&rt=0 [Accessed November 6, 201].

Acknowledgements

particular to Professors Dr. Gary P. Zola and Dr. Dana Herman. Having learned that I was interested in Rabbi Stephen S. Wise's view of Zionism, Dr. Zola gave me an opportunity to listen to part of Wise's voice-recorded sermons at the Free Synagogue along with transcripts[28], and also kindly allowed me to attend a lecture titled "Reform Judaism: Then and Now." Dr. Herman not only arranged for my research in the archives to be conducted smoothly, but also took great care of me in the unfamiliar surrounding of life in Cincinnati.

※3　I would like to take this occasion to give thanks to all the parties concerned who allowed us to participate in the 2nd KAKEHASHI Project "Visiting Program to Los Angeles and San Francisco by Japanese Researchers of Jewish Studies" (March 17-24, 2019) and provided us with valuable opportunities. Especially I am grateful to Ms. Dganit Abramoff, Acting Chief of Staff, American Jewish Committee (AJC), Los Angeles, and Ms. Barb Kilkka (Youth For Understanding, YFU). And I would also like to express my appreciation to Dr. Satoko Kamoshida and Dr. Masahiro Shida for taking the initiative as leaders of the delegation to make this project a bond between the North American Jewish community and Japan and always taking care of our delegation members.

Notes

1　This research project is partly dealt with in the following papers: Anri Ishiguro, "Americanized cultural Zionism from the 1900s to the 1920s: reflecting the prism of Aḥad Haʿam's thought -- Magnes, Kaplan, Kallen" in *The World of Monotheistic Religions*, Vol. 9, March 31st, 2018 (Doshisha University, The Center for Interdisciplinary Study of the Monotheistic Religions, 2018), 1-18 [in Japanese]; and Anri Ishiguro, "Progress and Ambiguities: Kaufmann Kohler's Vision for Jewish Women and Zionism during the Transitional Period of the Reform Movement," in *Proceedings of the Third International Symposium on Jewish Studies Judaism in Modern Era: Interpretative Studies of Ancient and Current Texts*; Held at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, August 19th 2018 (Ed. Ada Taggar Cohen; Kyoto: Doshisha University, The Center for Interdisciplinary Study of the Monotheistic Religions, 2019), 102-111.

2　The Jacob Rader Marcus Center of the American Jewish Archives (AJA), located on the historic Cincinnati campus of Hebrew Union College, was established in 1947 by the renowned American historian, Dr. Jacob Rader Marcus (1896-1995). For detailed information about the establishment of the AJA, see the following essay: Jacob Rader Marcus, "The Program of the American Jewish Archives (1948)" in *The Dynamics of American Jewish History: Jacob Rader Marcus's Essays on American Jewry* (Gary Phillip Zola ed.; Hanover, London: Brandeis University Press, University Press of New England, 2004), 108-115.

3   The KAKEHASHI Project, Visiting Program to the North America by Japanese Researchers of Jewish Studies, was first implemented in 2017. In the 1st KAKEHASHI Project, seven young Japanese researchers visited New York and Boston along the East Coast. For more details about the newsletter of the 1st KAKEHASHI Project, see the following link: http://alderekhhaemet.blogspot.com/2018/06/newsletter-kakehashi-project-2018.html [Accessed July 25, 2019]

4   For more details about the second destination we visited, see the following link to the Japan International Cooperation Center (JICE): https://www.jice.org/exchange/report/2019/05/kakehashi-project-2019317324.html [Accessed July 25, 2019]

5   For more details about the development of Reform Judaism and conflicts between assimilation of German Jews into American society and the retention of their identity in the United States, see the following book. Michael A. Meyer, *Judaism within Modernity: Essays on Jewish History and Religion* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2001). Although my paper could not cover it due to space constraints, Meyer's book deals with Abba Hillel Silver (1893-1963) as an example of a "Zionist" within Reform Judaism.

6   Thomas A. Kolsky, *Jews Against Zionism: The American Council for Judaism, 1942-1948* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1990), 20-22.

7   MS 17, box 6, folder 1, American Jewish Archives. This statement is also included in the following collection of historical materials. Gary Phillip Zola and Marc Dollinger (eds.) *American Jewish History: A Primary Source Reader* (Waltham, Massachusetts: Brandeis University Press, 2014), 253f; and also see Kolsky's analysis: Thomas A. Kolsky, *Jews Against Zionism*, 54f.

8   For another view, see Jack Wertheimer, *How Jews Practice Their Religion Today: The New American Judaism* (Princeton, Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2018), 107. In this book, however, Jack Wertheimer says that Reform rabbis took a neutral attitude towards Zionism as opposed to one of hostility (i.e. in a sense different from the anti-Zionist stance of the American Council for Judaism) until 1937.

9   Theodor Herzl's book, *The Jewish State*, was published in 1896 and the 1st Zionist Congress took place in the following year. Therefore, at the time when the Pittsburgh Platform was promulgated in 1885, the Political Zionist movement that reform Judaism opposed has not yet begun. But until the Columbus Platform was promulgated in 1937, Reform Judaism often referred to the Pittsburg Platform as an explanatory reason for anti-Zionism.

10   Michael A. Meyer, *Judaism within Modernity*, 320.

11   Stephen Wise, *Challenging Years: The Autobiography of Stephen Wise* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1949), 206-208.

12   In 1949, when Stephen Wise died, the JIR merged with Hebrew Union College (HUC). Mark Lee Raphael, *Profiles in American Judaism: The Reform, Conservative, Orthodox, and Reconstructionist Traditions in Historical Perspective* (Harper & Row, 1984), p. 54.

13   Stephen S. Wise, "Zionism and the Liberal," in *The Growth of Reform Judaism: American and European Sources* (W. Gunther Plaut ed.; Philadelphia, The Jewish Publication Society, 2015), 150f.

14   This might be interpreted as a remark that Wise seemed to unconsciously accept the myth shown in Israel Zangwill (1864-1926)'s infamous slogan "A land without a people for a people without a land." However, in order to judge the validity of this interpretation, it should be considered carefully with reference to other relevant materials.

15   Martin Luther King, Jr.'s sermon in 1965 at the Temple Israel of Hollywood can be viewed at the following URL:
      https://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/mlktempleisraelhollywood.htm [Accessed July 25, 2019]

16   For the exhibition at this synagogue, refer to the following link of the 2nd KAKEHASHI Project Newsletter:
      http://alderekhhaemet.blogspot.com/2019/08/newsletter-kakehashi-project-2019.html
      [Accessed October 31, 2019]

17   See the following link to Rabbi Rosove's blog:
      https://rabbijohnrosove.wordpress.com/2019/03/19/10-young-japanese-scholars-of-judaism-and-jewish-history-visit-los-angeles-times-of-israel-blog-march-19-2019/
      [Accessed July 25, 2019]

18   The Association of Reform Zionists of America (ARZA) was founded at the Reform Judaism biannual meeting in San Francisco in 1978. See the following article written by Rabbi John Rosove on July 2, 2018:
      https://jewishjournal.com/blogs/235631/american-reform-movement-accepts-jerusalem-program-world-zionist-organization-becomes-zionist-movement/ [Accessed July 25, 2019]

19   J Street, one of the Israeli lobby organizations in America, was established in 2008 by generations who could not agree with AIPAC which is said to be the most influential Israeli lobby group existing that adopts an uncritical attitude and policy towards the Israeli government. J Street differs from other existing Israeli lobbies in that it strongly criticizes the current Israeli state policy towards Palestine and opposes its settlement activities in the West Bank and military policy in the Gaza Strip. See the official website of J Street: https://jstreet.org/ [Accessed July 25, 2019]. As for J Street, see also Ryoji Tateyama, *The Jews and America: Swinging Israeli Lobbies* (Chuokoron-Shinsya, 2016), especially 4-12 and Chapter 5 [in Japanese].

20   As is mentioned in footnote 5, Meyer refers to an example of "Zionist" within Reform Judaism.

21   Rabbi John Rosove, *Why Judaism Matters: Letters of A Liberal Rabbi to his Children and The Millennial Generation* (Nashville, Tennessee: Jewish Lights Publishing, 2017), 58-68. See especially Rabbi Rosove's response to an email from Sarah, a rabbinical student (58-61) and Rabbi Rosove's additional thoughts (61-68).

22   Rabbi John Rosove, *Why Judaism Matters*, 58.

23   Rabbi John Rosove, *Why Judaism Matters*, 57.

24 Throughout the book, assertions are often found that the Jews are tied to Israel no matter where they live. Rabbi John Rosove, *Why Judaism Matters*, 57, 61 and 67f.

25 As regards the observance of justice, see Rabbi John Rosove, *Why Judaism Matters*, 61ff.

26 Rabbi Ammiel Hirsh, senior rabbi at New York City's Stephen Wise Free Synagogue that Rabbi Wise founded, was executive director for 12 years of the Association of Reform Zionists in America (ARZA) of which Rabbi Rosove was the last National Chairman. See the following link: https://www.swfs.org/about-us/our-staff/member/307848/ [Accessed September 25, 2019]. As regards Prime Minister Netanyahu's settlement policy, Rabbi Hirsh said, "Israel's relationship with American Jews has deteriorated significantly during the premiership of Prime Minister Netanyahu," and bitterly complained about Netanyahu's surrender to "the ultra-Orthodox monopoly over religious life." See Eric Cortellessa, "With Israeli elections looming, liberal US Jews set their ire on Netanyahu," in *The Times of Israel*, 5 April 2019:
https://www.timesofisrael.com/with-israeli-election-looming-liberal-us-jews-set-their-ire-on-netanyahu/ [Accessed September 25, 2019]

27 This is the point that Dr. Yitzhak Conforti, Bar Ilan University, and Dr. Jerome Chanes, City University of New York (CUNY) Graduate Center made concerning my report "Keeping Two Zions: The Ambiguity of Americanized Zionism in the Developing Context of Reform and Conservative Judaism" in the 35th Annual Conference of the Association for Israel Studies at Kinneret Academic College June 24-26, 2019.

28 During my research for material, I could not collect and audit all Wise's sermons and his real voice records because this project was ongoing and time was limited. When I visited the AJA and listened to Wise's recorded sermons in the 1940s, he said that Zionism and American democracy were not incompatible. As of March 2019, it is not clear who really recorded these sermons, so I have to research further to identify the person. If I cannot do this, the validity of these recorded sermons as historical material remains questionable. However, unlike simply reading manuscripts of sermons in typographical form, the recorded sermons show us how Wise's sermons were received by the congregation because of the atmosphere and applause. Consequently, on the next research visit, I would like to collect and audit those of his sermons which seem to be necessary for my research project as reference material.

Suggestions for Research Methods on the History of Jewish Exegesis:
Reviewing Koji Osawa, *The Incident of the Golden Calf: A History of Exegesis* (Kyobunkwan, 2018)

Nozomi Abe

Introduction

The Hebrew Bible has a long history of being read together with commentaries. At any given time in history, the reading of the actual biblical texts has required explanation, translation, or exegesis by commentators. Therefore, it has become more important to meticulously read the secondary documents and sources while more deeply examine the history of the Bible's interpretation. This is particularly the case in deciding how to handle classical Jewish texts, especially when it comes to examining the difference between Jewish and Christian exegeses. In the past, a few scholars had attempted comparative studies on such issues. Despite their efforts, however, there has been a tendency to not carefully or adequately read Jewish classical texts. Therefore, it is essential to check interpretations against revised editions of high quality and manuscripts that are highly accurate, but there has been no environment in which these source materials could be accessed until now. Now, fortunately, in this age of the internet, revised editions of high quality have become widely available, so scholars have direct access to such vital manuscripts that were previously unavailable. With the emergence of such an environment, it is possible to conduct more careful research on such source material, implying that one cannot excuse even minor errors in verifying such material's authenticity. It is worth noting that Osawa's study has a solid basis for confirming the accuracy of basic source materials. Mostly through reference to previous studies, his study adopted well-structured research procedures to demonstrate that the source materials used were classified according to historical periods. In particular, there was a clear distinction in such source materials between the Tannaitic and Amoraic periods. Consequently, his study made significant, unprecedented progress in this field because it enabled readers to follow and observe the sequential development of such textual interpretation over time. In the following, I would like to develop my review while discussing how to handle the source materials.

1. On Issues of Handling Source Materials (Choosing Basic Manuscripts and Revised Editions)

The treatment of Jewish exegesis requires a process of carefully verifying the accuracy of the biblical texts. This is because the notation of the Hebrew Bible itself gives absolute authority and legitimacy to Jewish exegesis. The Old Testament scholarship uses variants of BHS and BHQ as the original texts in verifying documents' accuracy. Their typesetting, however, is not the same as that of B19a found in the Leningrad Codex. In most cases, modern biblical scholarship accepts a division of paragraphs and colons according to the formatting used. The primary task, therefore, is to check the accuracy of the texts of the Hebrew Bible based on or in reference to the original version.

The next matter concerns the treatment of the classical Jewish texts. Rabbinic Hebrew, with a grammatical structure that is different in many ways from that of biblical Hebrew, is a type of Hebrew used in the Common Era. Therefore, the type of Hebrew used in these texts is not at all identical to that of biblical Hebrew. For instance, recent studies have shown that the authority of the Hebrew Bible was so absolutely accepted in the Jewish world that even completely different variants of Hebrew texts in later periods were revised or corrected carelessly due to their wording and grammar.

Furthermore, as the Babylonian Talmud became accepted as the most authoritative canonical text for the study of biblical exegesis after the sixth century, its authorization gradually began to influence the Midrashic literature recorded by the Tannaim, who had been active in the land of Israel earlier. In response to the Tannaitic Midrash called the "Eretz Yisrael tradition," there were cases where the sages, who were active in Babylonia, replaced the "Eretz Yisrael tradition" with the "Babylonian tradition" to match the notation and wording with the Babylonian Talmud. Nevertheless, both traditions differ significantly in Hebrew spelling, phrasing, and grammar, as well as their interpretation of the Torah. It is, therefore, indispensable to select **primary manuscripts** in making comparisons of several types of variants redacted, between the Tannaitic and Amoraic periods. Such manuscripts as those described above should not be subject to any revision at all, or at least have only minimal revisions. Moreover, **revised editions**, based on such manuscripts, have to be employed in further promoting this kind of study. The author's work should be held in high regard for its significance because his selection of such manuscripts is indeed accurate. Based on the above assumptions, I would like to give my review of the contents as follows.

2. Incident of the Golden Calf in Midrashic Literature

2-1. *Sifre Dévarim*

The following passage was presented as part of this discussion by the school of Rabbi Akiva in the relevant section of "*Sifre Dévarim*" in Midrashic literature during the Tannaitic period. *Sifre Dévarim*, which was reportedly redacted in the Halakhic Midrash in the 4th century C.E., is also considered a crucial document in its description of the modes of biblical exegesis used by Jewish society at the beginning of the Common Era. Osawa quotes this section, but only the Gothic part of the texts (below) are quoted, the rest of the passages are omitted. Reading its contents, checked carefully with its context, it is apparent that part of the quotations are inappropriate. Especially, in dealing with Jewish biblical interpretation, it is necessary to treat it comprehensively.

*Sifre Devarim, Pisqa' **1***

12 "**And Di-Zahav**" (Dt.1:1)— [The Holy One] said to them: I can overlook all you've done, but **the incident of the [golden] calf pains Me the most!** R. Judah used to teach: There is an analogy— a certain fellow caused his companion many troubles. Finally, he added one more. [The companion] said to him: I can overlook all you've done, but this latest incident pains me the most! This is what the All-Present said to Israel: I can overlook all you've done, but the incident of the [golden] calf pains me the most! R. Shimon says: There is an analogy— a certain fellow received sages and their disciples, and everyone sang his praises. Then gentiles came, and he received them. Then bandits came and he received them. People began to say: It must be So-and-so's way to receive any one! Thus did Moses say to Israel: That's enough gold (*dai-zahav*)— for the Dwelling! That's enough gold—for the calf!

13 R. Banyah says: Israel served a foreign cult. By rights they should have been worthy of annihilation! [But no!] The gold [collected for] the Dwelling offers absolution for the gold [collected for] the calf! R. Yose b. Hanina says: "And you shall fashion a cover of pure gold" (Ex.25:17)— the gold [collected for] the Ark-cover offers absolution for the gold [collected for] the calf!

(※The English translated text has been referred by the editorial to:
Marty Jaffee, *Sifre Devarim* (accessed on Jan. 31, 2020).

The organization of the above Midrash is as follows: (1) The incident of the Golden Calf was viewed as the most heinous of all sins ever committed; (2) Gold items of the same material as the Golden Calf were collected as offerings to effect atonement for this greatest sin. It follows that one's sins, as a result, are atoned for through the use of the vessels made from the gold in the atonement ritual.

Even so, what was the intention in this Midrash of introducing a discussion that was unrelated to the above context in the last part of Deut.1:1? Although Osawa never explicitly stated the reason behind this, that discussion seems to be at the very origin, in my view, of the Jewish understanding of the "Incident of the Golden Calf."

The introductory phrase of this Midrash, "*Ve di zahav*" (*an abundance of gold*), found in the last part of Deut.1:1, indicates the five places, "*Paran,*" "*Tophel,*" "*Laban,*" "*Hazeroth,*" and "*Di zahav,*" where Moses addressed the Israelites in giving the words of the Torah. This Midrash, however, is deeply problematic by the fact that the phrase "*Ve di zahav*" is described last in the names of these places. Moreover, if one searches for the meaning of the phrase "*Ve di zahav,*" the word "*Di*" (די), which refers to a term that describes quality, quantity, time, and sufficiency in Hebrew（"*Dai*" or "*De*"）, has the same spelling as the name of the place. When considered in Aramaic, the word "*Di*" (די) constitutes a grammatical element that denotes "of." "*Zhav,*" taken from the phrase "*Di zahav,*" also denotes a word that refers to "gold" as metal. Judging from the context of Deuteronomy, those who can think in Hebrew could quickly identify the phrase "*Di zahav*" as referring to the name of a particular place, sensing that God's intention is hidden behind this term. Such a reading of this term, as a result, seems to involve a forced leap of logic. The primary reason for inserting the Midrash of the Golden Calf at the beginning of Deuteronomy is, in my view, to state that "the giving of the Torah to Israel is for the sake of atonement for the sins caused by the Golden Calf." Although this line of argument, unfortunately, cannot be seen in Osawa's study, my hope is that he will further investigate the validity of this viewpoint.

2-2. The value of comparative studies with the Dead Sea Scrolls

Now that the entire picture of the Dead Sea Scrolls, whose study has received little attention for quite a while, is becoming clearer, other sources containing similar arguments need to be examined in comparison with the scrolls. Therefore, it is suggested that the Dead Sea Scrolls, completely unrevised by other authors, be used while

acknowledging their uniqueness as primary sources.

In particular, studies on the Dead Sea Scrolls suggest that it is possible to extract their ideas and ideological trends from the first century BCE or CE by investigating the sectarian documents of the Qumran community. If there were the same lines of argument or ideas in the "Eretz Yisrael tradition" of the Tannaitic period, this would indicate that these concepts might have been discussed since the BCE era. The following sources suggest areas that may overlap with classical Jewish literature in the Dead Sea Scrolls: (1) The Rewritten Bible; (2) Narratives based on biblical Themes; (3) The Halakhah.

2-3. Incident of the Golden Calf in the Dead Sea Scrolls

The manuscript fragment of **4Q159** in the Dead Sea Scrolls, which covers the "Incident of the Golden Calf," also deals with discussions over the Halakhah. As the description of its narrative part suddenly appears in the middle of a passage within the fragment, the segment of the Incident of the Golden Calf (fragment 1-ii, line 17 & fragment 5, line 1) begins with the introductory phrase *Pesher* (פֵּשֶׁר), which contains a reference to Exod. 32. The Halakah covered in this fragment is discussed in the same order as the accounts of Exodus. Thus, the literary form in which the Halakhic debates unfold or its narratives are partially inserted, according to the order of the biblical account, recalls the form of the later Halakhic Midrash. While this is only speculation, researcher A. Shemesh has speculated that it may have been the beginning of the Halakhic Midrash[1]. While referring to Shemesh's commentary below, I would like to look into the intention behind it, examining the description of the "Incident of the Golden Calf" in this passage.

4Q159

Frg. 1 ii + 9
1.]*yw* ʾ[   ]*nḥl lw*[   ]
2.]ʾ*l* his com[ma]ndments **and to atone for all** [**t**]**heir rebellious acts**[   ]
3. [shiuld] a man make of it a threshing-floor or winepress, whoever comes to the threshing f;oor[or the winepress   ]
4. [anyone] in Israel who has nothing may eat it and gather it in for himself, and for his ho[usehold   ]
5. [in] the field may eat with his month, but may not bring it into his house to store it up[   ]

6. [Rega]rding [the matter of the] money of valuation which they gave, each one as the ransom for his life, half [a sheqel as an offering to the Load;]

7. only one [time] in his days shall he give it. The sheqel is twenty *gerah* by the sa[nctuary sheqel. And the atonement money was]

8. for the six h[u]ndred thousand, one hundred talents; for the third (?), half a talent, [and for the five hundred, five minas]

9. and for the fifty, half a m[in]a, [twenty-]five sheqel. Al[l by the sanctuary sheqel   ]

10. the mina.   *š   l   wš* for the ten minas[   ]

11. [fi]ve [silv]er pieces, a tenth of a m[ina   ]

12. [   ]sanctuary [sheq]el, ha[lf   ]

13. [   ]the *ephah* and the *bath* are [have on]e measure [   ]

14. [   ] the [th]ree tenths   [   ]

15. [   ]*vacat* [   ]

16. [he sprinkled o]n the people and upon [their] ga[rmen]ts[   ]

17. [and **the calf which the I**]sraelites [**made**] **Moses burnt**[   ]

Frg. 5

1. [When] they [angerd] God and **they died. The interpretation**[**of the matter**   ]

2. [   ] *vacat*   sons of L[evi?   ]

3. [   ]in judgement. And as for that which it say[s   ]

4. [   ] when moses took the [tent and pitched it outside the camp, then all who]

5. [sought the Load] would go out thither. The interpretation of the matte[r   ]

6. [to se]ek the Law in distress, *w* [   ]

7. [whi]ch Moses spoke[   ]

8. [   ]all[   ]

(※The English translated text has been referred by the editorial to:

M. Bernstein trans., "4Q**159** (4QOrdinanses[a]) trans. M. Bernstein (provisional edition)," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls Reader, Second Edition, Revised and Expanded* (Donald W. Parry and Emanuel Tov eds.; Leiden・Boston: Brill, 2014), vol. 1, pp. 321, 323.)

The text preserved in cave 4 was severely damaged, making it difficult to be viewed in its entirety. Nevertheless, the statement that Moses burned the calf made by the people of Israel clearly refers to Exod. 32:20. Immediately following the statement "when they enraged God, they died," the content expands on this phrase, explaining "what this means (Pesher[2])." The phrases "the children of the Levites" and "in judgment" are also used immediately after that. In the Hebrew Bible, this flow of the biblical passage seems to be identical to that in which those who made the golden calf and did not stand on the LORD's side, despite Moses' severe accusation, were killed by the Levites. Moreover, the description based on Exod. 33:7, "As Moses would take the Tent and pitch it outside the camp, those who sought the LORD would go out there" follows. Consequently, this confirms that the literary form in which the flow of the story evolves along with the biblical verses was, in a sense, already established.

2-4. Purpose of Inserting the *Pesher*

Pesher's format, sandwiched between descriptions of Halakhah, is organized as a type of Midrash with the *Aggadah* mixed with the *Halakhah*. In Fragment 1–2, line 2, the phrase "To redeem all their iniquities" can be verified. What could have been done to "redeem all their iniquities," unfortunately, cannot be restored due to the lack of text. The *Halakhot*, nevertheless, are enumerated after this phrasing.

What this suggests is that the following *Halakhot* are listed to "redeem all their iniquities." According to the views held by the Qumran community, it appears that before and after the "Incident of the Golden Calf," some '*Halakhah*' is indispensable to the atonement for the incident reportedly described as "the most heinous sin" (חטאה גדולה). It may be assumed that the Halakah has been instituted for this atonement. Given the idea that the Incident of the Golden Calf may as well have been understood as the most heinous sin by the members of the Qumran community, it is also reasonable to assume that the Temple cult had been started as expiation for the incident.

2-5. Comparison with Targum Pseudo-Jonathan

Next, I would like to make a comparison with Targum Pseudo-Jonathan, the Aramaic Targum translation of the Hebrew Bible. It is highly questionable, however, whether this document is part of the genre of the "Targum." This is because the document was originally written as Aramaic literature, not as an Aramaic translation according to the Torah reading in the synagogue. Since its content is different from the Midrashic literary form edited according to the weekly Torah reading, its literary genre,

classified as "Literature of the Rewritten Bible,"[3] is believed to have been edited in the 8th century C.E.[4]

The author tried to rewrite the story presented in this literature from his own perspective. It has also been pointed out that this "Targum Pseudo-Jonathan," which has passages in common with those of the Dead Sea Scrolls, also quotes traditions contained in the Midrashic literature reportedly established in the 4th century CE.[5] The passage of Deut. 1:1 in Targum Pseud-Jonathan is not the Aramaic Targum of the Hebrew text but rather understood as a commentary that reflects the author's views. The five places named "*Paran,*" "*Tophel*," "*Laban*," "*Hazeroth*," and "*Di zahav*" are understood not as the places where Moses addressed the people of Israel using the words of the Torah but rather as the places where the people of Israel sinned. In fact, Targum Pseudo-Jonathan is seriously put in question by the term "*Di zahav*" appearing last in the passage, as in *Sifre D'varim* quoted earlier. If the term "*Di zahav*" implied the "Incident of the Golden Calf," then its usage should be placed at the foot of Mt. Sinai, since its name would come first in this narrative. Moreover, even in "Targum Pseudo-Jonathan," we can confirm the notion that a ritual using gold utensils would atone for the sins of the Incident of the Golden Calf.

Targum Pseudo-Jonathan, Deut. 1:1

1. These are the words of *reproof* that Moses spoke with all of Israel. *He gathered them before him when they were* on the other side of the Jordan. *He answered and said to them: "Was not the Law given to you* in the desert *at Mount Sinai and explained to you on the plants of Moab? How many miracles and wonders the Holy One blessed be he performed for you from the time when you crossed by the shore of* the Red Sea *where he made for you a way for every single tribe! But you, you have deviated from his Memra and you incited his anger at* Paran *because of the spies' report; and you have charged him with lying and you have murmured about the manna that he caused to come down white from heaven for you. You have demanded meat* at Haseroth; *and it was fit for you to be destroyed from the midst of the world but because it is remembered for you by the merits of your fathers, the righteous ones, the Tent of Meeting, the ark of the covenant, and the holy vessels that you covered with pure gold, he has atoned for you concerning the sin of the golden calf.*

(※The English translated text has been referred by the editorial to:

Ernest G. Clarke, *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan: Deuteronomy: translated, with notes* (Kevin Cathcart, et al. eds., *The Aramaic Bible: The Targums*, Volume 5B), (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1998), pp. 6-7.)

2-6. Midrash Tanchuma

Even in Tanchuma, a type of Midrashic literature probably compiled by the 8th century CE, there is a story that seems to indicate that burnt offerings started in the Temple as atonement for the Incident of the Golden Calf. Its characteristic position is that the purpose of constructing the Temple, considering the interconnectedness between the Tabernacle's construction and the Incident of the Golden Calf, was to make atonement for the sins wrought by the Incident of the Golden Calf.

Midrash Tanchuma, Terumah 8
Terumah, Siman 8

And let them make Me a sanctuary, that I may dwell among them (Exod. 25:8). On which day did He relate to Moses the portion relating to the Temple? It was on the Day of Atonement. That was so despite the fact that the Torah portion describing the Sanctuary precedes the incident of the golden calf. R. Judah the son of R. Shalum said: There is actually no such thing as preceding or following in the Torah, as is said: *Lest she should walk the even path of life, her ways wander, but she knoweth it not* (**Prov. 5:6**). This verse refers to the arrangement of the Torah and its sections. Hence, it was on the Day of Atonement that He told Moses: *Make Me a Sanctuary*.

Whence do we know this to be so? Moses went up Mount Sinai on the sixth day of Sivan, and remained there for forty days and forty nights. He stayed there another forty days, and then a final forty days, totaling one hundred and twenty days in all. Thus you find that it must have been on the Day of Atonement that he told Moses about the Temple, for it was on that day that they were forgiven. And on that day the Holy One, blessed be He, told them: *Make Me a Sanctuary, that I may dwell therein*, so that the nations might know that He had forgiven them for the episode of the golden calf. It was called the Sanctuary of the Testimony, for it bore witness to the nations of the world that

the Holy One, blessed be He, dwelt within their Sanctuary.

The Holy One, blessed be He, declared: Let gold be placed within the Sanctuary to atone for the gold with which the golden calf was fashioned, as it is said: *And all the people broke off the golden rings* (**Exod. 32:3**). Thus they atoned with gold; *And this is the offering which ye shall take of them: gold* (ibid. 25:2). The Holy One, blessed be He, said: *For I will restore health unto thee, and I will heal thee of thy wounds* (**Jer. 30:17**).

(※The English translated text has been referred to by the editorial and contains merged sections from the following text versions:

"Midrash Tanchuma" (Samuel A. Berman trans., *An English Translation of Genesis and Exodus from the Printed Version of Tanhuma-Yelammedenu with an Introduction, Notes, and Indexes* (KTAV Publishing House, Inc.: Hoboken, New Jersey), in *A Living Library of Jewish Texts* (The Sefaria Library), Terumah 8 (acceed on Feb. 17, 2020).

https://www.sefaria.org/Midrash_Tanchuma%2C_Terumah.8?lang=bi)

3. Elucidating the Development of Exegesis according to Eras?

Let me address the fundamental issue here. Osawa, on p. 79, footnote 151, describes the tradition of Leviticus Rabba as follows:

One of the features of Jewish literature is that its traditions are not consistent even within the same literature. For this reason, although Leviticus Rabba has a tradition of explicitly advocating Aaron's cause or a tendency to defend him, it is unclear whether the document as a whole indeed advocates his cause. What is vital to this work is that this literature preserves a certain amount of traditions of advocating Aaron's cause.

This view can be paraphrased as follows: In Jewish literature, a single document always includes writings of multiple traditions appearing concurrently. This situation, then, implies the need for fundamental research methods that deal with the question of whether it is possible to analyze and extract specific themes as part of the history of exegesis for each era. Since sages in each era, who knew of such exegetical traditions, did not explicitly discuss them as part of their debates, it is easy to assume that this

method of inquiry has serious flaws.

Specifically, as cited on pages 7–79, the Midrash, which interpreted the verse "When Aaron saw this, he built an altar before it" (Exod. 32:5) as "Aaron was afraid and realized from the murder in front of him," in fact appears in "Leviticus Rabba." Even though this Midrash is treated as an exegesis in the Amoraic period, it is still reasonable to assume that the replacement of biblical verses, which was achieved with only a small change in the vowels of the Hebrew text, might have been made by many people in eras when they did not add vowels to Hebrew text. Therefore, it is not surprising that they likely made this exegesis during the Tannaitic period.

To compensate for these methodological flaws, instead of resorting solely to interpreting and pursuing particular themes, the study of Midrashic literature has focused attention on reconstructing the editing processes of specific traditions by finding traces of quotations from other traditions contained in a single document. This method was taken because it can more surely confirm mutual effects. Osawa's study, unfortunately, does not seem to go deeper into the research from this perspective. In the future, we would expect his continuing research to incorporate the philology of Jewish literature.

4. Parts of the Argument that Require Rethinking

In making his argument, Osawa argued, "But the LORD said, 'Who caused you to make golden gods? It is I, who have given you much gold.' In other words, God himself acknowledged that the cause of the Incident of the Golden Calf lies with Him. Therefore, this interpretation might imply that the parties concerned in the case, including the people of Israel, are not liable (pp. 122–123), explaining that "God acknowledges that He is solely responsible for causing the Incident of the Calf to happen." Although it is indeed God Himself who allowed the Israelites to receive gold works from the Egyptians, He awarded these gold works to them for their 430 years of slavery. Although it was God who gave gold to Israel, its use was determined by their free will. The decision of using the gold for either right or wrong purposes, such as using golden holy vessels for the Temple cult or for building a golden calf, was entrusted entirely to human judgment. Therefore, he needs to add an element of "human free will" to this type of discussion.

Furthermore, Osawa's above quote was cited as his commentary on a quote from Tosefta, Kippurim 4 (5) 14. According to the edition of S. Lieberman, the passage that

may be read as "Who caused **you** to make golden gods?" was not written in the second person. Instead, the passage "Who caused **them** to make golden gods?" should be read in the third person. Although this is a complicated matter, it seems that such a mistake could have been avoided by confirming the passage against the revised edition. The reason why I took up the issue of reading the passage in the third person is that it is possibile that "they" as a subject could actually refer to "much gold." If the latter understanding is adopted, the course of the discussion may be slightly different.

Notes

[1] A. Shemesh & C. Werman, *Revealing the Hidden: Exegesis and Halakha in the Qumran Scrolls*, Jerusalem (2011): 43 Note 53. [in Hebrew]

[2] "Pesher" and "Midrash" have a common feature in that they do not seek to derive meaning from the context of the biblical text (P'shat), since they espouse fundamentally different ideas. (1) "Pesher" is a unique method of exegesis used by the Qumran community, while "Midrash" is part of the worldview espoused by Rabbinic Judaism. (2) "Pesher" is not aimed at the enactment of the Harahah extracted from biblical passages, and thus it is not the same as Midrash Halakhah. (3) There is no hermeneutical method in "Pesher" that can expand on arguments such as "Kal vahomer" as used in Midrash Aggadah. (4) "Pesher" is intended to explain how the biblical accounts were/are going to be realized during or before the interpreter's lifetime, seeking to prove the authenticity of the Qumran community's viewpoint. (5) The contents of "Pesher" are a mode of exegesis hidden to those who are not members of the Qumran community; they are a mystery revealed only to the members of the Qumran community. Thus, there are no objections to the divinely inspired interpretations. This shows that the situation is fundamentally different from the world of the Jewish sages, which allows for several objections. Y. Frankel, *Midrash and Agadah*, The Open University of Israel, Tel Aviv (1996): 77. [in Hebrew]

[3] The literary genre, "The Rewritten Bible," was named by G. Vermesh. G. Vermesh, *Scripture and Tradition in Judaism²*, Leiden (1973).

[4] Avigdor Shinan, *The Embroidered Targum*, The Aggadah in Targum Pseudo-Jonathan of the Pentateuch, Jerusalem (1992). [in Hebrew]

[5] David Henshke, On the Relationship between Targum Pseudo-Jonathan and the Halakhic Midrashim, *Tarbiz* 68, Jerusalem (1999): 187-210. [in Hebrew]

Book Review
Jews and Judaism by Hiroshi Ichikawa
(Iwanami Shoten, 2019)

Toshihiro Horikawa

This book summarizes 40 years of work by its author, Professor Hiroshi Ichikawa. It also presents findings from the discovery of 1st-century synagogue ruins in the region of Galilee, made in the summer of 2016 in the course of archeological excavations in Israel that Ichikawa has joined for 30 years. In the 1980s, the assertion of his Israeli teacher that "Japan's prosperity will not last long," struck a chord with him and made him realize how the Jews, who were forced to live in pagan lands, keenly observed the societies they lived in and prepared themselves for the adversities that awaited them. From this, he surmised that "Maybe we can learn something from the Jews in figuring out our own future, because they had become stronger by recognizing their weaknesses, and had victoriously lived through many harsh realities" (p. ii). He wrote this book in the hope that the modern generation could gain inspiration about living from the lives of the Jews.

This book begins with an introductory chapter on "who is a Jew?" followed by four chapters taking up Jewish history, faith, studies, and society. The author provides a comprehensive discussion on the life of the Jews and on Judaism itself from these four perspectives. The introductory chapter defines who the Jews are. The word "Jews" is "*Yehudi*" in Hebrew, which is referred to the people of the tribe of Judah from the latter half of the period of Solomon's Temple until that of the Second Temple, or to the people living in the land of Judah as recounted in the Bible. After the medieval period, "Jews" came to be clearly defined as "people born of a Jewish mother, or converts to Judaism" based on Jewish Law (*Halakha*) (p. 5). Modern Israel enacted the Law of Return in 1950 to give Jews the right to come and live in Israel and to gain Israeli citizenship, provided they are officially recognized as Jews. The then Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion forged an agreement with Orthodox Jews to set the criteria for granting citizenship. According to these criteria, a true Jew is a person who was born and raised in a society that follows the Jewish divine law or, in the words of the author, "a Jew is a person who submits to Rabbinic authority and lives by the teachings of the Talmud (commentaries on the

scriptures of Judaism)" (p. 6). In other words, even a person who believes that he/she is a Jew may not qualify as a "Jew" according to Israel's criteria. As an example, the author mentions the case of immigrants from Ethiopia who had intermittently migrated to Israel since before its founding until the 1980s, when they caught the attention of Israeli authorities. Since they did not have rabbis and did not practice Talmudic teachings, it was believed that some of them were *mamzers*, or children born from a marriage that is against divine law. Orthodox Jews (i.e., the Israeli Rabbinate) imposed upon the Ethiopian Jewish immigrants orthodox conversion rituals followed by baptism by immersion (*tevillah*), this treatment attracted criticism and became a political problem. Consequently, the controversy compelled the Israeli government to simply apply the Law of Return to them. Nevertheless, the more than 100,000 Ethiopian immigrants living in Israel today are still required to undergo baptism by immersion when they marry (pp. 7–8). Although Orthodox Judaism has no authority over marriage relationships among the Diaspora Jews, they are subjected to marital investigations as part of the process of obtaining Israeli citizenship.

In Section 1 (Ancient Jews) of Chapter 1 (From the Point of View of History), Ichikawa emphasizes the need to dispel misconceptions about Jewish history, particularly historical views centered on Western European Christianity. Most prominently, these predictable shibboleths include "the ancient Jews believed that, as the chosen people, they are the only ones that are going to be saved after the Babylonian captivity, which led to the establishment of Judaism as a closed and self-centered religion"; "for 500 years after that, Judaism became a religion that was exclusive and focused on formal laws"; and "when Christianity was born as a world religion after Jesus of Nazareth appeared and taught about repentance and love of neighbor, Judaism was removed from the stage of history" (p. 10). Rabbis appeared in Jewish society after it was devastated by two wars with the Roman Empire in the early years of the Common Era. The rabbis were not priests but rather teachers of the law who were experts on God's teachings and gave wise advice on a new way of life to the Jews, who were driven from their motherland. The rabbis adopted the words of the prophet Amos (8:11-12) to interpret their own situation and gathered the teachings of their ancestors to study them deeply. They aimed to satisfy the thirst for God's word, eventually becoming the leaders of Jewish society and exercising influence even today. The author, however, felt it odd that that the appearance of these learned men (rabbinic sages) coincided with the classical period of Roman law (p. 12). It was during the time of Emperor Caracalla when Roman citizenship was granted to all free men throughout the Roman Empire, which was the same period that Mishnah, a law peculiar to the Jews, was established. The rabbis deeply involved in compiling the laws

were referred to as *tannaim* (repeaters or teachers of Mishnah), and they were later known as *amoraim* (interpreters) after the Mishnah was established. Since then, Judaism acquired a distinct religious law system, and Jewish society was reconstructed as a self-governing body with an established conversion system, eventually spreading throughout Palestine, Babylonia, and the surrounding areas. During this period, Christianity became the state religion of Rome in the west, while Zoroastrianism gained ground in the Sasanian Empire in the east. Later on, when the system of self-government for the Jews was abolished and the oppression of Jews grew stronger, the Talmud was compiled and adopted as the foundation unifying the Jewish community in Palestine around year 400 and in Babylonia around year 500. In particular, the Babylonian Talmud became established as a more complete compilation of divine law through a unique compilation method used at two schools (*yeshivas*). Since the Islamic forces that destroyed the Sasanian Empire inherited this traditional arrangement, the divine law that started in Judaism spread from the Middle East to North Africa and on to Spain, greatly contributing to the survival and prosperity of Medieval Jews (p. 15). In Section 2 (From the Islamic world to Europe), the author defines the appearance of Islam as marking the beginning of the medieval period, which he describes as the period when learning and trade first flourished in Babylonia. Since the study of law based on the Arabic language was central to the Islamic world, this environment also provided an opportunity for the further development of the study of Jewish law. In particular, this happened through the *yeshivas* (Sura and Pumbedita) established during the time of the Abbasid Caliphate and through the development of philosophy, science, medicine, and linguistics engendered by the study of law in Spain during the time of the Caliphate of Cordoba. The learned Jews during these periods used Arabic, the official language, as an everyday language and acquired new Islamic disciples of their scholarship, while criticizing learning based solely on adherence to Jewish traditions. This period of history produced the likes of Maimonides, a Jewish proponent of learning Islamic philosophy and medicine; Abraham Ibn Ezra, a distinguished Jewish biblical commentator; and Judah Halevi, a Jewish philosopher and poet famous for the Kuzari; these leading Jewish intellectuals were the contemporaries of Ibn Rushd, Zhu Xi, Dōgen Zenji, and Thomas Aquinas. It was a period of remarkable progress in scholarship around the world (p. 17). Although Jews were regarded with contempt even in the Islamic world, they acquired the status of *Dhimmi* (protected people) as People of the Book, forming their own *Ummah* (religious community) by respecting Islam and paying the poll and land taxes. Consequently, they enjoyed protection of their life, property, freedom of movement and trade. According to the author, this put the Jews, a people of commerce, in

a favorable situation and enabled them to expand the network of Jewish society through trade and marriage relationships. Proof of this period's prosperity in Jewish society can be found in the massive volumes of religious and economic manuscripts discovered in the Cairo *Genizah* (synagogue storage) used at the end of the 19th century (p. 21). Judaism went through a rare golden age in its history in Spain, and from the 9th to 10th centuries, Jewish communities flourished beyond the Alps to Speyer, Worms, and Mainz (p. 25). After the Sephardi Jews were expelled in 1492 through the Christian Reconquista, they moved and settled in the Balkan region, which was under the rule of the Ottoman Empire. There they became prominent as doctors, traders, and investors. During this period, Jewish rabbis and mystics expelled from Spain gathered in the city of Safed (or Zehat) in Palestine and formed a base for the study of *Kabbalah* (Jewish mysticism). Furthermore, the city-state of Venice, which tolerated religion as a practical means for governance, became a place of refuge for Jews and the site of the world's first Jewish ghetto in 1516, where Jews were made to live separately from other members of society (pp. 27–30). Meanwhile, with worsening riots and atrocities in the West European Christian world, which was also aggravated by the plague, the Ashkenazi Jews escaped to Poland, which granted Jews the freedom to live and practice their religion under the Statute of Kalisz in 1264. This statute was issued by the Polish monarchy, after suffering major defeats in the Mongolian Invasion, as a way to encourage immigrants to move in from Germany and help with the country's reconstruction. In particular, Poland had great expectations of the Jews because of their excellent skills in trade and coinage (p. 33). According to the author, the rise and fall of world empires coincide with the migration of the Jews; namely, the prosperous times in the history of the Babylonian Empire, the Abbasid Caliphate, Spain, the Ottoman Empire, the Netherlands, and even modern America are periods when Jews lived peacefully and contributed significantly to society (pp. 48–49). In today's 21st century, the Jews are no longer the Wandering People of pre-modern times, and neither are they the Chosen People nor a despised people, for that matter. At the end of the chapter, the author, noting that there are now many different sects within Judaism (p. 50), asserts that being a Jew today has simply become a choice. Also, with non-Jewish persons now permitted to become Jews through the conversion system for non-Jews, this choice will lead to many different future possibilities.

Chapter 2 (From the Point of View of Faith) talks in detail about the rituals of the Jewish religion. Section 1 (Rabbinic Judaism) begins with the question of whether Judaism is actually a religion. Ichikawa explains that the English word "religion" points to elements such as a system of doctrines that include monotheistic faith and a world view,

a system of rituals defining acts of worship, and a distinct body of believers, generally based on Christianity as the standard; furthermore, he contends that Judaism, like Shintoism in Japan, does not properly fit into this definition (p. 54). First of all, there is no word in the Hebrew vocabulary that corresponds to the word "religion." Although the word "Dat" is currently being used, for convenience, to refer to religion, the word originally meant a "legal system or legal order" equivalent to Dharma in ancient India, and use of the word goes back to the time of the Babylonian captivity (p. 55). When the Jews later encountered the Greek culture, they adopted the Greek word "*iodaismós*" used in 2 Maccabees of the Septuagint to create a general term for their spiritual culture, which we now refer to as "Judaism" (p. 56). The author warns that Judaism should not be confused with the Hebraism referred to in the Christian world, since the latter points to the monotheistic faith traced back to Abraham, before the Law of Moses was given, and is believed to have spread to Christianity through the prophets (p. 57). Later on, the Judaism that started with the destruction of the Second Temple in 70 C.E. became generally referred to as Rabbinic Judaism, which, according to the author, is the "surviving Judaism." One of the indicators of the establishment of Rabbinic Judaism is the existence of the Mishnah, a written collection of the oral laws consisting of a total of 6 orders and 63 tractates and compiled in 200 C.E. under the authority of Rabbi Judah ha-Nasi. The Mishnah includes not only religious standards but also stipulations about family law and criminal punishment, court trial provisions, and similar matters. In particular, the development of laws on the "elements of productivity" pertaining to lands and houses is in sharp contrast to the secular laws of the Roman Empire established during the same period. From this, the author metaphorically refers to the Mishnah as a "portable nation" run by the rabbis, in which it was possible to sustain Jewish society anywhere in the world, as long as the Mishnah was being followed (pp. 58–62). Since Mishnah, which means "repeated teachings," represents the Oral Torah, it is written in a concise format that is easy to memorize. It is believed that the Oral Torah has been passed on from Moses to Joshua, to the elders, prophets, and the assembly, and eventually to the rabbis, the Jewish sages. It is divided into the *Halakah*, which deals with laws, and the *Aggadah*, which deals with the non-legalistic aspects such as theology, ethics, biographies, and biblical commentaries. The works related to codified laws and commentaries of the Bible, among other writings, are referred to as the *Midrash*. The rabbis selected Hebrew to be the language of the people and separated the Old Testament Apocrypha, which became established in Jewish society during the Hellenistic period, from the biblical canon and thus chose a way of life for the Jews separate from Greek culture. The rabbis did not leave

behind any personal works, such as those by Philo, Josephus, and other authors who used their own names, because they believed fastidiously that studying the teachings of God is the most important work of man, denying even the use of their own names (p. 64). Although Judaism includes areas under the control of the divine law beyond having faith in God, it does not include areas of secular law as Christianity does. The Torah includes a total of 613 commandments, which one theory explains as being the total of the 248 positive commandments corresponding to the number of bones in the human body and the 365 negative commandments corresponding to the number of days in the solar year. Another theory says that 613 is the total numerical value of the word "Torah" in *Gematria* (Jewish alphanumeric code), which is 611, plus the first 2 commandments that God spoke directly to the people (pp. 72–73).

Sections 1 and 2 of Chapter 3 (As a discipline of study) highlights how Talmudic Torah, or the study of the Torah, flourished through the *yeshivas* (literally, to sit) beginning around 200 C.E. The Babylonian Talmud counts pages of text written in Hebrew characters using even numbers and includes the Mishnah and the *Gemara* (record of rabbinic discussions and interpretations) at the center of the page, Rashi's (medieval Talmud scholar) commentary in the inner margin, and the *Tosafot* (additional commentaries by scholars of the generation of Rashi's grandsons) in the outer margin. The complete volume of the Mishnah was first printed in the 16th century in Venice, and this edition later became the standard for the printed Talmud (pp. 94–99). In other words, the Talmud is actually a commentary for Mishnah, the Oral Torah, which can be traced back to Moses on Mt. Sinai, and this means that all answers to new questions asked by later disciples to their teachers have already been given by God through Moses. Accordingly, the approach they used to deal with new discoveries was to refer to Moses as the final authority (p. 107). Section 3 (Jewish philosophy) highlights how the Arabic-speaking Jews during the Abbasid Caliphate gave birth to Jewish philosophy by going beyond the study of the Talmud and combining the study of Jewish law with Greek philosophy, logic, linguistics, astronomy, medicine, and other Greek disciplines, which were translated into Arabic by Christians in Syria and were gaining wide acceptance at that time. Jewish philosophy during the Islamic period is divided into the Jewish *Kalam*, which was practiced by Saadia Gaon, and the *Falsafa*, which was practiced by Maimonides. Maimonides set out to establish a systematized code for the teachings passed on from Moses by the prophets to the rabbis, the result of which is the 14-volume Mishnah Torah (1178), which became known by the audacious name "Second Torah." According to Maimonides, every human being must attain complete spiritual and physical perfection by practicing the teachings of God

through the commandments, and he argued that the purpose and basis of the commandments can be known through philosophical contemplation (p. 115). He wrote the philosophical work entitled "Guide for the Perplexed" (1185) for the intellectuals who encountered doubts in their faith during philosophical contemplation, arguing that it is necessary in learning the above Greek disciplines to be able to correctly understand God's written revelations and to have a correct understanding of God. Jewish philosophy reached its peak with the works of Maimonides and declined after him, with Hasdai Crescas in the 14th century as the only prominent Jewish philosopher after Maimonides. Replacing the study of philosophy was *Kabbalah* (Jewish mysticism), which dwelt on metaphysical contemplation such as that about creation and the existence of evil. It should be noted that while Arabic was used in Jewish philosophy, Hebrew and Aramaic were used for *Kabbalah* (p. 117). Section 4 (Inquiry into the Jewish mind) explains how the foundations of today's Judaism were built by Orthodox Jews who made radical reforms to the study of traditions in 19th century Lithuania, a community that had refused to embrace modernization and was buried in tradition. These reforms led to of the rise of the new schools of thought in Jewish Enlightenment and Hasidism. This movement was led by the Gaon of Vilna (now Vilnius), Rabbi Elijah Ben Solomon, and his disciple, Rabbi Chaim Volozhin. Rabbi Elijah studied the Talmud deeply to gain new meaning from it because he wanted the students of the law to go back to the Talmud without becoming entangled in discussions or swayed by the authority of extremely refined interpretations of the law propagated since the time of Maimonides (p. 122).

Section 1 (Economic activities of the Jews) of Chapter 4 (As a Society) explains the history of how the Jews, who were not inherently skillful in business, unlike the Phoenicians and Arabs, acquired knowhow in the fields of commerce and finance (pp. 134–144). Section 2 (Purpose in life for the Jews) highlights the teachings of Rabbinic Judaism that provided the Jews with purpose in life and courage, although they had lived in anxiety as outsiders at the bottom of society. As an example, the rabbis believed that since all of humanity descended from Noah, they were bound by the Seven Laws of Noah, as a covenant with the human race established before Mt. Sinai. Also, the "Eight levels of charity" in the 10th Book of the Mishnah Torah defines eight types of giving, such as lending without interest and consideration for the poor (pp. 145–149). Section 3 (Modern messianic theories) highlights two messianic theories that came about in modern times: the universalistic messianic theory, based on the ideals of cosmopolitanism and granting citizenship to Jews, and the individualistic messianic theory, related to the nationalism that brought about the establishment of the Jewish nation of Israel. As of 2018, half of all

Jews in the world (approximately 6.5 million) live in Israel, and almost 80% of the remaining half live in North America, where the Jewish population is divided almost equally into the cosmopolitans and the nationalists (p. 150). The cosmopolitans believe that the Jews, as citizens of the world and having no particular motherland, have the mission to contribute to the prosperity of the human race. This view embodies the teachings of the prophets calling upon the Jews to lead the people as models for justice and love. The nationalists, on the other hand, uphold Zionism and aim to gain the natural rights given to all peoples and thus to establish an economically independent nation-state with its own territory and capability to defend itself, adopting Hebrew as its common language (p. 154). Section 4 (Realization of Jewish society) discusses some basic modern controversies: the revival of the use of Hebrew—which previously had been used only for the Torah and worship as a sacred language in the dispersed Jewish societies—as an everyday language in modern Jewish society (pp. 160–162), the intermarriage between Jews and non-Jews, the difficulty in defining what constitutes being a Jew amidst the diversification of Jewish sects in America, and the reality of the fragmentation of Israeli society into secular and ultra-orthodox sects (pp. 165–169).

Ichikawa made the stark realization that only after he finished writing his book did he develop his own personal theories about *Jews and Judaism*. This book has been widely read, as remarked by other reviewers. It is an excellent survey that comprehensively covers basic information on its subject: *Jews and Judaism*. This is due to the author's attempt to write in a "drastically simple and conceptual manner" (p. 187), since the book is published as a paperback pocket edition. At the same time, the book also offers many new insights and a clearer understanding of many issues, even for those engaged in specialized research on Jewish studies. Therefore, this book would no doubt provide a significant learning experience to anyone interested in knowing more about *Jews and Judaism*.

Does Truth Exist in the Original Hebrew Text?
Book Review: Teppei Kato, *Jerome's Bible Translation*
(Kyobunkwan, 2018)

Tomoyasu Igo

In advance of my review, allow me to cite some extracts, although perhaps a little too long, from the Preface and Postscript of his book.

> Probably anyone interested in Western art may have seen more than once, when visiting art museums and exhibitions, some painting depicting Eusebius Sophronius Hieronymus, or Jerome (347-420), the protagonist in this book. Jerome may have appeared to you sometimes as a wise man devoted to study in his sanctum with a skull placed nearby, or sometimes as a naked hermit with a lion in the desert, or sometimes as a cardinal wearing a scarlet robe. […]

> But no skull, lion and scarlet robe appear in this book. I would like to attempt to depict Jerome not as a saint who was idolized by such ornaments but as a flesh-and-blood person who actually lived in the Mediterranean world at the end of antiquity. Jerome […] accomplished an unparalleled achievement by revising the Latin translation of the Gospels and translating all the Old Testament texts from Hebrew to Latin […] (and) called this, his own idea, "Hebraica veritas" or Hebrew truth, that is to say, truth exists precisely in the Hebrew text of the Old Testament. I would like to clarify the logic of Jerome's unique idea through the comprehension of his translation theory and the Old Testament citations in the New Testament.

> If the readers of this book who see a painting of St. Jerome, are able to feel the world surrounding a human Jerome, imagine his ideas and understand his words, I would say my attempt has succeeded but it is not guaranteed. (Preface, pp. 3-4)"

As far as I remember, it was in 2008, the first year of my master course, when I had not yet decided on the subject of my study, that I […] first read Jerome's writings in the original text. When I was looking for something good to read in order that the Latin language skills I learned during my undergraduate years did not rust, I happened to pick up the Vulgate Bible and casually started reading it, not the text but the prefaces, written by a Jerome. I was soon fascinated by the slightly pedantic, but beautifully arranged style reminiscent of Cicero, and his extensive philological knowledge that puts even modern scholars to shame. Since then, I have never tired of reading Jerome's writings.

While my Jerome studies started based on my personal interest as above, I have to say it is surprising that in recent years researchers, seeing the potential of studying Jerome just like me, are gradually increasing […] As far as I know, this book is the first monograph about Jerome written in Japanese […] My only wish is that this book continues to be read for generations to come, along with the enthusiasm at the forefront of Jerome studies. (Postscript, pp. 321-2)

As mentioned above, the characteristics of this book are briefly explained in the author's own words. My review of the new book "*Jerome Bible Translation*" by Teppei Kato follows hereafter.

While my specialty is Jewish narratives and I tend to turn my interest towards "a saint who was idolized by such ornaments" rather than "a flesh-and-blood person who actually lived", I was much interested in this book. Therefore, I may have misunderstood and perverted the book's intention in various ways, influenced by what the author describes as "the enthusiasm at the forefront of Jerome studies." So please take this into consideration when you read my review.

This book consists of three parts only, each three chapters long. Its main themes are simple and clear: How original was Jerome as a Bible interpreter among the fathers and how proficient in Hebrew was Jerome as a Bible translator? (Preface, p. 17)

Following the author's recommendation (Preface, pp. 28-9), I started reading the book from Part III. In the "Vulgate" or the Latin version of the Bible, each translation of Jerome's own prefaces is placed at the beginning of the Old Testament and the Gospels of the New Testament. In collaboration with Ritsu Ishikawa, Kato translated all these into Japanese, adding notes, and compiled them into Part III titled: "Words of Jerome."

This book is very useful because it arranges the sentences in the order Jerome wrote them, not relying on the table of contents in the current Bible. Through Jerome's words, we are not only able to appreciate his efforts in translating the Old Testament from Hebrew to Latin, but also to understand and reproduce a translation process to a certain degree.

Dare I say, this collection of prefaces to the Vulgate strongly reflects Jerome's personality? If so, it is interesting reading as a kind of autobiography in a positive way, but is very strange in a negative way since he scattered citations from Greek and Roman classics as mere rhetoric. It sounds good if you call it a "literary hobby" but it appears to me that in the case of Jerome, many of such classic citations are basically oblique expressions of boasting, self-vindication or slander (although he himself seemed to believe that he did so from humbleness and modesty). I, at least, feel his expressions to be in bad taste beyond essence. Although he may have been an extremely excellent scholar, I started reading from Part I (The World of Jerome) and had the impression that he might even have been malicious.

Chapter I of Part I, titled "The Life and Works of Jerome," is a biography of Jerome based on enormous primary sources (see Bibliography, pp. 326-30). The image of Jerome, restored by the empirical historical approach, is very persuasive. Ōgai Mori is very similar to him. Both men are troublesome geniuses who demanded the same qualities of others. However, Jerome, who did not know how to get ahead in the world, was probably less malicious than Ōgai. (As such, the first impression I had in the preface to the Vulgate changed).

Historians and philologists might oppose this, but in my opinion, the image of Jerome as "a flesh-and-blood person who actually lived" whom Kato restores in his book is unexpectedly similar to the one whom Albrecht Dürer and Leonardo da Vinci drew in their paintings. Because Jerome was so fastidious he failed to gain close relationships with peers in the real world and thus would have had no choice but to talk to beasts (at least lions), skulls (at least the remains of those who had longed for him) or God – but eventually he had to rely on his proficient language skills. Compared to the image of Jerome, depicted as "a saint who was idolized by ornaments," his image, discussed in modern historical philology which should be objective, is rather more virtual. At the least, it unjustly lacks respect for Jerome.

Chapter II of Part I titled "Dialectics of Patristics and Science of Judaism" says that many of the enormous amount of research papers on Jerome, which have been written in modern times, especially from the 19th century onwards (see Bibliography, pp. 331-41), deal with the problems of "Jerome's uniqueness" or "Jerome's language skills" (see

Preface). It is hard to imagine that a person like him who is remembered as a father in the history of Christ's Church for twenty centuries has no uniqueness. In this case, it means uniqueness in biblical interpretation. Jerome asserted the validity of his own theory by demonstrating his broad knowledge of the original Hebrew (and criticized obliquely, I mean, in elegant rhetoric those who did not understand when he held different ideas on the interpretation of the Old Testament). Therefore, the two problems, i.e. "Jerome's uniqueness" and "Jerome's language skills" are fundamentally one and the same: Jerome's Hebrew skills. According to Kato's analysis, at least in the early period of Jerome studies, Jewish researchers tend to rate him as "competent" and Christian (especially German Protestant) researchers are apt to regard him as "incompetent."

As a reviewer, I do not support either side.

The basis of the "incompetent" arguments is so weak that it is not worth verifying and makes me suspicious that such arguments may have some pregnant meaning, (for example, that Jews cannot be trusted, or that it would matter if the Roman Catholic father was more proficient in Hebrew than Master Martin Luther). The basis of the "competent" arguments is indeed stronger so deserves verification, which requires the greatest care.

Firstly, Jerome's Bible translation was not completed in one continuous effort, but took about half a century to complete. His language skills could have varied from time to time, depending on the environment, his vitality and physical strength. In addition, it cannot be necessarily concluded that many strange Latin translations, which are defined as "Jerome's misunderstanding" among the Vulgate (Old Testament) passages are mistranslations because the original Hebrew text itself is difficult to understand. As for these passages, the Judaic biblical interpretation (Midrash) and the Jewish lore (Aggadah) contain teachings similar to Jerome's interpretations (pp. 89-100). This fact may validate Jerome's proficient language skills and broad knowledge. However, it is doubtful whether it can be said, "Now is the time to pay attention to Jerome. Owing to his long association with and especially his attempt to learn from Jews, Jerome would bring us a bigger harvest [than any other father]." (see Heinrich Graetz, p. 85) I cannot completely agree with this view.

Both "Jews" and "Hebrews" appear in Jerome's works. Of course, it is basically impossible to distinguish between the two clearly, and also it might be meaningless (see Nicholas de Lange, pp. 88-9). However, as far as Kato's examples are concerned, Jerome seems to have only considered "masters of Hebrew" to be "Hebrews." Did Jerome willingly try to associate with Jews who were not good at Hebrew, or did he dare to call Jews who were proficient in Hebrew and had different opinions from himself "Hebrews"?

As is also shown in Chapter 3 of Part I titled "History of Greek and Latin Bible Study," the Christian community before Jerome had officially used the ancient Greek Old Testament or what is called "Septuagint." But the Septuagint Greek text often differs significantly from the corresponding original Hebrew text. Even a father like Augustine who adhered to the authority of the Septuagint did not deny the fact. Some revised the Septuagint, and some produced tentative translations of other Greek Bibles. One great achievement is the book *Hexapla*, a six-columned synopsis of Scripture, produced by Origen whom Jerome praised as "an immortal genius." Origen himself was not proficient in Hebrew, but through exchanges with Jews, carefully picked up the differences between the Septuagint Greek text and the original Hebrew text, and compared them with other Greek Bibles, which are all personal translations including Aquila, Symmachus and Theodotion's versions. Although their origins are unknown, some say they were former Christians naturalized Jews, and others say they were Jewish Christians. Origen and those other translators had already associated with and attempted to learn from Jews, as did Jerome.

Origen's objective aimed only to revise the Septuagint Greek text and create an orthodox translation of the Greek Old Testament. In this case, the original Hebrew Old Testament is virtually only a reference. Jerome only aimed to create a Latin Bible translation based on the original Hebrew Old Testament. This is the uniqueness of Jerome that differs significantly from the other fathers. His translation approach seems to be extremely appropriate, but it is not so simple.

Part II titled "The Idea of Jerome" offers in Chapter 1 "In Greek or Hebrew?" Jerome's translation theory. According to Kato, Jerome progressively inherited Cicero's translation theory, and "basically adopted as his translation approach, a free translation when translating the Bible, even if a verbatim translation is required." (pp. 166-. Kato's view here appears to be a little bit different from common approach, but I think his view is correct). In this regard, the following question and answer exchange between Augustine and Jerome is really interesting.

- "Dear Jerome. I am ready to evaluate your language skills. But how do you prove your much-vaunted Hebrew ability?"
- "Thank you, Augustine. If you read my past papers, you would understand. And regarding my Hebrew ability, please ask the Hebrews" (Frankly outlined for Augustine Letter 75 and Jerome Letter 57. pp. 171-9)

To be blatantly honest, Augustine had good reason for suspicion. The mainstream Christian world had actually understood the Old Testament by reading the Septuagint. Naturally, in the case where the Septuagint Greek text differs from the original Hebrew text, the former is more highly revered than the latter. However, if the mainstream understands the Old Testament based on the original Hebrew text, the Septuagint loses authority, which might provide opposition groups an excuse for claims. Augustine demanded that if Jerome still dared to adhere to the Latin translation from the original Hebrew, he should explain his intention and prove the validity or legitimacy of his approach. But Jerome replied simply, "I've already explained my intention elsewhere and so believe me anyway."

It is said that Jerome once named the reason for this great confidence "Hebraica veritas" or Hebraic Truth (see Introductory Chapter, pp. 18, and the preface of *Hebrew Studies in the Genesis*) and made it a cornerstone of his Bible translation theory. (It was a kind of "*Mono ni yuku michi*" in *Kojiki-den,* or Commentary on the Kojiki, written by Norinaga Motoori.) But the term Hebraic Truth is in itself only a slogan which signifies nothing, the same as "*Mono ni yuku michi.*"

In Chapter 2 of Part II titled "Old Testament Citations in the New Testament," Kato organized Jerome's subtle explanations in a very smart way as below (pp. 181-224). In a paper entitled "On the Best Type of Translation" (see Letter 57, pp. 196-213), Jerome compared the original Hebrew Old Testament phrases cited in the original Greek New Testament, i.e., "Old Testament citations" (in Greek) in the New Testament and the corresponding parts of the Septuagint (in Greek), and then classified the similarities and differences as follows:

(1) An Old Testament citation matches up with the original Hebrew text, but is different from the corresponding part of the Septuagint.

(2) An Old Testament citation, the original Hebrew text and the corresponding part of the Septuagint are all different.

(3) An Old Testament citation differs from a phrase in the original Hebrew text and the corresponding part of the Septuagint, but the latter two match up with each other.

Based on the above classification, Jerome judged the quality of the Septuagint Greek translation as follows:

In case (1), the part of the Septuagint is a mistranslation.

In case (2), the part of the Septuagint is a free translation.

In case (3), the part of the Septuagint is a literal translation.

However, Kato clearly points out that Jerome did not deal with the following cases.

(4) An Old Testament citation, the original Hebrew text and the corresponding part of the Septuagint all match up with each other.

(5) An Old Testament citation and the corresponding part of the Septuagint match up with each other, but the original Hebrew text differs from both texts.

This is probably because there are no problems to be dealt with in case (4). But case (5) is dealt with in Jerome's *Isaiah Commentary* (pp. 220-2).

In the case (5), Jerome stated that the Old Testament citations in the New Testament as well as the corresponding part of the Septuagint are free translations. That is to say, the criteria for judging whether the Septuagint translation is a mistranslation, free translation or literal translation is actually the New Testament Greek text, not the Old Testament Hebrew text.

Thus, the catchphrase on the book band – "Truth exists in the original 'Hebrew' text!" – is not true. But "the original Old Testament 'Greek' Septuagint text does not prove truth of the original New Testament 'Greek' text," whereas "the original Old Testament 'Hebrew' text does prove truth of the original New Testament 'Greek' text." Strictly speaking, "the authority of truth is the 'Hebrew' text!" – This is an insight embedded in Jerome's Hebraic Truth. And it seems to me that "Truth" itself without the adjective "Hebraic" is the "right answer" in the philology and is also an "axiom" in Christian theology, i.e., "the Gospel of Christ."

Following on from the previous chapter, Chapter III titled "Hebrew, Apostle and Christ" deals with problems of "Old Testament citations in the New Testament." Jerome's skills in solving such problems are described in detail in Kato's book, which is highly recommended reading. However, it must be noted that we should not affirm or deny Jerome's conclusion at this stage. The first priority should be to confirm the logic that leads to his conclusion.

In the Final Chapter, Kato proposes "examination of Jerome's argument about all the Old Testament citations" and "a complementary study of Jerome's *Apology against Rufinus* and Rufinus's *Apology against Jerome*" (pp. 249-55), which should be seriously

addressed not only in Christian theology and Patristics, but also in Old Testament and New Testament studies. And we may also rethink Jerome as a very unique man of letters and the Vulgate as an individually created masterpiece of translation literature, from the perspective of world literary history. (It is the same as *Faust,* translated by Ōgai, which has been highly criticized as having different values from Goethe's original play).

I would like to take this opportunity to recommend reviewing Jerome's Letter 34 from the standpoint of narrative studies (pp. 181-2). Jerome is said to have referred to a Hebrew word saying, "cum ita se veritas habeat" in Section 2 of Letter 34. However, Kato does not specify the Hebrew word (although this is not unreasonable because it is irrelevant to the context of this book).

The Hebrew word in question is *'aṣābîm* (tribulation) of *leḥem hā 'aṣābîm* (the bread of tribulation) – "shin-ku（辛苦）" of "shin-ku no kate（辛苦の糧）" in the Meiji Version translation (明治元訳 *meiji genyaku*, Meiji era Original Translation) – in the translation of Psalm 127:2. Jerome, however, insisted that the Hebrew word should not be translated as "tribulation," but as "idols" of "*'aṣābbê* (idols) of *'aṣābbê haggoyîm* (the idols of the nations) – "gūzō (偶像)" of "moromoro no kuni no gūzō (もろもろのくにの偶像)" in the Meiji Version – in the translation of Psalm 135:15 (because truth has truth in itself).

In the Septuagint, the former was translated as *odynē* (tribulation) and the latter as *eidōla* (idols) separately. Indeed, both words *'aṣābîm* and *'aṣābbê* are said to have a common form (i.e., the basic form without inflected forms is *'eṣeḇ*, and the radical of the words is *'ṣb*). Therefore, Jerome had every reason to claim that the same translation should be applied.

But if so, both words could be translated as "tribulation." If they are homonyms, there could be another possibility. Perhaps tribulation and idols were close enough for "Hebrews." Anyway, if you examine Rabbinic literature and Jewish tales, we could develop various interesting discussions concerning these matters. (Jerome said, "Ask the Hebrews").

Finally, here is my hopeful request:

Unfortunately, the voluminous bibliography of this book does not include *A Complete Translation for the Vulgata Old Testament* (舊約聖書ヴルガタ全譯), 4 volumes, Kōmyōsha (Volume 1, 1954; Volume 2, 1955; Volume 3, 1957; Volume 4, 1959). The parts of the Preface and Publisher's Preface in Volume 1 are as follows:

[…] Learned Fr. Eusebius Breitung, the representative of Kōmyōsha has

dedicated himself completely to the Japanese translation of the Old Testament with his right-hand man, Mr. Shigeo Kawanami […] (Preface in Volume 1)

This Bible as a version of "the Old Testament for popular Catholics" is based on the Latin Vulgate, which is recognized as accurate, and has been translated verbatim in word-by-word expert review. (Publisher's Preface in Volume 1)

Although few people read it now, *A Complete Translation for the Vulgata Old Testament* is a valuable work in the history of Japanese Bible translations. And it may be no exaggeration to say that it is a pioneer of Jerome studies in Japan. At present the publishing industry is in the midst of a recession, but I would be very glad if this translation was reprinted and reread together with Kato's masterpiece.

International Politics from the Perspective of Monotheism:
Deciphering Katsuhiro Kohara's *What is Monotheism?*
A Primer on Christianity, Judaism, and Islam (Heibonsha, 2018)

Koji Murata

With apologies for inserting a word about myself at the beginning, this reviewer is a scholar of international politics. There are three topics within international politics which are extremely important, and regarding which many Japanese are regrettably unconcerned and uninformed. These three topics are 1) Religion, 2) Ethnicity, 3) Gender and Sexuality. As it turns out, these three topics have a very close interrelationship. For example, within American society, all three of these three topics have acquired multiple layers of nuance and constitute a major flash point for the mainstream white Anglo-Saxon Protestant male. These same issues are what helped propel Donald Trump to the presidency.

This paper examines the essence of monotheism, which is a very foreign concept for Japanese. In monotheism the direct relationship between God and individual is strongly emphasized. Even while acknowledging that polytheism values diversity, are we not frequently overlooking the perspective of monotheism?

For that reason, I find it advisable that not only scholars of religion but also we in the field of international politics also be more cognizant of this fact. In Japan, Doshisha professor emeritus Mori's cogent analysis of Christianity and its interface with American politics and diplomacy is one of just a few such pioneering analyses. In the West there are many analyses of the interrelationship between religion and international politics. For example, there is Douglas Johnston's (editor) *Faith-Based Diplomacy*, which I happen to own. Walter Russell Mead's *Special Providence: American Foreign Policy and How It Changed the World*, which elucidates American strategic diplomacy under the banner of "Divine Mercy," borrows the theme attributed to Prussia's iron-fisted Chancellor Otto von Bismarck who stated, "God has special mercy upon the drunkard, the fool, and America." Michael J. Green's recent publication, *By More than Providence: Grand Strategy and American Power in the Asia Pacific since 1783*, analyzes American foreign policy in Asia under the same theme of special divine providence.

American diplomacy, and its middle east policy in particular, is impossible to accurately assess apart from an understanding of religion's role. For instance, President

Jimmy Carter was a member of the pious Southern Baptist denomination and professed himself to be "born again" and President Ronald Reagan rode the political rise of the Religious Right and made it a major plank in both his policies and his public support. At around the same time, Israel's conservative Zionist Likud party took the reigns of government, Pope John Paul II from Poland became pope of the Roman Catholic Church and supported the "righteous opposition" to communism. In 1979 Iran witnessed an Islamic revolution. From the beginning of modernity, "the revenge of religion," (Gilles Kepel) which had retreated from the public face of politics, resurfaced.

There are approximately 2.1 billion Christians, 1.5 billion Muslims, and 14 million Jews; in other words, adherents of monotheism consitute approximately half of the world. However, Japanese adherents of Chirsitianity constitute barely one percent of the population, while Muslim adherents constitute less than a quarter of one percent (0.24%, mostly Japanese wives of Muslim husbands). The number of Japanese converts to Judaism is estimated at approximately two thousand. Nonetheless, in accordance with the advance of globalism, the influence of monotheism has strengthened. It is said that if current trends continue, by the year 2060 approximately one percent of Japan will be foreigners; and most likely the majority of them will be adherents of monotheism.

As mentioned earlier, monotheism demands that adherents worship one god exclusively, which lends credence to the common charge of intolerance. Japanese society, polytheistic as it is, tends to be tolerant toward heterogeneity in matters of religion. This common myth has resolutely permeated the fabric of Japanese society. In prewar Japan, under the influence of state Shinto, England and America were demonized. This truth calls to mind the fact that even today, in Myanmar, for example, the political power of the Buddhist majority has been used to persecute the Rohingya Muslim minority—even though the common myth about the tolerance of polytheism should be easily dispelled. This reviewer has repeatedly argued that, rather than being tolerant of others (in this case, other religions), Japanese are simply indifferent. Reading this book reinforces this impression.

This book analyzes the three predominant monotheistic religions of Christianity, Judaism, and Islam, followed by an analysis of the relationship between monotheism and actual societies, as well as of monotheism in relation to Japanese society. Additionally, this book takes up in a well considered manner the perrenial key topics of religious eschatology, just war theory, and separation of church and state.

For example, Christianity sees itself as "the new Jerusalem" which has rightly displaced "the old Jerusalem" of Judaism. That is why Christianity refers to the Hebrew

bible as the "Old Testament," and the "New Testament" is viewed as having superceded, or in some circles, even supplanted the Old Testament. This stance is no doubt responsible in part for the antisemitism in Europe. Furthermore, Christianity's pronouncement since the 19th century of Islam as anti-Christian has served to strengthen a sense of Christian superiority and to diminish the value of Islam. New Testament scripture (Hebrews 11: 1) states that "faith is the evidence of things hoped for, the certainty of things not seen;" yet this "certainty" has a flipside, namely bias and fallability.

Since the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, George W. Bush's anti-terror and middle east policies have adopted a shade of "holy war." The president prayed the iconic prayer of Psalm 23: "Yea, though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I will fear no evil, for you are with me." I would like to point out that an oversimplified interpretation of the notion of self-sacrifice as mentioned in scripture historically has been misused by both church and state and has been internalized, in my opinion, by an unhealthy form of nationalism. The same form of nationalism might be seen as existing in the wartime state Shinto of Japan. In the same way that Shinto is not directly responsible for Japan's famous kaimikaze suicide missions, mainstream Islam does not acknowledge jihadist terror. On the contrary, this reviewer deems the subtle idolatries of capitalism and nationalism as the greatest problems of our times. In fact, the World Trade Center was the epitome of capitalism, and the Pentagon the same of militancy and nationalism.

On the matter of separation of church and state, even though this term is frequently tossed about among scholars, there are significantly different shades of the concept. For example, the American experience with separation was quite different from the French one. In the American experience, Christianity is recognized as a type of quasi-national religion and the president is sworn into office by placing his hand on the Christian bible. In the French experience, however, Muslim women are forbidden from wearing a hajib at public schools. It is important to understand that there many variants of this historical concept.

This reveiwer finds the following excerpt to be worthy of citation. "In reviewing the key words of this book, it becomes clear that each one possesses a certain breadth of meaning (ambiguity, diversity) and can at times connote, if not denote, two or more meanings. In order to garner a full and robust understanding of monotheism, it is critical to realize that the same word or concept can engender completely different, even antithetical, interpretations and responses. Even if in one's quest for means by which to practically deal with this conundrum one declares a "return to the source" or to "original doctrine," that in itself is no guarantee of a univocal outcome. If this limitation in human

cognition is not taken into account, it will be all too easy for one party to pass judgment on another party." (p. 218-19)

This point is especially apropos today when supreme leaders of superpowers nonchalantly and repeatedly employ "we versus them" dichotomous language. Yet, if we do some reflection, is it not the case that we also cast aspersions of "populism" and "anti-intellectualism" upon those who differ from our viewpoints and refuse to dialogue in favor of pronouncing judgment? Or, alternatively, are we not conveniently deceiving ourselves by supposing ourselves to be righteous in our denouncements of authority?

French literature scholar Kazuo Watanabe once raised the question of tolerance by ruminating, "Is it appropriate for tolerance to protect itself by being intolerant of intolerance? My conclusion is exceedingly simple and straightforward. For tolerance to preserve itself, it must not be intolerant of intolerance. The difference between a normal person and a deranged person is extremely subtle: the normal person refers to those people who remember that they too can at any moment become deranged—that they are not impervious to this plight. It is important firstly to consider the problem of tolerance and intolerance also in this light." This book also considers the the friction between tolerant cultures and cultures of intolerance and disdain, while explicating the necessity of confronting otherness.

No doubt before long various competing views not just on religion but also on race, gender, and sexuality will emerge in Japanese society. One reason for Japanese indifference toward the religious problem can probably be traced to the fact that minority issues have not yet been sufficiently discussed. But identity politics is knocking at the door. Just how tolerant and fair can we be toward divergent opinions?

For example, there are calls for state ratification of same sex marriage. Article 24 of Japan's constitution states that "marriage shall be constituted exclusively by the mutual consent of both sexes and that both parties shall anjoy equal rights and must be maintained by mutual assistance." The intent of this clause is to protect the status of woman; and because same sex marriage is not expressly prohibited, even without amending the constitution, simply reforming the existing law will be sufficient to permit same sex marriage. Many constitutional scholars and lawyers argue thus. In July of 2019, the Federation of Japanese Lawyers released an official statement in which it argued that Japan's current prohibition of same sex marriage is in violation of articles 13 which guarantees the right to the pursuit of happiness and 14 which guarantees equal protection under the law, and so it is lobbying for the reform of relevant laws.

That position might in fact be the correct one; yet legal scholars and lawyers who

argue this also collectively argued just a few years ago that Article 9 of the constitution prohibits collective self-defense. The intent of Article 9 is to prohibit aggresive actions, and contrary to these scholars' opinion, it is does not expressly prohibit collective self-defense. The war-renouncing language of Article 9 has its roots in the League of Nations' charter which criminalizes war and which is established on the premise that all agression shall be prohibited. The right to collective defense is in fact permitted within the charter. Much less is there any legal basis in the charter for supposing that the right to individual self-defense is acknowledged but not collective self-defense. In this reviewer's eyes, the insistence that Article 24 permits same sex marriage but Article 9 does not permit collective self-defense seems like nothing more than a double standard. Being tolerant toward opposing opinions and value systems is easy to preach but difficult to practice. This is especially true of rhetorically skillful intellectuals.

This reviewer has written a cross-disciplinary book full of intellectual adventures entitled The Politics of Religion. Subsequently, I have published a book by the title *Fundamentals that One Should Know in Business: Deciphering the World through a Primer in "Religion* and a book in dialogue format with President of Kyoto University Yamakoshi entitled *Origins of Humans and Birth of Religion: When Homo Sapiens Acquired "Faith"*. I have also devoted much energy to studying social enlightenment. I have also collaborated deeply with Mr. Kohara's leadership of the Center for Interdisciplanary Study of Monotheistic Religions (CISMOR) and Center for the Study of Conscience (CSC) at Doshisha and have engaged in various praxes. This new publication and its talking points stand on the shoulders of an author who is more than fit for the task.

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Editor's Postscript

We are pleased to present you with the fifteenth issue of the Journal of the Interdisciplinary Study of Monotheistic Religions (*JISMOR*).

The main feature in this year's *JISMOR* is "The Dead Sea Scrolls and Early Christianity", and includes the transcript of two lectures on the Dead Sea Scrolls, one by Emeritus Professor Dr. Emanuel Tov at Hebrew University of Jerusalem and the other by Dr. KATO Teppei. There is also one further article on the Dead Sea Scrolls by Dr. OSAWA Koji. These studies lead me to believe that there is still much room for investigation of the Dead Sea Scrolls, even though they were discovered more than seventy years ago. There are two other research notes in this issue, and four book reviews on various themes in the field of Monotheistic Religions. We hope you find reading these articles, notes and book reviews interesting and that they stimulate curiosity, whilst it is certain that there is still much room for further research. All comments, be they critical or encouraging are welcome, for we consider it our responsibility to continually improve *JISMOR*. It is our sincere desire to publish the latest research developments not only in Judaism, Christianity, and Islam but also in peripheral research studies. We very much appreciate your continued support and contributions.

March 2020

Yasuharu Nakano, Chief of Editorial Committee

Guidelines for Submissions
to the *Journal of the Interdisciplinary Study of Monotheistic Religions* (*JISMOR*)

Revised on April 15, 2019

1. *JISMOR* is an online journal published annually in or around March in Japanese and English, and it is made publicly accessible on the Doshisha University Academic Repository and the website of Doshisha University Center for Interdisciplinary Study of Monotheistic Religions (CISMOR).

2. In principle, eligibility for contributed papers is limited to research fellows of CISMOR and individuals recommended by at least one research fellow of CISMOR.

3. Each submitted paper will be peer-reviewed, and the editorial committee will decide whether to accept it for publication.

4. In principle, submissions are limited to unpublished papers. (If you submit a paper that has already been published, you must obtain permission from the relevant institution for its publication in *JISMOR*.)

5. Send a summary of your paper (approximately 600 characters in Japanese or 250 words in English) via e-mail by the end of May to the address given below (any format is acceptable). You will receive a response stating whether your proposal has been approved from the editorial committee by mid-June. If your summary has been approved, follow these instructions:

6. Your paper must be received by the end of July.

7. Prepare your paper in both Word (see below) and PDF formats, and submit them as e-mail attachments.

8. *Use a template* for Microsoft Word available for downloading from CISMOR's website (http://www.cismor.jp/en/publication/). If using the Japanese template for Latin alphabet, Hebrew, Greek and Arabic, use "Times New Roman" size 10.

9. The paper should be written in either Japanese or English.

10. In either language, the paper's text should be read from left to right.

11. The paper's length should be 16,000–24,000 characters if written in Japanese or 6,000–9,000 words if written in English.
    Research notes, book reviews, and research trends should be within 8,000 characters if written in Japanese or within 3,000 words if written in English. (Figures are not counted as words, but text within charts and tables is counted.)

12. The first page should include the title of the paper, the name(s) of the author(s), and the organizational affiliation. In the case of articles or research notes, also add an abstract (approximately 400 characters if written in Japanese or 150 words if written in English) and 5 key words. In principle, provide your title, name(s) of author(s), and organizational affiliation in both Japanese and English.

13. All notes should be provided together at the end of the paper. No bibliography is published, in principle.

14. If your paper includes references to books, magazines, and/or newspapers in a European language, please use the following citation rules in accordance with the Chicago Manual of Style:

Books
Joseph Blenkinshopp, *Sage, Priest, Prophet: Religious and Intellectual Leadership in Ancient Israel* (Louisville, Ky.: Westminster-John Knox Press, 1995), 20-50.

Edited books
Gary Anderson and Saul M. Olyan eds., *Priesthood and Cult in Ancient Israel* (Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series 125; Sheffield, JSOT Press, 1991), 20-35.

Articles or chapters in a volume
Frank Moore Cross, "The Priestly Houses of Early Israel," in *Constituting the Community: Studies on the Polity of Ancient Israel in Honor of S. Dean McBride, Jr.* (John T. Strong and Steven S. Tuell, eds., Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2005), 35-55.

Entries in a series volume
John F. Robertson, "The Social and Economic Organization of Ancient Mesopotamian Temples," in *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East* 1 (Jack Sasson *et al* eds.; New York: Scribner, 1995), 443-454.

Journal articles
Oliver Robert Gurney, "The Annals of Ḫattušili III," *Anatolian Studies* 47 (1997), 127-139.

Journals/articles online:
Ada Taggar-Cohen, "Hittite Laws and Texts," *Bible Odyssey* (date of access).
http://www.bibleodyssey.com/places/related-articles/hittite-laws-and-texts.aspx

If the same writer appears more than once, write the name in full again. For example:
Frank Moore Cross, "The Priestly Houses of Early Israel," pp. 20-25.

Give journal/series titles in full form, not in abbreviations.

If your paper includes references to books, magazines, and/or newspapers in Japanese language, the citation methods are as follows:

著書
市川裕『ユダヤ教の精神構造』東京大学出版会、2004 年、50 頁。

ロバート・N・ベラー『社会変革と宗教倫理』河合秀和訳、未来社、1973 年、343 頁。

三木英・櫻井義秀編著『日本に生きる移民たちの宗教生活－ニューカマーのもたらす宗教多元化』ミネルヴァ書房、2012 年、215 頁。

堀江宗正責任編集『日本の宗教事情 国内編Ⅰ』（シリーズ「いま宗教に向き合う１」）岩波書店、2018 年、111 頁。

日本海地誌調査研究会『人道の港敦賀－命のビザで敦賀に上陸したユダヤ人難民足跡調査報告－』日本海地誌調査研究会敦賀上陸ユダヤ難民足跡調査プロジェクトチーム、2007 年、35 頁。

共同訳聖書実行委員会『聖書 新共同訳』日本聖書協会、2018 年。

雑誌

基督教研究会『基督教研究』第 76 巻、第 2 号、同志社大学神学部、2014 年 12 月。

新聞

久保健一「曖昧な法学者統治 ; 民主化実現の余地残す」（読売新聞 2009 年 2 月 12 日号所載）。

論文

市川裕「罪の赦しと父祖の徳－ユダヤ教『スリーホート』の祈り－」『筑波大学地域研究』第 6 号、筑波大学地域研究研究科、1988 年、260-261 頁。

小原克博「一神教と多神教をめぐるディスコースとリアルポリティーク」『一神教学際研究』第 2 号、同志社大学一神教学際研究センター、2006 年、13-14 頁、
http://www.cismor.jp/uploads-images/sites/2/2014/02/d2c51acebf75bce1ecce270c28433c92.pdf
（閲覧日）。

If you have any questions, please ask the editorial committee.

15. Hebrew, Greek, and Arabic can appear in its original script. In principle, other languages should be transliterated into Roman alphabet, using the same system of transliteration throughout the paper.

    For the transliteration system, please comply with the guidelines specified in Chapter 5 (p. 55) of Billie Jean Collins, project director, *The SBL Handbook of Style: For Biblical Studies and Related Disciplines*, second edition, Atlanta, Georgia: SBL Press, 2014 (hereinafter referred to as "SBL"), as much as possible. SBL specifies two systems of transliterating Hebrew words—academic and general-purpose—so please use the one that best suits your purpose. (Use of SBL is also recommended for transliterating the words of ancient languages such as Coptic, Akkadian, Egyptian, and Ugaritic.)

    To transliterate Arabic words, Japanese authors should comply with the guidelines of K. Otsuka, et al., eds., I*wanami Isuramu Jiten* (*Iwanami Dictionary of Islam*) to the extent possible. While no particular system for transliterating Arabic words is specified for authors from other countries, ALA-LC (Library of Congress) is recommended for transliterating Arabic, Persian, and Turkish words.

    If you have difficulty obtaining any of the abovementioned guidelines, please contact the editorial committee.

16. Published papers will be converted into a PDF file and returned to the authors.

For inquiries and paper submission, please contact:
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