Phinehas, the Sons of Zadok, and Melchizedek

An Analysis of Some Understandings of Priestly Covenant in the Late Second Temple Period

A Thesis submitted to the University of Manchester for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in the Faculty of Humanities

2013

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Table of Contents

Word Count: 69,126

List of Abbreviations

Abbreviations used are according to *The SBL Handbook of Style for Ancient Near Eastern, Biblical, and Early Christian Studies*. Edited by P. H. Alexander, J. F. Kutsko, J. D. Ernest, S. A. Decker-Lucke, and D. L. Petersen. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 1999.

Unless otherwise stated, biblical quotations in English are from *The Holy Bible New Revised Standard Version*. © 1989, Division of Christian Education of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the United States of America.

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

Abstract

This thesis is an analysis of the use of combined concepts of covenant and priesthood in some late Second Temple period Jewish and Jewish-Christian texts. In this thesis I investigate 1 and 2 Maccabees, Dead Sea Scrolls, and Hebrews, to see the various ways in which these Second Temple compositions have articulated the combined concepts of covenant and priesthood on the basis of their treatment of various biblical and extra-biblical traditions. The elaborate articulations of the combined concepts of covenant and priesthood in these texts partly reflect the concern of the Second Temple Jewish authors: how significant the priestly institutions and priesthood were, not only in terms of cultic matters, but also in terms of political and identity concerns. By means of this study, I hope to demonstrate that the combined concept of covenant and priesthood is necessary for a better understanding of some Second Temple texts.

Declaration

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Preface

In the first year of my MDiv program (1998–2001), I heard about the biblical concept of covenant in the Old Testament. I did not have a chance to work on the topic for a considerable time. In the meantime, I have been introduced to the studies on the Second Temple Judaism through my MA Biblical Studies program at Trinity Western University (Langley, BC, Canada, 2001–2005). Based on this foundation, I began working on an aspect of the covenant topic, which I have been pursuing for last four years (2009–2013).

I have been privileged to write this thesis under the supervision of Professor George J. Brooke, Rylands Chair of Biblical Criticism and Exegesis at the University of Manchester. He has enlightened me with invaluable advice and encouragement. He has generously given his time and attention. I would not have been able to finish my work without his thoughtful guidance. The co-supervisor and the advisor, Dr. Peter Oakes and Professor David Law also need to be mentioned. Dr. Marvin Lloyd Miller has elaborated and corrected my rough English and made it into a readable piece. Some scholars at Trinity Western University, such as Professor Martin G. Abegg, Professor Peter W. Flint, Dr. Dorothy M. Peters, and Mr. Kyung Baek also must be acknowledged for their encouragement and fruitful conversation about my work. I want to recognize Mr. Shawn Brouwer and other staff members at Norma Marion Alloway Library of TWU for offering me a study space with full resources for two summers. Other helpful Korean colleagues consist of Jeehoon Kim, Peter Choi, and Byungsuk Kim. Obviously, all the errors and weaknesses that remain are my own, but should not take away from the valuable insights that my mentors have offered.

During my PhD program, I have been indebted to a countless number of people. First, I would like to thank Rev. Choongshin Park, the elders, and family of Shilim Jeil Sungkyul Church (Seoul, Korea) for their constant prayer and generous financial support. I have been given much more than I deserve. Some individuals have generously given to me in many ways. Particularly, Elder Jongroh Seo at Shilim Jeil Sungkyul Church financially supported me considerably. Rev. Youngnam Kim and Joyful church (Coquitlam, BC, Canada) also provided me some of my travel expenses to England. I also would like to thank Rev. John Seol and Manchester Korean Church of Love (Manchester, UK) for welcoming and helping me in various ways during my eight visits to Manchester. The home-stay hosts, Mr. and Mrs. HyunJin and Grace Ko, contributed to making my visits to Manchester a great experience.

By no means least, I could never have completed this work without the prayer and support of my family. My dear mother, Mrs. Chunja Choi has sacrificed by supporting me with diligent prayer, financial help, and endless encouragement. My wife, DJ Ahn supported me with love and patience, whit and a smile, while she has been taking care of our children and family matters, especially coping with me periodically studying abroad for last four years. Therefore, with a grateful heart, I dedicate this thesis to my wife and my mother.

INTRODUCTION

Chapter 1

Introduction

The present dissertation is a study of how some authors combined the concepts of covenant and priesthood as reflected in selected texts of the Second Temple period. On the one hand, by the middle of the third century BCE the concept of covenant was apparent in many places in Jewish documents, which were emerging as authoritative.[1] For Christians the idea is significant, because of the traditions concerning Jesus' words at the Last Supper and even the use of the term *diatheke* for the collection of authoritative texts themselves. In terms of Biblical Studies, the concept of covenant has constituted an axis of the discipline. It has been one of the most popular themes in the modern study of the Hebrew Bible and the New Testament. This study will investigate one aspect of the concept and is not an attempt to address the topic as a whole.

On the other hand, Second Temple period Judaism could be identified as a priestly institutionalized religion. During this era priesthood seems to be one of the most significant institutions, not only in terms of the cultic sphere, but also in civil administration. This study will investigate an aspect of priesthood which is apparent in certain texts that concern covenant in relation to priesthood.

In this chapter I will investigate some of the debates concerning covenant and priesthood and their interrelationship. In order to understand various issues concerning the concept of covenant in Second Temple Judaism, I will present a brief analysis of the history of scholarship of the concept of covenant in the Hebrew Bible.[2] Then I will review some discussions about the concept of covenant on the basis of which I will attempt to outline the parameters for understanding the location of the concept of covenant in the Second Temple period. The final concern of this chapter will consist of the priestly institution(s) as a significant religious environment of the Second Temple period Palestine. Therefore, these two features of the Second Temple Judaism, the idea of covenant and

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[1] Earlier Greek manuscripts of Torah are dated to this time.

[2] An extensive survey of the studies of covenant in the Hebrew Bible has been performed by McCarthy and Nicholson. Consult Dennis J. McCarthy, *Old Testament Covenant: A Survey of Current Opinions* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1972). See also "Part one: Covenant in a Century of Study since Wellhausen," Ernest W. Nicholson, *God and His People: Covenant and Theology in the Old Testament* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), 3–120. The present review of the scholarship on covenant mainly relies on McCarthy, Nicholson, Hayes, with some critical reviewers.

priesthood, will be discussed to set up a query for the thesis, which will be about some aspects of the relationship between the two concepts.

1. Covenant

1.1. Studies of the Covenant in the Hebrew Bible

1.1.1. Wellhausen and Subsequent Form-Critical Approaches and Tradition-History

Covenant has been studied as one of the central concepts of Israelite religion. Based on the well-known documentary hypothesis,[3] Wellhausen attempted to reconstruct the development of Israelite religion, which eventually made him reach the conclusion that the prophets in the eighth century BCE established the foundation for Israelite religion.[4] According to Wellhausen, Israelite religion developed through three stages: 1) the primeval religion characterized by natural and simplistic faith. 2) ethical interests that were set off by the prophets. 3) the cultic religion influenced by the priests.[5]

Wellhausen argued that the concept of the relationship between God and Israel experienced a shift alongside the transformation of the Israelite religion. In the time of Moses, according to Wellhausen, the character of the relationship between God and the Israelite was a natural bond, father-son relationship, in which God was the helper of Israel. In the process of transforming from a natural religion to an ethical religion, the covenantal idea emerged; "God of Justice" now became prior to "God of Israel." In other words, a conditional relationship was laid between God and Israel.[6] While Wellhausen's approach has been modified in many ways, there remains room for further investigation of covenant within the late Second Temple Jewish texts that reflect his third stage of cultic religion.

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[3] According to the documentary hypothesis, J and E sources appeared in the early classical prophetic movement and reflect the religion prior to the prophets. Under the influence of the prophets, D was composed in 7C BCE. P source was originated in the post-exilic period. See John H. Hayes, "History of the Study of Israelite and Judean History: From the Renaissance to the Present," in *Israel's Past in Present Research: Essays on Ancient Israelite Historiography* (ed. V. Philips Long; SBTS 7; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1999), 7–42.

[4] Julius Wellhausen, *Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels* (Berlin: G. Reimer, 1899). The first German edition was published in 1882. The book was formerly published in 1878 as *Geschichte Israels I*. An English translation was made in 1885 under the title of *Prolegomena to the History of Israel*. According to Wellhausen, actual literary activity existed in 8C BCE. He argued that the fact that Elijah and Elisha did not record while Amos became the written prophet 100 years after them could only be explained as the non-literary society transformed to the literary society during the 100 years.

[5] Wellhausen, *Prolegomena to the History of Israel* (trans. J. Sutherland Black and Allan Menzies; Edinburgh: Adam & Charles Black, 1985), 464–70. The summarized list of the three stages is from Hayes, "History of the Study of Israelite and Judean History," 34–37, esp. 35.

[6] Wellhausen, *Prolegomena*, 411–25. See also Nicholson, *God and His People*, 3–7, esp. 3–4.

Wellhausen's claim stirred subsequent debates on the origin and nature of the covenant between Yahweh and Israel.[7] Most of all, the historicity of the journey to Sinai after the exodus from Egypt was at stake due to the absence of the narrative in the earlier source. It was understood, among various critical scholars, that the Sinai tradition was developed and inserted into the *Kadesh* tradition, which had been the dominant view and reflected the historical event. Yet eventually the Sinai tradition occupied the centre of the *Kadesh* tradition.[8] Wellhausen's ability to notice small details in the sources in order to read history behind the surface of a text has been influential, and offers a method that I will use to relate covenant with priesthood in some Second Temple texts.

Based on Wellhausen's achievement, form criticism or tradition-history critics attempted to ask new questions about the oral traditions as the elements behind the four sources and the processions in which the oral traditions came to be written documents.[9] Gunkel, the pioneer of the form criticism, assigned the nature of the exodus narrative as a *saga* (folk-tales). His designation, in which the covenant tradition was classified as a folk-tale, enlarged the issue of historicity from the historicity of the Sinai tradition to the historicity of the whole bondage-exodus-wilderness narrative.[10] Whereas Wellhausen and

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[7] Nicholson mentioned three other issues, which had arisen together; 1) What would be the meaning of the term *berit*, when it is used first between God and Israel? 2) What was the nature of early Israelite religion? 3) Why were the 8C BCE prophets silent about the covenant? See Nicholson, *God and His People*, 7–27.

[8] For a detailed discussion, see Nicholson, *God and His People*, 7–13. Nicholson also provides a thorough history of the debate on the issue of the nature of the earlier Israelite religion in terms of the concept of covenant.

[9] Ernest W. Nicholson, *The Pentateuch in the Twentieth Century: The Legacy of Julius Wellhausen* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 29–43. Hayes also provided a summary of understandings the tradition history. According to Hayes, tradition history assumed that the Old Testament traditions had a long history of oral transmission. Those traditions were written down in the last stage of a long progress of the oral transmission. The traditions were designated as genre based on their contents, the way of expression, context and *Sitz im Leben*. The main segment of the patriarch tradition is *saga*. Saga can be used to explain actual characters, customs, or the origin of the tribal relationship. Israelite Historiography has been developed from the *saga*. See Hayes, "History of the Study of Israelite and Judean History," 40.

[10] Herman Gunkel, *The Legends of Genesis: The Biblical Saga and History* (trans. W. H. Carruth; New York: Schocken Books, 1964), 88–122. According to Nicholson, there arose a wide consensus concerning antiquity and the significance of the covenant between Yahweh and Israel since the First World War. Nicholson recognized an unexpected change in Gunkel's expression after the First World War, which Nicholson thought was a sign of subsequent change of view; Gunkel had written, "Moses then assembled the tribes at Sinai and made a covenant with the Midianites." Yet the same sentence appears differently in the 1930s, "Moses then assembled the tribes at Sinai and by means of a "covenant" of Yahweh with them gave them an inner unity." Nicholson suggested a few reasons for the rise of consensus; nineteen century's intensive historical interest on the Israelite religion finally turned to the theological interest. The rise of consensus was also from the "history-of-religions movement," one of the main aims of which was an evaluation of the distinctiveness of Israelite religion among the contemporaries. Yet mostly the tendency came from the study of the sociology of religion. See Nicholson, *God and His People*, 9–11, 34–36.

Gunkel were influenced by what was taking place in the humanities at that time, not least of which is the emergence of social anthropology as a discipline. From the perspective of tradition history this study will reflect on how some of the traditions associated with covenant and priesthood can be better understood in relation to each other.

Mowinckel's New Year's Festival also shed light on the covenant issue. Mowinckel argued that a cultic renewal of the covenant between Yahweh and Israel is an essence of the New Year's Festival, which is reflected in some Yahweh kingship psalms (Pss 47, 93, 95, 96–99). The covenant governed the relationships among individuals and also between Yahweh and Israel as a whole. "Blessing" and "divine power" belonged to Israel as a community from Yahweh as "Lord of the covenant," and "blessing" belonged to an individual only when he was a member of the covenant community.[11] Mowinckel's claim, that "celebrating the renewal of the covenant was central to the Israelite cult," has enlarged the discussion of the concept of covenant from the theological aspect to the institutional aspect of the ancient Israelite religion. This assertion provides an emphasis that opens the way for more scholarly investigation by paying attention to cultic issues in late Second Temple texts.

Martin Noth has attempted to explain the process of organizing Israelite tribes using the concept of Greek "amphictyonies."[12] In a study on the Pentateuchal traditions, Noth argued that five subjects constituted main traditions of the Pentateuch: 1) leading out from Egypt, 2) guide to the promised land, 3) promise toward patriarchs, 4) protection in the wilderness, and 5) Sinai revelation.[13] These independent traditions were compiled at the time of the confederation of the tribes. Noth designated the combined traditions as G, which became the foundation for J.[14] Noth, through his endeavor, provided two significant conclusions about the covenant. The covenant is not to be understood as a theological idea, but as an institution, which established the ancient Israelite society and religion. Covenant, as the institution for the confederation of tribes, originated prior to the monarchic period.[15] Although there may be some value in Noth's view, his methodology of applying a Greek model to understand Israelite history allows a model to control the evidence; a point that

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[11] Sigmund Mowinckel, *The Psalms in Israel's Worship* (trans. D. R. Ap-Thomas; 2 vols.; Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1962), 1:106–39, esp. 118–39. See also Nicholson, *God and His People*, 31.

[12] Nicholson, *God and His People*, 7.

[13] Martin Noth, *The History of Israel* (trans. P. R. Ackroyd; New York: Harper & Row, 1960), 53–109.

[14] Hayes, "History of the Study of Israelite and Judean History," 41.

[15] Nicholson, *God and His People*, 33–34.

has been severly criticized.[16] Furthermore, Noth's understanding of covenant as a means of the confederation of tribes based on "amphictyonies" cannot be applied to Second Temple Judaism, which is my primary emphasis. Therefore, the present study will not impose any model on the texts; rather let the texts speak for themselves. However, like Noth this study will pay attention to the institutional basis of one aspect of covenant discourse.

1.1.2. Archaeological Approach

William Foxwell Albright, a well-known biblical archaeologist, attempted to argue for the historicity of the biblical sources based on his archaeological discoveries.[17] Albright admitted that the late date of the written sources became a limitation to reading Moses and the ancient Israelite religion. Subsequently, students had to rely on the long history of the oral tradition. However, he thought that various archaeological discoveries frequently harmonized with biblical narratives and consequently supported the historicity of those traditions.[18] According to him the Sinai covenant provided a case for his claim, and using archeological results he dated the Exodus most probably during the thirteenth century BCE.[19] He assumed that Moses was a Hebrew growing up under the influence of Egypt. Also Moses was the one who established the Israelite commonwealth and the religious system, which included monotheism and the book of the covenant.[20] He argued against the idea that the laws in the Book of the Covenant (Exodus 21–23) dated to the

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[16] In a private conversation with George Brooke (October, 2009), he criticized Noth's modeling by suggesting that Noth's view is an "abstraction of texts." For a more discussion on Noth, see also Rolland E. Wolfe, review of Martin Noth, *The History of Israel*, *JBR* 26 (1958): 249–50.

[17] In regard to the dates of J and E sources, Albright stated against Wellhausen's dating of J and E sources and the recently conventional tendency to adopt a lower date (c. 850 BCE for J and c. 750 BCE for E) since the discovery of Lachish Letter (1935), which supported the earlier date of the fine classical Hebrew attested in JE as late as pre-exilic Jewish state. See William Foxwell Albright, *From the Stone Age to Christianity: Monotheism and the Historical Process* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1940), 190.

[18] Whereas the hypercriticism has viewed many of the preserved materials of P source were regarded as less authentic. Albright argued that P embraced more historically authentic traditions than JE. See Albright, *From the Stone Age to Christianity*, 193. Albright's approach also appeared in Hoffmeier's criticism against the minimalist historians; "many minimalist historians are confusing critical reading with skeptical reading. They believed more skeptical is more objective." Hoffmeier, instead, assumed "the text to be innocent until proven guilty, rather than guilty until proven innocent." See James K. Hoffmeier, *Ancient Israel in Sinai: The Evidence for the Authenticity of the Wilderness Tradition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 22.

[19] Albright, *From the Stone Age to Christianity*, 194.

[20] Albright provided a relatively long explanation about Moses' monotheism in terms of the characteristic of his monotheism and the name of God. He also provided a discussion of the historicity of the Mosaic Law. See Albright, *From the Stone Age to Christianity*, 197–203.

ninth century BCE and became known to Israel in the time of Judges.[21]

Using an archaeological approach to biblical narratives, Albright attempted to support the historicity of the pre-monarchial biblical narrative up to the Mosaic period. He explained the Sinai covenant based on the biblical narrative. His attempts were continued by John Bright, Ernest Wright, and James K. Hoffmeier, who attributed the origin of the covenantal relationship between Israel and God to Moses. Albright understood covenant in association with the law code rather than considering covenant in relation to cult, such as the feast of tabernacles at Shechem. Albright sets a tone for the discussion of covenant, which ignores what becomes apparent in the Second Temple period. In that period, the priesthood had a particular concern with covenantal tradition, rather than the law makers, such as scribes or the kings, which seems to no longer exist (except for the Hasmoneans, who claimed priestly kingship). Therefore, the ways in which Albright observed covenant in the thirteenth century BCE as a development of the book of covenant may help me sharpen my viewpoint in reading the covenant in the Second Temple milieu.

1.1.3. Sociological Approach

Sociological approaches to the Old Testament were led by Max Weber, George E. Mendenhall, J. Dus, and Norman K. Gottwald. Weber argued that religion in its own right was one of the main forces for economic motivation and activity. The argument was Weber's response to the idea of the Marxist historian in which the economy was considered as the only factor in the development of a society. From this point of view, Weber studied Chinese religion, Indian religion, and ancient Israel.[22] According to Weber, the *berit* in Israel was not like other typical contemporary covenants of the contemporaries in terms of having God as a participant. Also, the *berit* was not merely a "theoretical construction": it was a means to combine diverse groups to make them known as Israel.[23] This position is similar to Noth, who saw the covenant as an institution confederating Israelite tribes, rather than a theological idea.

Mendenhall is considered to be a pioneer of the comparative study on the covenant between Ancient Near Eastern treaties and the Sinai covenant.[24] Mendenhall, based on Bickerman's work on the comparison between the Hittite treaties and Sinai

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[21] Albright, *From the Stone Age to Christianity*, 204–205.
[22] Nicholson, *God and His People*, 38–39.
[23] Max Weber, *Ancient Judaism* (trans. Hans H. Gerth and Don Martindale; New York: Free Press, 1952), 79.
[24] Nicholson, *God and His People*, 57.

covenant, fully develops the form-critical observations from which he identifies six relatively common elements: 1) preamble, 2) historical prologue, 3) treaty stipulations, 4) depositing the treaty document in the vassal's temple and the periodic reading thereof, 5) list of gods as witnesses, and 6) curses and blessings formulae.[25] According to Nicholson, Hittite treaty, which was dated to the late Bronze Age (c. 1400–1200 BCE), became a good solution for Mendenhall dealing with the problem of the origin of the Israelites by providing a concept of a covenant binding horizontally (among some tribes) and vertically (with the over lord) simultaneously.[26] A similar approach has been taken by Baltzer,[27] and the topic has been further elaborated by some other scholars, such as Beyerlin.[28]

Gottwald is worth recognizing due to his sociological methodology, which was used in his study of the Old Testament. According to Walter Brueggemann, Gottwald's book, *The Tribes of Yahweh* is evaluated as a monograph that opened a new paradigm in Biblical scholarship, along with Wellhausen's *Prolegomena* and Albright's *From Stone Age to Christianity*.[29] Gottwald's methodology was called "historical cultural-materialism." One of the most significant facets of his methodology was that he rejected what he called "idealism."[30] Gottwald intended to make "sociologically based hermeneutic of biblical text" so that he considered Yahwistic religion as a dependent part of the social system instead of its prime mover.[31] He applied a functionalized definition to

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[25] George E. Mendenhall, "Covenant Form in Israelite Traditions," *BA* 17 (1954): 50–76.

[26] Nicholson, *God and His People*, 57.

[27] Klaus Baltzer, *The Covenant Formulary: in Old Testament, Jewish, and Early Christian Writings* (trans. David E Green; Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1971). This is an English translation of Klaus Baltzer, *Das Bundesformular* (WMANT 4; ed. Günther Bornkamm and Gerhard von Rad; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1964).

[28] Walter Beyerlin, *Origins and History of the Oldest Sinaitic Traditions* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1965). This is an English translation of *Herkunft und Geschichte der ältesten Sinaitraditionen* (Tübingen, 1961).

[29] Brueggemann wrote, "Wellhausen established a new scholarly base for criticism, both literary and historical, with his massive and ingenuous synthesis. He broke with a naive precritical historicism. In turn, Albright broke with the evolutionism of Wellhausen. In a parallel move, Gottwald proposes a break with idealism toward a religious functionalism that reflects a dialectic which is profoundly materialistic, and a materialism which is profoundly dialectical." See Walter Brueggemann, "The Tribes of Yahweh: An Essay Review," *JAAR* 48 (1979): 441–51, esp. 443.

[30] Gottwald recognized the limitation of the functionalism that was the tool for the analysis of the interrelations. From the functionalistic perspective, Yahwism cannot be dealt as a mere projection of a social system, instead sociopolitical egalitarianism also is dependably related to mono-Yahwism. Since Gottwald could not solve the priority issue with which he was very sensitive, he moved to historical cultural materialism, which he considered as the most coherent strategy for his research. Brueggemann states: "After some consideration of Durkheim and Weber, he finds Marx" (Brueggemann, "The Tribes of Yahweh: An Essay Review," 446–47).

[31] For his reading strategy see, Norman K. Gottwald, *The Hebrew Bible: A Socio-Literary Introduction* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1985), 26–34. See also Burke O. Long, "The Social World of Ancient Israel," *Interpretation* 36 (1982): 252–53.

ideological concepts. To him, the covenant means that "the bonding of decentralized social groups in a larger society of equals committed to cooperation without authoritarian leadership and a way of symbolizing the locus of sovereignty in such a society of equals."[32] A sociological perspective on the concept of covenant seems insightful to the present study in a way in which it helps us to think about the social situation of Judaism in the Second Temple period, when the cultic institutions might have been working without royal or prophetic ones. Additionally, Weber's classical "institutionalization" theory that explains the transition of a sectarian movement from a charismatic egalitarian community to a more organized and authoritative structure will be applied in an adapted form in a discussion of the different phases of Qumran movements.

1.1.4. Perlitt, Kutsch, McCarthy, and Nicholson

Studies on the covenant in the Hebrew Bible have been revived in 1970s and 80s by McCarthy and Nicholson. Both of them are skeptical of associating covenant with treaty form. Instead they have focused their attention on the literary and theological perspective on the Deuteronomic concept of the covenant. Nicholson, in the study of the covenant, has acknowledged L. Perlitt's and E. Kutsch's works in 1969 and 1973 respectively.[33] Perlitt observed that most of the occurrences of the term *berit* happened in the Deuteronomistic literature of the seventh and sixth centuries BCE. He argued that in the setting of the seventh and sixth century of ancient Israel, which was defined as a crises of falling and exile, the term *berit* and *torah* attained a new theological meaning that symbolized the distinctive relationship with Yahweh and the codified law, which was derived from the relationship.[34] Kutsch, by searching the original meaning of the term *berith*, argued that there existed no theological usage of the term before the seventh century.[35] Both Perlitt and Kutsch emphasized the distinctive theological usage of the term *berit* in the Deuteronomic literature of the Hebrew Bible, which originated from the prophets in the critical time of the fall of the northern Kingdom.[36] The writing of the

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[32] Norman K. Gottwald, *The Tribes of Yahweh: A Sociology of the Religion of Liberated Israel, 1250–1050 B.C.E.* (New York: Orbis Books, 1979), 692. See also Gottwald, *Socio-Literary Introduction*, 201–17.

[33] Lothar Perlitt, *Bundestheologie im Alten Testament* (WMANT 36; Neukirchen: Neukirchener Verlag, 1969); Ernst Kutsch, *Verheissung und Gesetz: Untersuchungen zum sogenannten "Bund" im Alten Testament* (BZAW 131; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1973).

[34] Perlitt, *Bundestheologie*, 46ff.

[35] Kutsch, *Verheissung und Gesetz*, 71ff.

[36] For a brief reviews on Perlitt's and Kutsch's arguments, see Nicholson, *God and His People*, 106–109, 109–17. See also R. Davidson, "Covenant Ideology in Ancient Israel," in *The World*

prophets occurred in the course of their pursuing a theological answer for the crises. The emphasis on Deuteronomic covenant is important to this study because of the significant role of Deuteronomy in some Second Temple traditions.

McCarthy considers the concept of covenant originally being cultic, which developed over a long period, so that the ritual-centered Sinai covenant eventually became a word-centered Deuteronomic covenant. Some covenantal texts, such as Exod 19:3b–8, Josh 24:1–28, and 1 Sam 12 have been produced through Deuteronomic theological reflection.[37] McCarthy has argued that the curses in Deuteronomy 28 should be understood in light of the general Mesopotamian curse literature, and the covenant rites in Deuteronomy 27 are rather a law promulgation than a treaty draft.[38] He further argued that Deut 4:1–40 and 28:60–30:20 are to be classified as speech, sermon, and exhortation rather than a treaty document.[39] Based on these conclusions, McCarthy has argued that the rhetorical style in Deuteronomy is distinctive to the language of a treaty draft.[40] Consequently, he claims that the concept of covenant of Israelite religion had no relationship to the Late Bronze suzerainty treaty form, which has been claimed by the sociological perspective.[41] McCarthy's claim to the development from the ritual-centred to the word-centred covenant will be reconsidered in this study by reassessing the way in which Deuteronomy is used in some Second Temple texts, where some of the ritual elements and the textual elements are interwoven rather than transformed one to the other.

Nicholson seems to have held a similar position to McCarthy, namely by considering Deuteronomy as an "extended oration in homiletic style" rather than a "treaty-like" presentation.[42] He, as Wellhausen had argued a century earlier, has claimed that the preaching of the eight century prophets was the origin of the concept of a "national covenant" between Yahweh and Israel.[43] According to Nicholson, Hos 6:7 and 8:1 concern the emergence of the theological concept of the covenant in the eighth century

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of Ancient Israel: Sociological, Anthropological and Political Perspectives (ed. Ronald. E. Clements; Cambridge: University Press, 1989), 336.

[37] Patrick D. Miller, review of McCarthy, Dennis J., *Treaty and Covenant: A Study in Form in the Ancient Oriental Documents and in the Old Testament*, *JBL* 99 (1980): 300.

[38] McCarthy, *Old Testament Covenant*, 122, 124ff.

[39] McCarthy, *Old Testament Covenant*, 134ff.

[40] McCarthy, *Old Testament Covenant*, 111, 113, 135. See Erhard Gerstenberger, review of Dennis J. McCarthy, *Treaty and Covenant: A Study in Form in the Ancient Oriental Documents and in the Old Testament*, *JBL* 83 (1964): 198–99.

[41] George E. Mendenhall, review of Dennis J. McCarthy, *Treaty and Covenant: A Study in Form in the Ancient Oriental Documents and in the Old Testament*, *JAAR* (1967): 303.

[42] Nicholson, *God and His People*, 71.

[43] R. P. Gordon, review of Ernest W. Nicholson, *God and His People: Covenant and Theology in the Old Testament*, *VT* 41 (1991): 506–507.

BCE.[44] In his analysis of some covenantal passages, he attributed most of them to later dates.[45] Based on his arguments, Nicholson held a theological perspective on the concept of covenant in Israelite religion by stating that "thus understood, 'covenant' is the central expression of the distinctive faith of Israel as 'the people of Yahweh,' the children of God by adoption and free decision rather than by nature or necessity."[46] Nicholson's argument reflects a liberal theological reading of traditions about covenant. However, in the Second Temple era covenant seems to be used in a more controlled or controlling fashion.

As McCarthy and Nicholson have argued, theological (and symbolical) concepts of covenant based on Deuteronomic theology may well be settled by the time of the earlier Second Temple period. However, this position might not be conclusive because the concept of covenant seems to be not only a theological concept but also a sociological notion in relation to defining or claiming a particular identity. And at least by the time of the Hellenistic period, some priestly institution(s) that were based on the Second Temple seem to have played significant roles in various aspects of Jewish life. Therefore, in order to understand better the concept of covenant in late Second Temple period, we may need to revisit the cultic aspect.

1.2. Studies on the Covenant in the Second Temple Periods
1.2.1. Sanders and Covenantal Nomism

In a monumental work, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism*, E. P. Sanders has opened a new wave of understanding Second Temple Judaism and New Testament studies. Crawford remarks that readers have been astonished primarily by Sanders' encyclopedic use of vast amount of primary and secondary materials. Sanders' research reaches from Tannaitic to Pauline literature, including Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, Dead Sea Scrolls with which Sanders has pursued a holistic comparison of patterns of religion: Palestinian Judaism and Pauline Christianity.[47] Many readers also have been surprised by his way of understanding Palestinian Judaism, namely through "covenantal nomism." This position

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[44] Jon D. Levenson, review of Ernest W. Nicholson, *God and His People: Covenant and Theology in the Old Testament*, *CBQ* (1988): 306–308.
[45] According to Nicholson, Exod 19:3b–8 is late. The revelation of God in Exod 24:1–2 and 9–11 is possibly early, but unrelated to the covenant ceremony in Exod 24:3–8. Exod 34:10–28 was written later. Josh 24:1–28 is exilic and Deuteronomistic.
[46] Nicholson, *God and His People*, 216.
[47] Barry Crawford, review of E. P. Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism: A Comparison of Patterns of Religion*, *JAAR* (1978): 209–10

has generated significant issues concerning the subsequent study of Judaism and Christianity by being a matrix for the "new perspective" approach to the Pauline theology.

Sanders' "covenantal nomism" expresses a pattern for religion of Palestinian Judaism that can be described as a "participationist eschatology," a paradigm that can include Pauline literature. A "pattern of religion," according to Sanders, refers to the way in which people live and understand their belief about salvation. "Covenantal nomism" might be explained as a person being brought into a saved community by God's choice and grace, but that one then maintains one's position by obedience.[48] The "participationist eschatology" can be characterized as God sending Christ to be a savior for all, so that one can participate in salvation by becoming one person with Christ. To Sanders, Paul's major complaint against Judaism was not that righteousness was applied or understood in the wrong way (by works), but rather that the righteousness that Judaism conceived is not the right kind of righteousness.[49]

To many scholars, who are aligned with Weber, Bousset, Billerbeck, and Bultmann by Sanders, Paul's criticism against Judaism has been considered as a matter of means, which is characterized by the phrase, a religion of legalistic works-righteousness. However, according to Sanders, as Crawford summarizes well, "Paul and Judaism is not a quarrel over the proper means [faith vs. works] of reaching the same goal [righteousness]. Rather, it is a case of two divergent patterns of religion, each championing a different view of what it means to be religious."[50] In other words, to Paul the significant theology was "being in Christ" rather than the idea of "righteousness by faith," and Paul's criticism of the contemporary Judaism starts from this exclusivist soteriology. Although Sanders' "covenantal nomism" has been influential, it also has generated significant dispute concerning various aspects.[51] For instance, he uses the concept of covenant to become a catch-all phrase for his description of Second Temple Judaism. Although a catch-all use of the term "covenant" can be heuristically useful, it can also be a distortion of the evidence as we observed in Noth's modeling of "amphictyonies" through which traditions are understood accordingly. It is my position that we need to consider each text individually.

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[48] E. P. Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism: A Comparison of Patterns of Religion* (London: SCM Press, 1977), 420. See also Anthony J. Saldarini, review of E. P. Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism: A Comparison of Patterns of Religion*, *JBL* 98 (1979): 299–303.

[49] Crawford, review of E. P. Sanders, 209–10.

[50] Crawford, review of E. P. Sanders, 209–10.

[51] For various aspects of criticisms on this work, consult Neusner and Saldarini. See Jacob Neusner, "Comparing Judaisms: Review Article," *HR* 18 (1976): 177–91; Saldarini, review of E. P. Sanders, 299–303.

The Dead Sea Scrolls allow us to consider how the concepts of covenant can have a general and specific meaning.

1.2.2. Concept of Covenant in the Dead Sea Scrolls

Since the discoveries of Dead Sea Scrolls (DSS), Qumran texts have been a useful lens through which to understand better some aspects of Judaism in the Second Temple period. Because of a strong claim of covenantal identity found in the scrolls, the concept of covenant has been a significant theme in the studies of the Dead Sea Scrolls, particularly concerning its "continuity or discontinuity." When the movement claimed הברית החדשה (CD VI.19; VIII.21), it is important to understand whether this reference is distinctive from the biblical concept of covenant or is to be understood as the continuation of biblical notion of covenant. In a pivotal work on the Qumran covenant, Shemaryahu Talmon strongly claimed the continuity of the concept of covenant by identifying the movement as the "community of the renewed covenant." Talmon reads the covenant motif of DSS from a sociological perspective and concludes that the Qumran community was a very conservative group; consequently he determined that the Qumran sect was not interested in a new covenant, rather it retained the old one, which he viewed began with Adam.[52] He characterizes the distinctiveness of the community of the renewed covenant as "a hyper-nomism wedded with a fervent messianism."[53] Talmon's position regarding the Qumran community as a conservative group seems to shed light on the present study, because the cultic context and priestly institutions tend to be very conservative. Talmon's observations have contributed to our understanding of the sociological context of covenant that needs to be considered when focusing on the priestly institution.

Deasley, on the other hand, emphasizes the discontinuity of the concept of covenant in DSS. Deasley deals with the biblical covenant traditions as one concept. Yet for Qumran covenant, he argues that it is distinctive from biblical covenant, first in its content, which is characterized by the "revelation" that is only revealed to those who enter the (new) covenant. According to Deasley, the revelation gives new entities, which are different from the old covenant, so that Qumran's covenant is a new covenant with

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[52] His emphasis on the renewal of the one covenant seems to result in an over reading of the biblical covenant traditions: claiming only one covenant exists from Adam and the rest are the renewals of it. Shemaryahu Talmon, "The Community of the Renewed Covenant: Between Judaism and Christianity," in *The Community of the Renewed Covenant: The Notre Dame Symposium on the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. Eugene Ulrich and James VanderKam; Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1994), 3–26.

[53] Talmon, "The Community of the Renewed Covenant," 24.

different regulations. And second, in its nature of the covenant, the Qumran covenant is different from the biblical one in the sense that the Essene covenant was based on individual decision and choice through the process of a covenant renewal ceremony.[54] Being distinctive from Talmon, Deasley sees innovation in Qumran's covenant in terms of revelation and individual decision. If Deasley is right, there is a break. I concur with Talmon because he is probably right concerning the conservative nature of the institution. But Deasley is probably right when he says that there is something new in the concept of covenant in DSS. However, it seems that the innovation rests in the combinations of traditions rather than revelation or individual decision. Innovation occurs in a new combination of the old traditions in a way in which Zadokites or Levites are juxtaposed in some scrolls. They are old traditions but become new in the combinations of ethos that they are creating.

Bilhah Nitzan has made an intriguing analysis of the biblical concept of covenant by grouping them into two different types: a promissory type and a treaty type.[55] Nitzan seems to emphasize the newness of the new covenant in biblical literature. It is reflected in her language which states that a new covenant occurs in the situations of "constitutional reform" and that new covenant happens after the "breaking of a former covenant."[56] Most importantly, Nitzan emphasizes the eschatological character of the Qumran covenant. According to Nitzan, because of the repetition of failure to keep the covenant, the significance of the eschatological new covenant reflects the hope for an eternal covenant. In her view, the new covenant of the Qumran legal document seems to embrace the hope for the eschatological renewal of the covenant between God and Israel, not just a utopian ideal, but rather an attainable change to ensure the eternal status of Israel as the chosen people of God.[57] In addition to this ethnic reading of the DSS, we need to consider the aspirations of the community for a renewed cult in a renewed Jerusalem. However,

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[54] The terms "Qumran covenant" and "Essene covenant" are Deasley's terms. Interchanging these terms, as Deasley does, is problematic. Alex R. G. Deasley, *The Shape of Qumran Theology* (London: Paternoster, 2000), 143–44.

[55] Bilhah Nitzan, "The Concept of the Covenant in Qumran Literature," in *Historical Perspectives: from the Hasmoneans to Bar Kokhba in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. David Goodblatt, et al.; STDJ 37; Leiden: Brill, 2001), 87. Scott Hahn suggests more detailed subdivisions of the types of covenant in Hebrew Bible. See Scott W. Hahn, *Kinship by Covenant: A Canonical Approach to the Fulfillment of God's Saving Promises* (ABRL; ed. John J. Collins; New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), 37–213.

[56] Nitzan, "The Concept of the Covenant in Qumran Literature," 89.

[57] Nitzan, "The Concept of the Covenant in Qumran Literature," 89–90.

Nitzan's view on the different types of covenant is helpful to see individual covenant traditions for their own sake.

Martin Abegg has noted a significance of the concept of covenant in DSS, particularly in contrast with the relative ignorance of the theme in the rabbinic theology. He further examines *nistaroth* and covenant renewal ceremony as significant ingredients of Qumran covenant. Abegg characterizes the term, *nistarot* ("hidden things"), which appears sixteen times in Qumran corpora, as a correspondence of Qumran covenant, which are contrasted with Mosaic old covenant. According to Abegg, a new revelation for *nistarot* refers to an interpretation of the existing biblical law, which is based on the solar calendar and the subsequent matter of Sabbath, festivals, testimonies, and the true way of God. The hidden things are only to be revealed to the Qumran community. In this sense, the concept of the hidden things represents strong exclusivism of the movement. Furthermore, according to Abegg, the *nistarot* in Qumran has an ultimate authority, because they believed that they were still living in the biblical era, which again is distinctive from the world view of the contemporary rabbinic Judaism.[58] If Abegg is right when he says that the different calendar and subsequent issues of the Sabbath and festivals are a significant matter of Qumran covenant, it is significant to this study, because that indicates a meaningful relationship between Qumran covenant and its cultic setting. In other words, when we talk about covenant in Qumran, we are talking about priests and cults.

To Craig Evans one of the most significant features of the Qumran covenant is that the stipulations reduce the number of the covenantal people. The Qumran community considered themselves to be the selected among the selected. Based on this viewpoint, Evans argues that Qumran's self-understanding is similar to that of the early Christian community.[59] Both Abegg and Evans' conclusions seem to resonate with Deasley's. If Evans is correct that the discourse of Qumran reduces the number of elect, then the priests would be at the top of the pinnacle. Therefore the priesthood and cultic aspect need to be considered in the discussion of the Qumran covenant.

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[58] Martin G. Abegg, "The Covenant of the Qumran Sectarians," in *The Concept of the Covenant in the Second Temple Period* (ed. Stanley E. Porter and Jacqueline C. R. de Roo; JSJSup 71, ed. John J. Collins; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 81–97.

[59] Craig A. Evans, "Covenant in the Qumran Literature," in *The Concept of the Covenant in the Second Temple Period* (ed. Stanley E. Porter and Jacqueline C. R. de Roo; JSJSup 71, ed. John J. Collins; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 55–80.

As a reaction to some Christian scholarship, Schiffmann attempts to read the text and the concept of covenant in relation to Rabbinic Judaism as seen in his earlier work, *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls*.[60] According to Schiffman, the Sinai covenant is the covenant at the core of the Qumran community; whereas in Rabbinic Judaism, earlier traditions focused on circumcision and only in later Rabbinic literature does the Sinaitic covenant become dominant.[61] If Schiffman is right, we may see the various dynamics working in various Jewish identities in relation to the concept of covenant. The construction of the covenant in Qumran is claiming the whole tradition of Israel for the community over against the other Jews, but in the Mishnah, the law is reworked and applied to the community, and the identity needs to be constructed over against the Gentiles.

This dichotomy becomes clearer in the Abrahamic covenant traditions. Schiffman correctly observes that circumcision is barely mentioned in Abrahamic covenant in Qumran, whereas the covenant of Abraham is symbolized by the circumcision in the Rabbinic traditions.[62] This position may well be partly due to the fact that in Qumran everyone had already been circumcised. However, it seems that more is at stake, because circumcision usually was understood as an identity marker of Jewishness.[63] The lack of circumcision in the Qumranic Abraham covenant traditions strongly reflects that they constructed their identity not simply against the Gentiles, but against other Jews. The overall indifference to the Gentiles in the Dead Sea Scrolls seems to reinforce this idea. Therefore Schiffman's argument seems to re-emphasize the issue of the selected among the selected, as Evans has raised above.

In a recent presentation, Brooke has reviewed a large range of texts in order to find some trajectory of the concept of covenant and election in the Second Temple period. Various tendencies have been found in several languages and genres. According to Brooke, though Aramaic *qym* became alternatives to Hebrew *bryt*, Aramaic speaking Jews

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[60] Laurence H. Schiffman, "The Concept of Covenant in the Qumran Scrolls and in Rabbinic Literature," in *The Idea of Biblical Interpretation: Essays in Honor of James L. Kugel* (ed. H. Najman and J. H. Newman; JSJSup 83; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 257–78.

[61] Schiffman, "The Concept of Covenant," 265–69.

[62] Schiffman, "The Concept of Covenant," 259–63.

[63] Circumcision also was a significant issue to Maccabean (or Hasmonean) regime. Circumcision is described as one of the core stipulations to keep the covenant or the law in 1 Maccabees. Also consult John Hyrcanus' forceful circumcision of Idumeans (c. 125 BCE). See Josephus *Ant.* 13.9 § 1; 14.4 § 4.

"more or less lived without covenantal identity in a precise and restricted sense."[64]   In Hebrew wisdom compositions, the concept of covenant could not be ignored, because the concept was constantly articulated over several centuries although it embraces a broader understanding of divine revelation than is available in authoritative texts. Most significantly, according to Brooke, "a trajectory of tradition for covenant is especially to be found in the persistent ideology of Deuteronomy."[65]   Furthermore "it is the covenant from Sinai/Horeb that is dominant, even though other forms of the covenant are also mentioned, just as fidelity to narrative requires."[66]   In terms of the concept of election, he writes that "in general certain apocalyptic traditions tend to focus more on election as something restricted to part of Israel, that part which is associated closely with knowledge, truth, and justice."[67]   Brooke reminds us of the significance of Deuteronomic ideology in relation to the concept of covenant of the non-sectarian writings among the DSS. Yet the priestly aspect of covenant is also detected in some DSS and other Second Temple literature, which I will investigate more fully in this thesis.

In this summary it appears that there remains a need for a discussion of covenant and cult/priesthood in juxtaposition.

1.3. Locating the Parameters for the Discussion of Covenant

Since 1980s the scholarly understanding of "Judaism" has been dramatically shifted from seeing it as a monolithic institution to viewing it as a diverse religious system.[68]   According to Overman and Green, George Foot Moore's notion of rabbinic Judaism as "normative Judaism"[69]   was once the dominant view. However, due to the extreme diversity of the archaeological and literary data concerning Jewish religion from ca. 330 BCE to 200 CE, the consensus, that the Judaism of that period demonstrates almost unlimited diversity and variety, has been laid.[70]   They claim that any single set of literary

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[64]   George J. Brooke, "Looking Backwards: Tracing Trajectories on Covenant and Election from Pre-Sectarian Compositions Found at Qumran" (paper presented at the Covenant and Election in the Persian Period, Göttingen, Germany, 2013), 2–4, 10.

[65]   Brooke, "Looking Backwards," 10.

[66]   Brooke, "Looking Backwards," 10.

[67]   Brooke, "Looking Backwards," 1–12.

[68]   J. Andrew Overman and William Scott Green, "Judaism in Greco-Roman Period," *ABD* 3:1037–54.

[69]   The term, "normative Judaism" is used as the dominant and legitimate form of Jewish religion against which variants could be judged inauthentic or heretical. See Overman and Green, "Judaism in Greco-Roman Period," *ABD* 3:1038.

[70]   In a study on the Judaism of the Dead Sea Scrolls, Philip Davies does not hesitate to expresses his sarcastic view on the "uncomplicated approach" to Judaism in relation to the Dead Sea

and archaeological data cannot characterize the diversities of Second Temple Jewish religious life or belief.[71] Therefore, they have adopted Kraft and Nickelsburg's "model of multiple Judaisms."[72]

According to Overman and Green, "multiple Judaisms" is defined as "distinct but not disparate." In other words, "the framework for multiple Judaisms must simultaneously distinguish Judaism from not-Judaism and avoid collapsing the diverse Judaisms to a single Judaism."[73] Based on this principle, they have identified four components which constitute the framework of multiple Judaisms: 1) the Temple, 2) Israelite scripture, 3) nonscriptural or extrascriptural tradition, and 4) apocalypticism.[74] It is worth noting that the concept of covenant is not counted in those criteria. Overman and Green explicitly explain that the concept is "too monolithic to differentiate the diversities of the various Judaisms."[75] In other words, the concept of the covenant is a common factor in all kinds of Judaisms of the Second Temple period.[76]

Lester Grabbe raises an intriguing issue about the importance of the covenant in the Second Temple Judaism, which seems very different from recent scholarly enthusiasm concerning this theme. He analyzed most of the Second Temple literature for the usage of "covenant," mostly rendered as διαθήκη in Greek. And he roughly classified the literatures into four groups based on the theological implication of covenant in each context.[77]

In some of the literature, such as Chronicles, Malachi, Nehemiah, Daniel, CD, and 1QS, "the lexis of covenant" directly refers to the relationship between God and Israel. In other literature such as *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum*, *Jubilees*, Ben Sira, 1 and 2

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community. He recalls the "used to" method about which he says that, once a doctrine from a sectarian corpus is identified, this doctrine can be contrasted with the beliefs of the monolithic "non-sectarian" Judaism understood to be practiced everywhere but at Qumran. He continues to say that "in light of our present awareness of the diversity of the contents of the scrolls and our knowledge of the variety of Judaisms practiced in this period, this uncomplicated approach is no longer the least bit plausible." See Philip Davies, "The Dead Sea Writings, The Judaism(s) of," *EncJud* 1:182.

[71] Overman and Green, "Judaism in Greco-Roman Period," *ABD* 3:1037.

[72] Robert A. Kraft and George W. E. Nickelsburg, eds., *Early Judaism and Its Modern Interpreters* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1986), 2.

[73] Overman and Green, "Judaism in Greco-Roman Period," *ABD* 3:1038.

[74] Overman and Green, "Judaism in Greco-Roman Period," *ABD* 3:1038.

[75] Overman and Green state that this is "the conventional theological definition," which means that Judaism as essentially a religion of covenant-maintenance with Yahweh, who is understood to be the one real God. See Overman and Green, "Judaism in Greco-Roman Period," *ABD* 3:1038.

[76] For a similar position for the rabbinic Judaism, see Sanders who acknowledges that the term "covenant" is not frequently used in rabbinic literature, but he contends that it is presupposed as the basis for the rabbinic pattern of religion. See Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism*, 420–21.

[77] Lester L. Grabbe, "Did All Jews Think Alike? 'Covenant' in Philo and Josephus in the Context of Second Temple Judaic Religion," in *The Concept of the Covenant in the Second Temple Period* (ed. Stanley E. Porter and Jacqueline C. R. de Roo; JSJSup 71; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 251–66.

Maccabees, and *Testament of Moses*, the metaphorical usage of the concept of covenant alludes to the partnership between Israel's God and his people. However, Grabbe asserts that a significant number of the Second Temple writings never mention "covenant" nor express any interest in the concept of covenant. These texts include Job, Joel, Jonah, Haggai, Esther, Song of Songs, Ruth, Tobit, Qoheleth, *Letter of Aristeas*, *Testament of Abraham*, *Sibylline Oracles*, *Testament of Job*, 3 and 4 Maccabees, and Pseudo-Phocylides. In other Jewish writings of the period, covenant is simply another term that does not refer to the relationship between God and His people, but is interchangeable with divine law and statutes or with various elements of Jewish belief and practice. Grabbe considers Sir. 17.12; 28.7; 39.8; 41.19; *1 En*. 99.2; 106.13; 1 Macc. 2.27; *Jub*. 23.16; 30.2; 2 *Bar*. 41.3; 48.22; 84.8; *4 Ezra* 3.32;4.23; 5.29; 7.24, 46; 8.27. 2 Chr. 34.30, 31; Sir. 24.23; 1 Macc. 1.57 in the last category.[78]

Grabbe attempts to demonstrate that the term "covenant" was neither universally popular nor the exclusive way of speaking about the divine/human relationship in the Second Temple Judaism. In addition, Grabbe concluded that covenant was not that significant to either Josephus or Philo as a means of conceptualizing or expressing their religious beliefs, just as it was not important to most of the Second Temple period literature.[79]

The above discussion offers an important assignment in terms of the concept of covenant in the Second Temple period Judaism. On the one hand, we have Overman and Green who claim that the concept of covenant was universal among the "various Judaisms" of the Second Temple period that the concept of covenant is not able to serve as a criterion to distinguish one Judaism from another in a multi-Judaism model. On the other hand, Grabbe argues that the concept of covenant was losing its religious value in Second Temple Judaism. So what would be a proper location of the concept of covenant in the Second Temple Judaism, particularly in various Jewish communities or movements? Unfortunately, it seems unlikely to investigate every text in one thesis. However, I will review a few texts and observe what is depicted in them by allowing the text to determine the method of analysis. But before we proceed, the cultic setting of the Second Temple period needs to be briefly reviewed as a social milieu of Palestinian Judaism.

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[78] Grabbe, "Did All Jews Think Alike?," 258–63; 264.
[79] Grabbe, "Did All Jews Think Alike?," 265–66.

2. Priesthood or Priestly Institution in the Second Temple Period

It seems that too often the discussion of covenant in Second Temple texts (both biblical and non-biblical) has been employed in an abstract fashion without consideration of which institution may be interested in or promoting the understanding of covenant, or something corresponding to it. My purpose in this section is to briefly overview the development of the institution of the priesthood and its political alliance in order to remind the reader how dominant the priestly institution has functioned in that time period. I will also consider the kinds of people, such as scribes and tax collectors—non-priestly, non-scribal tax collectors, who were supporting the priestly institution, as they are reflected in Tobiad's Romance (Josephus, *Ant*. 12.4.1–11 §§ 154–236).[80] These groups were possibly interested in political alliances and economic profit, rather than theological ideals.

2.1. Transition of the Society from the Ancient Israel to the Second Temple Judaism

Space does not allow me to provide a survey of the institutions of ancient Israel here.[81] However, in short it may be said that since the fall of the southern kingdom, the running institutions have been severely changed in the Palestinian (or *Yehud*) area. Monarchical institutions no longer stand. The fall of the states is significant, because kingship seems to be not only about the political institution but also about active involvement in public worship as the patron of priesthood.[82] Prophetic institutions also seem to have been closely related to monarchical institutions before the exilic period. Through the exilic and post-exilic period kingship and prophetic circles disappeared from Jewish society, except for the Hasmonean's claim to kingship in that region. In Second Temple literature, there are few texts preserved concerning kings, and of those that remain, the concept of kingship has been given an eschatological perspective. It seems that the priestly institution ran the various aspects of Jewish society in the Second Temple period. In the following sections I will briefly note the priestly institution as it played a role in cultic, administrational, and scribal functions in the Second Temple Judaism.[83] It is

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[80] For brief notes on the story, see Lester L. Grabbe, *A History of the Jews and Judaism in the Second Temple Period: The Early Hellenistic Period (335–175 BCE)* (LSTS 68; 4 vols.; vol. 2; London: T&T Clark, 2008), 75–78.

[81] For a detailed analysis on the civil and religious institutions of Ancient Israel, consult Roland de Vaux, *Ancient Israel: Its Life and Institutions* (trans. John McHugh; London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1961), 65–212, 271–518.

[82] Consult de Vaux, *Ancient Israel*, 377.

[83] This division follows Grabbe's suggestion. See Lester L. Grabbe, *An Introduction to Second Temple Judaism: History and Religion of the Jews in the Time of Nehemiah, the Maccabees, Hillel and Jesus* (London: T&T Clark, 2010), 40–65.

difficult to divide all roles into precise categories, but this attempt seems helpful in clarifying the situation.

2.2. Significance of the Priesthood in Second Temple Jerusalem

2.2.1. Cultic Functions of Jerusalem Temple and Priests

It seems most likely that the Jerusalem Temple and its priesthood are very significant, or even the most significant aspect in the religious and political life of Jewish people. The priests were mainly in charge of the temple and the operation of the cult. The temple has occupied the centre for Palestinian Jewish worship. Although the synagogue is attested in Egypt and Asia Minor in the third century BCE, it is probably only after the first century BCE that synagogues functioned in Palestine.[84] The cultic role of the priesthood was not important solely in terms of worship practices, but because of its symbolic role in identifying Judaism as a particular people (*ethnos*) with distinctive religious practices.

The significance of the priestly institution seems not to be limited to Jerusalem and the Palestinian Judaism. Possibly one demonstration of the importance of the priesthood is that there were other cultic centres, such as Mt. Gerizim for Samaritans and the Temple of Leontopolis in Egypt (late 3rd century BCE). These cultic centres that are the focus of the community identity (community organization alongside Jerusalem) may well be a further indication of the importance of the priesthood.

2.2.2. Priest as Administrator

It seems secure to say that in the time of Maccabean (Jonathan and Simon) and Hasmonean periods priesthood played a political role.[85] However, the administrative officials in Ptolemaic and Seleucid periods are never easily identified, due to the lack of evidence.[86] A conventional view envisages the high priest as the head of the administrative as well as cultic sphere under the Ptolemaic regime. This position is advanced because no reference to Ptolemaic officers is found, whereas the high priest has been referred to in the decree of Antiochus III and the Tobias romance.[87]

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[84] Grabbe, *An Introduction to Second Temple Judaism*, 40–65, esp. 41–42.
[85] Deborah W. Rooke, *Zadok's Heirs: The Role and Development of the High Priesthood in Ancient Israel* (OTM; Oxford: Oxford Unviersity Press, 2000), 329.
[86] James C. VanderKam, *From Joshua to Caiaphas: High Priests after the Exile* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2004), 122.
[87] Grabbe, *A History of the Jews and Judaism*, 186.

Yet, there have been some discrepancies in the scholarly views. For example, Deborah Rooke has challenged the traditional position by arguing that the power of the high priest must have been limited, first because they were under the foreign domination, and second, due to the emergence of a powerful unofficial lay group of aristocracy.[88] Grabbe argues against Rooke supporting the traditional views.[89] Grabbe strongly emphasizes the importance of the high priest in the Ptolemaic period (3C BCE), both in religious and political spheres.[90] The different views possibly depend on where scholars begin their focus; whether in the fourth century (perhaps Ezra-Nehemiah), or whether in the Hellenistic period, where priestly institutions already dominate.

In a comprehensive overall survey of the priestly institutions in the Second Temple period, Grabbe states that the institution was relatively stable and hierarchical. As it is reflected in some biblical texts, the priesthood was multi-layered.[91] There were priestly families who were running the Temple courses, and there were Levites in various roles in a lower level. In terms of the stability of the priestly institution, by arguing against Boccaccini, Grabbe tends to doubt the argument for "Enochic Judaism," which has developed in opposition to "Zadokite Judaism."[92] But one may wonder whether Grabbe's argument is entirely valid, an issue that will be discussed in my chapter on the various traditions about priesthood in the Dead Sea Scrolls. Grabbe's argument against Boccaccini shows that there are problems in terms of how we understand the development of particular groups in relation to individual founding figures.

In sum, the centrality of priesthood as the major governmental/political institution in the Second Temple period can only be fully recognized with the awareness of the fact that its power and influence is sometimes compromised by non-priestly groups or individuals and sometimes by its own diversity.

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[88] See Rooke, *Zadok's Heirs*, 328–30. Based on this argument, Rooke insists that the power of civil administration and government were under either Ptolemaic officials or Jewish aristocrats, and the power of high priest only affected the cultic sphere in the time of Ptolemaic regime (Rooke, *Zadok's Heirs*, 265). VanderKam also is cautious about attributing political authority to the high priests, because a governor was regularly present in Jerusalem. See W. J. van Bekkum, review of James C. VanderKam, *From Joshua to Caiaphas: High Priests after the Exile, VT* 57 (2007): 425.

[89] For a detailed argument, see Grabbe, *A History of the Jews and Judaism*, 186–87; 192.

[90] Grabbe, *A History of the Jews and Judaism*, 225–43. See also Richard A. Horsley, *Scribes, Visionaries, and the Politics of Second Temple Judea* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 2007), 15–52. Horsley argues for the Judean-temple state in the time of the Persian and Hellenistic empire.

[91] Grabbe, *An Introduction to Second Temple Judaism*, 42–46.

[92] Grabbe, *A History of the Jews and Judaism*, 243.

2.2.3. Priest as Scribe

Priestly functions possibly have extended to the scribal practice in the Second Temple period. According to Grabbe, the temple was much more than the sacrificial cult. The temple priesthood has been related to the teaching of the law, as its custodians.[93] Based on Haggai (Hag 2:10–13), Grabbe asserts that priests had been consulted for an authoritative interpretation of the law. He further argues that priests could possibly be Deuteronomists, sages, prophets, apocalypticists, and/or scribes, because when priests and their functions are listed, the references indicate that the descriptions refer to professions rather than a sect of a particular group.[94] The temple is a major locus for the development of textuality in Second Temple times; it gives authority to Israel's textual traditions and so there is a dynamic interaction between priests and scribes, some of whom, like Ben Sira, had significant priestly sympathies.

In summary, the above observation shows the importance of priestly institution(s) in the Second Temple period. Priests were the centre of the temple cult. Mt. Gerizim and Leontopolis temple possibly reinforce the significance of the temple in the life of Jews in Palestine and even throughout a broader area. Furthermore, priests seem to have some form of civil authority and that role seems to be extended to scribal practices as well as having a cultic function. This multi-function role is partly because they were most likely the ones who had education and leisure.[95] Some of these observations may be in disputed, however it is important that one is aware of the significance of the priestly institutions in the Second Temple period. These observations need to be kept in mind, as we formulate how covenant theology (or theologies) might be developing in this period.

3. An Agenda for the Present Study

3.1. The Combined Concepts of the Covenant and Priesthood

Some studies on the concept of covenant have been reviewed in the first part of this chapter. The reviews disclose a need to question a possible location for the concept of covenant in the Second Temple Judaism (or Judaisms in the multi-Judaism model). My investigation will consider only one aspect of the concept of covenant in the Second Temple period. A recent emphasis on the significance of the priestly institution(s) in the

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[93] Grabbe, *An Introduction to Second Temple Judaism*, 40–65, esp. 41. This position seems intriguing considering that in 1QS the sons of Aaron are designated as the guardians of the law.

[94] Grabbe, *An Introduction to Second Temple Judaism*, 44–46.

[95] Grabbe, *An Introduction to Second Temple Judaism*, 44.

Second Temple Judaism seems meaningful, especially in considering the relative indifference of the priestly aspect in the discussion of Judaism of this time period.[96] A detailed analysis of the priestly aspect of the concept of covenant is a gap that can be filled. Therefore, I will investigate some combined concepts of covenant and priesthood in some Second Temple texts, a perspective that is missing in most treatments of this topic.

With this observation in mind, I will proceed by asking the following question: how are these two ideas of priesthood and covenant combined in some late Second Temple Jewish texts? To help answer the question, I will employ three texts—Maccabees, Dead Sea Scrolls, and Hebrews—where I can identify how these two ideas are combined. Also, these documents present relatively well some particular Jewish (and Jewish-Christian) communities or ideologies behind the texts. This seems to be a fresh reading strategy of some of the Second Temple literature. These two concepts seem to have been combined in different ways with different purposes, expressing a theological and religious concept in a live institution of the time period. To be clear my emphasis is not about all the aspects of the covenant in the Second Temple period, but about this particular combination of the two concepts.

3.2. Overview of the Chapters

In Part I, I will investigate the ways in which the authors or final editors of 1 and 2 Maccabees (chapter 2) express the priestly aspect of the concept of covenant in the texts. First, I will analyze a structural usage of the term "covenant" in 1 Maccabees. Second, the author's use of two literary motifs, namely "zeal" and "father," and it will be argued that these motifs are the way in which the author constructs a priestly covenantal ideology in favor of Hasmonean heirs. Then the priestly aspect of the use of the term "covenant" in 2 Maccabees is going to be reviewed and compared to 1 Maccabees.

Part II considers several Dead Sea Scrolls in two chapters (chapters 3 and 4), in order to investigate pre-sectarian and sectarian priestly covenant traditions respectively. In chapter 3, first I will review the possible tensions among various priestly ideologies reflected in some priestly compositions by the third century BCE. Second, based on this observation, I will analyze Aaron-Priestly covenant tradition in Ben Sira on one hand, and on the other hand, I will review *Aramaic Levi Document*, *Testament of Levi*, and *Jubilees*

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[96] Grabbe, *An Introduction to Second Temple Judaism*, 61–62.

where a priestly covenant tradition seems to be developed in favor of Levitical priestly ideology.

In chapter 4, I will consider the sectarian scrolls. First, two quasi-sectarian texts (the *Temple Scroll* and 4QMMT) will be reviewed in relation to a priestly aspect of the covenant of Jacob and a priestly orientation under the Deuteronomic covenantal settings, respectively. Second, two groups of sectarian texts (the *Damascus Document*, and *Serek* texts) will be reviewed in terms of the priestly aspect of the concept of covenant. We can see the presence of various priestly ideologies in the *Damascus Document* and *Serek* materials. Among them, 1QSb will provide a particular perspective on the relation of the development of priestly covenant based on Aaron. A brief overview of the social transition in the *Moreh Zezek* movement and *Yahad* movement will be provided according to the findings from the sectarian texts.

Part III also consists of two chapters (chapters 5 and 6). In these chapters the same concern will be applied to a reading of Hebrews, an early Christian writing, which probably reflects at least in part a Jewish Christian circle around the time of the fall of Jerusalem Temple. In chapter 5, some of the priestly language and covenantal language in Hebrews 7 to 10 are reviewed individually. Attention will be paid to Hebrews 9, where the author uses Mosaic covenant-making tradition from Exodus 24 as a bridge between the two concepts of priesthood and covenant. In chapter 6, I will investigate the author's use of biblical Melchizedek traditions in Hebrews 7 in relation to the oath motif.

In the concluding chapter (chapter 7), the findings of each part are summarized and discussed in relation to the overall concern of this dissertation—the combined concept of priesthood and covenant.

PART I

1 and 2 Maccabees

Chapter 2

Priestly Covenant in 1 and 2 Maccabees

Since the middle of the 19th century, several significant scholars have studied 1 and 2 Maccabees.[1] Most studies have focused on the historical aspects of the texts, because 1 and 2 Maccabees are important sources for Jewish history of the Hasmonean period.[2] The primary interest of the present study, however, is neither in the reconstruction of Jewish history of the period, nor in the historicity of the sources of the texts. The primary concern of this study is to investigate the way in which the concept of covenant is developed and used, especially in relation to the concept of priesthood in 1 and 2 Maccabees.

With that purpose in mind, I will first evaluate the literary structures of 1 Maccabees that have been suggested by some scholars to determine in what ways their approach expresses the purposes and main ideas of the text. Once the overall picture of the text has been considered, I may be able to suggest a structural usage of the term "covenant" (διαθήκη), particularly when it is used in a priestly context. Then an investigation of the development of priestly covenant in 1 Maccabees will be performed. The results will be compared with some findings of a priestly-related concept of covenant in 2 Maccabees. The conclusions reached in this chapter will help anticipate the relationship between the development of a priestly concept in the books of Maccabees and that of other contemporary text groups, such as Dead Sea Scrolls and an early Christian writing (Hebrews), which will be considered more thoroughly in the subsequent chapters.

My working hypothesis in this chapter is that 1 Maccabees, recognized as propaganda for the Hasmonean dynasty, has developed a priestly-related concept of covenant in order to support the legitimacy of the high priesthood of the Hasmonean heirs.

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[1] For a detailed review on the scholarship on 1 Maccabees, consult Jonathan A. Goldstein, *I Maccabees: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 41; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1976), 1–186. See also David S. Williams, "Recent Research in 1 Maccabees," *CR* 9 (2001): 169–84. Williams has named a number of renowned Maccabean scholars such as Grimm (1853), Destinon (1882), Kautzsch (1900), Hölscher (1904), Oesterley (1913), Ettelson (1925), Bevenot (1931), Abel (1949), Zeitlin (1950), Dancy (1954), Nelis (1972), Goldstein (1976), Bartlett (1973), and Collins (1981). Among these, more recent works are mainly consulted in this chapter.

[2] Harold W. Attridge, "Historiography," in *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period: Apocrypha, Pseudepigrapha, Qumran Sectarian Writings, Philo, Josephus* (ed. Michael E. Stone; CRINT 2, ed. W. J. Burgers, et al.; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1984), 171.

The motifs of Phinehas' "zeal" and his role as a "father" seem to be significantly used in the development of the priestly covenant. Once again, my concern in this chapter is to analyze the combined concepts of covenant and priesthood; therefore I will avoid comprehensive separate investigation of the concepts of covenant or priesthood in 1 and 2 Maccabees.

1. Concept of the Priestly Related Covenant in 1 Maccabees

1.1. Texts, Dates, and Structure of 1 Maccabees

It has been suggested by many scholars that 1 Maccabees was originally written in Hebrew, probably in the latter half of the second century BCE.[3] No Hebrew text is extant today; only Greek, Old Latin, Syrian, and Armenian texts remain.[4] There has been a scholarly dispute concerning the unity of the composition of 1 Maccabees. Destinon has challenged the unity of 1 Maccabees by distinguishing chapters 1 to 13 from 14 to 16 based on Josephus' ignorance of the latter chapters.[5] Ettelson, on the other hand, has argued for the unity of the whole text,[6] which has been implicitly supported by other scholars, including Bartlett.[7] For the present study, I will focus on the final form of the text in order to consider the author or the final editor's intention.[8]

1.2. Overall Structural Outline and the Main Theme of 1 Maccabees

In terms of the literary approach to the text, two significant works are worth noting. The first is Nils Martola published in 1984.[9] He made a thorough literary analysis

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[3] According to Fischer's summary, the majority of scholars argue for the end of the second century BCE. Among them are found Abel and Starcky (1961, 17), Bickerman (1979, 94), Fischer (1980, 56), Nickelsburg (1981, 117), Attridge (1984, 171). See Thomas Fischer, "Maccabees, Books of," *ABD* 4:440. Based on the historical circumstance, Goldstein suggests a later dates by arguing that the composition is not earlier than the last decade of the second century BCE. See Goldstein, *1 Maccabees*, 62.

[4] John R. Bartlett, *1 Maccabees* (GAP; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998), 14–16. For a detailed discussion on the original Hebrew text, see Bartlett, *1 Maccabees*, 17–19.

[5] Justus von Destinon, *Die Quellen des Flavius Josephus: Die Quellen der Archäologie Buch XII-XVII* (Kiel: Lipsius & Tischer, 1882), 80–91. Destinon's argument has been called *Addendum Theory* in the study of Maccabees.

[6] H. W. Ettelson, *The Integrity of 1 Maccabees* (TCAAS 27; New Haven, CT: Connecticut Academy of Arts and Science, 1925), 249–348.

[7] Bartlett, *1 Maccabees*, 21–22.

[8] According to Martola, Bickermann (1930), Bévenot (1931), Abel (1949), Pfeiffer (1949), Zeitlin (1950), Schunck (1954), Lefévre (1957), Eissfeldt (1964), Nelis (1972), Schürer (1973), Goldstein (1976), and Fischer (1980) have a similar position for their study on 1 Maccabees. See Nils Martola, *Capture and Liberation: a Study in the Composition of the First Book of Maccabees* (AAA 63; Åbo: Åbo Akademi, 1984), 15.

[9] Martola, *Capture and Liberation*.

of 1 Maccabees and has been considered as the one who changed some of the scholarly interest from a historical perspective to a literary one.[10]   The second scholar is David Williams who made another thorough literary analysis of the structure of 1 Maccabees.[11] In terms of the methodologies, Martola employed a form-critical approach, whereas Williams applied rhetorical criticism.[12]

1.2.1. Martola's Form-Critical Analysis

Martola reads 1 Maccabees as the "history of liberation of Jerusalem: the temple and the acra."[13] According to Martola, the first chapter of 1 Maccabees functions as a program for the rest of the composition by presenting the calamities that Antiochus IV caused in Jerusalem, more precisely the plunder of the Jerusalem Temple (1 Macc 1:10–28) and the citadel (1 Macc 1:29–40).[14] The rest of the book shows how Jerusalem's misfortunes were corrected.

He called his methodology an "analysis of the text and synthesis of the elements."[15] Martola has attempted to define every literary unit, and has tried to show how the smallest literary units have been combined and functioned in their immediate contexts.[16] Once Martola had identified the smallest literary elements, he suggested how those elements were related to one another, so he could determine the streams of the narrative flowing through the text. As a result, he was able to separate what he understood to be the essential parts from the non-essential parts, which he designated, "Islands."[17] Essential parts were considered the passages that were correlated with the immediate contexts, which

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[10]   David S. Williams, *The Structure of 1 Maccabees* (CBQMS 31; Washington, DC: The Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1999), 3.

[11]   Williams, *The Structure of 1 Maccabees*.

[12]   Williams, *The Structure of 1 Maccabees*, 3.

[13]   Martola, *Capture and Liberation*, 200.

[14]   Martola, *Capture and Liberation*, 199.

[15]   Martola, *Capture and Liberation*, 33.

[16]   Martola refers to the smallest literary unit as "element." He divides the elements, primarily according to their literary forms: narratives and non-narratives, which he calls the literary units that "formally differ from their surroundings." He divides the narratives into smaller elements based on the subject change, place change, and time change. For those literary units that formally differ from their surroundings, he first distinguishes poetry from prose. Then he categorizes the prose into diplomatic and political passages, passages in direct speech, and other passages. He sub-divides the direct speech into self-exhortation, dialogue, speech of encouragement, prayer, command-exhortation-order, oath, and statement. Indirect speech, list, indirect presentation of contents, and narrative passages with groups of clauses with inverted word order are the sub-divisions of the "other passages." As they are presented here, the divisions are made according to their literary forms. See Martola, *Capture and Liberation*, 33–34, 35–127.

[17]   Essential Part is constituted with 1; 3–7; 9-11; 12:24–14:15. Islands are 2; 8; 12:1–23; 14:16–24.

contribute to the main storyline. Islands, on the other hand, were the passages with a weak connection or even no connection to their immediate contexts, and therefore were isolated from their surrounding units.

By separating the Essential passages from the Islands, Martola could reconstruct the main storyline as the liberation of the Jerusalem temple and the *acra* (fortress). According to Martola, passages about the work of liberation (3:10–7:50; 9–11; 12:24–14:3) are surrounded by two poetic frames, which cover 3:3–9a and 14:4–15 respectively. The first poetic frame (3:3–9a) is the praise of Judah's liberation and the second (14:4–15) is the praise of Simon's liberation. Martola's work is important to my study, so I will discuss it further after I review Williams' chiastic proposals.

1.2.2. Williams and the Chiastic Structure for 1 Maccabees

Williams questioned the widespread traditional structural division that had divided 1 Maccabees into four parts: Introduction (1–2), Judah (3:1– 9:22), Jonathan (9:23–12:53) and Simon (13–16).[18] He has challenged this traditional view by stating that none of the predecessors of Martola have given any justification for this structural pattern.[19] Williams has performed a structural analysis based on Butterworth's methodology of analyzing biblical texts, which focused on the repetition of select words.[20]

Williams examined twenty-five words, and chose eight as promising indicators of the structure of 1 Maccabees.[21] Based on the location of the repetitive words, he searched for the symmetry of the parallel literary units, and then he provided two sets of chiastic structures. He suggested that the book consisted of three large literary sections. Among them, the first two had been constructed in chiastic form. Williams' chiastic structure was adopted by Nickelsburg, and provided the bases of the literary structure of 1 Maccabees in

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[18] John J. Collins, *Daniel, First Maccabees, Second Maccabees with an Excursus on the Apocalyptic Genre* (OTM 15; ed. Carroll Stuhlmueller and Martin McNamara; Wilmington, DE: Michael Glazier, 1981), 150–51. For a brief review on the various suggestions for the structure of 1 Maccabees see Martola, *Capture and Liberation*, 17–25.

[19] Williams, *The Structure of 1 Maccabees*, 3–8.

[20] Williams, *The Structure of 1 Maccabees*, 9–14. Butterworth suggests a procedure for analysis of biblical texts: 1) establish the divisions of a text independent of structural considerations. 2) Examine all repetitions, and discard those that seem to be insignificant. This step should also be taken without regard to suspected structures. 3) Estimate the likely importance of what remains. Again, the emphasis should be on repetitions of phrases and rare words. Consult M. Butterworth, *Structure and the Book of Zechariah* (JSOTSup 130; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1992), 39.

[21] Williams, *The Structure of 1 Maccabees*, 53–54, 55–56. Williams chose five sets of words. Out of five sets, four (eight words) works as the indicators of the two chiastic structures. The other one works, according to Williams, as the indicator of the main theme of the liberation of the Temple and the citadel (Williams, *The Structure of 1 Maccabees*, 55–56, 103–107).

Nickelsburg's widely used introduction.[22] Williams' structure for 1 Maccabees is as follows:[23]

Section One
A   1:1–10   Alexander the Great dies; Antiochus IV is introduced
    B   1:11–15   Renegade Jews seek to join with the Gentiles around them
        C   1:16–64   The temple is desecrated by the Greeks
            D   2:1–70   Mattathias urges his sons to rebel
                E   3:1–26   Judas leads the Jewish revolt
            D'   3:27–4:35   Antiochus IV seeks to quell the Jewish revolt
        C'   4:36–61   The temple is liberated and rededicated by the Jews
    B'   5:1–68   Righteous Jews defeat the Gentiles around them
A'   6:1–17   Antiochus IV dies

Section two
A   6:18–7:50   The Jews obtain freedom of religion
    B   8:1–32   The Jews make a treaty with Rome
        C   9:1–10:66   Jonathan rises in power
        C'   10:67–11:74   Jonathan maintains his powerful status
    B'   12:1–23   The Jews renew their treaty with Rome
A'   12:24–14:15   Simon liberates the citadel and obtains independence

Section Three
14:16–24

Although Williams' chiastic structure seems clear and insightful, his structure has some problems in many respects, such as the literary relationship between its proposed symmetries, over simplification (i.e. section two), the unbalanced length of counterpart literary units, and so on.[24] Most importantly, Williams' chiastic structure does not seem to be helpful in determining the main theme of the section. Williams' initial attempt has 1

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[22] George W. E. Nickelsburg, *Jewish Literature Between the Bible and the Mishnah: A Historical and Literary Introduction* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 2011), 102–103.

[23] Williams, *The Structure of 1 Maccabees*, 57–71. The backbone of Williams' chiastic structure of the first section (1:1–6:17) is I.A (1:1–10 Alexander the Great dies) and I. A' (6:1–17 Antiochus IV dies), and I.C (1:16–64 desecration of the altar) and I.C' (4:36–61 dedication of a new altar). According to Williams, I.A and I.A' share a rare expression, "fell on the bed" (Williams, *The Structure of 1 Maccabees*, 49, 55–56) and I.C and I.C' share "twenty fifth day" (pp. 44, 55,78–79). For the second section, II.B (8:1–32 Jewish mission to Rome/ especially 8:17–32) and II.B' (12:1–23 Jewish mission to Rome/ especially 12:1–4) and II.C (9:1–10:66 Jonathan visits Ptolemais/ especially 10:59–66) and II.C' (10:67–11:74 Jonathan visits Ptolemais/ especially 11:20–37) constitute the back bone of the chiastic structure. He observed II.B and II.B' share a rare expression, "went to Rome" (pp. 41–42, 55–56, 86–89). II.C and II.C' both has "accused against him" and "renegade" in common (pp. 45, 50, 55). In addition to these backbones, Williams has attempted to make some observations about the symmetries of the counterparts of the layers (pp. 72–95).

[24] Some of these problematic aspects are also noted by Gruen. Yet, there has been no detailed criticism of Williams' chiastic structure. See Erich S. Gruen, review of D. Williams, *The Structure of 1 Maccabees*, *CBQ* 62 (2000): 743–44. I do not discuss every aspect here in detail, because it is outside the focus of this chapter.

Macc 10:67–89 as the centre of section two.[25] In this case, Jonathan's triumph in the battle against Apollonius covers the centre of the structure. However, in his revised structure, the centre section is missing, which is replaced by II.C (1 Macc 9:1–10:66) and II.C' (1 Macc 10:67–11:74), which occupy the central part of the chiastic structure.[26] In this case, Jonathan's triumph in the battles against Hellenistic rulers (C) and maintaining his powerful status (C') cover the centre of the chiastic structure. In either case the structure focuses on Jonathan and his achievements. Williams, however, does not follow this structure; rather he provides another story as the main theme of this section.

Williams concludes his analysis on the structure of 1 Maccabees as follows:[27]

> By focusing on the role of repetition in the book, I have been able to isolate three main sections within it: section one (1:1–6:17); section two (6:18–14:15); and section three (14:16–16:24). The first two sections emphasize the work of liberation of the temple and the citadel that was accomplished under Judas and Simon, promote a pro- Hasmonean advocacy, and assert double causality. Section three also touches on these themes, but stresses the establishment of Simon's high priestly line.

In this statement, Williams supports Martola's conclusion, which states that "the liberation of Jerusalem Temple and the liberation of Jerusalem citadel" are the main themes of the first two sections.[28] The conclusion is not the outcomes of his chiastic structure of the text. According to Williams' suggested structure, Judah's leadership is the central theme of the first section,[29] and "Jonathan and his achievements" are highlighted as the main theme of section 2. However, his conclusions are not consistant with the way he formulated his structure. Williams chose four combinations of rare but repeated words from the text in order to formulate the two chiastic structures (two combinations in each chiasm), then he chose another combination of rare but repeated words in order to suggest the main themes of the two sections.[30] Williams' conclusion seems surprising if we consider that Williams is one of the scholars who assert the importance of the central unit in a chiastic structure.[31] According to Williams' summary, the author of 1 Maccabees imported four sets of

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[25] Williams, *The Structure of 1 Maccabees*, 59.
[26] Williams, *The Structure of 1 Maccabees*, 131.
[27] Williams, *The Structure of 1 Maccabees*, 130-31.
[28] See also Williams, *The Structure of 1 Maccabees*, 103–107.
[29] Williams also agrees with this idea by stating that "Judas and his brothers take centre stage in 1 Maccabees. We may speak, therefore, of a pro-Hasmonean advocacy in the book."
[30] Williams, *The Structure of 1 Maccabees*, 53–54, 55–56.
[31] Williams, *The Structure of 1 Maccabees*, 10–12. Williams warns that "Boda too readily dismisses the idea that the center of a chiasm is important" (Williams, *The Structure of 1 Maccabees*, 11). He further adds that "Boda offers no real reason to reject the importance of the center of a chiastic structure. Further, there are numerous cases where it is clear that the structural center of a chiasm in a narrative setting has special importance" (Williams, *The Structure of 1 Maccabees*, 11).

repetition of rare words to build two chiastic structures in his composition of 1 Maccabees. However, the author needed to import one extra set of rare words in the text in order to indicate the main ideas of each section, which does not fit well with his chiastic structure. Williams' chiastic structure of 1 Maccabees, although it is insightful, does not seem to support his main theme of the text.

1.2.3. The Structure and Main Theme of 1 Maccabees as a Whole

Returning to Martola, as it has been summarized above, by analyzing and synthesizing the smallest literary units, Martola separated "main stories" from "islands," which led him to conclude that the main theme of the book is the liberation of the Jerusalem temple and *acra*. In this sense chapter 1, where the plunder of the Jerusalem Temple and the erection of Antiochus' *acra* are illustrated, functions as the program for the rest of the book. Additionally, the two poetic portions, the praise of Judah (1 Macc 3:1–9) and the praise of Simon (1 Macc 14:1–15), which come before the liberation of the Jerusalem Temple and after the liberation of the acra respectively, work as a formal support for his argument.

In terms of the original literary sources of 1 Maccabees, Martola's conclusion of the main stories of the book seems compelling. However, considering the author or final editor's intention, chapter 2 and the final chapters that include some of the diplomatic and political passages, which are isolated as "islands" according to Martola, seem to be persuasive too. By placing those islands with the designated locations, the author or the final editor might have intended to impose a particular structure on the book, and thereby finalizing the text in its present form.

This perspective suggests that, besides chapter 1, where the calamities of the plundering of the Temple and setting up the *acra* are portrayed, the whole text possibly has been constructed to introduce the programs of Judah and Simon (1 Macc 2:65–66). These programs are given in Mattathias' testament in 1 Maccabees 2, where Judah and Simon are designated as leaders of the Maccabean campaign.[32] In this case, Bartlett's emphasis on the parallel customary endings of historiography in 1 Macc 9:22 and 1 Macc 16:23–24 seems appropriate in terms of determining the structure of 1 Maccabees.[33] The two

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[32] Bartlett, *1 Maccabees*, 25.

[33] Bartlett recognized that there exist two typical endings of the Biblical historiography in 1 Maccabees. One is at the end of the account of Judah (1 Macc 9:22) and the other is the very end of the book (1 Macc 16:23–24). On the other hand, there is no clear division between the account of Jonathan and Simon. Therefore he divides the whole book into three sections: 1) Introduction (1 Macc 1:1–2:70),

endings of historiography function as the closing markers of the two main sections: Judah (1 Macc 3:1–9:22) and Simon (1 Macc 9:23–16:24). Interestingly, Martola shows a very similar awareness,[34] which made him somewhat reluctantly suggest another outline of the whole text, which is similar to Bartlett's:[35]

I (Ch 1–2) Preparation
    A. (Ch 1) The emergence of the crisis, against the background of which the Hasmonaeans appeared as the deliverers of Israel.
    B. (Ch 2) Mattathias turns to active resistance and entrusts his sons with continuing this task.

II. (Ch 3–16) The Story of the First Generation of the Hasmonaeans
    A. (1 Macc 3:1–9:22) Judas liberates the temple from its bondage, averts the attacks upon the people and concludes a treaty of friendship with the Romans
    B. (1 Macc 9:23–16:24) The achievements of Jonathan and especially of Simon.
        a. (1 Macc 9:23–12:52) Jonathan continues to avert the attacks upon the people and uphold friendly relations with the Romans. The relationship with Antioch changes; relations with Sparta are established.
        b. (1 Macc 12:53–16:24) Simon liberates the city of Jerusalem from the burden of Acra and the people from the yoke of Antioch. The relationship with Rome and Sparta is strengthened. Time of peace and prosperity. Attacks upon Simon's position are averted; the leadership passes to the next generation.

I think that this outline, which Martola added at the end of his book, shows the main purpose of the text better than the one he has argued for consistently in his book. The final form of 1 Maccabees might be designed to reveal not only the two activities, the capture and liberation of two symbolic locations (Jerusalem Temple and Jerusalem citadel), but also to reveal the heroes who have attained those symbolic achievements. The final form of 1 Maccabees seems to focus more on people than their achievements.[36] In

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2) the acts of Judah (1 Macc 3:1–9:22), and 3) Jonathan and Simon—John (1 Macc 9:23–16:24). See Bartlett, *1 Maccabees*, 23–24.

[34] In the last few pages of his book Martola comments, "it is, of course, conceivable that it might be possible to find a formula for the composition of the whole of 1 Maccabees, distinct from the one alluded to above ("main story"+additions). This would mean that the additions brought with them a change of the overall theme large enough to justify working out a new composition for the whole of 1 Maccabees" (Martola, *Capture and Liberation*, 276).

[35] Martola, *Capture and Liberation*, 279.

[36] Contra to József Zsengellér who claims that the "that the purification, rededication and preservation of the temple as an institution in an intact form are the main theological issues of the book." He argues that both the structure of the book and the functions of the heroes focus on the Temple. See József Zsengellér, "Maccabees and Temple Propaganda," in *The Books of the Maccabees: History, Theology, Ideology: Papers of the Second International Conference on the Deuterocanonical Books, Pára, Hungary, 9–11 June, 2005* (ed. Géza G. Xeravits and József Zsengellér; JSJSup 118; Leiden: Brill, 2007), 181–95, esp. 194–95. Although the temple is an important motif on its own, I think the significance of the temple motif in 1 Maccabees, is meaningful especially in relation to the high priesthood of Maccabean household. It seems more reasonable to read the temple motif as a part of Hasmonean propaganda rather than the temple's own propaganda. Therefore I would rather argue that

addition, if the text has been articulated to enhance the significance of Judah and Simon, it is worth noting the significance of the first two chapters because they present the program of the whole composition as the introduction of the whole text.[37] The first two chapters are also important concerning the high priestly status of Jonathan and Simon that occurs in the later part of the text because a priestly related concept of covenant seems to be developed in this introductory section, which I will investigate further in the rest of this chapter.

1.3. Structural Usage of the Concept of Covenant in 1 Maccabees 1–2

The first two chapters of 1 Maccabees are significant in terms of the contents and the structure of the book. As it has been discussed above, the first chapter illustrates Antiochus' provocation against the Jerusalem Temple and citadel (city), which makes the subsequent purification of the Temple and restitution of the *acra* main streams of the storyline.[38] And the second chapter provides a bigger outline of the structure by programming the whole book as works of Judah and Simon.[39] The first two chapters seems even more significant to those who are interested in the concept of covenant. The term "covenant" (διαθήκη) appears ten times in 1 Maccabees of which eight cases are attested in the first two chapters, which function as the introduction to the rest of the composition.

1.3.1. Literary Structure of the Introduction (1 Macc 1–2)

The introduction consists of three parts. First, the author provides a temporal prologue (1 Macc 1:1–9) of the whole book. Then two important figures, Antiochus (1 Macc 1:10–64) and Mattathias (1 Macc 2:1–70) are introduced. In the following layout, the bold and underlined references indicate where the term διαθήκη is located.

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by illustrating the heroes as those who take care of the temple, the author seems to attempt to make a connected image of the heroes with the temple. For a discussion on the emphasis on the human agents in biblical historiography and 1 Maccabees, consult U. Rappaport, "A Note on the Use of the Bible in 1 Maccabees," in *Biblical Perspectives: Early Use and Interpretation of the Bible in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. Michael Stone and Esther G. Chazon; STDJ 28; Leiden: Brill, 1998), 174–79. See also Collins, *Daniel, First and Second Maccabees*, 151.

[37] Nickelsberg, *Jewish Literature Between the Bible and the Mishnah*, 103–104.

[38] Martola, *Capture and Liberation*, 199–200.

[39] Bartlett, *1 Maccabees*, 23–28.

I. Introduction (1:1–2:70)
- **A. 1:1–9 Temporal prologue**
- **B. 1:10–64 Antiochus**
  - **1.** 1:10 Emerging of Antiochus[40]
  - **2.** 1:11-64 Antiochus, the anti-Heroic figure
    - **a. 1:11–15***(x2) Jewish renegades
    - b. 1:16–53 Antiochus in Action
      - 1) 1:16–40 Antochus' plunder of the Temple and city of Jerusalem
        - a) 1:16–19 Antiochus' military campaign to Egypt[41]
        - b) 1:20–28 Antiochus' plunder of the Temple
        - c) 1:29–40 Antiochus' plunder of the city
      - 2) 1:41–53 Antiochus' Oppression against Judaism
        - a) 1:41–50 Antiochus' decree against foreign law and customs
        - b) 1:51–53 Antiochus' subsequent action
    - **c. 1:54–64** (x2) The subsequent oppression by renegades

- **C. 2:1–70 Mattathias**
  - **1.** 2:1–14 Introduction to Mattathias and his lamentation
    - a. 2:1–1 Introduction to Mattathias
    - b. 2:2–14 Mattathias' sons and the lamentation for Jerusalem
  - **2.** 2:15–48 Mattathias in Action
    - a. 2:15–28 A Conflict in Modein
      - **1)** *2:15–22* Mattathias' verbal conflict against Antiochus' officer
      - 2) *2:23–26* Mattathias' zeal for the law and the beginning of the revolt
      - **3)** *2:27–28* Mattathias' calling and fleeing to the hills
    - b. 2:29–48 A New Issue: Vindication for the military engagement on the Sabbath
      - 1) 2:29–30 Transition to another episode/ fleeing of the righteous Jews
      - 2) *2:31–43* Vindication for the military action on Sabbath
        - a) 2:31–38 Massacre on the Sabbath
        - b) *2:39–47* People's decision to fight on the Sabbath
        - c) 2:48 Narrator's evaluation: "rescue the law"
  - **3.** 2:49–70 Mattathias in the Deathbed
    - a. 2:49a Temporal Setting
    - b. Mattathias' will and death (2:49b–70)
      - 1) 2:49b–64 "Show zeal for the law"
        - a) 2:49b Mattathias' definition of the period: "time of ruin and anger"
        - b) 2:50–64 Mattathias' encouragement for the law and covenant
          - **(1) 2:50** "Show zeal for the law and covenant"
          - (2) 2:51–61 Modeled fathers
            - (a) 2:51 Prologue
            - (b) 2:52–60 list of the Ancestors (**v.54**—Phinehas)
            - (c) 2:61–63 Epilogue
          - (3) 2:64 Reaffirmation to keep the law
      - 2) 2:65–66 Appointment of the succeeding leaderships
        - a) 2:65 Simeon as the counselor: a fatherly figure
        - b) 2:56 Judas as the army commander: a military figure

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[40] This verse has transitional phrases.
[41] This portion seems to function as a temporal background for the subsequent account of Antiochus' persecution of the Jews.

3) 2:67–70 Final words and death
     a) 2:67–68 Mattathias' last words
     b) 2:69–70 A report of the death of Mattathias

II. Account on Judah Maccabeus (3:1–9:22)
III. Account on Jonathan and Simon (9:23–16:24)

1.3.2. Covenant in Section B (1 Macc 1:10–64)

The first section (1 Macc 1:1–9) notes briefly the advent and death of Alexander the Great and his succeeding generals, all of whom eventually became kings. This unit serves as an introduction to Antiochus as well as a prologue for the whole book. Verse 10 plays a double duty. On the one hand, the phrase opens a new section by introducing Antiochus, at the same time it connects the preceding and succeeding paragraphs.[42]

After Antiochus is introduced, the narrative begins with a story concerning a group of Jews who argued for making a covenant with gentiles (1 Macc 1:11–15).[43] The same group seems to appear again at the very end of the section. The last part of the Antiochus section (1 Macc 1:54–64) illustrates some particular religious persecutions performed by unidentified third person plural figures. The third person plural figures in the section probably are recognized as the renegade Jews, who decided to be Hellenized.[44] If this is the case, the two stories of renegade Jews (1 Macc 1:11–15 and 1:54–64) make an *inclusio* embracing the narrative of Antiochus in action (1 Macc 1:16–53).

The structure is even more compelling when we consider the location of the term, διαθήκη. There are four appearances of the word in the first chapter. All four cases are found in the two narratives about the renegade Jews. Two occurrences are found in the former pericope (§ I.B.2.a. 1 Macc 1:11–15: Jewish Renegade) and the other two in the latter (§ I.B.2.c. 1 Macc 1:54–64: Detailed Illustration of the Subsequent Oppression by Renegades). One occurrence in each section is a combined form of διαθήκη and ἀγίος, which is translated "holy covenant," a concept that represents the core value of Jewish

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[42] There are some parallels at the beginning of the three sections. Each section begins with the introduction to the main figures by using the same verbs ἐξέρχομαι (1 Macc 1:1; 1:10).

[43] They are called παράνομοι, "those who do not abide by the law" (1 Macc 1:11) According to Rappaport, this a common designation in 1 Maccabees for the Hellenizers. See U. Rappaport, "1 Maccabees," in *The Oxford Bible Commentary* (ed. John Barton and John Muddiman; OBC; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 713.

[44] The third person plural figures are either the king Antiochus' assigned superintendents over his country (1 Macc 1:51), or the Jews who abandon the law (1 Macc 1:52). Not every commentator identifies the third person plural subject. Bartlett and Collins identify them as the Hellenized Jews.

religion.[45] The author contrasts two Jewish groups by using this combined phrase. In the former section (1 Macc 1:11–15), the renegade Jews are described as those who "abandon the holy covenant" (ἀπέστησαν ἀπὸ διαθήκης ἁγίας, 1 Macc 1:15). The same expression "holy covenant" is also used to describe the counterpart, those who choose to die rather than to "profane the holy covenant" (μὴ βεβηλώσωσιν διαθήκην ἁγίαν, 1 Macc 1:63) in the latter section (1 Macc 1:54–64). This observation may suggest that the author articulates the first chapter with a particular purpose to present the renegade Jews (or Hellenized Jews) as an anti-covenantal group against whom the Maccabean household would have to fight as well as against Antiochus, the ultimate evil.

1.3.3. Covenant in Section C (1 Macc 2:1–70)

The next section concerns Mattathias, the forerunner of the Maccabean revolts. It appears that the section largely consists of three parts: an introduction to Mattathias (1 Macc 2:1–14), the bursting of Mattathias' revolt against Hellenistic king and renegade Jews (1 Macc 2:15–48), and Mattathias' last words (1 Macc 2:49–70). There are some temporal phrases in chapter 2. Two of them, "in those days" (ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις, 1 Macc 2:1) and "and the days drew near for Mattathias to die" (καὶ ἤγγισαν αἱ ἡμέραι Ματταθιου ἀποθανεῖν, 1 Macc 2:49) provide a distinctive temporal setting introducing new literary sections.[46] Appearance of a new character, the king's officer as the sparring partner of Mattathias, with a new setting at an altar in Modein (1 Macc 2:15) seem distinctive from the previous lamentation of Mattathias and his sons.

Mattathias' lamentation seems to share a "glory" motif with his testament, the last part of chapter 2. Mattathias lamented about the looting of Jerusalem and its temple (1 Macc 2:7–13). In his mourning he says that "the temple has become like a honor-less man" (ἐγένετο ὁ ναὸς αὐτῆς ὡς ἀνὴρ ἄδοξος, 1 Macc 2:8). On the other hand, in his last words he commands his sons to "act like a man and be strong to the law" (ἀνδρίζεσθε καὶ ἰσχύσατε ἐν τῷ νόμῳ, 1 Macc 2:64a) because, by doing that, "they will be honored" (ὅτι

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[45] The other two references are found in 1 Macc 1:11 where the renegades argue to make a covenant with gentiles and in 1 Macc 1:57 where the term is used as a reference to the torah ("book of the covenant," βιβλίον διαθήκης).

[46] The other two instances of the term "at that time" (τότε, 1 Macc 2:29, 42) seem to function in the opposite way by connecting the subunits to the preceding ones. There is one more temporal phrase in 1 Macc 2:41: "that day" (τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ). This is not utilized as a separator of literary units. Instead, this phrase with βουλεύω ("decide") gives a deuteronomistic flavor, such as "giving a law on that day." However, interestingly what has been "decided on that day" in the passage was the military engagement even on Sabbath to defend themselves (Mattathias and his followers), which was far from the Deuteronomistic ideology.

ἐν αὐτῷ δοξασθήσεσθε, 1 Macc 2:64b). Here the author picks up the "glory" motif again. With this "glory" motif, the author seems to provide a picture of glory that was lost in the course of the plunder of the temple, but would be recovered by the sons of Mattathias through their loyalty toward the law. If this is the case, Mattathias' lamentation, with his testament toward his sons, produces an *inclusio* for the whole chapter. Subsequently, the structure supports the idea that the lamentation is independent from the succeeding story of Mattathias' conflict in Modein. In keeping with these conclusions, I divide chapter 2 into three parts.

In the second part Mattathias' verbal conflict against the king's officer (1 Macc 2:15–22) is followed by the bursting forth of his zeal for the law and covenant, which results in slaughtering a renegade Jew and the king's officer (1 Macc 2:23–26). Subsequently, Mattathias summoned those who had zeal for the law and they fled to the hills (1 Macc 2:27–28). The author then places the vindication for the military engagement on the Sabbath. The author seems to interweave the vindication section with this unit by using a "fleeing motif" (fleeing of Mattathias in 1 Macc 2:27–28 and fleeing of righteous Jews in 1 Macc 2:29–30) to relate to the preceding section and by describing the allied army (1 Macc 2:42–43) and the series of work that the allied army accomplished (1 Macc 2:44–47). Two instances of the term, διαθήκη appear here in Mattathias' verbal conflict against the king's officer (1 Macc 2:20) and his summoning those who had zeal for the law (1 Macc 2:28).

Mattathias' deathbed scene consists of three parts: Mattathias' encouragement for the law and covenant (1 Macc 2:50–64), appointment of his successors as leaders (1 Macc 2:65–66), and his last words (1 Macc 2:67–69). The first part, Mattathias' encouragement for the law and covenant, is intricately structured in order to demonstrate the importance of keeping the law and covenant. The author places two phrases of encouragement, which begin with a vocative form of τέκνα (1 Macc 2:50 and 64), forming an *inclusio* at the beginning and the end of a literary unit of the ancestral models (1 Macc 2:51–63).

The term covenant (διαθήκη) appears four times in this chapter. One of the most distinctive features of the use of the term is that it is closely related to Mattathias. All four of the references are attested in Mattathias' speeches: to the king's official (1 Macc 2:20), to the Jews in town (1 Macc 2:27), and to his family on his death bed (1 Macc 2:50, 54). The first three occurrences refer to the "covenant of our ancestors" (διαθήκη πατέρων ἡμῶν, 1 Macc 1:20, 50) and represent the core value of the Jewish religion by being paralleled with the law (νόμος, 1 Macc 2:27, 50, and 20–21). The last case is found also in

Mattathias' deathbed scene in relation to Phinehas (1 Macc 2:54). In this verse the author explicitly mentions Phinehas' zeal in relation to the covenant of the eternal priesthood (1 Macc 2:54) based on Numbers 25. By juxtaposing these two concepts, the author might possibly present Mattathias as the priestly guardian of the covenant and the law.[47] A further argument about the development of the priestly aspect of the concept of covenant follows in the subsequent sections.

1.4. Development of Priestly Covenant Based on Phinehas
1.4.1. Use of Zeal Motif

One of the most significant features in relation to the priestly covenant in 1 Macc seems to be the use of Phinehas' zeal motif employed concerning Mattathias. 1 Macc 2:15–28 draws a picture of Mattathias' conflict in Modein. When Mattathias saw a Jewish man come forward to offer a sacrifice in accordance with the king Antiochus' decree (1 Macc 2:23), Mattathias was "filled with zeal" (ἐζήλωσεν, 1 Macc 2:24), which resulted in slaying the Jewish man and also killing the king's official (1 Macc 2:24–25). This picture strongly reflects Phinehas' piercing an Israelite man and Midianite woman with a spear (Num 25:5–8) about which God mentioned that "he was jealous with my zeal among them" (בְּקַנְאוֹ אֶת־קִנְאָתִי בְּתוֹכָם, Num 25:11; ἐν τῷ ζηλῶσαί μου τὸν ζῆλον ἐν αὐτοῖς, LXX). The author of 1 Maccabees compares Mattathias' jealous act with Phinehas' (1 Macc 2:26), partly because both cases share a similar backdrop of pagan worship (Num 25:1–3 and 1 Macc 2:18).

The author's explicit mention of Phinehas (1 Macc 2:26) suggests that the author most probably attempted to make a correlation between Mattathias' zeal and the zeal of Phinehas. Bartlett comments that the author's claim of Phinehas' zeal in favor of Mattathias is a dramatized description with a purpose of emphasizing its significance.[48] In terms of the significance of the zeal motif, Bartlett gives a more detailed explanation on Mattathias' zeal for the law (ἐζήλωσεν τῷ νόμῳ, 1 Macc 2:26) by suggesting that Mattathias' reactions are in accordance with Deuteronomic commands.[49] Goldstein seems

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[47] This kind of guardianship appears in *Serek* materials in relation to the sons of Zadok. See § 2.3.1.1. "Sons of Zadok and Sons of Aaron in 1QS" in chapter 4.

[48] John R. Bartlett, *The First and Second Books of the Maccabees* (CBC; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973), 36–37.

[49] Bartlett, *The First and Second Maccabees*, 37. Bartlett suggests three laws in Deuteronomy for the vindication of Mattathias' violent reaction in 1 Macc 2:24–25: "You shall have no other god to set against me" (Deut 5:7); "You shall put him to death; your own hand shall be the first to be raised against him and then all the people shall follow" (Deut 13:9); and "You shall demolish all the

to suggest a better understanding for the significance of the correlation between the two zeal motifs of Phinehas and Mattathias by stating that "with the reticence he displays throughout his book, the author lets his Jewish reader draw the inference: as Phinehas was rewarded by being made the founder of the high priestly line [Num 25:12–13], so will Mattathias be rewarded."[50]

It is also worth noting that the author explicitly mentions priestly covenant as the reward for Phinehas' zeal in the list of ancestors rehearsed by Mattathias in his deathbed scene (1 Macc 2:51–63). In his speech, nine ancestors are listed with their virtue (or performance) and the rewards (1 Macc 2:51–60). Among the nine, Abraham (1 Macc 2:52) or David (1 Macc 2:57) might well have taken priority over Phinehas in terms of covenantal relationship due to the strength of the patriarchal covenant (Abraham) and the covenant of eternal kingship (David). Yet it is very striking that only Phinehas is attributed with the term "covenant" (1 Macc 2:54).[51] For Abraham and David, the author emphasizes faith (πιστός, 1 Macc 2:52) and piety (τῷ ἐλέει, 1 Macc 2:57) respectively.[52] This emphasis magnifies the covenantal aspect of Phinehas' zeal and priesthood, which the author seems to associate with Mattathias' virtue and rewards.

In addition 1 Maccabees' use of Phinehas' zeal motif and the concept of priestly covenant in favor of Mattathias are particularly intriguing concerning Phinehas' zeal motif, which seems also to be used in some other contemporary literature, such as *Aramaic Levi Document* and the *Jubilees*. It seems likely that there have been particular priestly

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sanctuaries where the nations whose place you are taking worship their god. . . You shall pull down their altars" (Deut 12:2–3).

[50] Goldstein, *1 Maccabees*, 6–7.

[51] This does not necessarily mean that Phinehas is the only prominent figure among the listed ancestors. As Goldstein argues, the virtues and rewards of the listed ancestors most probably imply that "by emulating the conduct of those heroes, the sons will earn similar rewards." See Jonathan A. Goldstein, "How the Authors of 1 and 2 Maccabees Treated the "Messianic" Promises," in *Judaisms and Their Messiahs at the Turn of the Christian Era* (ed. Jacob Neusner, et al.; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 79. Van der Kooij points out Phinehas and David among the listed ancestors, and argues that it functioned as a legitimation of the Maccabean leadership based on the honorary decree in 1 Macc 14. See Arie van der Kooij, "The Claim of Maccabean Leadership and the Use of Scripture," in *Jewish Identity and Politics between the Maccabees and Bar Kokhba: Groups, Normativity, and Rituals* (ed. Benedikt Eckhardt; JSJSup 155; Leiden: Brill, 2012), 29–49.

[52] For a detailed discussion on 1 Maccabees' use of biblical ancestors, see Thomas Hieke, "The Role of "Scripture" in the Last Words of Mattathias (1 Macc 2:49–70)," in *The Books of the Maccabees: History, Theology, Ideology: Papers of the Second International Conference on the Deuteroncanonical Books, Pápa, Hungary, 9–11 June, 2005* (ed. Géza G. Xeravits and József Zsengellér; JSJSup 118; Leiden: Brill, 2007), 61–74. See also Friedrich V. Reiterer, "Die Vergangenheit als Basis für die Zukunft Mattatians' Lehre für seine Söhne aus der Geschichte in 1Makk 2:52–60," in *The Books of the Maccabees: History, Theology, Ideology: Papers of the Second International Conference on the Deuterocanonical Books, Pápa, Hungary, 9–11 June, 2005* (ed. Géza G. Xeravits and József Zsengellér; JSJSup 118; Leiden: Brill, 2007), 75–100.

traditions that have focused on Levitical priesthood in the later Second Temple period.[53] And in some compositions like *Aramaic Levi Document* and *Jubilees*, Levi's priestly covenant seems to be articulated based on Phinehas' zeal motif, which I will discuss in detail in a subsequent chapter.[54] 1 Maccabees' use of Phinehas is distinctive from other texts in terms of the beneficiary of the priestly covenant, which is Mattathias rather than Levi. This emphasis suggests that 1 Maccabees is to be considered as Hasmonean propaganda.

1.4.2. Use of Father Motif: Phinehas as the "Father"

The use of the term "covenant" (διαθήκη) in the first chapter of 1 Maccabees may be characterized in its combined form with an adjective, "holy" (ἅγιος). We see another intriguing combination of the term in chapter 2. There are four instances of the term, διαθήκη in this chapter, and two of them are combined with "our fathers" (πατέρων ἡμῶν, 1 Macc 2:20, 50). On his deathbed, Mattathias commands his sons to show zeal for the law and to give their lives for "the covenant of our fathers" (διαθήκης πατέρων ἡμῶν, 1 Macc 2:50). And he gives a list of model fathers with a command, stating "remember the deeds of the fathers" (καὶ μνήσθητε τὰ ἔργα τῶν πατέρων, 1 Macc 2:51). We encounter another instance of the father motif in the list. Out of nine people of the model ancestors[55] only one is qualified with "our father" (ὁ πατὴρ ἡμῶν, 1 Macc 2:54), and it is none other than Phinehas.[56] In this verse, the author describes Phinehas as the one who gains the divine promise of the eternal priesthood due to his extraordinary zeal, based on Numbers' account of Phinehas (Num 25:1–13). It is the term, διαθήκη that the author uses to express the divine promise of eternal priesthood. In this way, the author seems to articulate this verse with three important motifs: Phinehas, "our father" (Φινεες ὁ πατὴρ ἡμῶν), in the enthusiastic "zeal" (ἐν τῷ ζηλῶσαι ζῆλον), has received the "covenant of eternal priesthood" (διαθήκην ἱερωσύνης αἰωνίας).[57]

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[53] For a discussion on the possible priestly ideologies in the later Second Temple period, see § 1. "Priestly Ideologies in the Third Century BCE" in chapter 3.

[54] Consult § 3. "Levitical Priestly Covenant Traditions in *Aramaic Levi Document* and *Jubilees*" in chapter 3.

[55] The list has eleven people. Yet Daniel's three friends, Hananiah, Azariah, and Mishael are considered as one entry in one verse (1 Macc 2:59).

[56] This exclusive reference was recognized also by Rappaport. He notes the significance of Simeon being appointed as the fatherly leader; "Simeon…he shall be your father" (1 Macc 2.65). Yet Rappaport does not develop the "father" motif as I have presented in this section. See Rappaport, "1 Maccabees," 715–16. Goldstein agrees that this explicit reference is deliberate for the purpose of claiming the eligibility of high priesthood of Hasmonean family. See Goldstein, *1 Maccabees*, 8.

[57] The expression of Phinehas' reward, namely "covenant of perpetual priesthood" (διαθήκην

The author mentions Phinehas earlier in 1 Macc 2:26. The verse occurs in the account of Mattathias' conflict in Modein. In the narrator's evaluation of Mattathias' slaughter of the king's officer and a Jew who attempts to sacrifice on the Modein altar, the author comments that "thus he was zealous for the law, just as Phinehas did against Zimri son of Salu" (καὶ ἐζήλωσεν τῷ νόμῳ καθὼς ἐποίησεν Φινεες τῷ Ζαμβρι υἱῷ Σαλωμ, 1 Macc 2:24). The preceding verbal conflict of Mattathias (1 Macc 2:19–22) alludes to Joshua's resolution (Josh 24:14–15)[58] and the following slaughter of Mattathias (1 Macc 2:23–25) alludes to Phinehas (Num 25:6–13) simultaneously. However, only Phinehas is explicitly recognized by the author.

In summary, the author defines Mattathias' Phinehastic zeal for "the service of one's fathers" (λατρείας πατέρων αὐτοῦ, 1 Macc 2:19) or "the covenant of our fathers" (διαθήκη πατέρων ἡμῶν, 1 Macc 2:20) as "zeal for the law" (ἐζήλωσεν τῷ νόμῳ, 1 Macc 2:26). And he emphasizes the "zeal for the law" (ζηλώσατε τῷ νόμῳ) and "the covenant of our fathers" (διαθήκης πατέρων ἡμῶν) as the things that Mattathias' sons have to inherit (1 Macc 2:50). Furthermore, among the list of model fathers, Phinehas is the sole figure who is explicitly recognized as "our father" (ὁ πατὴρ ἡμῶν), and he is the one who received the covenant of the eternal priesthood (1 Macc 2:54). Therefore "the covenant" in chapter 2 with the "father" motif seems to strongly promote Mattathias and his sons as the heirs of Phinehas and the covenant of the eternal priesthood.

The articulation of the concept of covenant by means of the father motif in 1 Macc 1 and 2 possibly shows a different aspect of the nature of covenant and priesthood. In this account, covenant is not just something Sinaitic. It is indeed Sinaitic but with a particular flavour, which resonates with the patriarchs: Moses is not "our father," Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob are. Therefore a development of the concept of covenant by means of the father motif associates Phinehas with the patriarchs. This possibly takes the reader back to the patriarchal origins of priesthood, such as are associated with Jacob and Levi in *Jubilees*

ἱερωσύνης αἰωνίας) in 1 Macc 2:54 is slightly different from Numbers' use of "covenant of perpetual priestly office" (διαθήκη ἱερατείας αἰωνία, Num 25:13). Yet, according to Hieke, there is no semantic difference between the two terms: ἱερωσύνης and ἱερατείας. See Hieke, "The Role of "Scripture"," 67, n. 20.

[58] Joshua's resolution is represented by Joshua's statement, "but as for me and my household, we will serve Yahweh" (Josh 24:15). In the verbal conflict against the king's officer who enforces a pagan sacrifice, Mattathias uses some similar expressions, such as "service of one's fathers" (λατρείας πατέρων αὐτοῦ, 1 Macc 2:19) or "our service" (τὴν λατρείαν ἡμῶν, 1 Macc 2:22), in order to express his loyalty to Judaism. The term, λατρεία, in LXX, is the counterpart of a Hebrew word, עבד. In Mattathias' verbal conflict account the Greek term λατρεία seems to be used in a similar sense to its Hebrew counterpart, which is used in Joshua's resolution.

and the *Temple Scroll,* where the covenant of Jacob seems to be particularly emphasized in order to show the antiquity of the Levitical priesthood.[59]

1.4.3. The Father Motif and Simon, the Successor of the High Priesthood

In a previous section, the value of Bartlett's suggestion of the structure of the text based on Judah and Simon's program in Mattathias' deathbed scene has been noted.[60] In this section, I will briefly review first, the way in which the rest of the text accords with the suggested program, and second, how the father motif works through the composition in relation to emphasizing Simon as both high priest and ruler of the Jewish people.

In the deathbed scene, Mattathias first appoints Simon[61] as a fatherly leader, and then appoints Judah as a military commander (1 Macc 2:65–66). The subsequent account of Judah (1 Macc 3:1–9:22) mainly focuses on his battles against the Seleucus rulers and his conflict against the high priest Alchimus, who was appointed by the Seleucus king (1 Macc 7:9). The narrative description of Judah seems to match well with Mattathias' appointment of him as a military commander.[62] In the Simon section (1 Macc 9:23–16:24) Jonathan and Simon are designated as high priests.[63] The literary style of this section, which frequently includes treaty letters, seems different from Judah's narrative.[64]

One of the most significant features in Mattathias' appointment of Simon and Judah as leaders is that the author applies the "father" motif to Simon. Mattathias states

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[59] This aspect leads to the discussion of priestly covenant in the subsequent two chapters. See § 3.2. "*Jubilees*" in chapter 3 and § 1.1. "*Temple Scroll*" in chapter 4.

[60] See n. 33 in this chapter.

[61] Συμεων, "Simeon" is the same person with the Σιμων, "Simon" in the later part, one of the sons of Mattathias and brother of Judah and Jonathan. In terms of the different spelling, Goldstein suspects that it is due to LXX translator's recognition of Hebrew word play in the sentence. See Goldstein, *1 Maccabees*, 242.

[62] Bartlett, *1 Maccabees*, 24–25.

[63] In the subsequent narrative, Jonathan is appointed as the high priest and ruler of Jewish people by Alexander Balas (1 Macc 10:18–21) and Ptolemais (1 Macc 10:62) in the polemical situations of the Hellenistic hegemony. Jonathan's high priesthood was also recognized by Demetrius (1 Macc 11:25–27) and Antiochus (1 Macc 11:57–59). Simon is mentioned as the high priest and ruler in the treaty letters from Sparta (1 Macc 14:20), Antiochus (1 Macc 15:2), and Rome (1 Macc 15:17).

[64] Only one letter from Rome appears in the account of Judah. There is no expression of recognition or appointment of Judah as a high priest or a ruler of Jewish people by Roman authority in this letter. The absence of these expressions is possibly because Rome was not the ruling regime of the Palestine area at that time. For a further discussion on the diplomatic relations between Rome and the Maccabees based on the treaty letters, consult Sara R. Mandell, "Did the Maccabees Believe that They Had a Valid Treaty with Rome?" *CBQ* 53 (1991): 202–220. Based on an analytical reading of 1 Maccabees and Josephus in regards to the concept of the Roman formal treaty (*foedus*), Mandell argues that "the Maccabees and the ἔθνος of the Jews believed that they had a valid treaty" whereas the nature of the treaty was not as proper as they thought (Mandell, "Did the Maccabees Believe that They Had a Valid Treaty with Rome?" 218–20).

that "he [Simon] will be your father" (αὐτὸς ἔσται ὑμῶν πατήρ, 1 Macc 2:65).[65] Therefore, in Mattathias' deathbed scene, if Phinehas is presented as the father of the past, Simon is presented as the father of the present and future. Simon is frequently highlighted in the subsequent Jonathan-Simon section by being described as both high priest and ethnarch (ἐθνάρχης, 1 Macc 15:1).[66]

Why does the author emphasize Simon over other Maccabean leaders, such as Jonathan or Judah? Perhaps, it is that Simon was the father of John Hyrcanus and the following Hasmonaean rulers. Therefore, the author may want to emphasize the strong lineage of Mattathias, Simon, and John Hyrcanus. Concerning this development, it is worth noting that the father motif seems to play a role again at the end of the composition. In the final narration, the author draws on the "father" motif again by saying that he (John) became the high priest (ἀρχιερεὺς) after his father (τὸν πατέρα αὐτου, 1 Macc 16:23–24).

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[65] According to Bartlett, the title, "father" sometimes is used of a "priest, prophet or leader" (cf. 2 Kgs 2:12). See Bartlett, *The First and Second Maccabees*, 44. Rappaport considers this appointment as an "explicit propaganda for the Hasmonean dynasty" based on the idea that the dynasty was founded by Simon. See Rappaport, "1 Maccabees," 716. Goldstein suggests this alludes to Isa 22:21–25. He says the author may have applied the prophecy to Simon and his descendent. See Goldstein, *1 Maccabees*, 242.

[66] The text's emphasis on Simon may be observed as follows; 1) Only Simon is attributed with a title "ethnarch" (ἐθνάρχης, 1 Macc 15:1) by Antiochus, son of king Demetrius, in the later account on Simon. 2) And the author reports that Simon is the first figure who has begun to use his own calendar (1 Macc 13:41–42) and his own coin (1 Macc 15:6). 3) Simon's high priesthood is described as being accredited by his own people (1 Macc 14:35; 41–49), whereas Jonathan is described as being appointed by Hellenistic rulers. Jonathan's high priesthood is "appointed" (καθεστάκαμέν, 1 Macc 10:20) by Alexander Balas or achieved by the order (προστάσσω) of Ptolemais (1 Macc 10:62). And his high priesthood was confirmed (ἵστημι, 1 Macc 11:27, 57) by Demetrius and Antiochus. These expressions appear significantly less frequently in relation to Simon's high priesthood. Only one instance of ἵστημι is found in relation to Simon (1 Macc 14:38). In another treaty letter, Simon is already known as the "high priest Simon" (Σιμωνι ἱερεῖ μεγάλῳ) by Spartans in their treaty letters (1 Macc 14:20b–23). 1 Macc 14:41–42 reads that "the Jews and the priests have been pleased for Simon to be(come) ruler and high priest for them forever" (οἱ Ιουδαῖοι καὶ οἱ ἱερεῖς εὐδόκησαν τοῦ εἶναι αὐτῶν Σιμωνα ἡγούμενον καὶ ἀρχιερέα εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα). In terms of being recognized as the ruler and high priest by his people in these verses, Simon is distinctive from Jonathan. However these verses (1 Macc 14:41–42) have raised another issue. As Cohen mentions, the concept that the regime of a ruler is established by the people of the state is a Hellenistic concept. It is far from a Hebraic idea. See Shaye J. D. Cohen, *From the Maccabees to the Mishnah* (LEC; Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 1987), 61. In a comparative analysis on 1 Macc 14:25–49, which is called "the honorary decree," with four contemporary Egyptian compositions, van Henten argues that 1) the honorary decree (1 Macc 14:25–49) was an "innovation within Hellenistic-Jewish traditions" of that time, and 2) the composition was an "outcome of an interplay between Jewish and non-Jewish Hellenistic views." See J. W. van Henten, "The Honorary Decree for Simon the Maccabee (1 Macc 14:25–49) in Its Hellenistic Context," in *Hellenism in the Land of Israel* (ed. John J. Collins and Gregory E. Sterling; CJAS 13; Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2001), 116–17 and 133. The relationship between Maccabean family and surrounding Hellenistic circumstances seems to be dynamic. Sievers has correctly observed that "Hasmoneans willingly cooperate with Gentiles when that seemed to further their goals, although 1 Maccabees portrays the Hasmoneans and their gentile neighbors as implacable enemies." See Joseph Sievers, *The Hasmoneans and Their Supporters: From Mattathias to the Death of John Hyrcanus I* (SFSHJ 6; Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1990), 157–58.

Although Mattathias was a local priest, according to 1 Maccabees he has the zeal of Phinehas, the holder of the covenant of the perpetual priesthood and the only figure who was called "our father" among the ancestors (1 Macc 2:51, 54). Mattathias' zeal for the law and the "covenant of our fathers" continued to his sons, and eventually the covenant has been fulfilled when the high priesthood is attributed to Jonathan and Simon. The high priesthood is continued to John Hyrcanus, who considered to be the first king in the Hasmonaean kingdom.[67]

The above observation seems to reinforce the proposed hypothesis, namely, that the "father" motif connects Phinehas to Simon. In the first chapter of 1 Maccabees Phinehas is connected to Mattathias with the "zeal" and "father" motif. In chapter 2, the "father" motif is explicitly applied to Phinehas and Simon in Mattathias' deathbed scene. These motifs seem to be interwoven in order to draw a line of further connections: Phinehas–Mattathias–Simon as the legitimate covenantal high priesthood, which is succeeded by the first Hasmonean king, John who is son of his father Simon (1 Macc 14:29). In 1 Maccabees, the author seems to build a relatively secure ground for Hasmonean rulers on their claim as the legitimate high priesthood in spite of their origin as a local priestly family (1 Macc 14:29).

2. Concept of the Priestly Related Covenant in 2 Maccabees

2 Maccabees is largely acknowledged as a priestly writing focusing on the sanctification of the Jerusalem Temple (2 Macc 10:1–9).[68] Scholars view the range of possible dates of the composition of this book as widely as 2nd century BCE to 1st century

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[67] It is intriguing to see that Josephus has a lengthy eulogium that attributes *tria munera* (high priest, prince, and prophet) to John Hyrcanus I (*J.W.* 1 §§ 68–69 and *Ant.* 13 §§ 299–300). And this has been considered as the precursor to subsequent allegoric adaptations of the three offices of Hyrcanus. See Clemens Thoma, "John Hyrcanus I as Seen by Josephus and Other Early Jewish Sources," in *Josephus and the History of the Greco-Roman Period: Essays in Memory of Morton Smith* (ed. Fausto Parente and Joseph Sievers; SPB 41; Leiden: Brill, 1994), 127–31. For a further discussion on the way in which Josephus describes the Maccabees, consult Louis H. Feldman, "Josephus' Portrayal of the Hasmoneans Compared with 1 Maccabees," in *Josephus and the History of the Greco-Roman Period: Essays in Memory of Morton Smith* (ed. Fausto Parente and Joseph Sievers; SPB 41; Leiden: Brill, 1994), 41–68. According to Feldman, Judah is highlighted in Josephus' writing, where Judah is described to be chosen to become a high priest as the legitimate head of the state. Jonathan and Simon are described likewise as the successor of Judah (Feldman, "Josephus' Portrayal of the Hasmoneans," 66–68).

[68] Robert Doran, *Temple Propaganda: The Purpose and Character of 2 Maccabees* (CBQMS 12; Washington, DC: The Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1981), 114. For a discussion on the literary character and genre of 2 Maccabees, see Robert Doran, "2 Maccabees and 'Tragic History'," *HUCA* 50 (1979): 107–14; Doran, *Temple Propaganda*, 77–109. Schwartz argues that the purpose of 2 Maccabees is "to encourage the observance of two holidays, Hanukkah and Nicanor's Day" based on 2 Macc 10:8 and 15:36. See Daniel R. Schwartz, *2 Maccabees* (CEJL; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2008), 7–8.

CE[69] or as narrowly as 86 BCE to 63 BCE.[70] We have three instances of διαθήκη in 2 Maccabees.[71] One appears in an epistle (2 Macc 1:1–10a), which prefaces the book by providing a program for the whole text.[72] The second instance is in the account of the martyrdom of seven sons and their mother (2 Macc 7:1–42). The last happens in the account of Judah's victory against Nicanor (2 Macc 8:1–36). The first case seems to have a strong priestly aspect, whereas the other two seem to be far from our present interest.

It is worth noting that the author of 2 Maccabees seems to present different features of the priestly aspect of covenant from 1 Maccabees. In 1 Maccabees the covenant of Phinehas seems to be rooted in Maccabean priestly ideology and supports the claim of the legitimacy of the high priesthood and kingship of the Maccabean household. The covenant passages of 2 Maccabees illuminate some different characteristics of the author's usage of the concept of covenant which constructs an inclusive usage of the term; whereas the use of the concept of covenant in 1 Maccabees is more exclusive of the Maccabean household.

2.1. The Structure of 2 Macc 1:1–10a

The first instance of διαθήκη exists in the first literary section of the book. This section is a distinctive literary unit. It is a letter that contains greetings (2 Macc 1:1), supplications (2 Macc 1:2–6), senders' advice (2 Macc 1:7–9), and the date of writing (2 Macc 1:10a). The explicit purpose of this letter is to exhort Egyptian Jews (2 Macc 1:1) to

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[69] Doran, *Temple Propaganda*, 111.

[70] Jonathan A. Goldstein, *II Maccabees: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 41A; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1995), 83. For more detailed arguments on the date of the composition, consult Goldstein, *II Maccabees*, 71–83. See also Doran, *Temple Propaganda*, 111–13. For a history of scholarship on the various aspects of 2 Maccabees, consult David S. Williams, "Recent Research in 2 Maccabees," *CBR* 2 (2003): 69–83. According to Schwartz, composition of 2 Maccabees is earlier than 1 Maccabees (Schwartz, *2 Maccabees*, 14–15).

[71] Three instances are found in 2 Macc 1:2; 7:30; 8:15.

[72] Goldstein comments that the comfort part (2 Macc 1:2–6) reflects Jews' having a schismatic temple at Leontopolis. He says that "the senders comfort the Jews of Egypt in their time of trouble and tactfully call upon them to repent of their sin" (Goldstein, *1 Maccabees*, 138). According to Goldstein, Jews in Egypt faced trouble in the conflict in between Euergetes II and Cleopatra II in 124 BCE. And the author attempted to link the trouble with Egyptian Jews' tolerance and use of the temple of Onias IV at Leontopolis, which is built before 145 BCE (Goldstein, *II Maccabees*, 24). If this is the case, then the author of 2 Maccabees 1) seems to present a strong Deuteronomic mono-temple theology (Deut 12:4–14). And 2) based on the Deuteronomic mono-temple theology, the author seems to build a Jerusalem temple propaganda (a) by considering Egyptian Jews' admitting Leontopolis temple as an anti-covenantal (2 Macc 1:2), stubborn (2 Macc 1:3), and anti-Torah (2 Macc 1:4) transgress that has to be forgiven (or reconciled; 2 Macc 1:5), and (b) by requesting to keep the feast of booths (2 Macc 1:9).

keep the festival of Tabernacle (καὶ νῦν ἵνα ἄγητε τὰς ἡμέρας τῆς σκηνοπηγίας, 2 Macc 1:9).[73] Here is my suggested literary structure of the passage;[74]

> I. Introductory Letter (2 Macc 1:1–10a)
>   A. 1:1 Greetings (v. 1a: Recipient; v. 1b: Sender; v. 1c: Greetings)
>   B. 1:2–9 Supplications and Advice
>   1. 1:2–6 Author's Supplications for Recipients
>   **a. 1:2–5** * Eight Supplications (eight optatives)
>   (v.2a) καὶ ἀγαθοποιήσαι
>   **(v.2b)** καὶ μνησθείη
>   (v.3) καὶ δῴη
>   (v.4a) καὶ διανοίξαι
>   (v. 4b) καὶ ... ποιήσαι
>   (v. 5a) καὶ ἐπακούσαι
>   (v. 5b) καὶ καταλλαγείη
>   (v.5c) καὶ μὴ ... ἐγκαταλίποι
>   b. 1:6 Closing
>   2. 1:7–9 Author's Advice
>   a. 1:7–8 A Foundation for the Advice: Historical Background
>   (v. 7–8a) Jason's revolt against the holy land and the kingdom
>   (v. 8b) appeal to the Lord and His answer
>   (v. 8c) the restoration of the temple service
>   b. 1:9 Advice to Keep the Festival of Booths
>   C. 1:10a Closing: Date of the Letter
>
>   * Underline indicates where the term, διαθήκη is located in the passage

The author's supplications to God for the recipients, which are written here in the optative mood (2 Macc 1:2–6), seem to be at first glance a part of the greetings of the epistle. However, the unusual length of the section consisting of eight verbal phrases, which covers more than half of the letter, seems to contain a significant message that the author might want to present in relation to the purpose of the letter. Therefore, the section seems better to be identified with the body of the letter than as part of the greeting.

      One of the most intriguing structural features of this letter is the length of the supplications. With eight verbal phrases, the section (2 Macc 1:2–6) covers more than half of the letter, which may cause the readers to be curious about the character and purpose of

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[73] This is the only subjunctival phrase with ἵνα that introduces a teleological phrase. In scholarly discussion, the letter (2 Macc 1:1–10a) has been compared with 2 Chr 30:1–9; Esth 9:20–32, the "Passover" letter in the Elephantine corpus, and *t. Sanh.* 2:5–6; *b. Sanh.* 11a-b in the rabbinic corpus, mostly in relation to the participation in a festival. See Robert Doran, *2 Maccabees: A Critical Commentary* (ed. Harold W. Attridge; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2012), 33–35.

[74] The first letter in 2 Macc 1:1–10a is an independent literary unit, which is distinctive from the second letter in 2 Macc 1:10b–2:18. See Appendix 1: On the Letters in Chapters 1–2 of Schwartz, *2 Maccabees*, 519–29.

these unexpectedly long supplications.[75] The first use of the term "covenant" is found in the second supplication, which reads: "may He remember His covenant with Abraham and Isaac and Jacob, his faithful servants" (καὶ μνησθείη τῆς διαθήκης αὐτοῦ τῆς πρὸς Αβρααμ καὶ Ισαακ καὶ Ιακωβ τῶν δούλων αὐτοῦ τῶν πιστῶν, 2 Macc 1:2b). There seem to be two significant features in this covenantal phrase, particularly in relation to the present study. First, it is in a literary unit that is similar to a priestly blessing and second, it is related to the patriarchal covenant, with Deuteronomic echoes.

2.2. Priestly Features of the Covenant in 2 Macc 1:2

It seems significant to recognize that these prayers echo some extended form of a Priestly Blessing. We can see a similar extended form in 1QS which is based on Num 6:24, where Yahweh has commanded Moses to make Aaron and his sons bless His people by saying that "the Lord bless you and keep you" (יְבָרֶכְךָ יְהוָה וְיִשְׁמְרֶךָ, εὐλογήσαι σε κύριος καὶ φυλάξαι σέ: LXX). In 1QS, "with all good" and "from all evil" are combined, so that the blessing reads: "may the Lord bless you with all good and keep you from all evil."[76] In the eight supplications in 2 Macc 1:2–5, we have "good" (ἀγαθοποιήσαι, 2 Macc 1:2) and "evil" (πονηρῷ, 2 Macc 1:5), which occur at the beginning (2 Macc 1:2a, "May God do good to you," καὶ ἀγαθοποιήσαι ὑμῖν ὁ θεὸς) and the end (2 Macc 1:5c, "May He not forsake you in time of evil," καὶ μὴ ὑμᾶς ἐγκαταλίποι ἐν καιρῷ πονηρῷ) of the set of supplications, making an *inclusio*. Another element of the priestly blessings, "peace" (εἰρήνη, 2 Macc 1:4) is also included in this prayer. In other words, the explicit reference to the patriarchal covenant (2 Macc 1:2) is found in a composition reflecting the priestly blessing (2 Macc 1:2–5). The supplication section is a priestly instruction in the form of a prayer, echoing priestly blessings in an extended form, which is typical of Second Temple Jewish literature. Deuteronomic language such as "heart" and "spirits" is also included.[77]

The reference to the patriarchal covenant in a composition alluding to the priestly

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[75] The eight supplications are the contents of the author's prayer in favor of the recipients. The author, who represented the Jews in Jerusalem and Judea (2 Macc 1:6), wrote this letter to the Jews in Egypt (1 Macc 1:1) in order to advise them to keep the Festival of Booths (2 Macc 1:9).

[76] Bilhah Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer and Religious Poetry* (STDJ 12; Leiden: Brill, 1994), 145–72.

[77] For a biblical aspect of 2 Maccabees, consult Daniel R. Schwartz, "On Something Biblical about 2 Maccabees," in *Biblical Perspectives: Early Use and Interpretation of the Bible in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. Michael Stone and Esther G Chazon; STDJ 28; Leiden: Brill, 1998), 223–32. Schwartz argues that 2 Maccabees has been informed by Deuteronomy 32, which he calls the "central biblical chapter," in a way in which God involves in the story of 2 Maccabees, although 2 Maccabees is definitely a Hellenistic work (Schwartz, "On Something Biblical about 2 Maccabees," 232).

blessing seems significant concerning the way in which the patriarchal covenant is used in favor of the Levitical priestly ideology in some of the contemporary literature such as *Jubilees* and the *Temple Scroll*, particularly with an emphasis on the covenant of Jacob. The notion of covenant with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob (2 Macc 1:2b) alludes to many of the biblical references such as Exod 2:24 and Lev 26:42.[78] Lev 26:42 explicitly mentions the covenant of Jacob, where the covenants of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob are listed in reverse order. In doing so, the covenant of Jacob seems to be emphasized in the passage. Leviticus 26 is written based on Deuteronomic blessings and curses, especially in relation to the land and exile. More interestingly the book of *Jubilees* and the *Temple Scroll* seem to have developed the patriarchal covenant in order to emphasis the archaic feature of the priestly covenant in favor of Levi, which I will investigate in chapters 3 and 4 in detail.[79] In summary, the first case of the term covenant in 2 Maccabees might be characterized as priestly related and Deuteronomic, which shows a possibility that 2 Maccabees might share some Levitical priestly ideology. This seems distinctive from the use of the priestly related covenant in 1 Maccabees, which is used more exclusively in reference to the Maccabean household.[80]

3. Summary and Conclusion

In this chapter, I have made an attempt to demonstrate the ways in which priestly related concepts of covenant are developed and used in 1 and 2 Maccabees. In 1 Maccabees the concept of covenant is articulated particularly in the introduction (1 Macc 1–2), which introduces the whole composition as the story of Judah and Simon. In the introduction, Mattathias is presented as the mediator of Phinehas' covenant of perpetual priesthood (Num 25:13). Mattathias' zeal for the law reflects Phinehas' zeal for God and is explained accordingly, thus implying that Mattathias is the heir to Phinehas' priestly covenant. In Mattathias' deathbed scene (1 Macc 2), the author seems to use a patriarchal father motif in order to make a link between Phinehas, Mattathias, and his sons, particularly Simon.

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[78] Goldstein, *II Maccabees*, 142.

[79] Levitical priestly elements in *Jubilees* is in chapter 3 (§ 3. "Levitical Priestly Covenant Traditions in *Aramaic Levi Document* and *Jubilees*"). Levitical priestly elements in the *Temple Scroll* are found in chapter 4 (§ 1.1. "*Temple Scroll*").

[80] The differences of the priestly related concept of covenant between 1 Maccabees and 2 Maccabees reflect the distinctiveness of the texts. For a detailed discussion of the distinctiveness of 2 Maccabees, see Goldstein, *II Maccabees*, 3–27. Some considers the lines of opposition between Pharisee tradition and the Hasmonean dynasty. See Joshua Efron, *Studies on the Hasmonean Period* (SJLA 39; Leiden: Brill, 1987), 8.

Although the major parts of narratives in 1 Maccabees might show the restoration of the temple and acra as the main story line of the text as Martola and Williams have argued, the whole composition seems to emphasize the people, particularly the precursors of Hasmonean rulers, which is implied in Bartlett's structure. Simon, the father of John Hyrcanus seems to be emphasized as a model of the legitimate high priest and ethnarch. For this, the author seems to develop the priestly covenant by means of zeal and father motifs in the introduction to the whole text (1 Macc 1–2).

In 2 Maccabees, as Doran has argued, Jerusalem temple ideology is emphasized under the overarching Deuteronomic framework[81] and the concept of priestly related covenant seems to be presented accordingly. A concept of covenant is presented as part of an extended priestly blessing in a letter, which functions as the introduction to the rest of the composition. The term "covenant" appears in a phrase reflecting patriarchal covenant (2 Macc 1:2) with a strong Deuteronomic flavor. This characteristic of the priestly aspect of the concept of covenant in 2 Maccabees possibly reflects the way in which some of the Levitical priestly traditions developed the priestly covenant in favor of Levi. This is distinctive from 1 Maccabees' development of the priestly covenant, which seems to emphasize a Hasmonean perspective.

As I have noted briefly, Phinehas' zeal motif in relation to the covenant of perpetual priesthood is not only projected in 1 Maccabees but also found in other literature, such as *Aramaic Levi Document* and *Jubilees*, where the motif is particularly in favor of the Levitical priestly ideology. Also, the priestly aspect of the patriarchal covenant under the overarching Deuteronomic framework is found in some contemporary compositions such as *Temple Scrolls* and *Jubilees*, again in favor of Levitical priestly ideology. These concepts give us a framework for the next chapter in which I will discuss the possible priestly ideologies of the late Second Temple period, where at least two groups of priestly traditions (Levitical and Aaronic-Zadokite) are found. In the next two chapters I will investigate the way in which some of the Dead Sea Scrolls present priestly traditions in order to see another possible trajectory of priestly covenant.

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[81] Doran, *Temple Propaganda*, 114. For a discussion on the literary character and genre of 2 Macc, see Robert Doran, "2 Maccabees and "Tragic History"," *HUCA* 50 (1979): 107–14; See also Doran, *Temple Propaganda*, 77–109. Schwartz argues that the purpose of 2 Maccabees is "to encourage the observance of two holidays, Hanukkah and Nicanor's Day" based on 2 Macc 10:8 and 15:36. See Schwartz, *2 Maccabees*, 7–8.

PART II

Dead Sea Scrolls

Chapter 3

Pre-Sectarian Priestly Covenant Traditions

The purpose of the following two chapters is to observe how some Second Temple period priestly traditions, especially in relation to priestly covenant ideologies, have been employed in some sectarian foundation documents, such as the *Damascus Document*, *Rule of the Community* and related texts.[1]

In chapter 3, I am going to argue, first that there have been two or three strands of priestly traditions, which are reflected in some Second Temple period texts. Some priestly characteristics will be observed with an anticipation of their later use. Second, that the Aaron and Phinehas section in Ben Sira is significant in relation to constructing the priestly covenant for Aaronic priestly ideology. Additionally, Levi in *Aramaic Levi Document* and *Jubilees* is significant in relation to priestly covenant development for the Levitical priestly ideologies (Enoch-Noah-Levi priestly tradition).

In chapter 4, I will make some observations on the way in which different priestly covenantal ideologies, which will be developed in chapter 3, are reflected in some quasi-sectarian and foundational sectarian documents.[2] I will argue that the different priestly ideologies are at work in the *Temple Scroll*, 4QMMT, and the *Damascus Document*. However, in 1QS, 1QSa, and 1QSb, the Aaronic priestly ideology seems to be significant based on the emphasis of the covenantal features of a particular priestly group, which is reflected in the sons of Aaron and sons of Zadok. I suspect that these changes reflect different stages of the *Moreh Zedek* movement and the subsequent *Yahad* movement.

To be clear the next two chapters are designed neither to present a thorough history of priests or high priests of the Second Temple period, nor to provide an exhaustive

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[1] In terms of the meaning and the range of the "foundation documents," see Talmon, "The Community of the Renewed Covenant," 3–24.

[2] The term, "foundation documents" is used by Talmon. Talmon's foundation documents include *Rule of the Community* (1QS), the *Rule of the Congregation* (1QS^a), the *Damascus Document* (CD), the *Pesher on Habakkuk* (1QpHab), *War Scroll* (1QM) and to some extent, *Hodayot* (1QH) and the *Temple Scroll* (11QT). According to Talmon, 1) they directly address the membership of the community. 2) They detail at length the main tenets of the Yahad's theology. 3) They reveal the Covenanter's self-understanding. See Talmon, "The Community of the Renewed Covenant," 11.

analysis of priestly elements of every priestly tradition of the Second Temple period.[3] I am also not going to discuss every reference to the term "priest" in the scrolls, although every collocation of priest and covenant has been reviewed.

1. Priestly Ideologies in the Third Century BCE

Priestly traditions in the Second Temple period are very complex and priestly characteristics are varied and cannot be easily categorized in simple structures. However, scholars have suggested that there were various streams of priestly ideologies such as the Levitical, Aaronide, and Zadokite priestly traditions. Olyan and Wrights have taken a further step suggesting a priestly polemic behind various traditions.

In a recent article, George Brooke suggests some strands of priestly views in the Second Temple period, based on Michael Stone's recent suggestion of two competing views of the origin of evil in ancient Judaism: Adam's disobedience and the demonic forces in Enochic traditions.[4] Brooke proposes that Stone's suggestion of the two different views of the origin of evil also sheds light on different views of priesthood and its functions. In the conclusion, Brooke suggests two patterns of priestly traditions. One is the Enoch-Noah pattern and the other is the Adamic-Aaronide pattern. The former is characterized by its apotropaic esoterica and the latter is concerned with human sin, both of which are combined in the Qumran materials.[5] But more importantly Brooke shows how various priestly elements in the priestly patterns are intricately interwoven and reflected in some Second Temple documents, such as *Jubilees*, *Aramaic Levi Documents*, *1 Enoch*, Aramaic *Genesis Apocryphon*, 1 Maccabees, Noachic books, the *Damascus Document*, *Rule of Community*, *Rule of the Congregation*, the *Temple Scroll*, 11QMelchizedek, 4QFlorilegium, and so on.

The recognition of various priestly patterns sheds light on the present study. Olyan seems to suggest three different views of the priestly traditions: Pan Levitic or Deuteronomistic Priestly ideology, Zadokite exclusivism, and Pan Aaronide Priestly

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[3] For a thorough history of priests and high priests, consult Rooke, *Zadok's Heirs*. See also VanderKam, *From Joshua to Caiaphas*; Alice Hunt, *Missing Priests: the Zadokites in Tradition and History* (LHBOTS 452; New York: T&T Clark, 2006).

[4] George J. Brooke, "Patterns of Priesthood, Priestliness and Priestly Functions in Some Second Temple Period Texts" (paper presented at the Prêtrise et Temple/Priesthood and Temple, organized by the Institute romand des sciences bibliques, University of Lausanne, 31 May-2 June 2012, Lausanne, 2012), 1–12. Michael E. Stone, *Ancient Judaism: New Visions and Views* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2011).

[5] Brooke, "Patters of Priesthood," 12.

traditions.[6] Olyan's three different groups of priestly ideologies are based on a hypothetical priestly polemic in the late Second Temple period. Olyan's Pan Levitic Priestly ideology seems comparable to Brooke's Enoch-Noah priestly patterns in terms of their claims of patriarchal priestly materials. Olyan's Pan Aaronide Priestly traditions with Zadokite exclusivism seem to be related to Brooke's Adamic-Aaronide pattern. It is hard to evaluate the validity of Olyan's Zadokite exclusivism as a separate tradition. However, considering the Zadokite priestly tradition and Aaronic priestly traditions juxtaposed in some Qumran material, the traditions are suspected not to be clearly separated by the time of the second century BCE.[7] For now, with an interest in the combined concepts of priesthood and covenant, I will review some priestly ideologies and observe what claims they make in the Second Temple period.

1.1. Levitical Priestly Traditions

Levitical tradition plays an important role in sectarian ideologies of priesthood, so their background needs to be investigated, particularly their claims of antiquity for patriarchs and special knowledge. Their assertions appear to be privileging some scriptural materials over against other scriptural traditions. This is not an in depth analysis of the Second Temple priesthood, but is an attempt to observe what lies behind the particular combinations of priestly ideas in some mainline Qumran sectarian materials. Obviously, this review includes the motifs of Levi traditions.

According to Olyan, in Pan-Levitic or Deuteronomistic priestly ideology all Levites are priests who are in charge of sacrifices and various offerings. Deuteronomy, Jeremiah, and Malachi are the main sources of the Levitical priestly tradition.[8] Levi's priestly covenant seems to develop significantly in some prophetic texts such as Malachi and Jeremiah.[9] In Malachi, the prophet using God's voice reproves the priests for their

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[6] Saul M. Olyan, "Ben Sira's Relationship to the Priesthood," *HTR* 80 (1987): 261–86, esp. 273–74. Against Olyan, Cana Werman claims that "there were no Levites in the Second Temple period." She argues that "the story of Levi's elevation to the priesthood is one explanation for this reality." See Cana Werman, "Levi and Levites in the Second Temple Period," *DSD* 4 (1997): 215.

[7] Gabriele Boccaccini, "Where does Ben Sira Belong?: The Canon, Literary Genre, Intellectual Movement, and Social Group of a Zadokite Document," in *Studies in the Book of Ben Sira: Papers of the Third International Conference on the Deuteroncanonical Books, Shime'on Centre, Pápa, Hungary, 18–20 May, 2006* (ed. Géza G Xeravits and József Zsengellér; JSJSup 127; Leiden: Brill, 2008), 29–34.

[8] Saul M. Olyan, "Ben Sira's Relationship to the Priesthood," *HTR* 80, no. 03 (1987): 273.

[9] A detailed discussion on the priestly aspects of Levites in Malachi, consult J. M. O'Brien, *Priest and Levite in Malachi* (SBLDS 121; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1990). In the book O'Brien argues that the terms priests and Levi are used interchangeably in Malachi (O'Brien, *Priest and Levite in Malachi*, 83).

defilement of the sacrifice with inappropriate offering (Mal 1:6–14). This act of the priests anticipates the curses from God (Mal 2:2), which is from God's perspective a means to "hold God's covenant with Levi" (לִהְיוֹת בְּרִיתִי֙ אֶת־לֵוִ֔י, Mal 2:4). This covenant is described as the "covenant of life and well-being" (בְּרִיתִ֣י ׀ הָיְתָ֣ה אִתּ֗וֹ הַֽחַיִּים֙ וְהַשָּׁל֔וֹם, Mal 2:5).[10] The appearance of the covenant of peace in Malachi is striking, because the combination of ברית and שלום in this verse resonates with a Priestly tradition (Num 25:12), where God gives Phinehas the covenant of peace (נֹתֵ֥ן ל֛וֹ אֶת־בְּרִיתִ֖י שָׁלֽוֹם).[11] Also in Malachi 3, the sons of Levi are the ones bringing the offering (מִנְחָ֑ה). Yet it is not an animal sacrifice, instead it is the offering of righteousness on some kind of judgment day (Mal 2:17–3:5).

The prophet also blames the priests for corrupting (or breaking) the covenant of Levi (שִׁחַתֶּם֙ בְּרִ֣ית הַלֵּוִ֔י) in addition to turning aside from the way and causing many people to stumble by their false instruction (Mal 2:8). The misconduct of the priests seems to be related to marriage (Mal 2:10–16). According to Wright, "polemic against exogamous marriages" is attested in 1 Enoch and Aramaic Levi.[12] The problem of intermarriage also resonates with 4QMMT.[13] Intermarriage in 4QMMT is not necessarily related to Levi, however, 4QMMT implies that the Qumran community seems to be anxious about priestly marriage, which probably suggests that Maccabees or other priestly groups have been engaged in non-priestly or exogamous marriage of some sort.

Another significant case of the covenant of Levi in regards to the priestly perspective is found in Jeremiah: "Also the covenant with Levites, the priests who minister to me would be broken" (גַּם־בְּרִיתִ֣י תֻפַר֮ . . . וְאֶת־הַלְוִיִּ֥ם הַכֹּהֲנִ֖ים מְשָׁרְתָֽי, Jer 33:22). The context of Jeremiah 33 is the restoration of Jerusalem and other towns (Jer 33:1–16, especially v. 13). The prophet, using God's voice, reaffirms the covenant with David and the Levitical priests (Jer 33:21) by saying those covenants would not be broken as long as the covenant

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[10] A literal translation would be "My covenant with him is life and peace (*shalom*)."

[11] This scene is also used in Ben Sira (Sir 45:24). For a meaningful combination of the two term, see also Isa 54:10, Ezek 34:25, and Ezek 37:26. The three instances are used in a restoration context rather than a priestly context. Ezekiel shows very negative views of the Levites.

[12] Benjamin G. Wright, "'Fear the Lord and Honor the Priest': Ben Sira as Defender of the Jerusalem Priesthood," in *The Book of Ben Sira in Modern Research: Proceedings of the First International Ben Sira Conference 28–31 July 1996 Soesterberg, Netherlands* (ed. Pancratius C. Beentjes; BZAW 255; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1997), 200. Kugler also suggests that priestly exogamy as a particular problem in relation to *Aramaic Levi Document*. See Robert A Kugler, *From Patriarch to Priest: The Levi-Priestly Tradition from Aramaic Levi to Testament of Levi* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996), 36, 77.

[13] See 4QMMT B 75–82. For a further discussion on 4QMMT see § 1.2. "4QMMT" in chapter 4.

with the day and the night continues (Jer 33:20).[14] Here again, the passage assumes there has been a particular covenant with Levi alongside the covenant with David.

A further reading of the Jeremiah passage is more intriguing. In the succeeding paragraph (Jer 33:23–26), the prophet, also using Yahweh's words (Jer 33:23), mentions "two families that Yahweh has chosen" (שְׁתֵּי הַמִּשְׁפָּחוֹת אֲשֶׁר בָּחַר יְהוֶה בָּהֶם, Jer 33:24). These two families are the "offspring of Jacob and David, my servant" (זֶרַע יַעֲקוֹב וְדָוִד עַבְדִּי, Jer 33:26). It is significant that these two families (the offspring of Jacob and David, Jer 33:26) are linked with the two families in the previous passage (the Levites and the offspring of David, Jer 33:22) by means of parallels to the covenant with the day and the night (Jer 33:20 and 25), which commonly occurs in both references. Here the prophet seems to make a connection with the Levites (or Levitical priests) and Jacob by name in regards to the covenant. This possibly sheds light on *Jubilees* and the *Temple Scroll*'s understanding of Levitical priesthood based on the covenant with Jacob, where the origin of God's covenant with Levitical priesthood seems to refer back to Levi himself. The significance of the Levitical priestly ideologies seems to be continued in some of the late Second Temple period texts such as *Levi Aramaic Document* and *Jubilees*, which will be considered in a later section.

In Deuteronomy the whole tribe of Levi is introduced as the Levitical priests by apposition (Deut 18:1–8).[15] The emphasis of the Levitical priests in Deuteronomy seems more significant considering Deuteronomy's apparent lack of interest in Aaron. In Deuteronomy, Aaron appears only in three verses. The first occurrence is Moses' recall of God's anger against Aaron due to the golden calf incident (Deut 9:20). The second is in Aaron's death account (Deut 10:6) and the third is in Moses' death account (Deut 32:50). Aaron's priestly duties are absent in these accounts. Aaron and the sons of Aaron as priest(s) are attested in Joshua (Josh 21:19). This is the only instances of the term "sons of Aaron" that appears in Deuteronomistic histories. In this account the author seems to emphasize that the sons of Aaron are Levites (Josh 21:4, 10).

It also is worth noting that Phinehas seems to be significant in some Deuteronomistic histories. In Joshua, Phinehas plays the role of mediation (or arbitration) and judge in Canaan, the Promised Land. Phinehas mediates between Reubenites-Gadites-half-tribe of Manasseh and the rest of the Israelites, in regards to the issue of the altar,

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[14] The phrase, "My covenant with the day and my covenant with the night" (Jer 33:20), refers to the natural law of the circulation of day and night.

[15] Olyan, "Ben Sira's Relationship to the Priesthood," 273.

which the three tribes have built on the other side of the Jordan River (Josh 22:9–34). In the account of the Israelites confronting the Benjaminites (Jud 19:1–20:25), Phinehas is noted as ministering before the ark of the covenant of Yahweh at Bethel (Judg 20:27–28), where burnt offerings (עֹלֹות) and peace offerings (וּשְׁלָמִים) were performed (Judg 20:26).

Considering Olyan's suggestion of three strands of priestly ideologies, Pan-Levitical, Aaronid, and Zadok exclusivism, Phinehas' account is important in terms of its occurrence as part of every priestly strand. Phinehas seems significant as a priestly figure in Deuteronomistic histories (Joshua and Judges, for Pan-Levitical), and he appears in the priestly genealogies in Chronicles (for Zadokite exclusivism). We have a significant Phinehas episode of the "covenant of eternal priesthood" in a Priestly source (Num 25, for Pan-Aaronid).[16] One possible reason for this emphasis might be that Phinehas is the only one who is attributed with an explicit mention of the "covenant of perpetual priesthood" (Num 25:13).

1.2. Zadokite Priestly Traditions

In terms of Zadokite exclusivism, Olyan suggests that Ezekiel is distinctive in biblical tradition. Olyan points out two characteristic features of Ezekiel 40–48 in relation to its presentation of priesthood. First, this passage contains the most extreme anti-Levitic polemic, and second, it suggests the narrowest definition of legitimate priesthood in the Hebrew Bible. According to Olyan, the sons of Zadok are the only legitimate priests in Ezekiel (Ezek 44:15–31; 40:46; 43:19; 48:11). Olyan further argues that Aaronides are excluded from the priesthood in Ezekiel based on the absence of the term, "sons of Aaron." Olyan suspects that Aaronides are probably counted among the Levites.[17] However, in terms of the relationship between Zadokite and Aaronic traditions, a conclusion should remain tentative until more evidence becomes available.[18]

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[16] In this sense, I am against Boccaccini who claims an exclusive relationship between Phinehas and the Zadokites (Boccaccini, "Where does Ben Sira Belong?" 30–31, 41). A preference for Phinehas is also noted later in Josephus. See David Bernat, "Josephus's Portrayal of Phinehas," *JSP* 13 (2002): 137–49. Hunt contrasts Phinehas' favoritism with that fact that no reference to Zadokites or the sons of Zadok occur in Josephus. See Hunt, *Missing Priests*, 146–55.

[17] Olyan, "Ben Sira's Relationship to the Priesthood," 274.

[18] Zadokite exclusivism according to Olyan seems to be based on two arguments: 1) Zadokites' editorial addition of "sons of zadok" in Sir 51:12i and 2) absence of a term "sons of Aaron" in Ezekiel 40–48 (Olyan, "Ben Sira's Relationship to the Priesthood," 285). Against Olyan's position, Cana Werman suggests that the term "sons of Zadok" in Ezekiel is an epithet for all the priestly families serving in the Jerusalem Temple. The reference is not much different from the use of the term

Although the term "sons of Zadok" is introduced once in apposition with the Levitical priests (Ezek 44:15), in the overall account of Ezekiel 40–44 (Vision of the Temple) the sons of Zadok are distinguished from the other Levites. In Ezek 40:44–46, only a particular priestly group named "sons of Zadok" can occupy the chamber designated for the priests who have charge of the altar (Ezek 40:46a). They are further described as the ones "who alone among the 'sons of Levi' may come near to Yahweh to minister to Him" (Ezek 40:46b). The prestige status of the Sons of Zadok is also prominent in the two subsequent instances of the "Sons of Zadok" (Ezek 44:15; 48:11).

In Ezek 44:4–31, Yahweh is giving the ordinances of His temple and all its laws (Ezek 44:5) in front of the Temple (Ezek 44:4). In this passage the sons of Zadok, who are introduced as the Levitical priests (Ezek 44:15), are distinguished from other Levites (Ezek 44:10). This distinction is stated to be the result of a particular priestly group's ("sons of Zadok") keeping the charge of God's sanctuary when the people of Israel went astray (Ezek 44:15). On the other hand, serving God as priest is restricted to Levites due to the Levites' going astray by committing idolatry (Ezek 44:10–13). The distinction between the sons of Zadok and other Levites also applied to the land distribution (Ezek 48:8–13). In this reference the "sons of Zadok" earn the reputation of being "the consecrated priests" (לַכֹּהֲנִים הַמְקֻדָּשׁ, Ezek 48:11) and are allotted the sanctuary, the core of the holy portion (תְּרוּמַת־הַקֹּדֶשׁ). Their special selection is due to, again, the fact that they did not go astray when the Levites as well as the people of Israel did (Ezek 48:11), which result in the Levites receiving an allotment next to the priests' lot (Ezek 48:13).

As we have observed, one of the prominent characteristics of the "sons of Zadok" tradition in Ezekiel is the distinctiveness of the "sons of Zadok" from other priests and (non-priestly) Levites. Additionally the second passage (Ezek 44:10–31) describes particular roles for the "sons of Zadok" as priests: teach God's people (וְאֶת־עַמִּי יוֹרוּ, Ezek 44:23), judge in case of a controversy (וְעַל־רִיב הֵמָּה יַעַמְדוּ לְשָׁפֹט, Ezek 44:24), and keep the festivals and Sabbath (וְאֶת־תּוֹרֹתַי וְאֶת־חֻקֹּתַי בְּכָל־מוֹעֲדַי יִשְׁמֹרוּ וְאֶת־שַׁבְּתוֹתַי יְקַדֵּשׁוּ, Ezek 44:24). The Ezekiel account of the sons of Zadok with their prestige status with some didactic functions (teaching and judging) are significant, because the sons of Zadok in the *Damascus Document* are clearly modeled on this Ezekiel account. The priestly roles and the title also resonate with *Serek* materials.

"sons of Aaron," the Jerusalemite priests. There are no Levites as a priestly group in the Second Temple periods. See Werman, "Levi and Levites," 225.

Zadok's priestly aspect seems to be developed in Chronicles, where Zadok is first introduced as a young warrior of David (1 Ch 12:29). After the transport of the ark of the LORD, he is assigned to serve at the tabernacle in the high place at Gibeon (1 Ch 16:39), and is announced as one of David's priestly bureaucrats (1 Ch 18:14–17). Zadok and Abiathar become the two pillars of David's priestly organization; being recounted respectively as the descendants of Eleazar and Ithamar, the two surviving sons of Aaron (1 Ch 24:3). Then, Zadok remained as the priest of Solomon assigned by anointing (1 Ch 29:22).[19] The house of Zadok is presented as the background for the high priesthood of Azariah (2 Ch 31:10). The Chronicler seems to make a connection with Aaron and Zadok in the development of Zadok's priesthood (1 Ch 18 and 24), which possibly supports the view that the Zadokite priestly tradition is an aspect of a larger Aaronic priestly tradition.

Chronicles' development of Zadok's priesthood is related to David and the Jerusalem temple. Zadok's priesthood accounts (1 Ch 24, 29) belongs to the section 1 Chronicle 22–29, where various aspects of David's preparation for the construction of the Jerusalem temple are accounted. This sheds light on the *Temple Scroll*'s use of Chronicles, which reflects earlier interests of the *Moreh Zedek* movement. Qumran's interests in Chronicles seems to have decreased in the first century BCE, a theme that will be consider in the next chapter.[20]

The Zadokite priestly ideology reflected in Chronicles seems to be advanced by Hasmoneans. Schofield and VanderKam argue that the Hamoneans were Zadokites.[21] According to them, "the biblical evidence regarding the line of J[eh]oiarib [1 Ch 24] makes it likely that it belonged in the Zadokite genealogy; it also suggests that J[eh]oiarib was a prominent priestly entity before the rise of the Hasmonean family to the high priesthood."[22] They suspect that the texts are manipulated by the Hasmonean, although the argument is not supported with clear evidence. In either case, we may observe a relationship between Zadokite priestly ideology in Chronicles and in 1 Maccabees. Similarly, Brooke contends that Qumran seems not to use Chronicles as a source for the

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[19] The absence of Abiathar, the other pillar of Davidic priestly organization, in this account is probably due to Abiathar's support to Adonijah instead of Solomon (1 Kg 1:7, 2:26–27).

[20] Brooke suspects that Qumran seems not to use Chronicles as a source for their own understanding in the first century BCE. See Brooke, "Patters of Priesthood," 10.

[21] Alison Schofield and James VanderKam, "Were the Hasmoneans Zadokites?" *JBL* 124 (2005): 73–87. Consult also Eisenman who identifies the Hasmoneans as Zadokites in light of zeal or zealot motif. See Robert Eisenman, *Maccabees, Zadokites, Christians and Qumran* (SPB; 4 vols.; vol. 3; Leiden: Brill, 1983), 12–16.

[22] Schofield and VanderKam, "Were the Hasmoneans Zadokites?" 86.

self-understanding in the first century BCE.[23] In addition, it is worth noting that the

Zadokite priestly ideology is absent in other later Second Temple sources. According to

Denis' concordance, no occurrence of the name Zadok (Σαδωκ) is found in Greek

Pseudepigrapha, except in a Greek fragment of the Martyrdom of Isaiah.[24] Only in

sectarian texts, such as the *Damascus Document* and *Serek* materials, does the reference to

the sons of Zadok appear, which will be considered in the next chapter.

It is significant that Chronicles is more positive concerning the sons of Aaron and

less positive concerning the Levites. As Rooke comments, Levites receive a relatively

high-profile in Chronicles, where the priestly genealogy outnumbers the priestly personnel,

which is a greater number than those who are listed in the lineage in Ezra 2:1–70 and Neh

7:6–73.[25] Yet it is also true that, in terms of the priestly role, the sons of Aaron are

prominent and distinguished from the Levites in Chronicles. The sons of Aaron and the

Levites are considered as separate groups in 1 Ch 15:5, which reads, "David summoned

the sons of Aaron and the Levites" (וַיֶּאֱסֹף דָּוִיד אֶת־בְּנֵי אַהֲרֹן וְאֶת־הַלְוִיִּם). The sons of Aaron are

consecrated for the most holy things, offering before Yahweh (1 Ch 23:13), whereas the

Levites are supposed to assist the sons of Aaron for the service of the temple (1 Ch 23:28).

Chronicles' description of the relationship between the sons of Aaron and the Levites first,

indicates again that there exists a possible relationship between Aaronic priestly tradition

and Zadokite priestly tradition, and second questions the relationship between Chronicles

and Ezekiel in terms of the priestly ideology, because the picture of the relationship

between the sons of Aaron and the Levites seems to be very similar to the distinction

between the sons of Zadok and the other Levites in Ezekiel.[26] Although the question of

the relationship between Ezekiel and Chronicles may remain unresolved,[27] it possibly

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[23] Brooke, "Patters of Priesthood," 10.

[24] See *Mart. Isa.* 1.2.5. A complete text does not remain. Instead, an enlarged form, titled "the Ascension of Isaiah," remains, which is a later compilation of a Christian editor. See Albert-Marie Denis, "Σαδωκ," *CGPDT* 691.

[25] Rooke, *Zadok's Heirs*, 197. See also Olyan, "Ben Sira's Relationship to the Priesthood," 273–74.

[26] In addition, according to Kugler, a similar Levitical status is found in some of the DSS such as the *Temple Scroll*, *War Scroll*, the *Damascus Document*, and *Serek* texts, which will be discussed in more detail in the following chapter. See 11QT57.12; 60.12; 61.8, 1QM 13.1; 18.5–6; 4QM^a 1–3.9; 4QM^c 9–10, CD 13.3, 1QS 1.18–19; 2.11, 1Q22 (*Words of Moses*) 1.3; 2.8–9, 11Q18 (*New Jerusalem*) 30:2. For a detailed discussion see Robert Kugler, "The Priesthood at Qumran: The Evidence of References to Levi and the Levites," in *Provo International Conference on the Dead Sea Scrolls: Technological Innovations, New Texts, and Reformulated Issues* (ed. Donald W. Parry and Eugene Ulrich; STDJ 30; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 468–70.

[27] Olyan differentiates 1 Chronicles from Ezekiel, because the former is positive to Levites, whereas the latter is more negative to Levites. Consequently, he categorizes Ezekiel 40–48

sheds light on the reason why some of the Qumran material uses both sons of Aaron and sons of Zadok, without showing a clear distinction.

1.3. Aaronic Priestly Traditions

Aaronic priestly ideologies are developed in many of the Priestly sources (P). Aaron and his sons are clothed with priestly clothing in Exod 28:40–43, and are ordained by anointing in Exod 29:1–9. In addition, his priesthood is assured by the perpetual ordinance (לָהֶם כְּהֻנָּה לְחֻקַּת עוֹלָם, Exod 29:9). This concept is developed by Ben Sira as a significant part of the Aaronic priestly ideology. Aaron and his sons are the main figures for various sacrifices ordered in Leviticus. They are also related to priestly judgment in relation to the Urim and Thumim (Exod 28). Their didactic role is not mentioned often, yet clearly appears in Lev 10:11(ירה) especially in relation to distinguishing pure from impure (cf. the frequency of the theme of teaching [both ירה and לקח] in Deuteronomy). One of the notable accounts in relation to the various strands of priestly traditions seems to the Korah episode in Numbers 16, which results in making a clear distinction between Aaron and his sons from other Levites, whose access to the altar and the vessels of the sanctuary is prohibited (Num 18:1–4) as a result of Korah's confrontation against Aaron and Moses.

In Ezra-Nehemiah and Chronicles, the Aaron traditions show very similar characteristics. First, these texts use the term, "sons of Aaron," and the term refers to the priestly group (Ezra 10:39, 2 Ch 26:18; 29:21; 31:19; 35:14). When the two terms, the "priests" and the "sons of Aaron," occur together, they are always placed in apposition in these compositions. Second, in many instances, the sons of Aaron and Levites appear in pairs (Neh 12:44, 1 Ch 15:4). Although the sons of Aaron seem to be part of the Levites as a whole (1 Ch 23:6 and 12–14 also 24:1 and 20), there is a clear distinction between the sons of Aaron and (the other) Levites in terms of their group identity and their roles (Neh 12:47, 2 Ch 35:14). The sons of Aaron are the priests who are in charge of the altar and offerings, whereas the role of Levites is designated as assistants to the priests (who are the sons of Aaron) and other temple (or tabernacle) related service (1 Ch 24:19, 2 Ch 26:18; 29:21).[28] Third, one significant literary characteristic of the sons of Aaron in Chronicles is

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as the "most-extreme anti-polemic." See Olyan, "Ben Sira's Relationship to the Priesthood," 273–74.

[28] As Rooke notes, the Levites in the post-exilic texts are given a very high profile compared to their account in Deuteronomic histories, where the Levites do not exist as a cultic class in the same way. However, it is also true that Levites' high-profile shows a rather clear limit, which is distinctive from the sons of Aarons, the priest in these post-exilic texts.

that they are characterized by "being consecrated" (וַיִּבָּדֵל אַהֲרֹן לְהַקְדִּישׁוֹ in 1 Ch 23:13,

הַמְקֻדָּשִׁים לְהַקְטִיר in 2 Ch 26:18). However, no explicit priestly covenant seems to be developed in any instance of the sons of Aaron in these texts.[29] The fact that the Aaronic priestly traditions show similar characteristics both in Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemiah seems to need more investigation in relation to the Hasmonean priestly ideology. According to Brooke, the Hasmoneans may use ideologies from both Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemiah in combination for their own purpose.

Ezra-Nehemiah seems not to be very interested in Zadok. There is only one instance of that name in each text (Ezra 7:2 and Neh 11:11).[30] In Ezra 7:2, Zadok appears in the priestly genealogy between Ezra and the high-priest (or the chief-priest, הַכֹּהֵן הָרֹאשׁ) Aaron.[31] Ezra in the text is presented as the second Moses as well as the descendent of Aaron.[32] Therefore, if someone refers to Ezra-Nehemiah as part of a Zadokite priestly tradition, it seems likely that the Zadokite priestly tradition may be under the overall arc of the Aaronic priestly tradition.[33]

Aaron's priestly aspect seems absent in earlier sources (JE). Aaron is described as the brother of Moses and his role as a spokesperson of Moses seems to be emphasized in the exodus story. The relative silence of the priestly aspect of Aaron seems interesting, particularly when observing the development of the Levitical priestly ideology in relation to various patriarchal accounts, such as Enoch and Noah in some later Second Temple period documents. The lack of specific recognition of Aaron as a high-priest is also attested in some later Second Temple period documents such as *Artapanus* (a third to second century BCE retelling of the story of Moses), *Ezekiel the Tragedian* (a second century BCE tragic drama on the exodus from Egypt),[34] and *Demetrius the*

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[29] In terms of the priestly covenant related to Aaron or the sons of Aaron, 1 Ch 24:19 would be the most probable case, which reads that "these had as their appointed duty in their service to enter the house of the LORD according to the procedure established for them by their ancestor Aaron, as the LORD God of Israel had commanded him."

[30] In Nehemiah, we have five instances of the name Zadok. Yet four of the five refer to different people in the time of Nehemiah (Neh 3:4; 3:29; 10:22; 13:13).

[31] The purpose of this lineage is rather obvious: to place Ezra in the priestly line. Rooke points this out as the example of the outsider, Zadok, being placed into the Aaronide line of priests. See Rooke, *Zadok's Heirs*, 161, n. 29. Rooke reads the phrase of הַכֹּהֵן הָרֹאשׁ as "the first priest" instead of the "high-priest" or the "chief-priest" (Rooke, *Zadok's Heirs*, 161).

[32] Rooke, *Zadok's Heirs*, 164.

[33] My position is similar to Werman who carefully views the sons of Zadok and sons of Aaron as referring to same priestly group. See Werman, "Levi and Levites," 225.

[34] For a translation, see James H. Charlesworth, ed., *Expansions of the "Old Testament" and Legends, Wisdom and Philosophical Literature, Prayers, Psalms, and Odes, Fragments of Lost Judeo-Hellenistic Works* (vol. 2 of *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha;* ed. James H. Charlesworth; 2 vols.; New York: Doubleday, 1985), 803–19.

Chronographer (a third century BCE text).[35] This phenomenon indirectly suggests that the priestly traditions have been developed in the earlier part of the Second Temple period, and some of the later Second Temple traditions hold somewhat negative views on Aaron without priestly recognition of his role, which seems to reflect some possible polemics between various priestly ideologies.

1.4. Summaries

In this section I have investigated possible strands of priestly traditions existing around the third century BCE. Two priestly ideologies seem to have been developed in this time period. The Levitical priesthood seems to have been advanced mostly in Deuteronomy, Malachi, and Jeremiah with some explicit priestly-related covenantal expressions, such as the covenant of peace. On the other hand, Aaronic (-Zadokite) priestly ideology seems to have been developed in Ezra-Nehemiah and Chronicles in a way in which the sons of Aaron, who were designated as priests, were distinguished from other Levites. This seems to parallel the way in which the sons of Zadok are distinguished from other non-priestly Levites in Ezekiel.

In the subsequent sections, Ben Sira, *Aramaic Levi Document*, and *Jubilees* will be reviewed in terms of the development of priestly ideologies around the second century BCE. I will pay specific attention to the development of particular priestly covenants in those texts.

2. Ben Sira and Aaronic Priestly Covenant Tradition

Ben Sira has a very intriguing section for our study, the so-called "praise of the fathers" (Sir 44:1–50:21).[36] This unit is a series of praises of some godly people (Sir 44:1a) from Enoch (Sir 44:16) to Simon, son of Jochanan[37] (Sir 50:1–24). In this section it seems that Ben Sira has been developing a particular priestly covenant tradition rooted in Aaron with an emphasis on the didactic function of the priesthood. It appears that the priestly covenant, developed in Ben Sira, possibly has been recognized and used in some of the Qumran sectarian documents such as 1QSb with a specific purpose. In the following

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[35] For a translation, see Charlesworth, ed., *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha, vol 2*, 852–53. The name Aaron appears in fragment 3 where the Hazeroth episode (Num 11:35–2) is recounted.

[36] The section begins with "Let us now praise the honored men, our fathers in their generation" (Αἰνέσωμεν δὴ ἄνδρας ἐνδόξους καὶ τοὺς πατέρας ἡμῶν τῇ γενέσει, Sir 44:1).

[37] שמעון בן יוחנן (MS B 19 r.7). In the Greek text, the reference is "Simon son of Onias" (Σιμων Ονιου υἱὸς, Sir 50:1).

sections, an emphasis will be given on the Aaron-Phinehas sub-section (Sir 45:6–25) in the "praise of the fathers," in order to investigate various clues for a development of a particular priestly covenant in Ben Sira.[38] A further examination on the relationship between the priestly covenant in Ben Sira and 1QSb will be given in the next chapter.

2.1. The Text, Structure, and Purpose of the Praise of the Fathers of Ben Sira

Ben Sira is known to be written in Hebrew probably in the first half of the second century BCE and later translated into Greek by his grandson.[39] However, the Hebrew text has disappeared until 1896 when Hebrew manuscripts of Ben Sira were uncovered by Schechter, among the manuscripts found in the Cairo-Geniza.[40] Later some more Hebrew manuscripts of Ben Sira have been found from Masada in 1964.[41] The Massada text, which contains significant portions of Sir 39:26–44:17, supports the reliability of the medieval Cairo-Geniza texts.[42] Among these Hebrew manuscripts of Ben Sira, the Aaron and Phinehas section (Sir 45:6–25) remains only in Cairo-Geniza B manuscripts (MS B 14v.4 to 15v.7).[43] In relation to the present study, it is noteworthy that two small fragments of the Hebrew Ben Sira text among DSS have been published in 1962.[44] The

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[38] For a description of the significant status of the priesthood in the time of Ben Sira, consult Horsley, *Scribes, Visionaries, and the Politics*, 53–70.

[39] Patrick W. Skehan and Alexander A. Di Lella, *The Wisdom of Ben Sira* (AB 39; New York: Doubleday, 1987), 8–16, 51.

[40] Solomon Schechter and Charles Taylor, *The Wisdom of Ben Sira: Portions of the Book Ecclesiasticus from Hebrew Manuscripts in the Cairo Genizah Collection Presented to the University of Cambridge by the Editors* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1899). Only some quotations remain in the Talmudic and rabbinical literature until the Schechter's publication of the Cairo manuscripts (Skehan and Di Lella, *Ben Sira*, 51). For an introduction to the original Hebrew text and ancient versions, consult Skehan and Di Lella, *Ben Sira*, 51–62. According to Mulder, the publication of the Cairo-Geniza texts has heated scholarly discussions on the Hebrew *Urtext* of Ben Sira, which has been transmitted only in Greek, Syriac, and Latin versions by that time. Mulder provides a detailed summary of the history of the studies on Ben Sira, especially in relation to Sirach 44–50, see Otto Mulder, *Simon the High Priest in Sirach 50: An Exegetical Study of the Significance of Simon the High Priest as Climax to the Praise of the Fathers in Ben Sira's Concept of the History of Israel* (JSJSup 78; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 3–13, 13–24. For further studies on the various translations such as Greek, Syriac, and Latin versions, consult Jean-Sébastien Rey and Jan Joosten, eds., *The Texts and Versions of the Book of Ben Sira: Transmission and Interpretation* (JSJSup 150; Leiden: Brill, 2011).

[41] Yigael Yadin, *The Ben Sira Scroll from Masada* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1965).

[42] Mulder, *Simon the High Priest*, 6. For a detailed discussion on the reliability of the Cairo manuscripts, see E. Tov, *The Text-Critical Use of the Septuagint in Biblical Research* (JBS 3; Jerusalem: Simor, 1981), 225. See also Hans P. Rüger, *Text und Textform im hebräischen Sirach: Untersuchungen zur Textgeschichte und Textkritik der hebräischen Sirachfragmente aus der Kairoer Geniza* (BZAW 112; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1970).

[43] Manuscript B (MS B) sheet 14, verso, line 4 to sheet 15, verso, line 7.

[44] 2Q18 (2QSir), which has two fragments dated to the second half of the first century BCE has been published by Baillet. See M. Baillet, Józef T. Milik, and R. de Vaux, *Les "Petites Grottes" de Qumrân* (DJD 3; Oxford: Clarendon, 1962). Mulder provides a list of DSS Ben Sira manuscripts and

discoveries of the Ben Sira manuscripts in Qumran is important, because it implies possible relationship between Ben Sira and some Qumran texts about which I will discuss further in the next chapter, especially in regard to the priestly covenant tradition.

Aaron and Phinehas accounts (Sir 45:6–22 and 23–25) are located in the "Praise of Father" section (Sir 44–50), which seems marked off from the other units of the book.[45] In this section, a number of hymnic accounts on heroic ancestors (Sir 44:16–50:21) are surrounded by "Praise of the Creator and His Creation" (Sir 44:1–15) and "Hymns of Praise" (Sir 50:22–29). In the hymnic accounts (44:16–50:21) the author praises various figures in the history of Israelites beginning with Enoch (Sir 45:16) and concluding with Simon, son of Onias (Sir 50:1–21). The high priest, Simon son of Onias, who occupies the longest praise at the end of the section of praises, is most probably the climax of the all of praises.[46] This sheds light on the importance of the Aaron and Phinehas sections in the Praise of Fathers, because Aaron and Phinehas are the only two priestly precursors.[47] Ben Sira seems to develop a foundation for a biblical priestly covenant tradition for Simon in

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parallels: Sir 51:13–20, 30b, in 11QPs[a] (DJD 4, 79–85), Sir 50:25–26 has a parallel in 11Q14 (DJD 23). See Mulder, *Simon the High Priest*, 9–10, n. 44. See also Skehan and Di Lella, *Ben Sira*, 51–53. For a detailed synoptic parallel texts for Hebrew Ben Sira, consult Pancratius C. Beentjes, *The Book of Ben Sira in Hebrew: A Text Edition of All Extant Manuscripts & a Synopsis of All Parallel Hebrew Ben Sira Texts* (VTSup 68; Leiden: Brill, 1997).

[45] Di Lella recognizes the distinctiveness of the section (Sir 44–49). See Skehan and Di Lella, *Ben Sira*, 499. See also Thomas R. Lee, *Studies in the Form of Sirach 44-50* (SBLDS 75; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986), 3–22.

[46] Mulder argues that the structure shows the significance of Simon as high priest. Mulder, *Simon the High Priest*, 25–59. In a review on Mack's book Perdue comments that "the poem moves towards dramatic climax in the office and actions of Simon." According to Lee, the aim of the poem is "enthusiastic delineation of the high priest Simon son of Onias." See Lee, *Sirach 44–50*, 82. In terms of the identity of Simon the son of Onias (Sir 50:1), there are some scholarly disputes. On the one hand, some scholars have argued for Simon II who has occupied the high-priesthood from 219–196 BCE (Skehan and Di Lella, *Ben Sira*, 550). On the other hand, there are some challenges arguing for Simon I or even for Simon the Maccabean (142–135 BCE). For Simon the Maccabean, see I. Hjelm, *The Samaritans and Early Judaism. A Literary Analysis* (JSOTSup 303; Sheffield: Sheffield, 2000), 135, 281.

[47] According to Olyan, Maertens, based on Sir 45:23 ("third in glory," τρίτος εἰς δόξαν) claims a priestly trilogy in Ben Sira, which consists of Moses, Aaron, and Phinehas (T. Maertens, *L'eloge des peres [Ecclesiastique XLIV-L]* [Bruges: Éditions de l'Abbaye de Saint André, 1956], 116). Olyan criticizes Maertens' view on this priestly trilogy arguing that Ben Sira does not recognizes Moses as a priest (Olyan, "Ben Sira's Relationship to the Priesthood," 268, n. 26). Di Lella argues that Sir 45:23b is to be reckoned as "the courageous third of his [Aaron's] line," which means Phinehas is a descendent of the third son of Aaron (Eleazar). See Skehan and Di Lella, *Ben Sira*, 513. Burton Mack counts Samuel as one of the priests based on his animal sacrifice (Sir 46:16), which parallels 1 Sam 7:9 (Burton L. Mack, *Wisdom and the Hebrew Epic: Ben Sira's Hymn in Praise of the Fathers* [CSHJ; ed. Jacob Neusner; Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1985], 27). However, Ben Sira explicitly categorizes Samuel as a prophet of the Lord (προφήτης, Sir 46:13, 15) and seer (ὁράσεως, Sir 46:15). Although Samuel's animal sacrifice is recorded, it seems unlikely that the author considered the animal sacrifice as an act of a priest in Sir 46:16. The sacrifice consisting of appealing for God's help in the time of crises while surrounded by enemies (Sir 46:16) seems to be as an act of prophet.

the Aaron and Phinehas accounts. Considering this, the length of the Aaron section is significant because the praise for Aaron (Sir 45:6–22) is longer than any other figure, except Simon.[48]

In addition, Mack characterizes the first section of the praise of the fathers (the accounts from Enoch to Phinehas, Sir 44:16–45:25) as an "establishment of the covenant."[49] The term διαθήκη is attested in almost every account of the seven heroes, except Enoch. The term is found in the Noah account (Sir 44:18), Abraham account (Sir 44:20), Isaac and Jacob account (Sir 44:23), Moses account (Sir 45:5), Aaron account (Sir 45:7, 15), and Phinehas account (Sir 45:24). By frequently mentioning this term, the author seems to include the concept of covenant as a significant theme in the first set of fathers. And the accounts of Aaron and Phinehas seem to be a part of covenant building, particularly the priestly covenant.

2.2. Account of Aaron and Phinehas (Sir 45:6–22 and 23–25)

One of the significant literary characteristics of the account of Aaron is its resonance with various biblical texts.[50] In terms of the allusions to the biblical tradition, the Aaron section seems to be divided into three parts: (1) Sir 45:8–16 seems to allude to

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[48] The praise of Aaron is 17 verses long, following 21 verses-concerning the Simon account in LXX. Aaron's section is far longer than any other section, including Abraham (3 verses), Moses (5 verses), David, Solomon, Elijah (11 verses each, which marks the next longest account), and Isaiah (3 verses). Consult Skehan and Di Lella, *Ben Sira*, 510. According to Mulder, Aaron occupies the longest line: as many as 32 lines in the Hebrew text of Ben Sira. This is even longer than Simon whose description takes 29 lines. The next longest described figures are sets of fathers such as Joshua-Caleb and Nathan-David, which have 18 lines each. See Mulder, *Simon the High Priest*, 32. See also Skehan and Di Lella, *Ben Sira*, 511.

[49] Mack, *Wisdom and the Hebrew Epic*, 37–41. Based on Israelite history, Mack structures the Praise of the Fathers section according to five concentric and chronological sections: 1) Establishment of the Covenant, 2) Conquest of the Land, 3) History of Prophets and Kings, 4) Restoration, and 5) Climax. Perdue provides a further explanation about Mack's structure as follows; 1) establishment of covenants during the "primordial" beginnings of Israel's history which is shaped by seven heroes; 2) conquest of the land which features the offices and actions of three heroes as Israel makes the transition to the land; 3) central section that sets forth the history of prophets (seven prophets plus one general reference) and kings (also seven plus one general reference) and underscores the bifurcation of office and the tension between vision (prophets) and action (kings); 4) restoration with three heroes which again marks the transition to the land; and 5) climax which features only one here, Simon the high priest, who manifests the sacred order of the first seven figures. See Leo Perdue, review of Mack, Burton L., *Wisdom and the Hebrew Epic: Ben Sira's Hymn in Praise of the Fathers*, AAR 55 (1987): 167. Haspecker also notes the frequent covenantal language in this section. See J. Haspecker, *Gottesfurcht bei Jesus Sirach. Ihre religiöse Struktur und ihre literarische und doktrinäre Bedeutung* (AnBib 30; Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1967), 85, n. 94.

[50] For a discussion of the way in which Ben Sira uses biblical tradition, consult Benjamin G. Wright, "The Use and Interpretation of Biblical Tradition in Ben Sira's Praise of the Ancestors," in *Studies in the Book of Ben Sira: Papers of the Third International Conference on the Deuterocanonical Books, Shime'on Centre, Pápa, Hungary, 18–20 May, 2006* (ed. Géza G Xeravits and József Zsengellér; JSJSup 127; Leiden: Brill, 2008), 183–207.

Exod 28–29 and 40; (2) Sir 45:17 seems to echo Ezek 44:23–24; and (3) Sir 45:18–22 seems to allude to Numbers 16 and 18. In the description of Aaron's priesthood based on the suggested biblical traditions, I suspect that the author is developing Aaron's priestly covenant by means of the priestly covenant of Num 25:13, which is explicitly bestowed upon Phinehas. What remains is to investigate the way in which Ben Sira alludes to and resonates with some biblical traditions, especially in relation to the concept of the priestly covenant of Phinehas.

2.2.1. Priestly Clothing and Sacrifice (Sir 45:6–16 and Exod 28–29, 40)

The author of Ben Sira seems to have a detailed knowledge of the biblical tradition about the priestly clothing and sacrifices, which are described in Exodus 28–29 and Exodus 40. Although the author does not directly quote from the biblical tradition, the wording of Ben Sira's description of the priestly clothing appears to show how extensively the author uses biblical traditions in his wording. Furthermore, the Greek translator seems to elaborate on the text in order to emphasize the intention of his grandfather.

For instance, in a detailed description of the "glorious robe" (Sir 45:8–13), the beauty of the priestly clothing is described as "complete beauty" (כליל תפארת) and "glory" (בכ[ב]וד), which strongly echoes Exod 28:2, where the same words ("for glory and for beauty," לְכָבוֹד וּלְתִפְאָרֶת) are used in relation to Aaron's priestly garment. In terms of the items of the priestly clothing (Sir 45:8c), Ben Sira only includes "robe" (מעיל) and "tunic" (כתנות) among the many items listed in Exod 28:4;[51] however Ben Sira does not miss "breeches" (כנסים) from Exod 28:42.

The tendencies of Ben Sira's wording are also attested in a description of the breast-piece in Sir 45:10c–11.[52] The reference uses words from Exod 28:15–30, especially verses 15 and 21.[53] "The oracle [oracular breast-piece] of judgement, clear [evident]

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[51] Among the list of items, breast-piece, ephod, turban, and a sash (belt) in Exod 28:4 are not mentioned. Missing certain items seems most probably due to the limit of the number of words in a poem. Di Lella also recognizes Exod 28:39 for the "tunic" of fine linen and Exod 28:31–35; 39:20–26 for the special violet "robe" (Sir 45:8c–9). See Skehan and Di Lella, *Ben Sira*, 511.

[52] See also the description on the headdress, "A *crown of gold* upon a turban, a caving of a *seal of holiness*" (στέφανον χρυσοῦν ἐπάνω κιδάρεως, ἐκτύπωμα σφραγῖδος ἁγιάσματος, Sir 45:12a–b) alludes to Exod 28:36–38, especially v. 36, which reads "And you shall make *a pure gold thin plate* and shall put in relief in it *the relief of the seal Holiness* of the Lord" (καὶ ποιήσεις *πέταλον χρυσοῦν καθαρὸν* καὶ ἐκτυπώσεις ἐν αὐτῷ *ἐκτύπωμα σφραγῖδος Ἁγίασμα* κυρίου, Exod 28:36; LXX). Italic is mine.

[53] Some expressions in Sir 45:10 such as "work of an embroiderer" (ἔργῳ ποικιλτοῦ, Sir 45:10b), "oracle of judgment" (λογείῳ κρίσεως, Sir 45:10c), and "twisted scarlet" (κεκλωσμένη κόκκῳ, Sir 45:10d) of Sir 45:10 are alluding to ἔργον ποικιλτοῦ, λογεῖον τῶν κρίσεων, and κοκκίνου

truth" (λογείῳ κρίσεως, δήλοις ἀληθείας, Sir 45:10c)[54] in the Greek text is impressive. The Hebrew text of the portion simply mentions "the breast-piece of judgment, ephod, and belt" (חשן משפט אפוד ואזור, MS B 14v.12), which echoes Exod 28:15 where "breast-piece of judgment" (חֹשֶׁן מִשְׁפָּט) and "ephod" (אֵפֹד) appears together, focusing on how the breast-piece is to be made similar to the ephod. On the other hand, the Greek translation "the oracle [breast-piece] of judgment, for manifestations of truth" (λογείῳ κρίσεως, δήλοις ἀληθείας, Sir 45:10c) relies on the LXX rendering of Exod 28:30, rather than Exod 28:15. Also the phrase in Exodus 28:30 (LXX), "the oracle of judgment, the disclosure and the truth" (τὸ λογεῖον τῆς κρίσεως τὴν δήλωσιν καὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν, Exod 28:30) is a translation of a Hebrew phrase, "in the breastpiece of judgment, you shall put the Urim and the Thummim" (וְנָתַתָּ אֶל־חֹשֶׁן הַמִּשְׁפָּט אֶת־הָאוּרִים וְאֶת־הַתֻּמִּים, Exod 28:30). The Greek verse focuses more on the function of the breast-piece of judgment. This possibly implies that sometimes the Greek translator of Ben Sira was independent of his Hebrew *Urtext* in making a particular scriptural allusion.

In regard to the present study on the priestly covenant, Sir 45:7 is particularly worth noting. In the Hebrew text, the first line of Sir 45:7 reads "and he [God] appointed him an eternal office"[55] (וישימהו לחק עולם, MS B 14v.4). In some priestly texts the phrase חק עולם, which can be rendered as "perpetual ordinance" or "perpetual due," refers to some (food) offerings which belong to God (Lev 6:15 [6:22 in NRSV]) or to some offerings that are allotted to Aaron and his sons (Exod 29:28; Lev 6:11 [6:18 in NRSV], 7:34, 10:15, 24:9; Num 18:8, 11, 19). In the Greek translation the same line reads that "he [God] made an everlasting covenant with him [Aaron]" (ἔστησεν αὐτὸν διαθήκην αἰῶνος, Sir 45:7a), and the next line reads that God gave him (Aaron) the "priesthood of the people" (ἱερατείαν λαοῦ, Sir 45:7b). The Greek translator seems to make a significant change here by replacing the "eternal office" (חק עולם) with the "eternal covenant" (διαθήκην αἰῶνος). This transition from חק עולם to διαθήκην αἰῶνος is strongly reminiscent of Ps 105:10 and 1 Ch 16:17, both of which have an identical reading of a

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κεκλωσμένου in Exod 28:15. Some words in Sir 45:11, such as "stones" (λίθοις, Sir 45:11a) and "engraved seals" (γλύμματος σφραγῖδος, Sir 45:11a) echo λίθοι and γλυφαὶ σφραγίδων in Exod 28:21. Sir 45:11 also alludes to Exod 28:9–11, especially "a work of a jeweler" (ἔργῳ λιθουργου, Sir 45:11b) is only found in Exod 28:11 (ἔργον λιθουργικῆς).

[54] Parker and Abegg translate the phrase as "the oracle of judgment, for manifestations of truth"

[55] Translation is from Parker and Abegg (Ben Sira English, Accordance Module). Di Lella translates this phrase similar to this: "He made his office perpetual" (Skehan and Di Lella, *Ben Sira*, 507).

parallel phrase, where "the statute" (חֹק) and "an eternal covenant" (בְּרִית עוֹלָם) appear in parallel.[56] Significantly, both the Praise of the Fathers and Psalm 105–106 are categorized in a similar literary genre, an epic poem of Israelite heroes.[57] Considering the literary similarity between the Praise of the Fathers and Psalm 105 and Ben Sira's emphasis on the theme of covenant in the first section of the Praise of Fathers (from Enoch to Phinehas, Sir 44:16–45:26), the Greek translator's change from the perpetual ordinance to the perpetual covenant seems intentional, and the parallel between "a statute" (חֹק) and "an eternal covenant" (בְּרִית עוֹלָם) of Ps 105:10 may be considered as a possible backdrop of this change.[58] The way in which the Greek translation enhances the Hebrew text of his grandfather is by using standard scriptural tropes from priestly traditions.

Considering the present issue of priestly covenant, it seems important to recognize the Greek translator's use of explicit covenantal language in relation to Aaron's priestly office in this line (Sir 45:7a and b). According to Olyan, the use of the particular phrase, the "perpetual ordinance" (חק עולם) is a significant characteristic that Ben Sira shares with many of Priestly sources. Olyan correctly suggests that the claim of exclusive covenant with Aaron and his descendants through Phinehas is a characteristic of both Priestly sources and Ben Sira.[59]

Furthermore, this particular verse (Sir 45:7) is worth considering with Sir 45:15. The use of covenantal language in Sir 45:7 may well be understood as the translator's effort to enhance the Hebrew author's intention, rather than to make his own independent development of priestly covenantal ideology. This position is made clearer because priestly covenantal language is already explicit in Hebrew version of Sir 45:15. The Hebrew author of Ben Sira seems to read Exod 28:41 with a priestly covenantal perspective. In Exod 28:41 Moses was spoken to anoint (מָשַׁחְתָּ אֹתָם) and ordain (מִלֵּאתָ אֶת־יָדָם, literally "fill their hand") Aaron and Aaron's sons, and to consecrate (קִדַּשְׁתָּ) them so that they might serve as priests (כִהֲנוּ). In Sir 45:15, the author of Ben Sira seems

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[56] Both Ps 105:10 and 1 Ch 16:17 read, "he confirmed to Jacob as a statute [לְיַעֲקֹב לְחֹק], to Israel as an everlasting covenant [לְיִשְׂרָאֵל בְּרִית עוֹלָם]."

[57] Skehan and Di Lella, *Ben Sira*, 499–500. For a different opinion about the genre of Psalms 105–106 and Sir 44–50, see Lee, *Sirach 44–50*, 22–29. However, Lee argues for a possibility of Ben Sira's imitation of Psalms 104 and 105 in the process of editing Sir 42:15–43:32 and 44:1–50:24 in the present order (Lee, *Sirach 44–50*, 3–10).

[58] By focusing on Ben Sira's description of the priesthood of Aaron and his sons as "perpetual" (Sir 45:7a), Di Lella notes that Exod 29:9 and also Exod 40:15 are related with the first line of Sir 45:7. See Skehan and Di Lella, *Ben Sira*, 511.

[59] Olyan's argument is based on the common vocabulary that is shared commonly in P and Ben Sira. On the basis of this evidence, Olyan argues that the Priestlyschool and Ben Sira shared a common ideology of priesthood. See Olyan, "Ben Sira's Relationship to the Priesthood," 272.

to consider Aaron and his sons' anointment with holy oil (ימשחהו בשמן הקדש, MS B 15r.2) and ordination by Moses (מלא[י] משה את ידו, MS B 15r.2) as a process of giving a particular priestly covenant by adding the phrase, "it is to be to him an eternal covenant [   ] and to his descendants as long as heavens last" (ותהי לו ברית עולם [   ] ולזרעו כימי שמים, MS B 15r.3). Besides the similar wording with Num 28:41, the process yields the same result as Num 28:41, making (or equipping) Aaron and his sons to serve as priest (לכהן, MS B 15r.4). Furthermore, Ben Sira adds "to bless God's people with his name" (ולברך את עמו בשמו, MS B 15r.4) as a priestly role in his writing.

The significance of the development of Aaronic priestly covenant ideology of Ben Sira and its Greek translation may become even clearer considering its biblical background texts. In Exod 28:40–43, Aaron is clothed with priestly clothing. Aaron and his sons are ordained by anointing in the subsequent chapter (Exod 29:1–9). Aaron's priesthood is assured by the perpetual ordinance (וְהָיְתָה לָהֶם כְּהֻנָּה לְחֻקַּת עוֹלָם, Exod 29:9). However, no covenantal language is explicitly attributed to Aaron in Exodus 28–29 nor in other Aaron related priestly biblical accounts. Yet, in the description of Aaronic priestly office based on Exodus 28–29 and Numbers 16–18, both the author and translator of Ben Sira have used the term "eternal covenant" explicitly attributed to Aaron.[60]

In a closing comment about the clothing of Aaron and his sons, the author emphasizes an Aaronic priestly exclusivism by saying that "no alien put them on except his sons alone and his descendants in perpetuity" (οὐκ ἐνεδύσατο ἀλλογενὴς πλὴν τῶν υἱῶν αὐτοῦ μόνον καὶ τὰ ἔκγονα αὐτοῦ διὰ παντός, Sir 45:13). The exclusivism seems to be further emphasized later by the author where he mentions the Korah episode (Sir 45:18–19).

2.2.2. Korah Episode and Priestly Portion and Inheritance (Sir 45:18–22 and Num 16–18)

In Sir 45:18–22, the author refers to the Korah episode of Numbers 16–17 and the priestly allotment of Numbers 18. It seems that the author may have mentioned the Korah episode here in order to emphasize Aaronic exclusivism of the priesthood. Aaronic exclusivism in relation to the priesthood may well be the purpose of the original context of

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[60] About the covenantal ideology, Mack notes that "the idea of covenant is certainly at work, and it is very important as an indication of the essentially priestly theological frame within which Ben Sira stands." See Mack, *Wisdom and the Hebrew Epic*, 76.

the Numbers account.[61] As Di Lella comments, "a strange man" (אִישׁ זָר) in Num 17:5 is referring to one who is not of Aaron's seed.[62] The author of Ben Sira uses the terminology in a very similar sense. The company of Korah (עדת קרח) in Sir 45:18 is called the "strangers" or the "outsiders" (זרים, MS B 15r.9; ἀλλότριοι, LXX). This term seems to be closely related to the "alien" (זר, MS B 14v.17; ἀλλογενὴς, LXX) in Sir 45:13, which refers to ones who have never been clothed with the priestly clothing described in the previous verses (Sir 45:7–12).[63] In other words, the "stranger" or "alien," both in Sir 45:18 and 45:13, most probably refers to non-Aaronic, Levitical descendants and the descendants of the other tribes.

This priestly exclusivism of Aaron and his descendants from other Levites in Sirach 45 may well be relevant to explicit references to the "sons of Aaron" (בני אהרן, MS B19v.5 and SirB 19v.8; οἱ υἱοὶ Ααρων, Sir 50:13 and Sir 50:16) in the praise of Simon section (Sir 50:1–21). The explicit development of Aaronic priestly covenant in Aaron-Phinehas section (Sir 45:6–25) also seems germane to the author's emphasis on the high-priestly authority given to Simon as a descendant of Aaron.

It seems significant that Sir 45:20–22 appears to allude to Numbers 18 in a similar way that Ben Sira has referenced priestly clothing in Sir 45:6–16. The phrase, the "best of the first fruit" (ἀπαρχὰς πρωτογενημάτων) in Sir 45:20 seems to allude to the "best" (ἀπαρχὴ) of the oil and wine in Num 18:12 and "the firstfruit" (πρωτογενήματ) in Num 18:13. A phrase in Sir 45:21, which reads "he [God] give him [Aaron] and his [Aaron's] descendants" in relation to the allotment to Aaron and his sons alludes to "to you [Aaron] and to your sons" of Num 18:8, 9, 11, 19. And Sir 45:22 parallels with Num 18:20 mentioning that God is the portion and inheritance.[64] Concerning the wording and context of the Aaron section in Ben Sira, we may reach an intriguing conclusion that Sir 45:17, which is going to be discussed in the subsequent section, does not match with any of the previously suggested biblical passages.

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[61] Timothy R. Ashley, *The Book of Numbers* (NICOT; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1993), 295–97.

[62] Skehan and Di Lella, *Ben Sira*, 513. As Milgrom notes, the term זר means "unauthorized person, either a nonpriest or non-Levite or even a disqualified priest (Num 18:7)." The term itself does not exclusively refer to non-Aaronic Levites. Therefore the text (Num 17:5) adds "one not of Aaron's offspring," as a reference to Korah the Levite. See Jacob Milgrom, *The JPS Torah Commentary: Numbers* (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society, 1990), 140.

[63] Wright, "The Use and Interpretation of Biblical Tradition," 200.

[64] Consult Sir 45:22 and Num 18:20, which read that "for he [God] is your [Aaron's] portion and inheritance" (αὐτὸς γὰρ μερίς σου καὶ κληρονομία, Sir 45:22) and "I [God] am your [Aaron's] portion and your inheritance" (אֲנִי חֶלְקְךָ וְנַחֲלָתְךָ, Num 18:20; ἐγὼ μερίς σου καὶ κληρονομία σου; LXX Num 18:20).

2.2.3. Priestly Functions (Sir 45:17 and Ezek 44:23–24)

As I have observed in the previous section, the Priestly clothing and sacrifice units (Sir 45:6–13 and 45:14–16) seem to be closely related to Exodus 28–29.[65] Sections of the Korah episode (Sir 45:18–19) and the priestly allotment (Sir 45:20–22) seem to be closely related to Numbers 16–17 and Numbers 18 respectively. However, the context and wording of Sir 45:17 seems not to fit into any of the suggested priestly sources. It seems more likely to be related to the Deuteronomic concept of priestly function. The verse is distinctive from other verses in the same section, which possibly reflects that the author might intentionally add the verse in the Aaronic priestly section with a particular purpose.

The Hebrew text and Greek translation of Sir 45:17 reads as follows:

MS B 15r.7 ויתן לו כל מצותיו] [וימשילהו בחוק ומשפט:

MS B 15r.8 וילמד את עמו חק] [ומשפט את בני ישראל:

MS B 15r.7 And he gave him his commandments [   ] and he caused him to rule through
        both statute and justice/judgment
MS B 15r.8 And he taught his people statute [   ] and the sons of Israel judgment.

ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ ἐν ἐντολαῖς αὐτοῦ ἐξουσίαν
        ἐν διαθήκαις κριμάτων διδάξαι τὸν Ιακωβ τὰ μαρτύρια καὶ
        ἐν νόμῳ αὐτοῦ φωτίσαι Ισραηλ

giving him (Aaron) his (God's) authority in his (God's) commandment,
        to teach Jacob the testimony with the covenant of judgment and
        to enlighten Israel with His law

The emphasis on the teaching role as a priestly function may be one of the most significant literary features of Sir 45:17.[66] The teaching role as a priestly function in this verse possibly alludes to Lev 10:10–11 and/or Ezek 44:22–23.[67] In Lev 10:10–11 Aaron is commanded to distinguish between the holy and the common and between unclean and clean (Lev 10:10). Also Aaron is commanded to teach (וּלְהוֹרֹת, Lev 10:11; συμβιβάσεις, LXX) all the people of Israel all the statutes (כָּל־הַחֻקִּים, Lev 10:11; πάντα τὰ νόμιμα, LXX). In Ezek 44:23 the oracle commands in God's voice that the priests (sons of Zadok

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[65] Sir 45:14 seems to allude to Exod 29:37. Sir 45:15 seems to allude to Exod 28:41 (oil) and Exod 29:7, 9 (ordination); 29:29, 44. Sir 45:16 seems to be closely related to the previous two verses functioning as a conclusive phrase of the sacrificial issue.
[66] Mack, *Wisdom and the Hebrew Epic*, 24–25. Mack analyzes four deeds of priest in the "praise of fathers": 1) teaching, 2) sacrifice, 3) act of judgement/salvation, and 4) defense/restoration.
[67] Skehan and Di Lella, *Ben Sira*, 513.

in its context) should teach (יוֹרוּ[68]; διδάξουσιν, LXX) God's people the holy from common, and make them distinguish (יוֹדִעֵם; γνωριοῦσιν, LXX) unclean from clean. This verse is closely related to Lev 10:11, yet a significant difference from Leviticus would be that the didactic role of priests is even more emphasized in Ezek 44:23.[69]

In the next verse, Ezekiel suggests "judgment" (יַעַמְדוּ לְשְׁפֹּט) as another important priestly function (Ezek 44:24). In addition, a notion of God's law and statutes (וְאֶת־תּוֹרֹתַי וְאֶת־חֻקֹּתַי) in Ezek 44:24 includes the judgment language that also is reminiscent of some phrases in Sir 45:17, such as "statute and judgment" (חוק ומשפט, MS B 15r.7). In sum, the emphasis on the priestly didactic role and judgment in Sir 45:17 seems to be strongly reminiscent of Lev 10:10–11 and Ezek 44:22–23. This allusion is particularly intriguing in regards to the fact that (1) Ezekiel 44 is explicitly quoted in the *Damascus Document* (CD III.21–IV.6), and (2) a *Serek* text is introducing these didactic and judgment elements as priestly roles in a priestly blessing (1QSb III.22–23), which I will discuss in detail in the next chapter.[70]

2.2.4. Literary Analysis of the Account of Phinehas (Sir 45:23–25)

The account of Phinehas (Sir 45:23–25) follows the account of Aaron (Sir 45:6–22), and appears to be closely related. In a three-verse Phinehas account, the author comments on the way in which the Aaronic priesthood is succeeding (Sir 45:25), which shows how closely the Phinehas account is linked with the preceding Aaron account. The appearance of Phinehas following the Aaron account seems to be unexpected according to Di Lella. He notes that "it is interesting to observe that Ben Sira passes over Aaron's son Eleazar and eulogizes next Aaron's grandson Phinehas,"[71] based on which Di Lella comments that "Ben Sira seems intent on proving that Phinehas was the legitimate successor to the high priesthood."[72] However, it seems that the author of Ben Sira uses Phinehas' account in favor of Aaron in order to support Aaron's priestly covenant, and not vice versa. Using the Phinehas material might be one of the best ways to develop Aaronic

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[68] "Make them see" is the literal translation.

[69] In terms of the priestly teaching role, see also Mal 2:7 which reads, "for the lips of a priest should guard knowledge, and people should seek instruction from his mouth, for he is the messenger of the LORD of hosts."

[70] See § 2.2. "*Damascus Document*," and § 2.3.3. "Renewal of the Covenant of the Eternal Priesthood in 1QSb" in chapter 4.

[71] Skehan and Di Lella, *Ben Sira*, 513. His position seems similar to Muler.

[72] Skehan and Di Lella, *Ben Sira*, 513.

priestly covenant tradition to the author, because Phinehas is the one who is explicitly related to the covenantal language (Num 25:13).

As some scholars note, Sir 45:23b–24 clearly alludes to Num 25:11–13. In Sir 45:23b, the author summarizes what Phinehas has done in Num 25:1–10 by linking Phinehas' "zeal for the LORD" (בקנאו לאלוהי כל, MS B 15v.1; cf. בְּקַנְאוֹ, Num 25:11) with Phinehas' "standing [against] during the breach of the people" (ויעמד בפרץ עמו, MS B 15v.1). Ben Sira considers Phinehas' action based on the zeal for the Lord as an "atonement for the sons of Israel" (ויכפר על בני ישראל, MS B 15.v.2) as it is noted in Num 25:13b (וַיְכַפֵּר עַל־בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל). In both texts, Phinehas' atonement constitutes a foundation of Phinehas' priestly related covenant ("the covenant of peace" in Sir 45:23b–24a and "the covenant of eternal priesthood" and "the covenant of peace" in Num 25:12–13).

It appears that the author of Ben Sira is manipulating the way in which the Phinehastic priestly covenant is presented in Num 25:13. Olyan argues that "eternal high priesthood" (כהונה גדולה עד עולם, Sir 45:24c), which is given to Phinehas and his descendants in Sir 45:24 is quoted from the "covenant of eternal priesthood" (בְּרִית כְּהֻנַּת עוֹלָם), which is given to Phinehas and his descendants in Num 25:13, and the author of Ben Sira adds גדולה (μεγαλεῖον in LXX) to the phrase. Olyan further argues that this expression parallels with Sir 50:1, where Simon son of Onias is introduced as "the high priest" (ἱερεὺς ὁ μέγας, Sir 50:1).[73] If Olyan is right, it also seems likely that, concerning the remaining Hebrew text (כהונה גדולה עד עולם, MS B 15v.4) and its Greek translation (ἱερωσύνης μεγαλεῖον εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας, Sir 45:24c), the author not only adds גדולה to the "covenant of eternal priesthood" (בְּרִית כְּהֻנַּת עוֹלָם, Num 25:13), but also omits ברית from the phrase. Therefore there seems to be some adjustments to the phrase "the covenant of eternal priesthood" (Num 25:13) in Ben Sira's use of the biblical Phinehas narrative.

The adjustment of Ben Sira is important especially in regard to the concept of priestly covenant. The expression "covenant of eternal priesthood" in Numbers' account (Num 25:13) may have been changed to the "eternal high priesthood" in Ben Sira's account (Sir 45:24). Consequently, only an ambiguous covenantal phrase, the "covenant of peace" (Num 25:12)[74] remains for Phinehas, and is implied as a basis for the eternal

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[73] Olyan, "Ben Sira's Relationship to the Priesthood," 270.

[74] In terms of a priestly related usage of the phrase, the "covenant of life and peace" appears in Mal 2:5 in relation to Levi: "My covenant with him [Levi] was [the covenant] of life and peace"

priestly office of Phinehas and his descendants (Sir 45:24). It seems also worth noting that the priestly office of Phinehas and his descendants is attributed to the "heritage of Aaron" (κληρονομία Ααρων, Sir 45:25; נחלת אהרן, MS B 15v.6), which is independent of the Phinehas narrative in Numbers (Num 25:1–18). This adjustment seems even more significant because the everlasting (priestly) covenant is explicitly attributed to Aaron twice in Ben Sira's Aaron account (Sir 45:7 and 15), which is not found in any of the biblical narratives concerning Aaron. In sum, Ben Sira's Aaron and Phinehas account (Sir 45:6–25) seems to emphasize (1) the concept of priestly covenant in regard to Aaron and (2) the concept of inheritance in regard to the priesthood of Phinehas and his descendent. Therefore, it seems likely that the Phinehas account is included with the "praise of fathers" in order to develop and support Aaronic priestly covenant tradition.

The author of Ben Sira seems to give an explanation for the phenomenon that priestly covenantal language is related to Phinehas rather than Aaron in biblical texts. By suggesting "inheritance of Aaron," the author seems to suggest that Aaron has received the covenant of eternal priesthood, and Phinehas has succeeded the (high) priestly office as an inheritance. Some scholars argue that Sir 45:25 is written to emphasize that the priesthood is succeeded by all of Aaron's descendants, whereas Davidic kingship affects only one person by direct succession.[75] The notion probably seems to be intended to support Simon's high priesthood in a later chapter (Sir 50).[76] The Phinehas section, by being bound with the Aaron section, seems to show a sample of how the priestly covenant is effective in a Jewish community: being endowed upon Aaron, and succeeded by Aaron's descendants.

2.3. Summaries and Implications

A significant characteristic of the Aaron section in the Praise of Fathers seems to be that every literary unit echoes a biblical text. The Greek translation mostly corresponds with the Hebrew text in terms of the biblical references. When the grandson translated the Hebrew text into Greek, he probably knew about the biblical references. Consequently, when we compare Ben Sira in Greek with Exodus, we can still see the correspondences. However, in some cases, the Greek translation seems to enhance some points in the

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(בְּרִיתִי ׀ הָיְתָה אִתּוֹ הַחַיִּים וְהַשָּׁלוֹם, Mal 2:5). Three other cases of the "covenant of peace" refer to God's promise for peace in the end time, no wrath of God against the Israelites (Isa 54:10; Ezek 34:25; 37:26).

[75] R. A. F. MacKenzie, *Sirach* (OTMes 19; Wilmington, DE: Michael Glazier, 1983), 175; Skehan and Di Lella, *Ben Sira*, 514.

[76] Mack, *Wisdom and the Hebrew Epic*, 28.

Hebrew text possibly in order to make some biblical allusions more clear or to develop a particular feature. It is important to observe that the enhancement seems to be related to making a priestly covenant tradition of Aaron.

In relation to the preceding issue, another significant feature of the Aaron and Phinehas sections is that they employ explicit covenantal language in relation to Aaron. In Sir 45:15, the perpetual covenant (ברית עולם) is attributed to Aaron and also his descendants with a purpose of being a minister to the Lord and serving as priest. The Greek translation seems to emphasize or develop further Aaron's priestly covenant ideology by translating "eternal office/ordinance" (חק עולם) to the "eternal covenant" (διαθήκην αἰῶνος) at the introductory unit of the Aaron section (Sir 45:7a). In this verse, the eternal covenant is directly related to Aaron's priesthood in the following line (Sir 45:7b). In addition to the development of the Aaronic priestly covenant tradition, Ben Sira seems to emphasize the didactic and judgmental role as a significant priestly function.[77] Ben Sira's emphasis on the priestly didactic role with the development of Aaronic priestly covenant tradition seems particularly significant because they seem to be advanced by the *Yahad* movement and be reflected in a *Serek* document in DSS, which will be discussed in the next chapter.[78]

3. Levitical Priestly Covenant Traditions in *Aramaic Levi Document* and *Jubilees*

Some of the later Second Temple period compositions such as *Aramaic Levi Document*, *Testament of Levi*, and *Jubilees* seem to have developed the priestly aspect of Levi traditions.[79] They also seem to shed light on the development of Priestly covenantal ideology for the Levitical priesthood, especially in their use of the zeal motif.

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[77] Mack seems to be missing the didactic function and judgment as a part of the significant or primary role of Aaronic priesthood in Ben Sira, when he comments that "the primary priestly function is the performance of sacrifice, and the sacrifice of major significance is the making of atonement" (Mack, *Wisdom and the Hebrew Epic*, 28). A possible reason that Mack misses the didactic function might be that he attempts to find some common patterns shown in Aaron, Phinehas, and Simon. No notion of any priestly didactic function is found in the Phinehas and Simon account. However Mack's position does not change my argument because my primary interest is in the relationship between Aaronic priestly covenant tradition in Ben Sira and 1QSb rather than between Aaron and Simon.

[78] See § 2.3. "*Serek* Texts (1QS, 1QSa, 1QSb, and 4QS)" in chapter 4.

[79] According to de Jonge and Tromp, accounts of Levi are also attested in *Jos. Asen.*, Dem. and Theod., Ps.-Philo, *Bib. Ant.* 8:7, *Ant.* 1.337–41, *Migr.*, *Abr.* 224, *Mut.*, *Names.* 200, *Sacrifices.* 119–20, and so on. See Marinus de Jonge and Johannes Tromp, "Jacob's Son Levi and the Old Testament Pseudepigrapha and Related Literature," in *Biblical Figures Outside the Bible* (ed. Michael Stone and Theodore Bergren; Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press International, 1998), 203–36. The reference to the name "Levi" occurs 73 times in the Greek Pseudepigrapha; 37 times in the Testament of Patriarchs, 23 times in Joseph and Aseneth, 1 in Aristeas, and 12 in Fragmentary documents, such as F jub/Liber Jubilaeorum (1 time), HDem (Demetrius, 8 times), LTeh (Theodotus, Eus., 3 times). Among the

3.1. *Aramaic Levi Document* and the *Testament of Levi*

The date of *Aramaic Levi Document* is uncertain. It is suspected to be written in the middle of the second century BCE, or as early as the third century BCE.[80] With the remaining fragmentary portions, we may have a reconstructed structure of the *Aramaic Levi Document*, which is similar to the *Testament of Levi*. According to de Jonge, *Aramaic Levi Document* contains Prayer of Levi, Vision of Heaven, Prayer and Vision (cf. *T. Levi* 2–5), Shechem Episode (cf. *T. Levi* 5–7), the Second Vision (cf. *T. Levi* 8), and Elaborate Priestly Instructions given by Isaac (cf. *T. Levi* 9).[81] Due to the poor condition of the remaining Shechem account in *Aramaic Levi Document*, I will consider the corresponding sections of the *Testament of Levi*, and then I will return to the discussion on the *Aramaic Levi Document*.

Twelve Patriarchs, the name is attested in the *Testament of Ruben* (4 times), *Testament of Simeon* (5 times), *Testament of Levi* (10 times), *Testament of Juda* (4 times), *Testament of Issachar* (1 time), *Testament of Dan* (5), *Testament of Napthali* (6 times), *Testament of Gad* (1 time), and *Testament of Joseph* (1 time).

[80] The oldest manuscripts known to us are the fragments found among the DSS. The oldest manuscript seems to be produced at the end of the second century BCE. Michael Stone argues that *Jubilees* is the *terminus ante quem* for ALD, subsequently he claims third century BCE for the date of ALD. See Michael E. Stone, "Enoch, Aramaic Levi and Sectarian Origins," *JSJ* 19 (1988): 159–70, esp. 159. De Jonge and Tromp argue that it is difficult to prove whether *Jubilees* used the ALD, so they did not take Stone's suggestion. See de Jonge and Tromp, "Jacob's Son Levi," 213. Relatively recently Esther Eshel made an attempt to demonstrate ALD and Genesis Apocryphon served as sources for *Jubilees*. See Esther Eshel, "The Aramaic Levi Document, the Genesis Apocryphon, and Jubilees: A Study of Shared Traditions," in *Enoch and the Mosaic Torah: The Evidence of Jubilees* (ed. Gabriele Boccaccini and Giovanni Ibba; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2009), 82–98, esp. 82. Kugel argues the late second century for the final formation of the text with recognition of earlier sources, which include the "Levi section of an ancient, priestly trilogy ['Levi's Priestly Initiation']." See James L. Kugel, "How Old is the Aramaic Levi Document?," in *A Walk through Jubilees: Studies in the Book of Jubilees and the World of its Creation* (JSJSup 156; Leiden: Brill, 2012), 343–64, esp. 363–64.

[81] See de Jonge and Tromp, "Jacob's Son Levi," 214. In terms of the textual relationship between ALD and *T. Levi*, de Jonge concludes that "eventually all available texts go back to one document [ALD], although they display a number of divergencies where they overlap." He further notes that "there is no reason to posit a Jewish intermediate stage between ALD and *T. Levi*." See Marinus de Jonge, "Levi in Aramaic Levi and in the Testament of Levi," in *Pseudepigraphic Perspectives: The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. Esther G. Chazon and Michael Stone; STDJ 31; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 89. See also, Marinus de Jonge, "The Testament of Levi and 'Aramaic Levi'," in *Jewish Eschatology, Early Christian Christology and the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs: Collected Essays of Marunus de Jonge* (ed. H. J. de Jonge; NovTSup 63; Leiden: Brill, 1991), 251–55. For a detailed discussion on the relationship between Aramaic Geniza Testament of Levi and alleged Qumran text of Levi, see Joseph A. Fitzmyer, "The Aramaic Levi Document," in *The Provo International Conference on the Dead Sea Scrolls: Technological Innovations, New Texts, and Reformulated Issues* (ed. Donald W. Parry and Eugene Ulrich; STDJ 30; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 453–59. For different structural suggestions, consult Jonas C. Greenfield, Michael E. Stone, and Esther Eshel, *The Aramaic Levi Document: Edition, Transltation, Commentary* (SVTP 19; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 11–18, 56–109; Henryk S. D. B. Drawnel, *An Aramaic Wisdom Text from Qumran: A New Interpretation of the Levi Document* (JSJSup 86; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 53–54, 354–73.

Testament of Levi is part of a larger piece of literature, the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs.[82] The date of the composition in its present form is no earlier than the end of the second century CE, yet there is scholarly consensus that the present form contains traditions from as old as second century BCE.[83] According to de Jonge, roughly *T. Levi* 2–9; 11–12; 13 correspond with *Aramaic Levi Document*, from which he concluded the *Testament of Levi* was modeled on a Levi-document resembling the *Aramaic Levi Document*.[84] Although the overall structure of the *T. Levi* is very complicated, the first verse of the composition roughly provides a program of the whole story: "This is a story concerning all the sons of Levi were to do, and the things that would happen to them until the Day of Judgment" (*T. Levi* 1:1); the first half of the text (chs 1 to 9) seems to focus on Levi's priesthood; and the latter half (chs 10 to 19) deals with the failure of the sons of Levi, their exile, and the anticipation of the eschatological priest.

One of the most important characteristics of the story, in regards to our concern, is that Levi's priesthood is well developed in the first half of the composition, where the accounts of Levi's two visions (*T. Levi* 2:5–5:7 and 8:1–19) surround the Shechem episode (chs 6 and 7). Although a particular expression of "the covenant of priesthood" is not attested in the text, some characteristics are still worth noting.

First, the most prominent theme in Levi's two visions concerns the process of making Levi a priest. In the first vision (*T. Levi* 2:5–5:7) an angel said, "you [Levi] shall be his [Lord's] priest" (*T. Levi* 2:10); "you should become a son to him [the Most High] as minister and priest in his presence" (*T. Levi* 4:2). Levi's priesthood is also declared in the voice of the Most High saying, "Levi, to you I have given the blessing of the priesthood until I shall come and dwell in the midst of Israel" (*T. Levi* 5:2). The second vision (*T. Levi* 8:1–19) seems to be Levi's ordination ceremony. In the beginning of the vision, seven men said to Levi, "Arise put on the vestments of the priesthood" (*T. Levi* 8:2), which is

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[82] For more detailed introduction and translation of the text, see James H. Charlesworth, ed., *Apocalyptic Literature and Testaments* (vol. 1 of *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*; 2 vols.; New York: Doubleday, 1983), 775–838, esp. 788–95. For a critical notes and commentary, see H. W. Hollander and Marinus de Jonge, *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs: A Commentary* (SVTP 8; Leiden: Brill, 1985), 129–83. See also Marinus de Jonge, ed., *The Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs: A Critical Edition of the Greek Text* (PVTG; Leiden: Brill, 1978).

[83] See de Jonge and Tromp, "Jacob's Son Levi," 220, n. 34. Kugler attempts to reconstruct pre-Christian sources of the composition. See Robert A. Kugler, *From Patriarch to Priest: The Levi-Priestly Tradition from Aramaic Levi to Testament of Levi* (SBLEJR 9; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996). For a detailed discussion on the manuscripts of the text, consult Hollander and de Jonge, *The Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs*, 10–25.

[84] Hollander and de Jonge, *The Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs*, 130.

followed by the first man's announcement, "from now on be a priest, you and all your posterity" (*T. Levi* 8:3).

The Shechem episode (*T. Levi* 6:1–7:4) occurs between the two visions. And it is this account that develops the "zeal" motif (*T. Levi* 6:3–5). The structure of the text, where the Shechem episode (*T. Levi* 6:1–7:4) is surrounded by two visions (*T. Levi* 2:5–5:7 and 8:1–19) both of which announce Levi's priesthood, shows a possibility of the relationship between the Shechem episode and Levi's designation of priesthood. The link between the development of the zeal motif in Levi's Shechem episode and Levi's priestly designation strongly echoes Phinehas' zeal motif, which endowed him with the priestly covenant (Num 25). No matter how the relationship between Aaron and Phinehas has been developed in Aaronide traditions,[85] the *Testament of Levi* seems to progress the Levitical priestly ideology in light of the "zeal" motif by which Phinehas has been granted the covenant of the perpetual priesthood (Num 25:13).[86] In addition, in terms of Levi's brutal violence, Levi's integrity is partially protected by stating that Levi's killing the Shechemites was viewed as "vengeance" and also by placing the angel as the ultimate agent of the incident who assigned Levi to perform the vengeance (*T. Levi* 5:3).

Olyan recognizes the significance of Levi in the *Testament of Levi*, especially in relation to his various functions, by saying that "[*T. Levi*] speaks of Levi as priest and scribe par excellence."[87] As Olyan notes, Levi is depicted as the source of "priests, judges, and scribes" in the *Testament of Levi* (8.17). These three roles of Levi are particularly significant concerning the priestly roles in some of the Aaronic traditions in Ezekiel and Ben Sira.

In the *Aramaic Levi Document*, Levi's priestly aspect seems to be emphasized as it is in *Jubilees*.[88] The necessity of purity and holiness in the sacrifices and the performance of the priestly role are stressed in the text. De Jonge and Tromp raise the possibility that

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[85] The traditions of Levitical priestly ideology might have stood as a rival against the traditions of Aaronic priestly ideology.

[86] The passage reads, "because I was filled with zeal on account of the abominable thing they had done to my sister" (*T. Levi* 6:3). This reading is slightly different from Numbers 25 where the Phinehas' zeal is recounted as the zeal on behalf of God. The "zeal" motif here seems also slightly different from *Jubilees*. Here the "zeal" motif is familial (*T. Levi* 6:3), whereas in *Jubilees*, the "zeal" motif seems to refer to Israel as a whole (cf. *Jub* 30:18). These differences in detail, however, do not diminish the importance of these later Second Temple texts' use of the "zeal" motif in light of Phinehas tradition of Numbers 25. In addition, this possibility also helps us to see the relationship between the Levi accounts of the two documents (*T. Levi* and *Jubilees*) although some details of the zeal motif in each composition are slightly different.

[87] Olyan, "Ben Sira's Relationship to the Priesthood," 279.

[88] For the similarity of the context of Levi accounts in the two texts, see Eshel, "A Study of Shared Traditions," 82–87.

the expression "the kingdom of the sword" (vv. 4–6) in the second vision might refer to the Shechem episode,[89] which may have been written before this section. Although the Shechem account is not preserved well, it is strongly suspected that *Aramaic Levi Document* contains the Shechem account, which may be similar to but longer than the Shechem account in *Testament of Levi*.[90] They also note that in ALD 78–79 Levi's action at Shechem is mentioned before his appointment to the priesthood.[91] Therefore in *Aramaic Levi Document* we have an even longer version of the Shechem account, which is closely related to Levi's priestly appointment. Consequently, the relationship between Levi's priesthood and the zeal motif of Shechem episode is also evident in *Aramaic Levi Document* as it is in *Testament of Levi*.[92] The combination of the zeal motif and priestly appointment again strongly echoes Phinehas' zeal and endowment of the covenant of the perpetual priesthood (Num 25:13).

In this regard, Stone's suggestion is noteworthy. He gives very precise information about how to practice sacrifice, which of course the Qumran community has not been practicing, but hoped to exercise at some time. Stone mentions the priestly-Noachic tradition with Qahat, which concerns priestly lore that has been passed on through the Noah cycle. The Levites are the heirs of a particular priestly tradition, which was written in books handed down to the later generations, which implies that they have authentic antiquity. Therefore, according to Stone, Amram-Qahat-Levi are undergirding of a priestly teacher, which presents the Adamic priesthood as being associated with Levi materials.[93] Kugler also argues for the Levitical priestly ideology in *Aramaic Levi Document* by stating that "the work [ALD] probably poses Levi as an ideal figure over against an existing priesthood. . .it must at least be understood as an exaltation of Levi as the archetypal priestly figure."[94]

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[89] See de Jonge and Tromp, "Jacob's Son Levi," 224–28.
[90] See de Jonge, "The Testament of Levi and 'Aramaic Levi'," 252. De Jonge recognizes that *T. Levi*'s tendency to shorten the underlying text.
[91] See de Jonge and Tromp, "Jacob's Son Levi," 216.
[92] See de Jonge and Tromp, "Jacob's Son Levi," 216–17.
[93] Stone, *Ancient Judaism: New Visions and Views*, 31–58.
[94] Kugler, "The Priesthood at Qumran," 473. According to Kugler, a similar image is reflected in the *Testament of Kohath* (4Q542) and the *Visions of Amram* (4Q543-548). For partial publications of *Visions of Amram* see Józef T. Milik, "4Q Visions de ʿAmram et une citation d'Origène," *RB* 79 (1972): 77–97. *Testament of Kohath* see Èmile Puech, "Le Testament de Qahat en arameen de la grotte 4 [4QTQah]," *RevQ* 15 (1991): 23–54.

3.2. *Jubilees*

The book of *Jubilees* is a paraphrase of biblical history from the creation to Mt
Sinai, where Moses received the law. The date of the composition is suspected to be
around the first half of the second century BCE.[95] Gilders claims that Jubilees is
fundamentally a covenantal document, arguing for a development of Sinai covenant based
on Noah's covenant in the text.[96] According to Gilders, in terms of the patriarchs the
covenantal focus in *Jubilees* is upon Jacob rather than Abraham.[97] The emphasis on the
covenantal aspect of Jacob seems to shed light on the present search for a Levitical priestly
covenantal ideology, and also on the relationship between *Jubilees* and the *Temple Scroll*
in regards to Jacob-Levi priestly ideology based on the *Temple Scroll*'s notion of the
covenant of Jacob. In addition, the covenant in *Jubilees* is, according to Gilders, strongly
related to sacrifice.[98] In terms of the priestly aspect, it is important that Enoch is
recognized as an authority on sacrifice in *Jubilees*.[99] It is significant because this supports
the claim of a stream of priestly tradition of Enoch, Noah, and Levi.[100] For now we will
focus on the development of priestly covenant tradition in relation to Levi.

Levi is a significant figure in *Jubilees*.[101] *Jubilees* contains the account of Levi in
chapters 30 to 32, where it predominately covers the Shechem (Gen 34) and Bethel (Gen

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[95] According to VanderKam and Milik, the earliest manuscript seems to be copied in the middle or late second century BCE. See James C. VanderKam and Józef T. Milik, "First Jubilees Manuscript from Qumran Cave 4," *JBL* 110 (1991): 243–70, esp. 246. Wintermute, in the introduction to his translation of *Jubilees*, assumes the date between 161–140 BCE, based on VanderKam's assertion that the latest historical event in *Jubilees* is the Maccabean wars in 161 BCE. See O. S. Wintermute, "Jubilees: A New Translation and Introduction," in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* (ed. James H. Charlesworth; New York: Doubleday, 1983), 43–44. For a further introduction to *Jubilees*, consult James L. Kugel, *A Walk through Jubilees: Studies in the Book of Jubilees and the World of its Creation* (JSJSup 156; ed. H. Najman; Leiden: Brill, 2012), 1–17. For a brief discussion on the history of scholarship on Jubilees, see James C. VanderKam, "The Origins and Purpose of the *Book of Jubilees*," in *Studies in the Book of Jubilees* (ed. Matthias Albani, et al.; TSAJ 65; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1997), 4–16.

[96] William K. Gilders, "The Concept of Covenant in Jubilees," in *Enoch and the Mosaic Torah* (ed. Gabriele Boccaccini and Giovanni Ibba; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2009), 178, 182–83.

[97] Gilders, "The Concept of Coveanant in Jubilees," 186–87. The importance of the covenantal aspect of Jacob in *Jubilees* has been argued earlier by Halpern-Amaru. See Betsy Halpern-Amaru, "The Metahistorical Covenant of Jubilees," in *Rewriting the Bible: Land and Covenant in Post-Biblical Literature* (ed. Betsy Halpern-Amaru; Valley Forge, PA: Trinity Press International, 1994), 25–54.

[98] Gilders, "The Concept of Coveanant in Jubilees," 188.

[99] David W. Suter, "Jubilees, the Temple, and the Aaronite Priesthood," in *Enoch and the Mosaic Torah: The Evidence of Jubilees* (ed. Gabriele Boccaccini and Giovanni Ibba; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1997), 410.

[100] Brooke, "Patters of Priesthood," 1–12.

[101] In terms of an aspect of Jubilees' emphasis on Levi, Betsy Halpern-Amaru adds an intriguing study on Jubilees' emphasis on Leah, Levi's mother. See Betsy Halpern-Amaru, "The Naming of Levi in the Book of Jubilees," in *Pseudepigraphic Perspectives: the Apocypha and Pseudepigrapha in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. Esther G. Chazon and Michael Stone; STDJ 31;

35) episodes.[102] The priestly aspect of Levi is developed in this section, but *Jubilees* 30–32 does not carry the explicit expression of the "covenant of priesthood" in its development of the priestly aspect of Levi. The term "covenant" is attested only once in this section (*Jub* 30:21) without a particular priestly nuance.[103] However, some characteristics of Levi's priestly aspect in this section are worth noting for a further discussion. First, the passage (*Jubilees* 30) reads the Shechem incident of Genesis 34 in light of the issue of intermarriage with gentiles (*Jub* 30:1–7). In addition, the passage imposes the "zeal" motif in its reading of the narrative: "because he (Levi) was zealous to do righteousness and judgment and vengeance against all who rose up against Israel" (*Jub* 30:18b).[104]

In terms of *Jubilees'* use of the zeal motif in *Jub* 30:18, two significant features can be recognized. First, the zeal motif in *Jubilees* seems to be more conceptualized than it is in *Aramaic Levi Document* or the *Testament of Levi*. The zeal is related to performing righteousness and judgment for Israelites in *Jubilees*. Levi's zeal and consequent violoence in *Jubilees* seems to go beyond family revenge. Second, more importantly, the zeal motif is presented as the reason that Aaron and his sons were chosen for the priesthood (*Jub* 30:18a). Therefore in *Jubilees* as it is in *Aramaic Levi Document* and *Testament of Levi*, Levi's priesthood and of his sons' are closely related to Levi's zeal motif, and consequently draws the readers' attention to Phinehas again in conjunction with the covenant of the perpetual priesthood of Phinehas (Num 25). In this sense, *Jubilees'* development of the relationship between a zeal motif and Levi's priesthood is very significant, especially in regards to the development of the Levitical priestly ideology.

Leiden: Brill, 1999), 59–69. Halpern-Amaru observes that "infertility and giving birth to the distinguished heir is strongly implied in the Genesis narratives of the matriachs" as one may see in case of Sarah, Rebekah, and Rachel who gave birth to Isaac, Jacob, and Joseph respectively. According to Halpern-Amaru, in *Jubilees* the term "barren" (*makanat*) appears only once in relation to Leah, subsequently she considers this as a "forecast that she [Leah], like her predecessors, will give birth to the covenantal heir" (Halpern-Amaru, "The Naming of Levi," 66–67). Halpern-Amaru concludes that "Leah's image as a matriarch is greatly enhanced in Jubilees' account" (Halpern-Amaru, "The Naming of Levi," 67).

[102] An abbreviated account of the Shechem incident (*Jub* 30:1–4) includes a relatively large section of the prohibition of intermarriage with gentiles (*Jub* 30:5–23). The Bethel episode on sacrifice and tithe is expanded and concludes with giving (second) tithes to priests and not to sanctify the court at Bethel (*Jubilees* 32). An interesting account of Isaac's blessing of Levi and Judah occurs before the Bethel sacrifice (*Jubilees* 31). See de Jonge and Tromp, "Jacob's Son Levi," 207–208.

[103] The context for this instance of the term "covenant" is the Angel's commandment to Moses to warn the Israelites not to transgress the ordinances or break the covenant (*Jub* 30:21–23). The "ordinances and covenant" of this passage seem to refer to the Mosaic covenant as a whole.

[104] The zeal motif here seems to be general. The reference is not concerning the issue of Levi's sister any more, but refers to the issue of who rose up against Israel (*Jub* 30:18).

Although the narrative does not include the explicit term, "covenant of priesthood" for Levi, *Jubilees* seems to develop Levi's priestly covenant tradition by projecting the combination of Levi's zeal motif and priesthood to Phinehas' zeal motif and the covenant of perpetual priesthood. Based on Denis concordance, the zeal language never reflects the motif of Phinehas' zeal outside Aramaic Levi Document, *Testament of Levi*, and *Jubilees* among the Pseudipigraphal texts, which means Phinehas' zeal seems to be used only in favour of Levitical priesthood at least in pseudipigraphal texts.

In addition, Levitical priestly covenant ideology in *Jubilees* seems to be related to a particular claim of the text. Maier suggests that Jacob's stay at Bethel in *Jubilees* 32 is linked with the installation of Levi as priest and the deposition of the cultic tributes in accordance with the heavenly tablets (*Jub* 32:21–22). Thus, he argues that in this way *Jubilees* ascribes the origin of a significant portion of biblical law and custom to the patriarchal era.[105] The patriarchs in *Jubilees* are described to have observed all the law included in the later-to-be-given Torah. This view seems to reinforce Maier's argument that the date of the establishment of the cultic laws is a main concern of the story of Levi's priesthood in *Jubilees*. In this sense, *Jubilees'* development of Levi's priestly covenantal image through the lens of Phinehas' zeal motif seems significant because by doing so the author may be presenting Levi as a prefiguration of Phinehas in order to attribute the origin of priestly covenant tradition to the patriarchal era as the author has done for other biblical laws and customs.

If there has been a particular priestly tradition for Levi and Levites as Olyan and Wright argue, then the following observations can be made. First, the three documents *Aramaic Levi Document*, *Testament of Levi*, and *Jubilees* seem to support some biblical accounts, such as Nehemiah, Malachi, and Jeremiah (Pan-Levitical, according to Olyan), in the sense of the development of the priestly covenant ideology. Second, in a list of biblical figures in these compositions, Levi seems to play a very important role in terms of the priestly covenant building for a particular stream of priestly traditions. Levi's Shechem tradition seems to be used in a significant way, from which some of the later Second Temple texts have developed priestly covenant ideology by projecting Levi's zeal motif onto Phinehas' zeal motif. And third, in this sense, it seems that the (priestly) covenant for Levi is only presupposed in all the Levi-covenant accounts in some biblical texts (Nehemiah and Malachi). The later Second Temple period documents seem to develop the

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[105] Johann Maier, *The Temple Scroll: An Introduction, Translation and Commentary* (JSOTSup 34; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1985), 86.

missing scene by using Phinehas' priestly covenant tradition and also by identifying Levi as a prefigure of Phinehas, the holder of the covenant of the perpetual priesthood.

4. Conclusion

In this chapter biblical priestly traditions are discussed as they reflect largely two priestly ideologies: First, Deuteronomic priestly ideology which also may be named as Enoch-Levi traditions that are represented in the priestly development of Deuteronomy, Malachi, and Jeremiah, where the Levitical priesthood is emphasized. Second, priestly sources with Ezra-Nehemiah, Chronicles, and Ezekiel could reflect a particular priestly ideology in which sons of Aaron (and sons of Zadok, particularly in Ezekiel) occupy a prominent priestly position. Based on this priestly frame, Ben Sira, and *Aramaic Levi Document* with *Jubilees* have been further investigated with a purpose of locating priestly covenantal elements.

In Ben Sira, both the Hebrew author and Greek translator seem to have developed Aaronic priestly covenant by using standard scriptural tropes from priestly traditions. Ben Sira explicitly attributes the priestly covenant to Aaron (Sir 45:6–22), which seems to be attributed to Phinehas in the original context (Num 25:13 echoed in Sir 45:23–25). Additionally, in *Aramaic Levi Document* and *Jubilees*, Levi's priestly ideology seems to be highly developed by projecting the zeal motif of Levi's Shechem episode onto Phinehas' zeal for God. The emphasis on Levi's priestly covenantal element in these texts seems to be related to a claim of antiquity of the Levitical priestly ideology. In this sense the implication seems fruitful considering the way in which Hasmoneans developed their priestly covenantal authority. As we have investigated in chapter 2, in 1 Maccabees Hasmoneans seem to have claimed the legitimacy of their high priesthood based on Phinehas' covenant of the eternal priesthood (Num 25:13) by projecting Mattathias' zeal onto Phinehas' zeal motif. The claim of antiquity of the priestly covenantal ideology in some Levitical priestly traditions such as *Aramaic Levi Document* and *Jubilees* may have been employed by the *Moreh Zedek* movement as a counter claim against Jerusalem priesthood.

In the following chapter, I will investigate some quasi-sectarian and sectarian documents to see the ways in which these two priestly ideologies and their traditions are reflected and developed in them, so that we may gain insights from the location and

meaning of these priestly ideologies and traditions in the *Moreh Zedek* movements and the subsequent *Yahad* movements.[106]

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[106] For an explanation of some terms, such as "quasi-sectarian," "*Moreh Zedek* movement," and "*Yahad* movement," consult footnotes 1 and 2 of Chater 4 "Sectarian Priestly Covenant Traditions."

Chapter 4

Sectarian Priestly Covenant Traditions

The previous chapter discussed biblical priestly traditions as they reflect largely two priestly ideologies. The Deuteronomic priestly ideology, which is also referred to as the Enoch-Levi traditions, is represented in the priestly development of Deuteronomy, Malachi, and Jeremiah, where the Levitical priesthood is emphasized. The other ideology is found in the Priestly sources and in Ezra-Nehemiah, Chronicles, and Ezekiel and could reflect a particular priestly viewpoint in which the sons of Aaron (and sons of Zadok, particularly in Ezekiel) occupy a prominent priestly position. Based on this priestly frame, Ben Sira, *Aramaic Levi Document*, and *Jubilees* were further investigated with the purpose of locating particular priestly covenantal elements.

In this chapter, first I am going to argue that although references to "sons of Aaron" and "sons of Zadok" are attested in the *Damascus Document*, the text reflects extensively the Levitical priestly traditions. One of the most significant characteristics of the Levitical tradition is its claim to the antiquity of the priestly covenant ideology. The Levitical priestly tradition seems to draw back the priestly covenant to the patriarchal period by projecting Levi's Shechem episode onto the zeal motif of Phinehas. I suspect this claim of antiquity of the priestly covenant possibly shows the reflection of the *Moreh Zedek* movement[1] against Hasmoneans' claim for their high priesthood ideology. This claim appears to be based on Phinehas' covenant of eternal priesthood, a position that is supported by projecting Mattathias' slain at the Modain altar onto Phinehas' zeal motif. Second, I will argue that after the death of the Teacher the movement seems to have used Aaronic priestly tradition in order to set up a particular priestly leadership group, which succeeds the late *Moreh Zedek*. In the process the sectarians seem to use Ben Sira as a lens through which they envisage a picture of the particular priestly leadership group with emphasis on the priestly didactic role. I suspect that this process is reflected in *Serek* documents such as 1QS with 1QSa and 1QSb. This observation seems to suggest that the

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[1] By "*Moreh Zedek* movement" I imply the movement that was lead by the Teacher of Righteousness roughly in the 2nd century BCE. For the post-*Moreh Zedek* movement, I use a term, "*Yahad* movement." The time when *Moreh Zedek* (or the Teacher of Righteousness) appears has no schoraly consensus and is related to the issue of the date of D and S materials. For my position on the relationship between D and S materials, see chapter 4 footnote 87.

Moreh Zedek movement and the subsequent *Yahad* movement inherit various priestly traditions from various sources. The movements have copied and preserved *Jubilees* and *Aramaic Levi Document* on the one hand, and Ben Sira, on the other hand. They seem to have used the various priestly traditions selectively according to their particular needs: sometimes externally to argue against their contemporary rival and at other times internally to establish a distinguished priestly group in a process of community building.

1. Priestly Covenant Traditions in Some Quasi-Sectarian Documents[2]

1.1. *Temple Scroll*

The *Temple Scroll* seems to shed light on the present discussion on priestly covenant traditions.[3] The text is considered to be compiled between the third and the second century BCE.[4] It has two distinctive sections: 1) a section on the structure of the temple begins with the holy of holies and moves outwards and 2) the law section based on Deuteronomy 12–22.[5] Swanson, in his study on the methodology of 11QT, rightly recognizes the *Temple Scroll*'s extensive use of Deuteronomy. He notes that most of Deuteronomy 12–26 is used, and chapter 28 is significantly used. Yet Swanson also notes that the use of Deuteronomy is often placed in a context of priestly materials, such as Leviticus and Numbers.[6] The literary character of 11QT may show some literary dynamic between Levitical priestly ideology and Aaronic priestly ideology. The literary character of 11QT shows the overall Deuteronomic background of the *Temple Scroll*, but at the same time some Priestly sources are interwoven into the text. Thus, we may envisage an overall Levitical preference in the *Temple Scroll* within which various viewpoints are presented.

Kugler suggests an interesting layout in regard to the status of Levites in various Qumran texts. According to Kugler's review of the relationship between the Levites and

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[2] The term "quasi-sectarian documents" is used here in order to refer to compositions, which the fully developed sectarians of the first century BCE ("*Yahad* movement" in my term) would most likely have used and identified with, but which were not composed by sectarians. Such compositions thus seem to be on a trajectory that is moving towards sectarianism and so are almost sectarian or quasi-sectarian.

[3] The *Temple Scroll* and 4QMMT seem to have sources that reflect the pre-Qumranic, parental movement of *Yahad*. For a detailed argument, consult Florentino García Martínez and A. S. van der Woude, "A 'Groningen' Hypothesis of Qumran Origins and Early History," in *Qumranica Minora: Qumran Origins and Apocalytpticism* (ed. Florentino García Martínez; STDJ 58; Leiden: Brill, 2007), 31–52.

[4] Harmut Stegemann, "The Literary Composition of the Temple Scroll and Its Status at Qumran," in *Temple Scroll Studies: Papers Presented at the International Symposium on the Temple Scroll, Manchester, December 1987* (ed. George J. Brooke; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1989), 128–30.

[5] Brooke, "Looking Backwards," 2–3.

[6] Dwight D. Swanson, *The Temple Scroll and the Bible: The Methodology of 11QT* (STDJ 14; Leiden: Brill, 1995), 5.

the priests, based on Turner's sociological role concept,[7] in the *Temple Scroll* Levites are

sometimes (1) elevated in status over priests (11QT XXI.1 and XXII.12), (2) sometimes

are elevated in status, but remain second to priests (11QT LVII.12 and LX.12, 14), (3)

sometimes remain second to priests without elevated status (11QT XXI.4; XXII.4;

LVIII.13), and (4) other times, are exalted as a tribe among the twelve (11QT XXIII.9–10;

XXIV.11; XXXIX.12; LX.14–15).[8] Kugler's study shows a wide range of Levitical social

positions in the *Temple Scroll*.

The dynamic is also suspected in Schiffman's study on the allocation of the Levites

in 11QT LX.1–11.[9] As Schiffman correctly recognizes, the passage (11Q19 lx.1–11) most

probably uses Deuteronomy 18 and Numbers 18.[10] An interesting point in relation to our

discussion is that in Numbers 18 the priests mentioned are the sons of Aaron (Aaronic

priestly ideology in a Priestly source), whereas in Deuteronomy 18 the priests are the

Levitical priests (Enoch-Levi priestly ideology in Deuteronomy). So who are the priests in

the *Temple Scroll*?[11] Actually, we have both. In 11Q19 lxiii.3 the priests are identified as

the sons of Levi (הכוהנים בני לוי). We also have other places where the priests are

mentioned alongside the sons of Aaron (11Q19 xxii.4–5, xxxiv.13, and xliv.5). So it is

hard to claim a particular dominant priestly ideology in the *Temple Scroll*. Yet these

references at least show us the *Temple Scroll*'s favour for the Levites.

One of the most significant literary elements of the *Temple Scroll*, especially in

relation to the discussion of the priestly covenant, may be the text's explicit reference to

the covenant that has been made with Jacob. The reference to the covenant of Jacob is

found in a key editorial passage, which links sections between the first column to the next

several columns, which possibly reflects the editor's preferences. 11Q19 xxix.10 reads as

follows;

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[7] Jonathan Turner, *The Structure of of Sociological Theory* (Chicago: Dorsey, 1986).

[8] Kugler, "The Priesthood at Qumran," 465–79, esp. 467–73.

[9] Lawrence H. Schiffman, "Priestly and Levitical Gifts in the Temple Scroll," in *The Provo International Conference on the Dead Sea Scrolls: Technological Innovations, New Texts, and Reformulated Issues* (ed. Donald W Parry and Eugene Ulrich; STDJ 30; Leiden: Brill, 1996), 480–96.

[10] Schiffman, "Priestly and Levitical Gifts," 495.

[11] For this particular passage, Schiffman, based on Yadin's reconstruction of 11QT I.169, says that "the passage refers to the priests the Levites, the entire tribe of Levi" (Schiffman, "Priestly and Levitical Gifts," 490). However in the overall identification of the priests in the *Temple Scroll*, Schiffman seems to emphasize the sons of Aaron exclusively. See Schiffman, "Priestly and Levitical Gifts," 495.

11Q19 xxix.8–10[12]

<div dir="rtl">

11Q19 xxix.8   אתמה לעולם ועד ואקדשה [את מ]קדשי בכבודי אשר אשכין

11Q19 xxix.9   עליו את כבודי עד יום הבריה אשר אברא אני את מקדשי

11Q19 xxix.10   להכינו לי כול הימים כברית אשר כרתי עם יעקוב בבית אל.

</div>

Translation

8. with them forever and always. I shall sanctify My [te]mple with my glory, for I shall make my glory reside

9. over it until the day of creation, when I shall create my temple,

10. establishing it for myself for all days, according to the covenant which I made with Jacob at Bethel

A significant issue in this reference is whether this covenant of Jacob includes any priestly aspect because in some later Second Temple period sources (such as ALD and *Jubilees*) the priesthood of Levi is developed in relation to Jacob's Bethel episode.[13] According to the immediate context, the third person singular pronominal suffix ו of להכינו (11Q19 xxix.10) seems to refer to "my [God's] sanctuary [or Temple]" from the preceding line (מקדשי, 11QT XXIX.9). Thus, the line seems to imply that God would establish His Temple for Himself to fulfill the covenant with Jacob at Bethel.[14] Therefore, the *Temple Scroll* appears to consider the Bethel account (either Genesis 28 or 35) as a matter of God's making a covenant with Jacob, according to which God promised to build his sanctuary. In a recent study on the traditions of Jacob, Brooke convincingly argues that the covenant with Jacob in 11Q19 xxix is about the construction of the Temple and the ordering of its sacrificial system, which 1) makes the covenant of Jacob different from a typical patriarchal covenant about the land or the abundance of descendants, and 2) relates Jacob's Bethel experiences to the Jerusalem Temple.[15] Further review on various Qumran

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[12] The text and the translation are from the Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition. See Florentino García Martínez and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, eds., *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition* (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 1250–51.

[13] Consult § 3. "Levitical Priestly Covenant Traditions in *Aramaic Levi Document* and *Jubilees*" in chapter 3.

[14] Yigael Yadin, *The Temple Scroll* (3 vols.; vol. 2; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1983), 130. Maier is skeptic to associate the covenant of Jacob with the Temple particularly in relation to his reading of *Jub* 32 of which he emphasizes cultic law and custom rather than temple building. See Maier, *The Temple Scroll*, 86. Wise attempts to read the covenant with Jacob in 11QT as a more general patriarchal covenant by reconstructing "[Isaac at Gerar, and Abraham at Haran ...]" at the end of line 10 (11Q19 xxix.10), which is not textually supported. Even if the covenant of Abraham and Isaac is listed here, Jacob seems to gain much interest because of the order of the list which differs from a normal alignment of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. It still seems that the covenant with Jacob at Bethel is a controlling motif in the remaining text.

[15] According to Brooke, *Jubilees* 32, *Apocryphon of Jeremiah C^a* (4Q385a), *Sectarian Rule* (5Q13), and *Eschatological Commentary A* (4Q174) confirms the relationship between the covenant of Jacob and the temple construction of 11QT XXIX. For a detailed arguments see George J. Brooke, "Jacob and His House in the Scrolls from Qumran," in *Rewriting and Interpreting the Hebrew Bible:*

materials enables Brooke to concludes that "although Jacob is indeed sometimes associated with Abraham and Isaac in the Deuteronomic trio as the heir of the gift of the land and blessed offspring, nevertheless he is also especially associated with matters to do with the cult, with the temple and its sacrificial practices, and particularly with its priesthood that comes through his fatherhood of Levi."[16] Brooke's argument for the relationship between the Levitical priestly ideology and the patriarchal covenant is convincing and shed light on our discussion. Based on Brooke's arguments we may conclude that the covenant of Jacob in the *Temple Scroll* is related to the matter of antiquity of the priestly covenant of Levi to the patriarchal period.

In addition, the *Temple Scroll* seems to represent a pluralistic viewpoint in relation to the priestly ideologies, similar to the perspective of the Torah. As it is been discussed above, the pluralistic viewpoint of the *Temple Scroll* is reflected in its use of Deuteronomic traditions, alongside priestly sources. Also, this perspective can be observed by the fact that the *Temple Scroll* identifies priesthood sometimes as Levites and at other times as the sons of Aaron. This characteristic seems important in order to understand the priestly ideologies in D (the *Damascus Document* and the parallels) and reflects some significant implications that need further development.

1.2. 4QMMT

4QMMT, also known as a halahkic letter,[17] is a work consisting of 130 lines with at least three distinct literary sections: 1) Calendar and its Date, 2) Halakhot, and 3) Homiletic-Paraenetic Section.[18] Generally, 4QMMT focuses on rules and regulations

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The Biblical Patriarchs in the Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls (ed. D. Dimant and R. G. Kratz; BZAW 439; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2013), 174–75. See also Schiffman, "The Concept of Covenant," 263–64.

[16] Brooke, "Jacob and His House," 179. According to Brooke, close cultic views on Jacob and Levi appear both in Aramaic and Hebrew Qumran texts, in sectarian as well as pre-sectarian documents (Brooke, "Jacob and His House," 179). For more discussion on a particular relationship between Levi/Levites in Jacob at Bethel in DSS, consult George J. Brooke, "Levi and Levites in the Dead Sea Scrolls and the New Testament," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the New Testament* (London: SPCK, 2005), 115–39, esp. 115–26.

[17] Although "halahkic letter" is relatively wide-known epithet for this composition, there is no scholarly consensus about the genre of the text. See Elisha Qimron and John Strugnell, *Qumran Cave 4: V: Miqsat Ma'a'se Ha-Torah* (DJD X; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), 113–14; Hanne von Weissenberg, *4QMMT: Reevaluating the Text, the Function, and the Meaning of the Epilogue* (STDJ 82; Leiden: Brill, 2009), 9–15.

[18] This is Qimron and Strugnell's reconstruction based on the remaining six manuscripts (4QMMT[a–f]). See Qimron and Strugnell, *Miqsat Ma'a'se Ha-Torah*, 109. The editors of the *editio princept* suggest a possibility of the existence of another literary section, which is not proved due to the missing of the beginning portion of the text. The distinctiveness of the suggested three sections makes it hard to conclude a particular genre of the text. The literary distinctiveness of the remaining three

around the priestly practice in Jerusalem. And yet, the closing section of the 4QMMT seems to reflect Deuteronomic language. 4QMMT refers to and quotes from Deuteronomy in a way in which someone may evaluate whether anyone is keeping the rules and regulations.[19] In regards to the priestly covenantal aspect of the present study, 4QMMT seems to show similar features to the *Temple Scroll* in a way in which the priestly sources are interwoven with the Deuteronomic literary features, especially regarding covenantal language and framework, reflecting the mixture of various priestly traditions.

There has been scholarly discussion on a possible priestly polemic of the laws in 4QMMT. Based on the analysis on the laws of the Halakhic section, the editors of the *editio princeps* argue that 4QMMT suggests the identification of the proto-Qumranites with Sadducees, and they consider the adversaries in 4QMMT as Pharisees or proto-Pharisees.[20] This position of the Sadducean origin of the sectarian movement is further claimed by Schiffman who argues that "the earliest members of the sect must have been Sadducees. . .who protested the following of Pharisaic views in the Jerusalem Temple under the Hasmonean priests."[21] This position, however, has been questioned by other scholars. One of the reviewers of the *editio princeps*, Baumgarten, only found two laws (out of a suggested 17 laws) that can be identified with a Sadducean position, based on which he concludes that "the Sadducees and the Qumran exegetes, though distinct, followed similar and more stringent approaches in the area of purity."[22] Grabbe is even

sections possibly reflects a complexity of the compilation of the text. See Charlotte Hempel, "The Laws of the Damascus Document and 4QMMT," in *The Damascus Document: A Centennial of Discovery. Proceedings of the Third International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature. 4-8 February 1998* (ed. Joseph M. Baumgarten, et al.; STDJ 34; Leiden: Brill, 2000), 83–84.

[19] For a brief summary of each section of the text, see George J. Brooke, "Luke-Acts and the Qumran Scrolls: The Case of MMT," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the New Testament* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2005), 165–66.

[20] Qimron and Strugnell, *Miqsat Ma'a'se Ha-Torah*, 114–21, esp. 117. See also Yaᶜakov Sussmann, "The History of the Halakha and the Dead Sea Scrolls: Preliminary Talmudic Observations on 4QMMT," in *Qumran Cave 4 V* (ed. Elisha Qimron and John Strugnell; DJD 10; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), 179–200. Sussman suspects that the Boethusiams in rabbinic literature were Sadducees and refer to Essenes (Sussmann, "The History of the Halakha and the Dead Sea Scrolls," 194–95).

[21] Laurence H. Schiffman, "The New Halakhic Letter [4QMMT] and the Origins of the Dead Sea Sect," *BA* 53 (1990): 69. See also Laurence H. Schiffman, "Miqṣat Maᶜaśe Ha-Torah and the Temple Scroll," in *The Courtyards of the House of the Lord* (ed. Florentino García Martínez; STDJ 75; Leiden: Brill, 2008), 124–26, 145–46.

[22] Joseph M. Baumgarten, "Sadducean Elements in Qumran Law," in *The Community of the Renewed Covenant: The Notre Dame Symposium on the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. Eugene Ulrich and James VanderKam; CJAS 10; Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1994), 30.

more skeptical of the Saducean hypothesis for the same reason.[23] As Baumgarten notes, Josephus' description of the priesthood in Jerusalem seems also to be against Schiffman's Sadducean hypothesis.[24] Speaking in favor of the present study, the halakhah in 4QMMT seems more likely "Sadducean inclusive" rather than "Sadducean," if it must be considered within the frame of a Sadduean-Pharisaic dispute. However, more importantly it seems still problematic to attempt to make a direct relationship between various Second Temple period priestly groups and the sects of the first century BCE, such as Sadducees and Pharisees. In terms of the present study, it seems that recognition of some Deuteronomic covenantal features of the priestly oriented halakhic section of 4QMMT is more significant.

Interestingly, we have two instances of "sons of Aaron" in 4QMMT.[25] The first is related to the issue of the "purity of the heifer of the sin offering" (על טהרת פרת החטאת, 4Q394 f3–7 i.16). The other instance is found in the issue of illegal marriage between priests and gentiles or Israelites (both priests and laymen) and gentiles (4QMMT B 79).[26] The use of the reference to the sons of Aaron in 4QMMT seems similar to the description of the figure at least in some part of the *Damascus Document*.[27] The reference to the sons of Aaron in 4QMMT seems different from the use of the reference in *Serek* documents in which the reference seems to be developed explicitly in relation to the concept of

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[23] Lester L. Grabbe, "4QMMT and Second Temple Jewish Society," in *Legal Texts and Legal Issues: Proceedings of the Second Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies Cambridge 1995* (ed. Moshe Bernstein, et al.; STDJ 23; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 89–108, esp. 98.

[24] Baumgarten, "Sadducean Elements in Qumran Law," 30–31. Based on Josephus (*Ant.* 13.10.6 §§ 293–298), Baumgarten comments that "Hasmoneans under Hyrcanus and more so during the reign of Alexander Jannaeus abandoned the Pharisaic regulations and aligned themselves with the Sadducees." The era of Hyrcanus and Jannaeus is approximately from the middle of the second century BCE to the first three decades of the first century BCE.

[25] The first instance is found in 4QMMT B 16–17 (4Q394 f3–7 i.19–ii.1), and the second is attested in 4QMMT B 79 (4Q396 f1–2 iv.8).

[26] This is based on Qimron and Strugnell's interpretation on "And concerning to the practice of illegal marriage that exists among the people: (this practice exists) despite their being so[ns] of holy [seed]" (ועל הזונות הנעסה בתוך העם והמה בֹ[ני זרע], 4QMMT B 75[= 4Q396 f1–2 iv.4]). Baumgarten suggests an intermarriage between Israelites, which includes both priests and laymen, and aliens for the "illegal marriage" (Qimron and Strugnell, *Miqsat Ma'a'se Ha-Torah*, 55 n. 75 and 171 n. 178a). Concerning 4QMMT B 80–81 (4Q396 f1–2 iv.9–10), it is likely that at least "priest" (הכהנים, 4Q396 f1–2 iv.9) is related to this marriage issue.

[27] Hempel made a good observation on the various use of the term, "sons of Aaron" in DSS. See 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* (ed. Anthony Hilhort, et al.; JSJSup 122; Leiden: Brill, 2007), 210–12, 223–24.

covenant.[28] In contrast, the overall priestly laws are presented implicitly in the Deuteronomic covenantal framework in 4QMMT.[29] As Hempel has suggested, these differences of the use of the reference to the sons of Aaron in 4QMMT, the *Damascus Document*, and *Serek* texts might reflect the development of the concept of the sons of Aaron among the Dead Sea Scrolls, and the sons of Aaron in relation to the cultic interests with purity issue in 4QMMT, belonging to the earlier usage of the reference.[30] Therefore, in terms of the development of priestly ideology in DSS, 4QMMT is probably located in between the *Temple Scroll* and *Serek* materials.[31]

In sum, two important features of 4QMMT are noteworthy in relation to the present study. First, the halakhic section is strongly priestly oriented, and this position has been widely recognized.[32] The particular priestly related laws, which have been sub-categorized by the term, *torot* by some scholars show some similarities among 4QMMT, the *Damascus Document*, and the *Temple Scroll*.[33] As Hempel uses the term *torot* in the sense of the "special lore of the priesthood," the laws in 4QMMT are not only concerned with how cultic rules, such as the purity of the priests, apply to whether or not one can participate in the cult as it is employed in the *Damascus Document*, but also concerns with very strong priestly regulations, such as whom the priests can marry (4QMMT B 75–82).

Second, a Deuteronomic covenantal aspect in 4QMMT is recognizable. Von Weissenberg has made a strong argument for the Deuteronomic feature of 4QMMT by

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[28] For a detailed discussion on the use of sons of Aaron in the *Damascus Document* and *Serek* texts see § 2.1.3. "Aaron and Sons of Aaron in the *Damascus Document*" and § 2.2.1.1. "Sons of Zadok and Sons of Aaron in 1QS" in the present chapter.

[29] See von Weissenberg, *4QMMT*, 126.

[30] 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* (ed. Anthony Hilhort, et al.; JSJSup 122; Leiden: Brill, 2007), 219, 223–24.

[31] Or this may imply a possible editorial insertion of the sons of Aaron in a later copy of the manuscript, which does not have any evidence yet.

[32] See Hempel, "The Laws of the Damascus Document and 4QMMT," 74; Von Weissenberg, *4QMMT*, 114. Both Hempel and von Weissenberg commonly comment that priestly concerns occupy the "heart" of the halakhic section of 4QMMT.

[33] Hempel, "The Laws of the Damascus Document and 4QMMT," 74. The definition is from Milgrom's analysis on Leviticus 1–16. For Milgrom's definition, see Jacob Milgrom, *Leviticus 1-16: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB; New York: Doubleday, 1991), 2. For the similarity between the halakhic sections of 4QMMT and the *Damascus Document*, consult Hempel, "The Laws of the Damascus Document and 4QMMT," 73–80. In a comparative study between 4QD materials and 4QMMT, Hempel concludes that 4QD materials and 4QMMT shares some similarities on some significant halakhic issues, such as the disqualification of priests, skin disease, flux and childbirth, agricultural matters, and defilement through contact with gentiles. Based on this observation, Hempel claims 4QMMT had used the "earlier collections of halakhot of the kind that lie behind the Laws of D" that consequently suggests the possibility of a complex editorial stages of 4QMMT which partly challenges the traditional view on 4QMMT as a letter by the Teacher of Righteousness to the wicked priest (Hempel, "The Laws of the Damascus Document and 4QMMT," 83–84).

highlighting 1) textually in the Halakhic rules such as priestly gifts and priestly marriages,[34] 2) Jerusalem as the central cultic place both in 4QMMT and Deuteronomy,[35] and 3) blessings and curses in the epilogue section[36] and overall covenantal structure of the text.[37] Although she does not suggest a particular genre for 4QMMT as a whole, due to the distinctiveness of the three sections, she has argued for Deuteronomic characteristics in the text. As von Weissenberg has argued, these features are found not only in the epilogue but also in the textual background to some halakha, and in the understanding of the Jerusalem temple. These Deuteronomic characteristics in the text are important especially to the present study. In 4QMMT various priestly regulations seem to have been read under the overarching Deuteronomic covenantal aspect, which also seems to be found in the *Temple Scrolls* and the *Damascus Document*.

2. Priestly Covenant Traditions in Some Sectarian Documents

2.1. *Damascus Document*

I view that the *Damascus Document* represents the *Moreh Zedek* movement in the second century BCE. I hold this position partly because of all the adjustments that were made in the document in the first century BCE in the Qumran copies.[38] I will argue that the Teacher included a number of different groups and ideologies in his sectarian movement, and they seem to embrace different cultic officials and priestly groups, wisdom teachers, and apocalypsists. The coexistence of different points of view in the *Damascus Document* seems to reflect these realities.

In terms of priestly traditions and ideologies, the *Damascus Document* seems to be similar to the *Temple Scroll*, which reflects the plurality of priestly ideologies in *Moreh Zedek* movement. The favour of the Levites seems to coexist with Aaronic (Zadokite)

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[34] According to von Weissenberg, "the priests' gifts in B62–64 are based on Deut 26; Lev 19:23–25; 27–30, 32; 2 Ch 31:6 and the forbidden marriages between the priests and the israelites in B75–82 are based on Deut 22:9, 11; Lev 19:19; 21:13–15. See von Weissenberg, *4QMMT*, 121–29, esp. 121, n. 48.

[35] See von Weissenberg, *4QMMT*, 124. Von Weissenberg emphasizes that considering Jerusalem as the central cultic place is only implied in Deuteronomy.

[36] This section is called the "Homiletic-Paraenetic" Section according to Qimron and Strugnell.

[37] See von Weissenberg, *4QMMT*, 126; Brooke, "The Case of MMT," 158–76, especially 165–66. Von Weissenberg argues that overall structure of 4QMMT "implicates and adjusts a covenantal pattern of biblical laws," which consists of 1) an incipit, 2) legal statements, and 3) a paraenetic conclusion with references to blessings and curses, although she does not claim the *Bundesformular* as the genre of the whole text (von Weissenberg, *4QMMT*, 127).

[38] A discussion on the date of D (the *Damascus Document*) materials and its relationship with S (*Serek*) materials is found in footnote 87 of this chapter.

priestly ideology in the *Damascus Document*. On the one hand, the *Damascus Document* seems to be significantly influenced by Deuteronomic theology, which contains a Levitical priestly theme. We can also see some traces of *Aramaic Levi Document* or *Jubilees* in the text.[39] On the other hand, Aaronic-Zadokite priestly traditions are made explicit in certain places based on Ezekiel. However, although Aaronic priestly ideology is adapted in the text, the ideology seems not to be significantly developed compared to the *Serek* material, which will be dealt with in the next section. In the subsequent sections, I will focus on CD III–IV and 4QD[a] f5–f6 of the *Damascus Document* that are closely related with my overall topic.[40]

2.1.1. Levitical Priestly Ideology in the *Damascus Document*

Deuteronomic influence in the *Damascus Document* seems to appear first in the structure of the *Damascus Document*. Weinfeld views the Hittite Suzerain treaty as the backdrop to Deuteronomy's peculiar literary structure. This framework includes, according to Von Rad, four components: History (Deut 1–11), Laws (Deut 12:1–26:15), Mutual Obligations (Deut 26:16–19), and Blessing and curses (Deut 27–29).[41] Klaus Baltzer has suggested that the structures of the *Damascus Document* and the *Rule of the Community* serve as an example of the the way in which the "covenant formulary" of the Hebrew Bible has been changed and adapted in the Jewish and Christian writings of the Second Temple period.[42] Philip Davies holds the same position concerning the nature of the text as covenant-formulary, although he suggests a slightly different structure from Baltzer.[43] The proposed structures of CD, 1QS, and Deuteronomy by Baltzer and Davies exhibit a commonality, and may well represent the covenant formulary within each structure. Collins endorses this argument in his comment on the literary style of CD. He states that "the blend of exhortation and law in any case is typical of Deuteronomy, often thought to be the prototype for CD, and more generally of covenantal texts."[44]

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[39] For the *Aramaic Levi Document* in the *Damascus Document*, see Greenfield, Stone, and Eshel, *The Aramaic Levi Document*, 25–31.

[40] For a fulsome reference to the Levites in DSS, consult Brooke, "Levi and Levites," 116–26. See also Steven Fraade, *Legal Fictions: Studies of Law and Narrative in the Discursive Worlds of Ancient Jewish Sectarians and Sages* (JSJSup 147; Leiden: Brill, 2011), 195–96.

[41] Moses Weinfeld, "*berit*," *TDOT* 2:265.

[42] Philip Davies, *The Damascus Covenant: And Interpretation of the "Damascus Document"* (JSOTSup 25; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1982), 50–51.

[43] Davies, *The Damascus Covenant*, 52–53.

[44] John J. Collins, *Beyond the Qumran Community: The Sectarian Movement of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2010), 14. For a detailed literary structure of the *Damascus Document*, see Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *A Guide to the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature* (SDSSRL;

Moreover, Deuteronomic ideology of blessing and curses seems to play a significant role throughout the Admonition section of the *Damascus Document*.[45] In every passage of the history section of the *Admonition*, Jonathan Campbell has found a significant amount of allusions to Deuteronomy, particularly Deuteronomy 29.[46] In addition, the *Admonition* section's allusion to Leviticus 26 is worth noting.[47] Leviticus 26 describes a typical structure of the Deuteronomic blessings and curses (Lev 26:1–13 and 14–39) with emphasis on the "exilic motif" as the realization of the covenantal curses (Lev 26:33–39, 43). All of this is designated as "statutes" (החקים), "judgments" (המשפטים), and "law (or Torah)" (התורת) that Yahweh established on Mt. Sinai though Moses (Lev 26:46). The concept of covenant in Leviticus 26 strongly reflects Deuteronomic covenant theology. Furthermore, as it has been discussed in a previous section on the *Temple Scroll*, Leviticus 26 is the only place where Jacob is directly related to the explicit mention of the "covenant" in biblical tradition (Lev 26:40–45). The *Damascus Document*'s use of Deuteronomy and Leviticus 26 is possibly reminiscent of the *Temple Scroll*, which seems to be related to a development of a priestly sub-plot of Qumran covenant, especially for the Levitical priestly covenantal ideology.

In a similar sense, the *Damascus Document* explicitly refers to Levi as the son of Jacob (CD IV.15). Brooke argues for the priestly significance of the reference to Jacob as

Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2008), 189–96. The covenant formulaic structure of the *Damascus Document* is also related to the issue of the genre of the composition of which a liturgy for the covenant renewal ceremony is suggested. The liturgical aspect of the *Damascus Document* in relation to the covenant renewal ceremony will be dealt with at the end of this section.

[45] Based on the various literary styles of the compositions, the *Damascus Document* is largely divided into two parts: the *Admonition* (CD I–VIII/XIX–XX) and the *Laws* (CD IX–XVI). According to Davies, Becker and Kuhn, Rabinowits, and Schwarz subdivide the *Admonition* into Historical Section and Midrashic (or Exegetical) Section. Hempel subdivides the *Law* into Halakhah and Community Legislation. For a detailed discussion on the various literary sources of the *Damascus Document*, consult Davies, *The Damascus Covenant*, 48–49. See also Charlotte Hempel, *The Laws of the Damascus Document: Sources, Tradition, and Redaction* (STDJ 29; Leiden: Brill, 1998), 20–21.

[46] According to Campbell, the extensive use of Deuteronomy in the *Admonition* section is attested in both the Historical Section and Midrashic Section. Campbell recognizes that various phrases, in the first passage of the historical section of the *Admonition* (CD I.1–2.1), alludes to Deut 9:12, 16; 27:17; 28:20, 29; 29:20, 21, 26; 31:17, 20. In the second passage of the historical section of the *Admonition* (CD II.14–IV.12a), Deut 9:23; 12:8, 23; 29:18, 28 are noted to be alluded to. Deut 1:13; 13:6; 27:17; 32:28 are pointed to be alluded to in the third passage of the historical section of the *Admonition* (CD V.16b–VI.11a). In order to see a precise location of the each reference, see Jonathan Campbell, *The Use of Scripture in the Damascus Document 1–8, 19–20* (BZAW 228; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1995), 56, 75–76, 92 respectively.

[47] According to Campbell, all of the historical section of the Admonition alludes to Leviticus 26; in the first section (CD I.1–II.1), CD I.3, 4, 17 allude to Lev 26:40, 42 and 45, and 25 respectively. In the second section (CD II.14–IV.12a), CD III.10 alludes to Lev 26:33. In the third section (CD V.15b–VI.11a), CD XVI.2 alludes to Lev 26:45. For a detailed discussion, consult Campbell, *The Use of Scripture*, 57–59, 72–79, and 91–95 respectively.

the father of Levi, both in Hebrew and Aramaic traditions from Qumran caves.[48] According to Brooke, Jacob is mentioned mostly "for the role of Jacob as father of Levi and as the anchorman of the priesthood which that particular act of parenting enshrines."[49] This leads him to concludes that "Jacob seems to have developed particular priestly genes and those genes are most certainly Levi's."[50] This argument shows that the explicit reference to Levi as the son of Jacob in the *Damascus Document* (CD IV.15) echoes the Levitical priestly preference of the text.[51] However, other priestly elements, which will be dealt with in the subsequent sections, also are attested in the *Damascus Document*.

2.1.2. Sons of Zadok in CD III.21–IV.12a

In terms of the priestly development, one of the most significant features in the *Damascus Document* is the explicit reference to the "sons of Zadok." The presentation of the sons of Zadok in the *Damascus Document* is important because it is more inclusive than the original Ezekiel context. By the time of the composition of the *Damascus Document*, Chronicles and Ezekiel were the texts that deal specifically with the priestly concept of Zadok or sons of Zadok.[52] In Chronicles the initiation of Zadok's priesthood is developed.[53] And the term "sons of Zadok" is attested only in the Vision of the Temple account in Ezekiel 40–48 (Ezek 40: 46; 44:15; 48:11) in the biblical texts.[54] Ezekiel's vision of the Temple account is quoted and further discussed in CD III.21–IV.12a:[55]

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[48] Brooke, "Jacob and His House," 174–76.

[49] Brooke, "Jacob and His House," 176.

[50] Brooke, "Jacob and His House," 176.

[51] For a detailed discussion of other instances of the reference to Levi in the *Damascus Document*, see Kugler, "The Priesthood at Qumran," 468–71. See also Brooke, "Levi and the Levites," 122–24.

[52] For a detailed discussion on earlier Zadokite priestly traditions, see § 1.2. "Zadokite Priestly Traditions" in chapter 3.

[53] The development begins from David's warrior (1 Ch 12:29) and ruler of the house of Aaron (1 Ch 12:28) to the co-priest with Abiarthar (1 Ch 24:3, 6, 31) and finally sole priest at the time of Solomon (1 Ch 29:22). The priesthood of Zadok and Ahimelek in Chronicles is rooted in Aaron (1 Ch 24:1). In 2 Ch 31:10, High Priest Azariah is explicitly associated with "of the house of Zadok." This reflects that the name Zadok becomes representative as a branch of priestly houses (2 Ch 31:17), where the priesthood as a whole is represented as the "sons of Aaron" (2 Ch 31:19) in both 1 and 2 Chronicles.

[54] Singular form of "son of Zadok" is attested in 2 Sam 18:19, 22, 27, and 1 Kgs 4:2 where the term exclusively refers to Azariah, the physical son of Zadok. The plural form of the "sons of Zadok" is attested only in Ezekiel and refers to a particular priestly group.

[55] The text is from Martin G. Abegg, "Qumran Non-biblical Manuscripts: Qumran Text and Grammatical Tags" (Ver. 3.2; *Accordance 10: Bible Software*, 1999–2009). The translation is from Michael O. Wise, Martin G. Abegg, and Edward M. Cook, *The Dead Sea Scrolls-Revised Edition: A New Translation* (SanFrancisco: HarperOne, 2005), 54–55.

CD III.21 הקים אל להם ביד יחזקאל הנביא לאמר הכהנים והלוים ובני

CD IV.1 צדוק אשר שמרו את משמרת מקדשי בתעות בני ישראל

CD IV.2 מעלי הם יגישו לי חלב ודם. ‖ הכהנים הם שבי ישראל

CD IV.3 היוצאים מארץ יהודה והנלוים עמהם. ‖ ובני צדוק הם בחירי

CD IV.4 ישראל קריאי השם העמדים באחרית הימים. הנה פרוש

CD IV.5 שמותיהם לתולדותם וקץ מעמדם ומספר צרותיהם ושני

CD IV.6 התגוררם ופירוש מעשיהם. {הקודש שונים} ‹אנשי הקודש הראשונים› אשר כפר

CD IV.7 אל בעדם ויצדיקו צדיק וירשיעו רשע. וכל הבאים אחריהם

CD IV.8 לעשות כפרוש התורה אשר התוסרו בו הראשנים עד {שלים} ‹שלום›

CD IV.9 הקץ השנים האלה. כברית אשר הקים אל לראשנים לכפר

CD IV.10 על עונותיהם כן יכפר אל בעדם. ובשלים הקץ למספר השנים

CD IV.11 האלה אין עוד להשתפח לבית יהודה כי אם לעמוד איש על

CD IV.12 מצודו. נבנתה הגדר רחק החוק ובכל השנים האלה יהיה

CD III.21   God promised them by Ezekiel the prophet, saying, "The priests and the Levites and the sons of
CD IV.1   Zadok who have kept the courses of My sanctuary when the children of Israel strayed
CD IV.2   from Me, they shall bring Me fat and blood"(Ezekiel 44:15). "The priests": they are the repentant of Israel,
CD IV.3   who go out of the land of Judah and the Levites are those accompanying them; "and the sons of Zadok": they are the chosen of
CD IV.4   Israel, the ones called by name, who are to appear in the Last Days. This is the precise account
CD IV.5   of their names by their generations, and the time they appeared, the number of their troubles and the years of
CD IV.6   their sojourn and the precise account of their deeds. < …> holiness < …> whom God atoned
CD IV.7   for, and they acquitted the innocent and condemned the guilty, as well as all who come after them
CD IV.8   who act according to the interpretation of the Law by which the forefathers were taught, until the age is over,
CD IV.9   that is, the present time. Like the covenant God made with the forefathers to atone
CD IV.10   for their sin, so shall God atone for them. When the total years of this present age are complete,
CD IV.11   there will be no further need to be connected to the house of Judah, but instead each will stand on
CD IV.12   his own tower;"the wall is built, the boundary removed"(Micah 7:11). But in the present age

In CD III.21 the author/editor of *Damascus Document* explicitly mentions Ezekiel, saying "God promised them by Ezekiel the prophet" (הקים אל להם ביד יחזקאל הנביא, CD III.21), and the phrase quotes from Ezek 44:15. Yet, there is a significant difference in the quotation. In Ezek 44:15, God refers to one group; the sons of Zadok is the apposition to the Levitical priests, "the Levitical priests, sons of Zadok" (וְהַכֹּהֲנִים הַלְוִיִּם בְּנֵי צָדוֹק, Ezek 44:15). By making this reference Ezekiel presents the sons of Zadok as a particular priestly group of the Levitical household (Ezek 44:15), which is differentiated from non-priestly Levites in the Vision of the Temple account (Ezek 44:10–31, esp. 44:10, 13).[56] The

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[56]   The most critical criterion is the accessibility to the altar. The priest group (Ezek 44:13), which is also called "the Levitical priests, the sons of Zadok" (Ezek 44:15) is distinguished from the other Levites (Ezek 44:10) in regards to the sacrifices and offering (Ezek 44:13–14). The distinction of the priestly group from non-priestly Levites is one of the significant features of the priestly ideology of the Priestly sources (Num 18).

distinctiveness of sons of Zadok seems to be deemphasized in the *Damascus Document*.

In the *Damascus Document*, the author, by adding the conjunction ו, divides the religious elite into three separate groups: "The priests, and the Levites, and the sons of Zadok" (הכהנים והלוים ובני צדוק, CD III.21–IV.1). In the succeeding descriptions of the three groups, the priests, alongside Levites, are described as the "repentant of Israel" (הם שבי ישראל, CD IV.2) who "went out of the land of Judah" (היוצאים מארץ יהודה, CD IV.3) when "the sons of Israel strayed from me [God]" (תעות בני ישראל, CD IV.1). The description of the three groups seems to have positive connotations according to CD VI.4b–5, which reads "the well is the Law, and its diggers are ⁵the repentant of Israel who went out of the land of Judah and dwelt in the land of Damascus." The three groups are probably the "first people" in the *Moreh Zedek* movement (CD IV.6b–10a).[57] They are described as the "first men of Holiness" (אנשי הקודש הראשונים, CD IV.6) whom "God atoned" (אשר כפר אל, CD IV.6–7) and also are probably referred to as "princes" (שרים, CD VI.6), which possibly reflects a certain kind of leadership.

The "first people" seem significant in terms of our concern with the priestly covenant ideologies, because the text juxtaposes the first men with the concept of covenant. Reading the ambiguous term, ראשנים (CD IV.6, 8, 9) in this passage is significant for in CD IV.8 it probably refers to the "first men" of Holiness that the ones after them have to conduct themselves according to the instruction that is taught to the first men.[58] The term ראשנים in CD IV.6 is a reconstruction based on CD IV.8. The third instance of ראשנים in CD IV.9 is significant. If it refers to the first men as it does in the other two cases, then we have an interesting phrase that God shall forgive those who follow the first men according to the covenant that God has made with the first men (כברית אשר הקים אל לראשנים) in order to forgive their sins (לכפר על עונותיהם, CD IV.9–10). On the other hand, the term could refer to "forefathers," as some translators have adopted.[59] If this is the case, the text relates the first people and those who follow them to the covenant that God has made with the forefathers which possibly refers to Noah, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob (CD III.1–4).

So here in page IV of CD, the sons of Zadok, the priests, and the Levites seem to constitute the "first men." And the "first men" possibly made a covenant with God, which

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[57] The text mentions about the ones who come after them (the first ones) in CD IV.7.

[58] Geza Vermes, *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English* (London: Penguin Books, 2004), 132. Wise-Abegg-Cook read this text as "forefathers." See Wise, Abegg, and Cook, *A New Translation*, 55.

[59] Wise, Abegg, and Cook, *A New Translation*, 55.

is related to the atonement of sins for themselves and for those who come after them. Alternatively, the sins of the first men and those who follow them shall be forgiven based on the covenant that God has made with the forefathers. The priestly aspect of the covenant (atonement of the sins) seems to be interwoven with the initiating group of a movement, which possibly consists of the sons of Zadok, the priests, and the Levites. Therefore, in the *Damascus Document*, both the sons of Zadok and the Levites seem to be considered as significant groups in relation to the initiation of the movement.[60]

One other instance of the reference to the sons of Zadok is attested in 4Q266 f5i.16, which belongs to the "Cultic Purity of Priests and Sacrifices" section (4Q266[4QDᵃ] f5i.8–f6), according to Fitzmyer.[61] This text comments on the eschatological return directly preceding the priestly laws.[62] Here the sons of Zadok are explicitly identified as priests (ב[ני צדוק הכהנים, 4Q266 f5i.16).[63] They also seem to be related to the interpretation of the Law (מדרש ה[תורה, 4Q266 f5i.17). The entire portion of the cultic laws (4Q266 f5 ii–f6) with the portion of sons of Zadok (4Q266 f5 i), which is suggested to be located between the end of the Cairo manuscript B and the column 15 of the Cairo manuscript A, is missing in the Cairo manuscripts. The missing of this portion in the Cairo manuscripts suggests it was removed at some stage, either in antiquity or in the early Middle Ages. If this editorial omission was performed in antiquity, it is more significant considering the omission of the phrase "sons of Zadok" in 4QSᵇ ᵃⁿᵈ ᵈ material. The missing of the priestly law section, in addition to the omission of the sons of Zadok and sons of Aaron in the later Cairo manuscripts may possibly be another case of editorial reworking of their priestly aspect in a later stage of the *Yahad* movement, though it cannot be confirmed by clear evidence.

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[60] Kugler, in his reading of this passage (CD III.21–IV.4), assumes that the community has identified themselves as Levites symbolically, as the former altar priests who were in exile and cut off from the temple. See Kugler, "The Priesthood at Qumran," 479.

[61] Fitzmyer, *A Guide*, 189–90. Therefore the second instance is attested in the Law section. The previous instance is in the "Second Meditation on Lessons of History" section (CD II.14–IV.12), which is a part of the Admonition.

[62] Ben Zion Wacholder, *The New Damascus Document: The Midrash on the Eschatological Torah of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Reconstruction, Translation and Commentary* (STDJ 56; ed. Florentino García Martínez; Leiden: Brill, 2007), 52–55.

[63] Also the sons of Aaron are the priests in the subsequent priestly law section (4Q266 f6 i.1, 6, and 13), which is missing in the later Cairo manuscripts. See the following section for a detailed discussion.

2.1.3. Aaron and Sons of Aaron in the *Damascus Document*

Five instances of the reference to the sons of Aaron are attested in 4QD[a] (4Q266) f5 ii–f6 i.[64] One of the most significant features of the "sons of Aaron" in the *Damascus Document* in regards to our interest is that these five references appear only and frequently in a part of the priestly laws section,[65] which is missing in the Cairo manuscripts.[66] This implies that there are various layers of editorial development in the *Damascus Document*.[67] Hempel's work on the redaction of the Laws of the *Damascus Document* sheds light on our discussion.

According to Hempel, "the majority of the halakhah reflects priestly concerns,"[68] which leads her to suggest that there are "priestly groups that lie behind such halakhot."[69] Based on our research on the priestly traditions, the priestly group might reflect the Aaronic (Zadokite) priestly ideology. According to Hempel, some earlier priestly sources (priestly law traditions dated before the *Moreh Zedek* movement[70]) had been included and edited with communal legislation in the Damascus Redaction (the *Moreh Zedek* movement) through which the two materials (Halakhah and the Communal Legislation)

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[64] 4Q266 f5 ii.5, 8, 9–10, 12; f6 i.13. Two more instances are attested in 4Q270 (4QD[e]) f2 ii.6, which parallels with 6Q15 5, and in 4Q272 (4QD[g]) f1 ii.2, which parallels with 4Q266 f6 i.13. Both cases are also found in the priestly laws section.

[65] Hempel designates this particular priestly law section as *Torot*, based on Milgrom's analysis of Leviticus 1–16, in which *Torot* refers to "the special lore of the priesthood." See Milgrom, *Leviticus 1–16*, 2. According to Hempel, *Torot* consist of "the Disqualification of Various Categories of Priests" (4QD[a] f5 ii.1–16) and "Skin Disease, Fluxes, and Childbirth" (4QD[a] f6 i–iii). See Hempel, *The Laws*, 38–50.

[66] The rearrangement of the *Damascus Document* based on 4QD[a] (4Q266) shows the beginning and ending as well as the priestly law section as missing in the Cairo manuscripts. See Hempel, *The Laws*, 21.

[67] Joseph M. Baumgarten, "The Laws of the *Damascus Document* in Current Research," in *The Damascus Document Reconsidered* (ed. M. Broshi; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1992), 51–62; Lawrence H. Schiffman, *Sectarian Law in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Courts, Testimony, and the Penal Code* (BJS 33; Chico: Scholars Press, 1983), 9. R. Davis suggests four stages in the compositional history of the Law section. For a detailed discussion on the redactional histories of the Law section in *Damascus Document*, consult R. Davis, "The History of the Composition of the Damascus Document Statutes [CD 9–16 + 4QD]" (Dissertation, Harvard, 1992). Hempel suggests a similar but a bit simpler three-stages compositional history of the Law section. See Hempel, *The Laws*, 70–72, 149–51.

[68] Hempel, *The Laws*, 70. Hempel recognizes four distinctive strata of the Laws of the *Damascus Document*: 1) Halakhah, 2) Community Organization, 3) Miscellaneous Halakhah, and 4) Miscellaneous Traditions and Redactional Material (Hempel, *The Laws*, 20–21). For a detailed discussion on Hempel's designation of Halakhah, see Hempel, *The Laws*, 25–38.

[69] Hempel, *The Laws*, 188.

[70] Hempel uses "Parental Movement" for the *Moreh Zedek* movement (Hempel, *The Law*, 70–72).

had become a unified composition.[71] This seems to be a sound suggestion for a development of the compositional work of Qumranic manuscripts of the *Damascus Document*. However, a possibility that the priestly law section (4QD[a] f5 ii 1–16 and f6 i–iii; 4QD[b] [4Q267] f5 iii.1–8 and f7; 4QD[g] [4Q272] f1 i–ii;   4QpapD[h] [4Q273] f2.1–2 and f4 i.5–11 and ii) might have been added to the *Damascus Document* even by the later *Yahad* movement is still open because, according to Baumgarten, any of 4QD[a], 4QD[b], 4QD[g], or 4QpapD[h] had not been copied earlier than the first half of the first century BCE.[72]

In addition, according to Hempel, the halakhah section of the *Damascus Document*, significantly shares its form, frame of reference, and terminology with other halakhic works such as 4QMMT and 11QTemple, whereas the communal legislation section is

Therefore, if Hempel's suggestion is sustainable that the earlier composed priestly law traditions have been added to the *Damascus Document* at the time of *Moreh Zedek* movement (middle of the second century BCE), then this possibly reflects the Teacher's effort to include different voices and ideologies in his movement. Or if it is the case that the addition of the priestly law materials has been a *Serek* editorial work (in the first half of the first century BCE), it might reflect a later effort to emphasize a particular priestly ideology of the sons of Aaron (sons of Zadok) possibly in the process of the institutionalizing transition from the *Moreh Zedek* movement to the *Yahad* movement after the death of the Teacher. In either case, the editorial traces based on the remaining texts seem to reinforce a part of my position that the diversity in the *Moreh Zedek* movement has been transmitted to an emphasis on a particular priestly ideology after the death of the Teacher. In addition, the priestly law sections have been removed from the later forms of manuscripts (Cairo manuscripts). If the Cairo manuscripts represent the later Herodian period edition of the *Damascus Document*, the omission of the priestly law section might be part of a reformation of the movement by deemphasizing the importance attached to Aaronic priestly ideology.

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[71] Hempel, *The Laws*, 70, 189. According to Hempel, the Communal Legislation was added later and had been edited, which became a Qumranic edition of *Damascus Document* (Hempel, *The Law*, 149–51).

[72] Joseph M. Baumgarten, *Qumran Cave 4, XIII: The Damascus Document (4Q266-273)* (DJD 18; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996). According to Baumgarten, the hand of 4Q266 reflects the first half or the middle of the first century BCE (Baumgarten, *DJD 18*, 26); 4Q267 was written in the early Herodian formal hand (Baumgarten, *DJD 18*, 96); 4Q272 presents an early Herodian formal hand (*c*.30–1 BCE, Baumgarten, *DJD 18*, 185–87); and 4Q273 is copied in a formal Herodian script dated approximately to the end of the first century BCE (Baumgarten, *DJD 18*, 194–94).

similar to the *Serek* materials.[73] Hempel also observes that there is no polemic against other groups in the halakhah section.[74] These two factors partly reinforce Hempel's own suggestion of the Damascus redaction of the halakhah section, and possibly support the view of how the Teacher had elaborated the text to create coherence out of different sub-groups.

Aaron, the priest, is mentioned in Cairo manuscripts mostly paired with Israel, such as in the expression "Messiah(s) of Aaron and Israel." In that phrase, Aaron most probably is related to the priestly aspect of messianism of the movement in the Cairo manuscripts (CD XII.23; XIV.19; XIX.10; XX.1). However, the expression "Aaron and Israel" seems to be related not only to the eschatological view of the movement, but also to the legislation of the movement (CD I.7 and CD VI.2b–3b).

The concept of covenant is strong and significant in the *Damascus Document*.[75] Sometimes the term "covenant" refers to the Mosaic covenant (CD I.4; III.10–11; IV.9; VI.2). The covenant concept seems to be closely related to the identity and membership of the movement (CD II.2; XX.25; XV.5). In terms of identity, a phrase, "the [re]new[ed] covenant in the land of Damascus" (CD VI.19; VIII.21) is particularly important because of the absence of a similar phrase in the *Serek* material.[76] In terms of membership, there have been attempts to understand the *Damascus Document* in relation to its liturgical use at a covenant renewal ceremony,[77] which involves blessings and curses by the priests (4QD[a] XI. 16–18 and 8). Interestingly, however, it does not seem clear what kind of priestly ideologies or traditions are related to this covenant renewal in the *Damascus*

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[73] Hempel, *The Laws*, 70–71, 190. In terms of the relationship between the texts, Schiffman argues that the *Damascus Document* is closer to *Serek* material rather than the *Temple Scroll* because of some similar sectarian regulations such as a common penal code. He comments that "the relationship between *Damascus Document, Temple Scroll,* and 4QMMT is based on their common legal heritage rather than on literary parallels." See Laurence H. Schiffman, "The Relationship of the Zadokite Fragments to the Temple Scroll," in *The Damascus Document A Centennial of Discovery: Proceedings of the Third International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 4-8 February, 1998* (ed. Joseph M. Baumgarten, et al.; STDJ 34; Leiden: Brill, 2000), 133–45, esp. 143–45. Schiffman's argument seems to help our overall argument by locating the *Damascus Document* somewhere between *Temple Scroll*-4QMMT and *Serek* material.

[74] Hempel, *The Laws*, 72. On the other hand, Hempel suggests a possible inner-priestly disputes in the 4QD material. See Hempel, "The Laws of the Damascus Document and 4QMMT," 74–77.

[75] 44 instances of the term *berit* are attested in the Cairo manuscripts and Qumran manuscripts. (The overlapping portions of Cairo and Qumran manuscripts are counted as a single instance.)

[76] Shemaryahu Talmon, "Qumran Studies: Past, Present, and Future," *JQR* 85 (1994): 20–22.

[77] Michael A. Knibb, *The Qumran Community* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 14; Vermes, *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls*, 127. See also Charlotte Hempel, *The Damascus Texts* (CQS 1; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000), 80.

Document. Furthermore, the concept of covenant in the *Damascus Document* does not seem to be significantly developed in relation to a particular priestly tradition.[78] This development is interesting because the covenantal aspect of the sons of Aaron and sons of Zadok seems to be meaningfully developed in *Serek* material introducing them as the keepers of the covenant.

2.2. *Serek* Texts (1QS, 1QSa, 1QSb, and 4QS)

In this section, I am arguing how significantly Aaronic priestly ideology (sons of Aaron and sons of Zadok) is presented in 1QS, whereas the Levites are not. The sons of Aaron and sons of Zadok similarly seem to be in the centre of the covenantal community in the text, where the Teacher of Righteousness is no longer attested. Then I will claim that 1QSb uses Ben Sira as a lens through which to see a priestly covenantal ideology for the sons of Aaron and sons of Zadok in the *Serek* documents. In addition, I suggest that this position on the priestly ideology may represent a particular period of the movement, based on some 4QS materials.

2.2.1. 1QS

Deuteronomy is dominant in 1QS. The first phrase of the text, after the title[79] is a call "to seek God with all of heart and all of soul" (לדרוש אל בֹּ[כול לב]וֹבֹ[כול נפש, 1QS I.2) that strongly echoes the *Shema* in Deuteronomy (Deut 6:5). Then the text presents a covenantal framework with blessings and curses (1QS I.18–II.18), which seems to be structured according to Deuteronomy 27. However, in terms of the priestly ideologies, 1QS presents a slightly different perspective. 1QS seems to develop the concept of the sons of Zadok and sons of Aaron, whereas the Levitical priestly ideology is developed in Deuteronomy.

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[78] Except CD III.21–IV.12 where both sons of Zadok and the Levites are related to the covenant that God has made the first people. See § 2.1.2. "Sons of Zadok in CD III.21–IV.12a" in this chapter.

[79] I consider the first phrase of the text as a kind of title of the composition: "A text belonging to [the Instructor, who is to teach the holy ones to live according to the book of the rule of *Yahad*" (לֹ[ ] --]שים לחיו [ספר סֹ[רֹך היחד, 1QS I.1).

2.2.1.1. Sons of Zadok and Sons of Aaron in 1QS

Two instances of the sons of Zadok are attested in 1QS.[80] The two are listed in the "rules for the men of the community" (הסרך לאנשי היחד) section (1QS V.1–VI.23). The first reference is found in 1QS V.2 and the other is in the following sub-regulation concerning governing the community when they gathered (1QS V.7b–VI.23).

A set of two groups, "the sons of Zadok" and "the Multitude of Men of *Yahad*" is attested only in a particular section of 1QS (1QS column 5),[81] which, according to Metso, comprises the oldest portion of the S material.[82] Although this portion contains the oldest section, the term, "sons of Zadok" most likely has been added later when 1QS was edited, probably in the early first century BCE. This position is based on the possible earlier reading of 4QS[b, d], where the sons of Zadok are missing.[83] This section, especially where the sons of Zadok and the Multitude of Men of *Yahad* are attested (1QS V.1–3 and V.9–10) is particularly significant for the present discussion because the sons of Zadok and the term "covenant" appear together here. In other words, the sons of Zadok and the Multitude of Men of *Yahad* seem to be closely related to the covenant of the *Yahad*: both groups share the reference to the term "covenant." 1QS V.1–3 reads as follows;

1QS V.1 וזה הסרך לאנשי היחד המתנדבים לשוב מכול רע ולהחזיק בכול אשר צוה לרצונו להבדל מעדת
1QS V.2 אנשי העול להיות ליחד בתורה ובהון ומשיבים על פי בני צדוק הכוהנים שומרי הברית וֵעל פי רוב אנשי
1QS V.3 היחד המחזקים בברית.   על פיהם יצא תכון הגורל לכול דבר לתורה ולהון ולמשפט

Translation[84]

1QS V.1   And this is the Rule for the men of the Community who have freely pledged
themselves to be converted from all evil and to cling to all His commandments
according to His will. They shall separate from the congregation of

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[80]   1QS 9.14 has בני הצדוק. Because of the article ה, the term צדוק in this line is usually considered as a common noun rather than a proper noun. For a discussion on this phrase, see Robert Kugler, "A Note on 1QS 9:4: The Sons of Righteousness or the Sons of Zadok?," *DSD* 3 (1996): 315–20.

[81]   The sons of Zadok with the multitude of men of *Yahad* are found in 1QS V.2–3. A very similar expression, "the sons of Zadok with the multitude of men of the covenant" is also found in 1QS V.9. So the multitude of men of *Yahad* might not be a particular designation or a proper noun for a group; it could be either the multitude of men of *Yahad* or the multitude of men of the covenant. Or both of them could be a general reference to a particular group of the full membership of the (covenantal) community.

[82]   Sarianna Metso, *The Textual Development of the Qumran Community Rule* (STDJ 21; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 13–17.

[83]   For a detailed discussion about the missing of the reference to the "sons of Zadok" in 4QS materials, consult § 2.2.1.2. "Missing of the Sons of Zadok in 4QS" in this chapter.

[84]   Translation is from Vermes with some changes. See Vermes, *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls*, 103.

1QS V.2   the men of injustice and shall unite, with respect to the Law and possessions,
            under the authority of the sons of Zadok, the priests who keep the covenant, and
            of the multitude of the men of

1QS V.3   *Yahad* who hold fast to the covenant. Every decision concerning the Law and
            possession, and justice shall be determined by them.

According to 1QS V.2, the sons of Zadok are the priests, who kept the covenant (or the

preserver of the covenant, הכוהנים שומרי הברית, 1QS V.2). So ideologically, the concept of

the sons of Zadok is the location where the "priests" and the "covenant" meet.[85] The

covenant here may not be a particular priestly covenant, which promises a priestly position

to a person. However, the reference to the covenant in this text is still significant to the

present study, because the text presents a particular priestly group (the sons of Zadok) as

the keeper (preserver or guardian) of the covenant for a community who identifies

themselves as a covenantal community (1QS I.18, 20; II.11; V.7–8).[86] 1QS seems to

elevate sons of Zadok by associating them with the concept of covenant.

        It is worth noting the absence of *Moreh Zedek* in this text. In this ideological

document there is no mention of the Teacher, so the covenant, here, is not being claimed

by the Teacher in a particular way as in an earlier text, like *Hodayot*. The covenant is

claimed by or associated with particular sets of priests, thinking about themselves as the

people who are responsible for the covenant in the movement. In addition, the covenant

here is not associated with a royal ideology either, possibly because the king was

Hasmonean. But in 1QS there is not even an alternative ideology requesting that a king

must keep the covenant. We do not see any of these concepts in the *Serek* materials.

        The significance of a particular priestly group also seems to be related to their role

in the community. In terms of building *Yahad*, the priority of 1QS's agenda is on the "law

and property" (בתורה ובהון, 1QS V.2). The sons of Zadok are presented as a particular

group, upon which the authority to make a decision on the matter of the "law, property,

and judgment" (לתורה ולהון ולמשפט, 1QS V.3) is given. The role of the sons of Zadok is

significant because the sons of Zadok are endowed with the authority of not only the

matter of Law (Torah), but also the matter of possessions, which is a role that is not given

to sons of Zadok or sons of Aaron in the *Damascus Document*. This possibly implies that

1QS is widening the range of the authority of sons of Zadok from an ideological domain to

a physical sphere. This is an important change to the *Damascus Document*. In CD X.4–5

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[85] In the same line, the multitude of the men of *Yahad* (רוב אנשי היחד) is identified as those who
hold fast to the covenant (המחזקים בברית, 1QS V.2–3).

[86] 1QS considers joining the community as entering the covenant (1QS I.18, 20; II.11).

and 14–18, the judgment on the matter of property or wealth seems to be under the authority of the "judges of the congregation" (לשפטי העדה, CD X.4), which consists of ten men: four from the tribe of Levi and Aaron and six from Israel (CD X.5–6).

In 1QS V.9 another title is added to the sons of Zadok, namely, the "Seekers of His will" (ודורשי רצונו, 1QS V.9), which probably means they are the ones who interpret the law of Moses according to the immediate context (1QS V.9–10). The absence of *Moreh Zedek* is worth noting here again. The didactic role is also claimed not by the Teacher, which seems typical in *Hodayot*, but by the sons of Zadok.

The editor of 1QS juxtaposes the concept of priest, the covenant, and the Laws, in 1QS column 5. By doing so, he would be able to suggest an idealized priestly group as the leadership of the community of the new covenant. In other words, the editor, in his compilation of 1QS, seems to set up a concept of an idealized group, which is very strong and secure in their authority probably at the time of absence of the Teacher. To make this point, the author seems to refer to the "sons of Zadok" from the *Damascus Document*,[87] identifying them as priest and giving them a more prominent role, ultimately as the preserver of the covenant. This is a very significant issue of the text bearing in mind the author's purpose of identifying the community as the covenantal community.

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[87] I am suggesting this based on the idea that D (*Damascus*) material, which represents the time of *Moreh Zedek* movement in the second half of the second century BCE, is earlier than *Serek* material, which represent the time of *Yahad* movement in the first half of the first century BCE. The dates of *Damascus Document* and *Serek* materials are in dispute. More traditionally the *Damascus Document* has been argued to be prior to *Serek* material. See Davies, *The Damascus Covenant*, 1–47 (although he suggests various layers of editorial work on making *Damascus Document* in the later period of *Serek* composition). See also Wacholder, *The New Damascus Document*, 3–4. In the matter of priestly tradition, Fabry suspects the S-tradition may have imported the D-tradition, rather than the other way around. See Heinz-Josef Fabry, "Priests at Qumran—A Reassessment," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Texts and Context* (ed. Charlotte Hempel; STDJ 90; Leiden: Brill, 2010), 255. Judging whether S, as a whole, is earlier than D or the *vice versa* is not a primary concern of this study. The issue would be much complicated if we consider the second century origins of 4QS materials. However, I think, at least, in regards to the concept of the sons of Zadok, the compiled S material (1QS, 1QSa and 1QSb) seems to show a more developed idea than D material in terms of their roles as priests. The sons of Zadok in 1QS seem to be adapted from the *Damascus Document* rather than directly from Ezekiel. There is no explicit reference to Ezekiel in 1QS material as it is in CD. And the role of the sons of Zadok in 1QS is free of sacrificial service, which is their most significant role in Ezekiel. Yet the development of the role of the sons of Zadok in 1QSb seems to be related to Ezekiel rather significantly. Recently Hultgran, Schofield, and Kratz have argued that S is prior to D. See Stephen Hultgren, *From the Damascus Covenant to the Covenant of the Community: Literary, Historical, and Theological Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (STDJ 66; Leiden: Brill, 2007); Alison Schofield, *From Qumran to the Yaḥad: A New Paradigm of Textual Development for The Community Rule* (STDJ 77; Leiden: Brill, 2009); Reinhard G Kratz, "Der Penal Code und das Verhältnis von Serekh ha-Yachad (S) und Damaskusschrift (D)," *RevQ* 25 (2011): 199–227.

There are eight instances of the name Aaron, and three of them are used in the term, "sons of Aaron" (1QS V.21 [two times]; IX.7). In terms of the sons of Aaron, it is not   clear whether the "sons of Aaron" are a different entity from the "sons of Zadok" in 1QS, or whether they refer to the same priestly group. Yet, in 1QS the sons of Aaron are described in a very similar way as the sons of Zadok in respect to their authority and role in the community. Their authority is recognized due to their voluntary commitment to all the regulations (1QS V.21–22). The authority of the sons of Aaron is known in regards to the matter of judgment and possessions, and the rank of the members of the community (1QS IX.7), which corresponds to that of sons of Zadok in 1QS V.2–3.

Column 8 of 1QS is an instruction for the organization of the council of *Yahad* (בעצת היחד, 1QS VIII.1). The council of *Yahad*, which shall be constituted with twelve men and three priests, is described as an "eternal planting,[88] a temple for Israel, and - mystery!- a Holy of Holies for Aaron" (למטעת עולם בית קודש לישראל וסוד קודש קודשים לאהרון, 1QS VIII.5–6). A few lines later "a holy of holies for Aaron" (קודש קודשים לאהרון, 1QS VIII.8–9) is repeated again. The concept of the Holy of Holies implies exclusivism, which reflects how significantly the text deals with the sons of Aaron. In this phrase (1QS VIII.8) the Holy of Holies is designated as a place for Aaron, which resonates with a similar claim of the Aaronic priestly ideologies in Priestly sources (cf. Lev 17). Although 1QS echoes *Jubilees*, the text seems to take the Levites down from the significant priestly status and to promote the sons of Aaron instead.

2.2.1.2. Missing of the Sons of Zadok in 4QS

The study of the *Rule of the Community* reached a new level with the publication of 4QS materials in 1998,[89] especially in relation to the redactional approach to the texts.[90] One of the most significant redactional elements, especially for our interest, would be the missing of the term "sons of Zadok" in 4QS[b, d], which is missing from the corresponding

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[88] Cf. *Jub* 16:26.

[89] Philip S. Alexander and Geza Vermes, *Qumran Cave 4 XIX: 4QSerekh Ha-Yahad and Two Related Texts* (DJD 26; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998).

[90] Philip Alexander, "The Redaction-History of *Serekh ha-Yahad*: A Proposal," *RevQ* 17 (1996-97): 437–56; M. Bockmuehl, "Redaction and Ideology in the Rule of the Community (1QS/4QS)," *RevQ* 18 (1997–98): 541–60; A. I. Baumgarten, "The Zadokite Priests at Qumran: A Reconsideration," *DSD* 4 (1997): 137–56; Sarianna Metso, "The Redaction of the Community Rule," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls Fifty Years After Their Discovery: Proceedings of the Jerusalem Congress, 20–25 July 1997* (ed. Galen Marquis, et al.; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2000), 377–84; Fabry, "Priests at Qumran," 243–62. Sarianna Metso and Alison Schofield contribute much on the discussion of this issue. See Metso, *The Textual Development of the Qumran Community Rule*. See also Schofield, *From Qumran to the Yaḥad*.

1QS text (1QS column 5).[91] Several studies indicate that the text copied in 4QS[b] and

4QS[d], which does not have the reference to the sons of Zadok, actually represents an

earlier material (version) of the *Rule of the Community*, which is earlier than 1QS,

although the dates of the 4Q manuscripts are later than 1QS.[92] If that is the case, it implies

that the sons of Zadok were not the group initiating the sectarian community. The concept

might be adapted to the sectarian documents for some reason at a later time.

Various historical reconstructions of the movement have been suggested alongside

several arguments concerning the redactional process of *Serek* materials. In terms of the

historical reconstruction, the absence of "sons of Zadok" in 4QS[b, d] is also a key issue

requiring some reasonable explanations.[93] Alison Schofield has suggested that there were

many camps or *Yahad* communities, which are independent but similar without a common

central community or leadership.[94] Although it is a possible suggestion, one significant

problem with Schofield's view is that there is no archaeological evidence for multiple

camps or communities. Furthermore, an explanation is necessary for the discovery of the

various *Serek* manuscripts in close proximity to the sites that are considered to one site.

Suggesting a more probable argument for the historical reconstruction of *Yahad* is

not the primary purpose of this study, although it is a critical issue on its own. So, here I

add another suggestion based on a sociological development approach. A charismatic

movement may well be characterized as an egalitarian community, which might undergo

institutionalization after the death of a charismatic leader.[95] This is what some scholars

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[91] There also is a possibility that the reference to the "sons of Zadok" was added into 1QS version of the *Rule of the Community*.

[92] 1QS was copied in the first half of the first century BCE. 4QS[b, d] were copied in the second half of the first century BCE. There remains no hard copy of the suspected earlier edition of the *Rule of the Community*, which is possibly produced in the second half of the second century BCE or the first half of the first century BCE. Alexander earlier argued that the date of the manuscript is to be considered as the most important clue. Later Metso argued that 4QS[b, d] represent the text which is earlier than 1QS, considering the redactional process of the *Rule of the Community*. Metso's comprehensive study on the different layers of the redactional process of the *Serek* texts are agreed with and developed in the later discussions by Baumgarten, Fabry, Schofield, etc.

[93] Alexander, in terms of the date of the manuscript of 1QS and 4QS[b, d], argues that one should suggests a convincing answer to a question why later copied manuscripts (4QS[b, d]) copied the earlier version rather than the revised one (1QS), in order to asserts that 4QS[b, d] represent the first edition of the *Rule of the Community* which is earlier than 1QS version.

[94] See Schofield, *From Qumran to the Yaḥad*, 273–82. See also Alison Schofield, "Rereading S: A New Model of Textual Development in Light of the Cave 4 *Serekh* Copies," *DSD* 15 (2008): 96–120.

[95] This is following Weber's routinization of a charismatic authority. See Max Weber, *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization* (trans. A. R. Anderson; New York: Free Press, 1947), 358–85.

conclude from the differences between 1QS and 4QS.[96] At the time of the composition of 1QS (c. 100 BCE), it is supposed that *Moreh Zedek* diminished (probably after his death) and the *Yahad* became institutionalized. The reference to the "sons of Zadok" in 1QS might well be a hint for this social transition, emerging as the leadership group of the community after the death of a charismatic leader.

This kind of institutionalized religious group expects "fragmentation" and "renewal."[97] It is my position that this is what happened in the latter half of the first century BCE in *Yahad*. The diversity of some detailed issues might reflect the fragmentation in the community on various topics. The absence of "sons of Zadok" in 4QS[b, d] might reflect a renewal of the idealized earlier form of the community. In other words, the fact that the later copies of the *Rule of the Community* (4QS[b, d]) have copied the first edition rather than the revised edition (1QS) in which the ideology of sons of Zadok is raised, possibly reflects an aspiration for the earlier ideal community that was egalitarian.

This copying phenomenon fits well with that other earlier documents such as the *Damascus Document*, 4QMMT, and the *Temple Scroll*, which were also copied in the later period (the first half of the first century BCE). These documents show a dynamic between different priestly covenantal ideologies, rather than one dominating another. This suggests that a single diachronic view may not be sustainable. As we have observed, in the second century BCE, we have pluralism of priestly ideologies being pulled together by the Teacher in the *Temple Scroll* or the *Damascus Document*. Then the pluralism is narrowed down to a predominantly Aaronic view in *Serek* materials. But it is also possible to suggest that the pluralists' view continues, whereas some texts focus on one aspect of it at the expense of the other, a position which might be only partially successful. To my mind, this is a plausible explanation because first, the earlier texts (the *Damascus Document*, the *Temple Scroll*, 4QMMT) continue to be copied in the later period. Second, in the later period of the movement (the second half of the first century BCE) the scribes of the 4QS[b, d] may be attempting to copy an earlier version of a *Serek* document, which contains some of the earlier pluralistic ideology.

2.2.1.3. Priests and Levites in 1QS

It is interesting to note that the two terms, "priests" and "Levites" appear in pairs

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[96] For example, A. Baumgarten suggests that the death of the Teacher might trigger the transformation of the Movement from the charismatic egalitarian one to some kind of structural organization. See Baumgarten, "The Zadokite Priests at Qumran," 137–56.

[97] Weber, *Theory of Social and Economic Organization*, 358–85.

in the first four columns of 1QS.[98] The set "Priest and Levites" is never attested in pairs in any other section of 1QS.[99] Most of all, the four clear cases of the set are attested in a liturgical section of 1QS (1QS I.16–II.18), which is entitled the "Rite for Entrance into the Covenant" by Joseph Fitzmyer.[100] The fifth case is found in the next section, which refers to the order of entrance in the annual ceremony of the rite (1QS II.19–25a).[101] The rite (1QS I.16–II.18) [102] resembles an actualization of the blessings and curses employing the language of priestly blessings found in Num 6:22–27. In other words, the section is a combination of Deuteronomy 29, Leviticus 26, and Numbers 6 in a modified form during the performance on Mt. Gerizim and Mt. Ebal in Deuteronomy 27.[103] This covenantal setting in this section of the rite for entrance into the covenant suggests that the author/editor of 1QS attempted to build a dynamic application of the Scriptural (Torah) covenantal ideology for *Yahad*. Two matters are noteworthy concerning the use of the term "Levites" and "covenant" in this section.

First, in 1QS, the priests and the Levites (הכוהנים והלויים, 1QS I.18–19 and II.11) are presented as different groups.[104] The Levites here might be identified as having originated from the tribe of Levi and take part in some priestly works, except altar service as they are described in Ezekiel, Priestly sources, and Chronicles. In 1QS, according to the recount of the entrance order of the annual ceremony (1QS II.19–25), the Levites are

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[98] All five instances of the term, "priests," in these columns appear with Levites in pair. However, the fifth case could be considered as an exception, where the priests and Levites do not make a precise pair. They are two of the three entities: priests, Levites, and all of the people (וכול העם, 1QS II.21).

[99] This literary phenomenon may reinforce the position that the first four columns of 1QS, which correspond with 4QS[b], originate from an independent source. For the detailed discussion on the editorial layers of 1QS, see Metso, *The Textual Development of the Qumran Community Rule*, 69–106.

[100] Fitzmyer, *A Guide*, 184.

[101] Fitzmyer refers to it as "Ceremony for the Assembly of Members." Priests and Levites perform in pair in the rite, yet the priority of the priests is clearly mentioned in the order of entrance to the annual ceremony (1QS II.19–22). In 1QS, three levels of hierarchy are obviously mentioned: Priests, Levites, and all the Israelites.

[102] The Priests and Levites are introduced as the key players in the entrance ceremony (1QS I.18–19). And they perform the declaration of God's righteousness (Priests) and Israelites' inequities (Levites) (1QS I.21–23). Priests proceed to say blessings and Levites say curses (1QS II.1–9). Then they together in unison give a warning to those who enter with an unrepentant heart (1QS II.11–17). All of these are to be responded to by those who are initiated into the Covenant (community) (1QS I.20; I.24–II.1a; II.18).

[103] In the performance on the two mountains, Levites were to declare the curses (Deut 27:14–26). Yet in the passage, the Levites (Deut 27:14) most probably refer to the Levitical priests (Deut 27:9). There seems no clear distinction between the two terms: Levites and Levitical priest here.

[104] The conjunction ו in this phrase (הכוהנים והלויים, both in 1QS I.18–19 and II.11) indicates these are referring two different groups. cf the Levitical priests (וְהַכֹּהֲנִים הַלְוִיִּם) in Deuteronomy 27 where no conjunction ו is used in between הַכֹּהֲנִים and הַלְוִיִּם. The other three cases indicate more clearly that they are different groups by being presented in turn (1QS I.21–22; II.1–4, 19–20).

ranked between the Priests and all the people (1QS II.19, 20, 21). This is different from Deuteronomy where the Levites are designated priests by apposition. Therefore, even though this liturgical section (1QS I.16–II.18) is framed according to the performance on Mt. Gerizim and Mt. Ebal in Deuteronomy 27, the identification of the Levites differs from Deuteronomy.

Second, we see a small modification of the rite in 1QS. In Deuteronomy 27, the tribe of Levi stands on Mt. Gerizim for a blessing with the other five tribes (Deut 27:12). The remaining six tribes stand on Mt. Ebal for the curses (Deut 27:13). Then the Levites who are identified as the priests (וְהַכֹּהֲנִים הַלְוִיִּם, Deut 27:9) stand with all of Israelites to declare twelve curses that are to be answered with "amen" by the all of the Israelites (Deut 27:14–26).[105] Contrastingly, in the entering rite of 1QS, the priests, who are not the Levites, perform the blessings. And the Levites declare curses,[106] which are answered with "amen, amen." We see the priests' declaration of blessings being added to 1QS. The Levites are recognized but take part in performing curses, which seems distinct from Deuteronomy where the tribe of Levi stands on Mt. Gerizim for a blessing. Thus the Levites are related to the covenantal setting here, but it seems to occur in a negative way.

In addition, the sons of Zadok and sons of Aaron are not attested in this section. This might imply that the Levitical priestly tradition could be a backdrop for the source of this literary section. In other words, the priests in this section are not called either "sons of Zadok" or "sons of Aaron." The differences between each section, in relation to the priestly tradition, give us some room for speculating a distinctiveness of individual sections of the text. This may imply that the section might be from a source reflecting the Levitical priestly tradition. This section might have its own history of development and compiled later by the editor of 1QS.

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[105] According to Deuteronomy 27, Simeon, Levi, Judah, Issachar, Joseph, and Benjamin stand on Mt. Ebal for the blessing of the people (Deut 27:12). Reuben, Gad, Asher Zebulun, Dan, and Naphtali stand on Mt. Gerizim for the curse (Deut 27:13). The Levites address in a loud voice (Deut 27:14) the curses (Deut 27:15–26) with the response of "Amen" by the Israelites to each curse.

[106] The added blessings, addressed by the priests, are somewhat modified and expanded from the Priestly blessings in Num 6:22–27, especially 6:24–26. The first line "The Lord bless you and keep you" (Num 6:24) is expanded with added phrases: "with every good thing" and "from every evil" (1QS II.2–3). In the second line (Num 6:25 and 1QS II.3), "His face" (פָּנָיו, Num 6:25a) is replaced with "wisdom for living" (בשכל חיים, 1QS II.3b) and "be gracious" (וִיחֻנֶּךָ, Num 6:25b) is extended with "knowledge of eternal things" (בדעת עולמים, 1QS II.3c). This modification shows "understanding" and "knowledge of eternal things" are emphasized in this writing. cf. 11QTemple.

2.2.2. The Priests in 1QSa

The concepts consisting of the sons of Zadok and sons of Aaron seem to be used without discrimination in 1QSa. The groups have the highest authority among the congregation in this rule.[107] Both groups are commonly identified as the priests by means of apposition (1QSa I.2, 24, and II.3 for the sons of Zadok; and 1QSa I.16 and II.13 for the sons of Aaron).[108] They have authority to assign the chiefs of the organization (chiefs of the Thousands, the Hundred, Fifties, and Tens), the judges, and the officers of the tribes (1QSa I.14–16 for sons of Aaron). The congregation's activities are led by the sons of Levi (1QSa I.22) under the authority of sons of Aaron (1QSa I.23) or under the authority of the sons of Zadok (1QSa I.24). The sons of Aaron, renowned priests are even given authority and position to the Messiah of Israel (1QSa II.11–16).

The relationship between this priestly group and the concept of covenant seems to be similar to 1QS. The men of their covenant (ואנושי בריתם, 1QSa I.2, or the men of His council (אנושי עצתו) 1QSa I.3)[109] and the sons of Zadok, the priests are introduced as those who kept God's covenant in the midst of iniquity (בתוך רשעה, "in the middle of evil," 1QSa I.3).[110] The two groups are the teacher of the statutes of the covenant (1QSa I.4–5 and 1QSa I.7). We have four instances of the term "covenant" in 1QSa (1QSa I.2, 3, 5, and 7). All four are related to the elite group: the ones who have kept the covenant (1QSa I.3), and shall read (teach) all the statutes of the covenant (1QSa I.4–5, 7). Thus, we see here that the concept of covenant occupies the core of the leadership group of the covenantal community.

In addition, the text states that the sons of Zadok kept the covenant in the time of evil to atone for the land (לכפּ]ר בעד האר[ץ, 1QSa I.3). This concept seems to be a way in

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[107] The Priest (הכוהן) is reconstructed in 1QSa II.12, which becomes "[the Priest] as head of the entire congregation of Israel, shall enter first, trailed by all 13[his] brot[hers, the Sons of] Aaron, those priests [appointed] to the banquet of the men of reputation" (by Abegg) or "(the Priest–)Messiah, he shall come with them [at] the head of the whole congregation of Israel with all [his brethren, the sons] of Aaron the Priests, [those called] to the assembly, the men of renown;" (by Vermes). Only the Messianic priestly figure, The Priest (Abegg) or the Priest-Messiah (Vermes), is ranked prior to the sons of Aaron (1QSa II.12–13).

[108] Contrast to 1QS where only sons of Zadok are attributed to the priest in apposition. The appearance of the reference to the sons of Aaron in 1QSa, which is titled as "the Messianic Rule" by Vermes, is possibly because the sons of Aaron may be more emphasized when the sectarian text deals with eschatology. The subordinate structure in 1QSa where chiefs of the thousands are mentioned seems to reinforce this idea, because it is not likely that there were chiefs of the Thousands practically in the community or in any of the camps (or the communities), if there were many beside the Kirbet Qumran.

[109] This group seems to correspond to the multitude of men of Yahad (1QS V.3) or the multitude of men of their covenant (1QS V.9) in 1QS.

[110] Cf. 1QS V.2, 9.

which the author relates the priestly ideology with covenant ideology; the priests make atonement not by means of performing offerings and sacrifices but by means of keeping the covenant. In the passage, it is ambiguous whom the men of their covenant (ואנושי בריתם, 1QSa I.2) refer to. Because of the ו before the phrase, they seem to be a different group from the sons of Zadok, the priests (בני צדוק הכוהנים,1QSa I.2), which is stated before the "men of their covenant." However, the following phrase that reads "they are the men of His council (המה אנושי עצתו) who keep His covenant (אשר שמרו בריתו) in the midst of iniquity" (1QSa I.3) seems significant because, as I have noted, the sons of Zadok and the sons of Aaron are introduced as the ones who "keep the covenant" in 1QS (1QS V.2, 9 for sons of Zadok; 1QS V.21–22 for sons of Aaron). Based on this conclusion, I can state two things about this passage.

First, the sons of Zadok, the priests, seem to be related to the men of their covenant. It is rare that a covenant is attributed to someone other than God, especially when ברית is modified with a third person genitive pronominal suffix. So, employing the term "their" covenant is an unusual expression and possibly refers to a particular covenant in relation to a particular priestly group. Second, the priests are involved with the atonement of the land (לכפֿ]ר בעד האר[ץֿ, 1QSa I.3). This position is significant because this phrase resonates with Deuteronomic theology.[111] Therefore it can be said that the priestly functions were read in light of the theology of the land expressed in Deuteronomy. So there is over arching Deuteronomic covenant and the Zadokite covenant is a particular presentation of the Deuteronomic covenant.

2.2.3. Renewal of the Covenant of the Eternal Priesthood in 1QSb

In the *Rule of Blessings* (1QSb), we encounter one of the most interesting phrases with regards to our issue of priestly covenant; "may He [renew] for you the Covenant of the [everlasting] priesthood" (וברית כהונת [עולם יח[דש], 1QSb III.26). This phrase is significant because this is one of the only two places in the entire DSS where the "covenant of priesthood" is explicitly attested.[112] In addition, if the word "eternal" ([עולם) is the right reconstruction for the missing word, it would be even more significant because the phrase "the covenant of eternal priesthood" is only attested in Num 25:13 in the

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[111] The end of Moses' last song, Deut 32:43 reads: "He [God] repays those who hate him and cleanses the land of his people [וְכִפֶּר אַדְמָתוֹ עַמּוֹ]." See also Num 35:33. In the account of the cities of refuge, the text states that the polluted land (אֶרֶץ) can only be atoned for (יְכֻפַּר) with the blood of the one who has polluted the land by shedding another's blood.

[112] The other instance is found in the *War Scroll* (1QM XVII.3).

biblical texts.[113]

The first editors of 1QSb, Barthèlemy and Milik, note five places where they see expressions using the combination of "covenant," "priesthood," and "eternal": Num 25:13; Exod 40:15; Neh 13:29; Sir 45:15 and Sir 45:25.[114] Among these verses, it is worth reviewing Ben Sira's use of Exodus and Numbers traditions here[115] because besides Num 25:13 only Ben Sira uses all three words "covenant," "eternal," and "priesthood" together. In the previous chapter, I have reviewed the Aaron-Phinehas section of the praise of the fathers in Ben Sira, where the author and the translator explicitly attributed the priestly covenant to Aaron. The point is that Ben Sira might work as a lens for the author/editor of 1QSb to read the priestly covenant traditions of Aaron (Exodus) and Phinehas (Numbers).[116] The author of Ben Sira seems to read Phinehas' covenant of eternal priesthood in Numbers 25 from a genealogical perspective, by attributing explicitly Phinehas' priestly covenant to the heritage of Aaron.

The primary reason Ben Sira has emphasized the covenant of Aaronic priesthood is probably that the author wanted to highlight the status of high priesthood of Simeon, son of Onias (Sir 50:1). Simeon was considered as the legitimate Zadokite high priest by the author of Ben Sira.[117] This shows us that the author of Ben Sira understands the Zadokite priests as from an Aaronic priestly lineage. Ben Sira's development of the Aaronic priestly

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[113] Among the entire biblical texts, the phrase, "covenant of priesthood" is attested only twice: one in Num 25:16 for Phinehas, and the other in Neh 13:29 in regards to Levi. Out of these two, only the reference in Num 25:16 has the phrase: the covenant of eternal priesthood.

[114] The first editors of the text note that they reconstructed this phrase based on Num 25:13 (covenant of the eternal priesthood, בְּרִית כְּהֻנַּת עוֹלָם); Exod 40:15 (eternal priesthood, לִכְהֻנַּת עוֹלָם); Neh 13:29 (and the covenant of the priests and Levites, וּבְרִית הַכְּהֻנָּה וְהַלְוִיִּם); Sir 45:15 (eternal covenant, ברית עולם), 24 (eternal covenant, dignity of priesthood [NRSV] for the eternity, διαθήκη εἰρήνης, ἱερωσύνης μεγαλεῖον εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας). However, they do not provide a detailed argument for their reconstruction of עולם], "eternal [or everlasting]" in line 26. See Dominique Barthélemy and Jozef T. Milik, *Qumran Cave I* (DJD 1; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955), 124–25. The combination of the "eternal priesthood" and "covenant" is a rare occurrence. Besides 1QSb III.26, the phrase occurs only in 1QM XVII.3, which states "and Ithamar He preserved for Himself for an eternal covenant [of priesthood.]" (ואיתמר החזיק לו לברית [כהונת [עולמים), in the entire DSS. Among the biblical texts, only Num 25:13 uses the phrase. Although this is a rare expression, this reconstruction is probably one of the strongest possibilities.

[115] In Exod 40:15 the eternal priesthood is endowed upon Aaron by anointment. In Numbers 25, Phinehas receives the covenant of the eternal priesthood. In Sir 45:15, Aaron is endowed with eternal covenant as priest. In Sir 45:24, God makes a covenant of peace with Phinehas. The covenant of the priests and the Levites in Neh 13:29 is beyond the scope of this dissertation. The covenant of the preists and the Levites in Neh 13:29 seems to be specifically dealing with the particular matter of intermarriage with Gentile women.

[116] Reinhard Kratz recently suggests that Ben Sira is influential on 1QS. See Reinhard G. Kratz, "Laws of Wisdom: Sapiential Traits in the Rule of the Community [1QS 5–7]," in *Hebrew in the Second Temple Period: The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls and of Other Contemporary Sources* (ed. S. E. Fassberg, et al.; Leiden: Brill, 2013), 1–15.

[117] Skehan and Di Lella, *Ben Sira*, 550.

covenant ideology might work well for the author/editor of 1QSb if he wanted to build a priestly covenant ideology for a particular priestly group, namely the "sons of Zadok" (1QSb III.26).

Reading 1QSb III.26 from another perspective could reinforce this idea. As the first editor notes, 1QSb III.26 strongly alludes to Num 25:13, yet 1QSb III.26 has never developed an ideology of priesthood based on the zeal motif in Phinehas' account. Furthermore, none of priestly traditions in *Serek* materials is based on Phinehas' zeal motif. This is a different approach from some other late Second Temple compositions such as *Jubilees*, *Aramaic Levi Documents*, and the *Testament of Levi* where the priestly ideology for Levitical priesthood is developed based on Phinehas' zeal motif. It also is distinctive from 1 Maccabees, where Phinehas' zeal motif is used in the same way for Hasmonean high priesthood.

There is another possible literary link between 1QSb and Ben Sira in their use of priestly traditions. In the presentation of the priestly blessing (1QSb III.22–25a), the sons of Zadok are introduced as the ones to be chosen by God (1QSb III.25a) to confirm His covenant (לחזק בריתו, 1QSb III.23), to prove all of His judgments in the midst of His people (ולב]חון כול משפטיו בתוך עמו, 1QSb III.23), and to teach them as He (God) commanded (ולהורותם כאשר צוה, 1QSb III.23–24). The description of the priestly roles of the sons of Zadok in 1QSb reminds us of Ezek 44:23–24, where teaching God's people (וְאֶת־עַמִּי יוֹרֻוּ, Ezek 44:23) and judging according to God's judgment (יַעַמְדֻוּ לְשְׁפֹּט [לְ][מִשְׁפָּט] בְּמִשְׁפָּטַי, Ezek 44:24) are listed as roles of the sons of Zadok. Some key terms are noteworthy, particularly those that are commonly used when describing the role of priests in both 1QSb III.23–25a and Ezek 44:23–24, such as "judgment" (משפט) and "to teach" (ירה), which are also found in the account of Aaron in Ben Sira (Sir 45:17).[118]

The contents and language of the Aaronic priestly role in Sir 45:17 are not similar to the Aaronic priestly accounts in Exodus (Exod 28–29) and Numbers (Num 18). Instead, some of the key themes, such as "judgment" (κριμάτων) and "teaching" (διδάξαι)

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118 De Vaux earlier noted multiple functions of priests besides the temple sacrifices in the biblical traditions. See Roland de Vaux, *Les institutions de l'Ancien Testament: Institutions militaires. Institutions religieuses* (2 vols.; vol. 2; Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1961), 195–221. For a similar position, see also M. Haran, "Priest and Priesthood," *EncJud* 13:1069–86. García Martínez summarizes five functions of priests in the community: the oracular function, priests as teachers, priests as judges, priestly blessings, and priest as separating the sacred from the profane and the pure from the impure. See Florentino García Martínez, "Priestly Functions in a Community without Temple," in *Qumranica Minora II: Thematic Studies on the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar; STDJ 64; Leiden: Brill, 2007), 77–93.

reminds the reader of the priestly roles that are commonly described in 1QSb III.22–25a and Ezek 44:23–24. Furthermore, some of the words, such as "authority" (ἐξουσίαν), "enlighten" (φωτίσαι), "commandments" (ἐντολαῖς), and "law" (νόμῳ) are collectively reminiscent of the description of the role of *Moreh Zedek* and the priests in some sectarian documents, such as the *Damascus Document* and the *Serek* materials.

Therefore, to my mind, it seems plausible that Ben Sira uses Exodus 28–29, Numbers 18, Ezek 44:23–24 (Aaronic-Zadokite traditions), and Numbers 25 (Phinehas tradition) to build a covenantal ideology of Aaronic priesthood. According to this view, only Aaron and his descendants among the Levites have the covenant of eternal priesthood with authority to teach Israel, in order to support Simeon as the legitimate Zadokite high priests, which are considered as the descendants of Aaron. This position may also apply to the author/editor of 1QSb (also 1QS and 1QSa) who needs to establish a particular priestly ideology and role for the sons of Zadok, which emerge as a group of leaders after the death of *Moreh Zedek*. Therefore, 1QSb seems to develop the covenantal ideology and roles of the "sons of Zadok" by following the pattern of Ben Sira's use of Aaronic priestly tradition.

It is worth noting that there exists only one copy of 1QSb. As I have shown, 1QS ideology is attempting to employ the Aaronic voice in a very explicit priestly covenantal fashion in 1QSb. So, as a liturgical text, it seems to have been composed to make an ideological point. However the Aaronic voice does not get used and reused by other authors/scribes and eventually disappear. Thus the infrequency of the Aaronic priestly covenantal ideology in the DSS becomes an example of my point that in a particular moment in the development of the movement, an explicit claim of an Aaronic priestly covenant is made. However, the material that survived has maintained the voice of the covenant of Jacob.

2.3. Some Implications of the *Damascus Document* and the *Serek* Texts.

An investigation on the use of priestly traditions in some Dead Sea Scrolls and the development of the concept and roles of sons of Aaron and sons of Zadok in the *Damascus Document* and *Serek* compositions suggests some implications. First, the Levitical priestly tradition is largely favored and inherited by various documents among the DSS. Second, Aaronic priestly traditions are also interwoven in many of the priestly materials. Generally, Qumran writings seem to freely use biblical traditions for their own purposes. Third, some

of Aaronic or Zadokite priestly covenantal ideology seem to be developed, refined, and added into later sectarian documents.

The dynamic of different priestly traditions working in the *Damascus Document* possibly reflects the earlier period of the *Moreh Zedek* movement, which has been identified as an egalitarian movement by a charismatic leader. Different views and priestly ideologies seem to be welcomed as long as they have joined voluntarily to the movement. After the death of the Teacher, Aaronic priestly ideology arose, authenticating a particular priestly group by emphasizing their relationship with the covenant and the teaching role. These concepts seem to be reflected in 1QS, 1QSa, and 1QSb. However, the rise of the Aaronic priestly ideology seems not to have controlled the whole movement. The marginalized tradition has survived and reclaimed in the later stage of the *Yahad* movement (second half of the first century BCE). This kind of reformation movement seems to be detected in the abundant volumes of earlier (prior-*Sedek*) documents having been copied in the later Herodian periods, which include the earlier version of *Rule of the Community* reflected in 4QS[b, d] in which only the many men of the covenant without the sons of Zadok are presented as an ultimate authority.[119]

3. Conclusion

In this chapter, I have attempted to support what I have concluded in the previous chapter, namely that biblical priestly traditions reflects two priestly ideologies: the Levitical priestly ideology (i.e. Enoch-Levi traditions, in Deuteronomy, Malachi, and Jeremiah) and Aaronic(-Zadokite) priestly ideology (in Ezra-Nehemiah, Chronicles, and Ezekiel). Based on this priestly frame, Ben Sira, and *Aramaic Levi Document* with *Jubilees* are further investigated with a purpose of locating particular priestly covenantal elements in them.

In Ben Sira, both the Hebrew author and Greek translator seem to have developed Aaronic priestly covenant by using standard scriptural tropes from a priestly tradition. In Ben Sira Aaron is explicitly attributed with the covenant of the eternal priesthood (Sir 45:6–22), which seems to be attributed originally to Phinehas according to Numbers 25.

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[119] Fabry, based on an analysis of the *Serek* texts and the *Damascus Document*, suggests a slightly different and much more complicated chronological multi-layered dispute between the sons of Aaron and sons of Zadok in the Qumran movement. See Fabry, "Priests at Qumran," 243–62, esp. 261–62. In an evaluation of the complexity of Fabry's layout, George Brooke suggests that the pre-sectarian era needs to be considered in order to make sense of the diversity of possibilities for understanding priesthood, which I have attempted to do in these two DSS chapters. See Brooke, "Patterns of Priesthood," 8.

On the other hand, in ALD and *Jubilees*, Levi's priestly covenantal ideology seems to be developed by projecting the zeal motif of Levi's Shechem episode onto Phinehas' zeal for God. The emphasis on Levi's priestly covenantal element in these texts seems to be related to a claim for antiquity of the Levitical priestly ideology. The claim of antiquity of the priestly covenantal ideology in some Levitical priestly traditions such as ALD and *Jubilees* might have been supported by the *Moreh Zedek* movement as a counter claim against Jerusalem priesthood, which claims the priestly covenant by projecting Mattathias' zeal onto Phinehas' in 1 Maccabees.

In the present chapter, I first have reviewed how Deuteronomic ideology is widespread in relation to the concept of covenant in various Qumran foundational documents, such as the *Damascus Document* and *Serek* texts. From the prevalence of Deuteronomic theology concerning the concept of covenant in these documents, we may envisage some support toward Levitical priestly ideologies in DSS. The much supported Levitical priestly traditions in the *Temple Scroll* reinforce this position. The reference to the covenant of Jacob in the text possibly implies a claim of antiquity for the Levitical priestly covenant back to the time of the patriarchs.

In terms of priestly traditions and ideologies, the *Damascus Document* seems to be similar to the *Temple Scroll*, which reflects the plurality of priestly ideologies in the *Moreh Zedek* movement. We may also see some traces of these ideas from *Aramaic Levi Document* or *Jubilees* in the text. At the same time, Aaronic-Zadokite priestly traditions are made explicit in certain places of the *Damascus Dacument* based on Ezekiel. However, Aaronic(-Zadokite) priestly ideology seems not to be significantly developed in this text compared to the *Serek* materials.

Serek documents are significant because the sons of Aaron and the sons of Zadok similarly seem to occupy a prominent position in the covenantal community, where the Teacher of Righteousness is no longer attested. The editor of 1QS juxtaposed the concepts of priest, the covenant, and the Laws in 1QS column 5. In doing so, he was able to suggest an idealized priestly group as the leadership of the community of the post-*Moreh Zedek* movement. However, the absence of the "sons of Zadok" in the 4QS texts (4QS[b, d]) might reflect a renewal (or reformation) of an idealized earlier form of the community.

One of the significant literary elements is the reference to the renewal of the covenant of the eternal priesthood (1QSb III.26). A rare explicit reference to the covenant of eternal priesthood and the emphasis on didactic role (in relation to teaching and judging) in the passage resonates with the Aaron-Phinehas account in the Praise of the

Fathers of Ben Sira (Sir 45:6–25).[120] In this account we have an explicit reference to the covenant of the eternal priesthood (which is from Num 25:13) and the priestly didactic role. The two elements also echo Ezek 44:23–24. Based on this observation, I have argued that 1QSb (and more largely *Serek* materials) seems to have used Ben Sira (Aaron-Phinehas account) as a lens to see priestly covenantal ideology. Particularly, a possibility of an addition of the "sons of Zadok" in a later form of *Serek* material (1QS) and the specific manner of the description of the sons of Zadok seems to imply possible redactional work. Based on this observation, I am able to suggest that some of the Aaronic priestly traditions (including sons of Aaron and sons of Zadok) reflect a particular group in the process of the institutionalization of the movement after the death of *Moreh Zedek*.

It seems that the development of priestly covenantal ideology of the sons of Zadok and sons of Aaron in some sectarian documents possibly reflects a transition from an egalitarian movement led by a charismatic leader to a community led by a particular leadership group with exclusive authority. A significant emphasis on the authority and priestly didactic role in particular seems to explain this transition well. This suggestion also implies that a purpose of the (relatively later) development of the Aaronic priestly ideology is internal issue in order to set up a distinguished priestly group in a process of community building, whereas the (earlier) emphasis on the Levitical priestly traditions reflects an external claim against the contemporary priestly rival in Jerusalem, as Brooke and Kugler have suggested.

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[120] Although the immediate beneficiary of the blessing is the sons of Zadok (1QSb III.22), the ambiguity of the use of the two references and the resonance with Aaronic priestly blessing (Num 6:22–27) reflect the position that the document inherited both Aaronic and Zadokite priestly traditions without making a distinction between them.

PART III

Hebrews

Chapter 5

Priestly Covenant in Hebrews

1. Introduction

1.1. Priesthood and Covenant in Hebrews[1]

In the previous three chapters, I have attempted to demonstrate how 1 and 2 Maccabees and some of the principal sectarian DSS approach the idea of priestly covenant. We have seen that in 1 Maccabees the priestly covenant is a way in which the Hasmoneans make a claim for the legitimacy of their high priesthood. By using the "zeal" motif of the Phinehas tradition alongside the "father" motif, the author articulates the scriptural basis for the high priesthood for Simon who plays the role of ethnarch, that is, an ethnic ruler both of the cult and the military. In the Qumran materials, on the one hand, there is a strong Levitical priestly covenant tradition based on the Phinehas' zeal motif as that is applied to Levi, a son of Jacob. On the other hand, I have argued that the variegated Aaronic priestly tradition, which is developed in Ben Sira (where the author seems to attribute Phinehas' "covenant of eternal priesthood" to Aaron by emphasizing the "father" motif [Sir 45:6–26]). The Aaronic priestly covenant tradition seems to be understood as the backdrop for the sectarians' priestly group identity, which is principally that of the "sons of Zadok," and their particular didactic role as priests, in terms of authenticating the particular understanding of the tradition.

In this chapter, I will show how the author of Hebrews articulates his arguments about the priestly covenant. As I have mentioned in earlier chapters, I am not so much interested in the individual concepts of "priesthood" or "covenant," but rather in the combination of the two;[2] how and for what purpose the two concepts are combined in this

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[1] The composition is also called "the Epistle to the Hebrews." This title has been in dispute, for various reasons, such as the abruptness of Jesus' resurrection motif in chapter 13 where most of the epistolary elements are embedded. George Buchanan argues that chapter 13 is a later addition to the composition, consequently making the genre of the composition remain in question. See George Wesley Buchanan, *To the Hebrews* (AB 36; New York: Doubleday, 1972), 268. On the other hand, Attridge considers that chapter 13 is an integral part of the whole. See Harold W. Attridge, *A Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1989), 13–14. I refer to this composition as "Hebrews" rather than "the Epistle to the Hebrews" in order to avoid an unnecessary dispute about the genre of the composition.

[2] Susanne Lehne has attempted to make "covenant" the overarching category in treating priesthood and sacrifice. See Susanne Lehne, *The New Covenant in Hebrews* (JSNTSup 44; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1990), 94. In her work, she argues that the cultic perspective in the way in

composition. It is my position that Hebrews embraces traceable clues for an investigation

for the way in which the author combines the two concepts in order to present Jesus as the

high priest of the new covenant era for the atonement of sins by means of his blood. First,

it seems that the author uses Exodus 24 as a connecting bridge for the two concepts of

priesthood and covenant. Second, the author appears to articulate his own priestly

covenant tradition by developing the oath-taking motif. The author's overall use of a cultic

setting is also to be noted, not only for the framework involving priesthood, but also for

his discourse about covenant.

In this chapter, in order to investigate the combined concepts of priesthood and

covenant in Hebrews, I will first look at the author's use of some priestly and covenantal

language such as priesthood (ἱερωσύνη), priest (ἱερεὺς), high priest (ἀρχιερεύς), and

covenant (διαθήκη) in Hebrews 7 to 10, and then I will give attention to Hebrews 9, where

the author uses the Exodus 24 tradition as a bridge between the two concepts. In the next

chapter, I will emphasize the author's use of biblical Melchizedek traditions in Hebrews 7

in relation to the oath motif. According to Vanhoye and Attridge, Hebrews 5–10

constitutes the central part of the overall structure of Hebrews.[3] In this central section

(Heb 5:11–10:25), the author seems to develop extensively his doctrinal exposition about

Jesus' priestly messianism in relation to oath and covenant motifs.[4] According to Attridge,

the previous two sections, consisting of movements 1 (Heb 1:5–2:18) and 2 (Heb 3:1–

5:10), develop the major features of the text's Christological position in a preliminary way,

and the following two sections, movements 4 (Heb 10:26–12:13) and 5 (Heb 12:14–13:21)

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which the author reworks the covenant motif in Hebrews is distinctive and original (Lehne, *The New Covenant in Hebrews*, 93). Craig Koester has questioned Lehne's claim, saying that the making of the covenant included prescriptions for the cult in Exodus. He also suggested that some Jewish sources (Sir 24:10–23; 45:7, 15, 24; 1 Macc 2:23–28; *Bib. Ant.* 21:10) are examples of the connection between covenant and cult. See Craig R. Koester, review of Susanne Lehne, *The New Covenant in Hebrews*, *JBL* 110 (1991): 744–46. The previous two chapters on the priestly covenant in 1 Maccabees and in the DSS reinforce Koester's objection to Lehne's claim.

[3] Although Attridge has made a slight modification, he mostly agrees with Vanhoye's structure. According to Koester, although there has been lack of consensus, Vanhoye's five-part division and Nauck's three-part division are the most dominant proposals for the structure of Hebrews. Attridge also recognizes tripartite schemes by noting the similarities between his sections "1 and 2" on the one hand, and "3 and 4" on the other. See Attridge, *Hebrews*, 14–20, esp. 17–19; Albert Vanhoye, *A Structured Translation of the Epistle to the Hebrews* (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1964), 2–5; Craig R. Koester, "The Epistle to the Hebrews in Recent Study," *CR* 2 (1994): 123–45, esp. 125. For a useful summary and assessment of suggested structures for Hebrews by some of the major scholars, see Barry C. Joslin, "Can Hebrews be Structured? An Assessment of Eight Approaches," *CBR* 6 (2007): 99–129.

[4] Attridge, *Hebrews*, 18.

are a paraenesis and an application of the doctrinal exposition from the preceding central section (Heb 5:11–10:25).[5]

1.2. Date and Recipients of Hebrews

Scholars have been discussing some of the introductory issues of Hebrews, such as author, date and location, and the identity of the recipients. In terms of the authorship, Pauline authorship seems to be strongly argued among earlier scholars,[6] yet this position seems barely supported at all by more recent scholars.[7] The date and the identification of the addressees are particularly interesting issues in relation to the argument about Jesus' priestly covenant. The problems of the date, addressees, and destination of Hebrews are interrelated. Some primary unresolved issues in each of the foregoing areas are: whether Hebrews was dated before the destruction of the temple or after, whether it was written for a Palestinian or Roman church and whether Hebrews was targeted to Jewish or gentile Christians.

Significant external evidence for the later date of Hebrews is Clement's awareness of Hebrews in his letter dated around 95 CE.[8] The strongest internal evidence would be the account about the release of Timothy (Heb 13:23).[9] From these references, we are able to suggest a date between 60 and 90 CE.[10] C. Spicq and P. E. Hughes have insisted on a pre-70 date arguing that without the presence of the Jerusalem cult, Hebrews' argument would be meaningless.[11] The persecution (Heb 10:32–34) and the silence about the

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[5] Attridge, *Hebrews*, 19.

[6] According to Koester, those who have supported Pauline authorship are Storr, *Pauli*, 5–84; Stuart, *Commentary*, 112–49; Lindsay, *Lectures*, 5–18; von Hofmann, *Die Heilige*, 5.520–61. See Craig R. Koester, *Hebrews* (AB 36; New York: Doubleday, 2001), 42, n. 82.

[7] Origen appears to have been the first person who argued for an unknown authorship of the epistle. Koester, *Hebrews*, 45. According to Koester, this unknown authorship is supported by Moll, Ewald, von Soden, Ménégoz, Rendall, Westcott, A. B. Bruce, Milligan, Attridge, Bénétreau, Ellingworth, Grässer, D. Guthrie, Hagner, Hegermann, Lane, Michel, and H.-F, Weiss.

[8] Paul Ellingworth, "Hebrews and 1 Clement: Literary Dependence or Common Tradition?," *BZ* 23 (1979): 262–69.

[9] F. F. Bruce, *The Epistle to the Hebrews* (NICNT; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1990), 20–22. This case only applies if chapter 13 is seen as integral to the rest of Hebrews.

[10] Koester, *Hebrews*, 50–54. Koester suggests this range of date without further decision whether it is pre or post 70, the destruction of the temple. According to him, the utterance of tabernacle instead of the Temple, or the activity of the Levitical priesthood in the present tense are possible both in case of the pre-70 and post-70 dates.

[11] Ceslas Spicq, *L'Èpître aux Hèbreux: 1-Introduction* (*EBib*; Paris: Librairie Lecoffre, J. Gabalda et Cie., 1953), 253–65; Philip E. Hughes, *A Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1977), 30–33.

destruction of the temple are also among the arguments for a pre-70 date.[12] On the other hand, many of the German commentators[13] tend to argue for a post-70 date.[14] Although a precise date, whether it is pre- or post-70, should remain open at this point, I personally am inclined to a pre-70 date because the destruction of the Temple seems too significant for the author to ignore in his writing about Jesus' priesthood over against the Levitical priestly office.

Strong cultic language in relation to the Levitical priesthood has caused some scholars, since Chrysostom and Jerome, to claim Jerusalem as the destination of the epistle.[15] On the other hand, the final greeting, "those from Italy send you greetings" in Heb 13:24, has suggested a Roman destination as an alternative.[16] The intended destination of the composition is related to the identity of the recipients. As Koester acknowledges appropriately, the purpose for the composition could be varied according to the readership; if the author has a Jewish audience in mind, the crisis implied in Hebrews would be the persecution that has caused some Jewish Christians to return to old customs. Thus, the author claimed the superiority of Jesus' priesthood to prevent them from returning to the old covenant. If the intended recipients were gentiles, the author would have been facing typical second generation fatigue and discouragement of the faith among his Christian community.[17] In spite of many disputes about either a Jewish or gentile audience, scholars have widely agreed that at least some of the recipients must have been Jewish Christians, because of the author's extensive use of Jewish traditions and background (such as biblical quotations and temple practice).[18]

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[12] Barnabas Lindars, *The Theology of the Letter to the Hebrews* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 19–20; F. F. Bruce, *The Epistle to the Hebrews: the English Text with Introduction, Exposition and Notes* (NICNT; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1964), xlii–xliv; Paul Ellingworth, *The Epistle to the Hebrews: a Commentary on the Greek Text* (NIGCT 19; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1993), 29–33; William L. Lane, *Hebrews 1-8* (WBC 47A; Dallas, TX: Word, 1991), lx–lxiii.

[13] According to Koester, among them are Braun, Grässer, Hegermann, Kistemaker, and Weiss. See Koester, *Hebrews*, 54, n. 115. Attridge counts Grässer as one of the early date (pre-70) defenders. See Attridge, *Hebrews*, 8, n. 56.

[14] Those who argue for later date, have acknowledged the fatigue of second-generation Christians or a sense of loss over the destruction of Jerusalem. See Koester, *Hebrews*, 54.

[15] Attridge, *Hebrews*, 9. See also Koester, *Hebrews*, 48–49. According to them, Stuart, Westcott, Spicq, Teodorico, Buchanan, and Hughes hold this position.

[16] Again, this case only applies if chapter 13 is considered as to be integral to the rest of Hebrews. Grässer ("Hebräerbrief," 151), Spicq (*L'Èpître*, 1.232), Bruce ('To the Hebrews' or 'To the Essenes'?" 217–32), Ellingworth (*The Epistle, 29*), Robinson (*Redating*, 205–13), Kistemaker (*Exposition*, 17–18), and Lane (*Hebrews*, lviii–lx) hold this position.

[17] Koester, *Hebrews*, 47.

[18] See Attridge, *Hebrews*, 11; see also Koester, *Hebrews*, 46.

As mentioned above, one of the key issues concerning Hebrews is the date of writing, whether before the destruction of the Temple or after. However the date of composition will not change my overall argument; it only will make my argument more nuanced. If the date is pre-70, my argument will emphasize the way in which Jesus displaces what is already in practice. If we hold a post-70 date, then Jesus' priesthood of the new covenant would be offered as the alternative to the deceased temple cult due to its destruction. Therefore, though the tone of the argument could be strong, the sense of the superiority of Jesus' priesthood remains in either case.

1.3. The Priestly Melchizedek Tradition and Hebrews

One of the most interesting features of the priesthood in Hebrews is the author's use of the Melchizedek tradition in order to make claims about Jesus' priestly office. This phenomenon is distinctive in the author's use of three priestly terms: "priesthood" (ἱερωσύνη), "priest" (ἱερεὺς), and "high-priest" (ἀρχιερεύς). The first two terms, priesthood and priest, both of which are highly concentrated in Hebrews 7, are used in relation to the Melchizedek tradition in that chapter.[19] We see a similar feature in Heb 4:14–5:10, which is one of the two significant places in terms of the frequency of instances of the term, "high priest" (ἀρχιερεύς).[20] In this passage (Heb 4:14–5:10) the author also incorporates the Melchizedek tradition (Heb 5:6, 10).

Many scholarly works have been written on the issue of Melchizedek. Many of them make an effort to analyze the various roles of Melchizedek in various traditions; amongst these traditions are the *Genesis Apocryphon*, *Jubilees*, Pseudo-Eupolemus, Josephus, Philo, and some of the DSS including 11QMelchizedek.[21] Philo presents an allegorical understanding of Melchizedek, considering him as a symbol of the divine Logos (*Leg. All*. 3.79–82).[22] In 1 *Enoch* 71–72, Melchizedek is described as a heavenly

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[19] All three instances of the term "priesthood" appear in Heb 7:11–28, where the author uses the Melchizedek tradition. Ten out of fourteen instances of the term "priest" are related to the author's use of the Melchizedek tradition.

[20] Five instances of the term "high priest" are attested in Heb 4:14–5:10. There are another five instances in Heb 7:26–8:3 (one in every verse except Heb 8:2).

[21] For an earlier survey of Melchizedek tradition, see Fred L. Horton, *The Melchizedek Tradition: A Critical Examination of the Sources to the Fifth Century AD and in the Epistle to the Hebrews* (SNTSMS 30; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976). For a survey of relatively recent works, see Eric F. Mason, *'You Are a Priest Forever': Second Temple Jewish Messianism and the Priestly Christology of the Epistle to the Hebrews* (STDJ 74; Leiden: Brill, 2008), 138–90. For Melchizedek traditions in Rabbinic literature, see Martin McNamara, "Melchizedek: Gen 14,17–20 in the Targums, in Rabbinic and Early Christian Literature," *Bib* 81 (2000): 1–31.

[22] Attridge, *Hebrews*, 192.

being and eschatological priest. Later Gnosticism presents him as a messianic figure.[23] In 11QMelchizedek, according to de Jonge and van de Woude, Melchizedek is a heavenly judge and priest, though his priestly role is not explicit.[24] These are some of the various interests in Second Temple Jewish scholarly circles concerning the figure of Melchizedek.[25]

The priestly aspect of Melchizedek is a significant issue in relation to our study. The *Book of Jubilees* is a good example of this matter. In this rewritten bible, no extant mention of Melchizedek is found, where it may be expected. The omission may due either to intentional excision or scribal error.[26] We can only speculate on the scene of Abraham's giving tithe to Melchizedek from VanderKam's reconstruction of the missing portion (the earlier part of *Jub* 13:25).[27] However, as Mason rightly points out, it is worth noting that the author of *Jubilees* associates tithes of the Genesis Melchizedek tradition with the tithes that are given to the Levitical priests (*Jub* 13:25b).[28] However, in Hebrews that account is used in order to stress Melchizedek's superiority over against the Levitical priesthood. This interpretation helps us to understand better the author's intention of his usage of the tradition.

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[23] Birger A. Pearson, "Melchizedek in Early Judaism, Christianity, and Gnosticism," in *Biblical Figures Outside the Bible* (ed. Michael E. Stone and Theodore A. Bergren; Harrisburg, PA: Trinity Press International, 1998), 176–202.

[24] See Marinus de Jonge and A. S. van der Woude, "11QMelchizedek and the New Testament," *NTS* 12 (1966): 302–26. See also Attridge, *Hebrews*, 193.

[25] For a discussion about the possible influence of these pre-Christian or non-Christian aspects applied to the figure of Melchizedek in Hebrews, see Lincoln Douglas Hurst, *The Epistle to the Hebrews: Its Background of Thought* (SNTSMS 65; Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 7–86. Hurst holds negative views on the possible influence from most of the non-Christian sources.

[26] According to Mason, some scholars, such as Kugel (*Traditions*, 293), E. Tisserant ("Fragments syriaques du Livre des Jubilés," *RB* 30 [1921]: 55–86, 206–32), and André Caquot ("Le Livre des Jubilés, Melkisedeq et les dîmes," *JJS* 33 [1982]: 257–64) argue that the Melchizedek is intentionally omitted from the tithe account to preserve the Levitical priesthood from possible compromise. See Mason, *You Are a Priest Forever*, 151. For the latter position, see James C. VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees: a Critical Text* (CSCO 510–511; Leuven: Peeters, 1989), 1.82; 2.81–82. See also James C. VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees* (GAP; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), 49; George J. Brooke, "Revisiting the Dead Sea Scrolls and Hebrews," in *Hearing Hebrews: From Jewish Context to Christian Reception* (ed. George J. Brooke and J. Crossley; CBET; Leuven: Peeters, forthcoming), 2.

[27] In a reconstruction of the text VanderKam restored the missing Melchizedek portion of receiving tithes from Abram (*Jub.* 13:25) based on the Ethiopic manuscripts. VanderKam, *Book of Jubilees*, 49.

[28] Mason, *You Are a Priest Forever*, 151.

1.4. Covenant and Hebrews

One of the distinctive features of the covenant theme in Hebrews is that, in most cases, the term διαθηκή modifies or is modified by other words.[29] Many of the modifications are represented as "new covenant, "better covenant," and "former (first) covenant." Additionally, the explicit quotation from Jeremiah 31 (Heb 8:8–12; 10:16–17) shows that the author probably has the "new covenant" tradition from Jeremiah in mind when he discusses the dynamic between the old and new covenants in this text.

The importance of the covenant material in Hebrews has long been recognized in studies on Hebrews.[30] Studies have been performed in various respects: the use of the Jeremiah tradition in Hebrews,[31] comparative studies on the covenant in Hebrews and in Pauline epistles,[32] theological approaches in regards to Christology,[33] and in comparison with other contemporary Jewish literature,[34] especially the Dead Sea Scrolls.[35]

Among the various issues in regard to the covenant in Hebrews, the newness of the "new covenant" in Hebrews[36] is worth noting, because it appears that the author of

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[29] Ellingworth provides a table, which has lists of the associated words. See "Table 2: Associations of διαθήκη in Hebrews" in Ellingworth, *The Epistle*, 386–88.

[30] The covenant material in Hebrews has been studied especially from the theological perspective. See G. Vos, "Hebrews, the Epistle of the Diathēkē," *PTR* 13 (1915) 587–632 and 14 (1916): 1–61; R. Schreiber, *Der Neue Bund im Spätjudentum und Urchristentum* (unpublished dissertation; Eberhard-Karls-Universität Tübingen, 1954); E.A.C. Pretorius, "*Diathēkē* in the Epistle to the Hebrews," *Neot* 5 (1971): 37–50; V. R. Gordon, *Studies in the Covenantal Theology of the Epistle to the Hebrews in light of its Setting* (Ph.D. Dissertation, Fuller Theological Seminary, 1979); A. Schenker, "Unwiderrufliche Umkehr und neuer Bund," *Freiburger Zeitschrift für Philosophie und Theologie* 27 (1980): 93–106; C. Levin, *Die Verheissung des neuen Bundes in ihrem theologiegeschichtlichen Zusammenhang ausgelegt* (FRLANT 137; Göttingen: Vandenhoech & Ruprecht, 1985); Lehne, *The New Covenant in Hebrews*.

[31] F. A. Malone, *A Critical Evaluation of the Use of Jeremiah 31:31–34 in the Letter to the Hebrews* (Ph.D. diss., Southwestern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1969); C. Wolff, *Jeremia im Frühjudentum und Urchristentum* (Berlin: Akademie, 1976); D. Peterson, "The Prophecy of the New Covenant in the Argument of Hebrews," *The Reformed Theological Review* 36–38 (1977–78): 74–81; J.C. McCullough, "The Old Testament Quotations in Hebrews," *NTS* 26 (1980): 363–79;

[32] U. Luz, "Der alte und der neue Bund bei Paulus und im Hebräerbrief," *EvT* 6 (1967): 318–37; J. J. Hughes, "Hebrews IX 15ff. and Galatians III 15ff.: A Study in Covenant Practice and Procedure," *NovT* (1979): 27–96;

[33] J. C. Rylaarsdam, "The Two Covenant Theologies: The Dilemmas of Christology," *JES* 9 (1972): 249–70; P. Andriessen, "L'Eucharistie dans l'Epître aux Hebreux," *NRT* 94 (1972): 260–77; John David Stewart Dunnill, *Covenant and Sacrifices in the Letter to the Hebrews* (SNTSMS 75; Cambridge: C.U.P, 1992).

[34] N. H. Thompson, "The Covenant Concept in Judaism and Christianity," *ATR* 64 (1982): 502–24.

[35] J. Coppens, "Les affinités qumrâniennes de l'épître aux Hébreux," *NRT* 84 (1962): 128–41; R. F. Collins, "The Berîth-Notion of the Cairo Damascus Document and its Comparison with the NT," *ETL* 39 (1963): 555–94.

[36] For this issue, see R. A. Harrisville, "The Concept of Newness in the New Testament," *JBL* 74 (1955): 69–79; J. Swetnam, "Why Was Jeremiah's New Covenant New?" *VTSup* 26 (1974): 111–15; D. R. W. L. Holladay, "The New Covenant," *IDBSup* 623–25; M. R. D'Angelo, *Moses in the Letter*

Hebrews approaches the concept of the "new covenant" differently from הברית ההרשה in the *Damascus Document* (CD VI.9), and consequently reflects distinct realities that the two communities encountered.

Luke T. Johnson in his 2006 commentary argues for the continuity of the new covenant with the old in Hebrews.[37] By providing a long list of similar features of the new covenant in Hebrews and the DSS, Johnson argues that Hebrews' voice is similar to the Qumran covenanters.[38] He further asserts that Hebrews contains no trace of the rejection of the people of Israel or their replacement by a different group of people. According to Johnson, such a claim seems to grow from the modern introspection on Christianity's abuse of Judaism, based on supersessionist theology.[39] However, he seems to miss the point that the new covenant in Hebrews is focusing on the priestly aspect of covenant.[40] The priestly feature is closely related to the priesthood of Jesus that, according to the author of Hebrews, actually would change (μετατιθεμένης) and therefore be discontinuous with the Levitical priestly office (Heb 7:11–12). A detailed discussion on the issues of the

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[37] *to the Hebrews* (SBLDS 42; Missoula: Scholars, 1979); H. W. Wolff, "What is New in the New Covenant?" in *Confrontations with Prophets* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1983), 49–62.

[37] Luke T. Johnson, *Hebrews: A Commentary* (NTL; Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 2006), 211–12.

[38] Johnson, *Hebrews*, 212–14. He provides four arguments. 1) The author of Hebrews does not stand outside the original covenant; however, I think the "new" covenant inevitably presumes the "old or first" covenant. Therefore presupposition of the original covenant should not be counted in the discussion of the newness of the new covenant. 2) Hebrews contains no trace of the rejection of the people of Israel or their replacement by another people; however, I think this idea is largely based on the so called, supersessionist theology which has anti-semitism as its back drop, which possibly distract the discussion of the newness of the new covenant in Hebrews from the textual based discussion to the issue of anti-semitism. 3) The author of Hebrews does not suggest that the first covenant was wrong or a mistake. I think this is the main issue for the discussion of the newness of the new covenant in Hebrews. In terms of this matter, the author of Hebrews actually asserts explicitly the fault (or weakness) of the old covenant (Heb 8:7, 8). And this is the main reason for the replacement of the old covenant to the new one (Heb 7–10, especially Heb 9). For a detailed argument see § 3.2. "Covenant in Hebrews 9" and § 5.2.2. "New Covenant or Renewed Covenant" in this chapter. 4) Hebrews does not even take up the status of Judaism in light of the experience of Jesus as exalted Lord; Hebrews strongly argues that Jesus' priesthood of the new covenant replaces the Levitical priesthood of the old covenant. I will make attempt to demonstrate this in § 2. "Priestood" in this chapter and also in the next chapter: chapter 6 "Priest according to the Order of Melchizedek."

[39] Johnson, *Hebrews*, 210–11. The rise of supersessionism in the study of Hebrews, especially in relation to the concept of new covenant, actually reflects a particular character (in a sense of replacement) of the author's use of some of his language in Hebrews. As Bruce notes, the author even uses a word such as "cancelled" (ἀθέτησις, Heb 7:18), which is much stronger than "change" (μετάθεσις, Heb 7:12). See Bruce, *The Epistle*, 147. For a detailed discussion on the supersessionism in Hebrews, see William L. Lane, "Polemic in Hebrews and the Catholic Epistles," in *Anti-Semitism and Early Christianity: Issues of Polemic and Faith* (ed. Craig A. Evans and D. Hagner; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1993), 166–98; Lloyd Kim, *Polemic in the Book of Hebrews: Anti-Judaism, Anti-Semitism, Supersessionism?* (PTMS 64; Eugene, OR: Pickwick Publications, 2006).

[40] Lehne recognized this already. See Lehne, *The New Covenant in Hebrews*, 53–54.

new covenant in regards to its priestly aspect as well as its distinctiveness from the new covenant of DSS will be presented in a later section of this chapter.[41]

1.5. Combination of the Two Concepts

As I have mentioned, my intention for this chapter is to examine the combination of the two concepts, priesthood and covenant. In the process of demonstrating the combined concepts, I intend to show some aspects of the realities that the author of Hebrews encounters. In this chapter, we will observe how the author of Hebrews interweaves the two concepts. This task will be accomplished first, by seeing how the blood of the covenant tradition in Exodus 24 functions as a key link between the priesthood and the new covenant, especially in terms of its consecrating function for atonement.[42] To support this position it will be important to note the way in which the author uses the blood of the covenant tradition (Exod 24) to make his argument extend to the role of Jesus' blood. Second, I will show that the author's overall cultic perspective, not only in his understanding of priesthood but also in his discourse about law, oath, and covenant motifs in Hebrews 7–10, gives us a hint that enables us to consider the author's frame in which we may highlight the motifs.

In the following sections, I will first look at the priestly language in Hebrews to see how the priesthood is represented in this composition. We have relatively frequent use of the term "high priest" (ἀρχιερεύς) in the earlier (Heb 4:14, 15; 5:1, 5, 10) and middle (Heb 7:26–8:3) chapters. Another term, "priest" (ἱερεύς) is found frequently in chapter 7 (Heb 7:1, 8, 11, 14, 15, 17, 20, 21, 23), along with the term, "priesthood" (ἱερωσύνη, Heb 7:11, 12, 24). On the other hand, the term, "covenant" (διαθήκη) occurs later in chapters 8 and 9 (Heb 8:6, 8, 9, 10; 9: 4, 15, 16, 17, 20) with the so-called "longest quotation of the OT in the NT."[43] This reference is found in Heb 8:8–12 and is quoted from the Jeremiah New Covenant traditions (Jer 31:31–34). Also, in these chapters, we find some cases of priestly terminology: the "high priest" in Heb 9:7, 11, 25 and the "priest" in Hebrews 9:6.

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[41] See § 5.2.2. "New Covenant or Renewed Covenant."

[42] A similar approach has been suggested by Scott Hahn. He argues that in the understanding of διαθήκη in Heb 9:15–22, the cultic-covenantal framework is not to abandon its connection of liturgy and law. See Scott W. Hahn, "Covenant, Cult, and the Curse-of-Death: Διαθήκη in Heb 9:15–22," in *Hebrews: Contemporary Methods—New Insight* (ed. Gabriella Gelardini; BIS 75; Leiden: Brill, 2005), 65–88, esp. 85.

[43] Ellingworth, *The Epistle*, 412. Grässer who juxtaposed the two concepts in Hebrews, recognized that the covenant motif is interrupted after Heb 7:22. See E. Grässer, *Der Alte Bund im Neuen* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1985), 100.

A glance at the distribution of the priestly and covenant language suggests that chapters 7, 8, and 9 will provide a large pool of data on which to draw information concerning how the concepts of priesthood and covenant are juxtaposed. And chapter 9, where the author uses Exodus covenant-making tradition (Exod 24), would be the arena where the concepts of priesthood and covenant are interwoven in Hebrews.

2. Priesthood

As I have mentioned in the previous section, one of the distinctive features of Hebrews' priestly language is that the author uses these terms in relation to the Melchizedek tradition,[44] which I will discuss further in the next chapter. Another significant feature seems to be that the priestly language involves the author's comparison between the Levitical priestly office and Jesus' priesthood or high-priesthood. By reading the immediate contexts of some instances of the priestly language, we may be able to see some distinctive elements of the priesthood, which the author may employ to distinguish Jesus' office from the Levitical office.

2.1. Priesthood (ἱερωσύνη)

Three instances of the term ἱερωσύνη are found in Hebrews (Heb 7:11, 12, 24).[45] All three occurances are found in one small section (Heb 7:11–28), where the author compares Jesus with Levitical priests. This implies that this section could be a place where the conceptualization of the priesthood is developed. By defining this term in this section, the author is possibly setting an agenda for the concept of priesthood.[46]

One outstanding point is that all three verses employing the term "priesthood" (ἱερωσύνη) are to a greater or lesser degree related to the author's exegesis and exposition of Ps 110:4. The way in which the author reads Ps 110:4 is that this text changes the priestly order from Aaron to Melchizedek (Heb 7:11b). The author of Hebrews argues that

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[44] See § 1.3. "The Priestly Melchizedek Tradition and Hebrews."

[45] A similar word, "the priestly office" (τὴν ἱερατείαν, NRSV) is found in Heb 7:5. According to Ellingworth the word is indistinguishable in meaning from the ἱερωσύνη in these verses (Ellingworth, *The Epistle*, 362). See also Attridge, *Hebrews*, 195. It is worth noting that LXX translators used this word, ἱερατεία, as the correspondent to כְּהֻנָּה in Num 25:13, where we find the explicit expression of the priestly covenant, בְּרִית כְּהֻנַּת עוֹלָם "the covenant of everlasting priesthood" (διαθήκη ἱερατείας αἰωνία, LXX). However Hebrews does not seem to develop any priestly tradition of Levi based on Num 25:13. The Levitical priestly covenant traditions are attested in some of the DSS, such as *Jubilees* and *Aramaic Levi Document*. See § 3. "Levitical Priestly Covenant Traditions in *Aramaic Levi Document* and *Jubilees*" in chapter 3.

[46] This concept can be supported by the frequency of "priest" (ἱερεὺς) in Heberews 7; eight out of fourteen instances of the term are found in chapter 7.

the scriptural appointment of the "change" (μετατιθεμένης,[47] Heb 7:12) of the priestly order (from a Levitical one to Jesus' priesthood) reflects the "inferiority" (τὸ ἔλαττον, Heb 7:7) of the Levitical (Aaronic) priesthood through which "perfection" (τελείωσις, Heb 7:11a)[48] is not to be achieved.

The author continues in the next verse (Heb 7:12) with an explanation of an effect of this priestly change. He argues that the alteration of the priesthood (from Levitical to Jesus' priestly office) causes a change of the "law" (Heb 7:12).[49] The "law" here, based on the reading of the following verses (Heb 7:11–16), probably refers to Exodus 28–29, where the appointment of Aaron and his descendants as priests by means of anointing is prescribed.[50] In this passage (Heb 7:11–28) the author of Hebrews seems to make an important point by applying "the oath" motif from Ps 110:4 as the authority of appointing Jesus' priesthood in the order of Melchizedek (Heb 7:20). Thus the author seems to take "the oath" motif (Heb 7:20) as a counterpart to "the law" (Heb 7:12) in terms of the authority that appoints the priesthood.[51] To my mind the oath motif is significantly used by the author as a bridge between the priesthood and covenant, more particularly Jesus' priesthood as a part of the new covenant prophesied in Jeremiah 31. The relationship between priesthood and covenant through the oath motif will be dealt with in more detail in the next chapter.

In Heb 7:13–23 and 7:25ff, the author connects the inferiority (τὸ ἔλαττον, Heb 7:7) of the Levitical priests with their mortality (τὸ θανάτῳ, Heb 7:23). In contrast with the Levitical priesthood, Jesus' priesthood will not be changed (Heb 7:24b) because of the

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[47] The *lemma* of the word, μετατίθημι is defined "to effect a change in state or condition, change, alter" in BDAG. The term also used in Josephus (*Ant*. 12.387) and Esth 14:13.

[48] For the concept of "perfection" (τελείωσις) in Hebrews, see John M. Scholer, *Proleptic Priests: Priesthood in the Epistle to the Hebrews* (JSNTSup 49; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1991), 185–200. See also David Peterson, *Hebrews and Perfection: an Examination of the Concept of Perfection in the 'Epistle to the Hebrews'* (SNTSMS 47; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982).

[49] Or the alteration of the priesthood *reflects* the alteration of the law. Contra NRSV's translation, Attridge considers the circumstantial participle of μετατιθεμένης (v.12) as a conditional rather than temporal, which then reads, "For if the priesthood is changed, then of necessity there is also a change of law." He argues that due to the author's use of quasi-logical terminology of a "necessary" (ἐξ ἀνάγκης, v. 12), a conditional translation is more appropriate here. See Attridge, *Hebrews*, 198, 200–201.

[50] Ellingworth notes that no distinction between Levitical priesthood and Aaronic priesthood is found in Hebrews, especially in the sense that the descendants of Levi other than Aaronic priests, are in a subordinate order. See Ellingworth, *The Epistle*, 371.

[51] For the relationship between law, oath, and covenant in Heb 7, see § 3.4. "Law, Oath, and Covenant in Hebrews" in this chapter.

everlasting nature that Jesus has (Heb 7:24a).[52] Therefore the author's argument in this passage (Heb 7:11–28) may be summerized that the *change* of priesthood from the Levitical priestly office to Jesus' priesthood has been made due to the *inferiority* of the Levitical priestly office and the *superiority* of Jesus' priestly office. The *mortality* of the Leviticial priests represents their *inferiority*, whereas *eternity* represents the *superiority* of Jesus' priesthood. The author of Hebrews seems to imply this position from his exegesis of Ps 110:4.[53] This line of argument seems to show the way in which the author conceptualizes the term ἱερωσύνη (Heb 7:11, 12, 24).
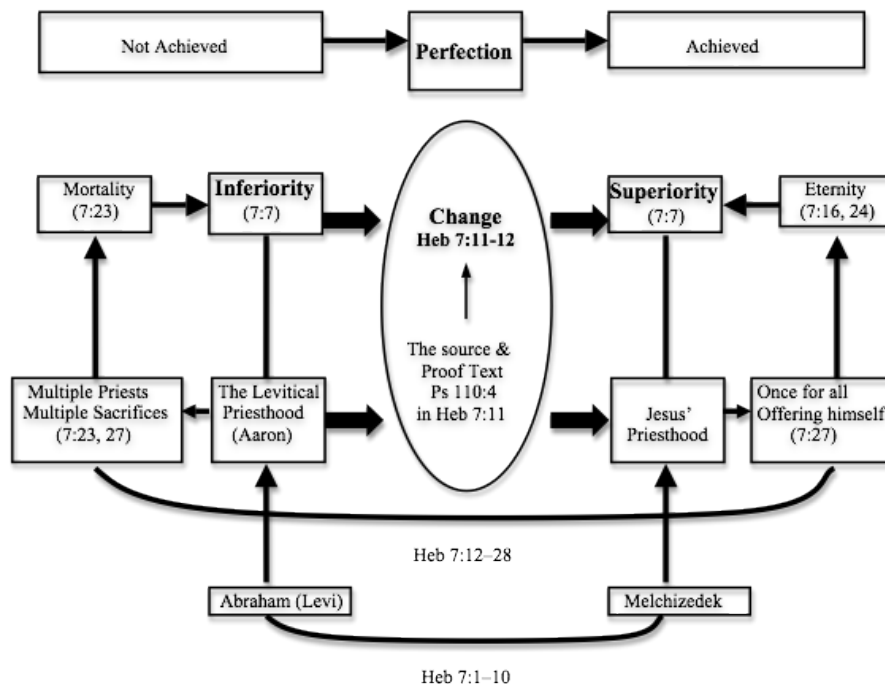
A Framework for the Priesthood in Hebrews 7

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[52] The feature of the term "remains" (μένειν) is one that is shared by both Melchizedek (Heb 7:3) and Jesus (Heb 7:24) in Hebrews 7. See Attridge, *Hebrews*, 209–10.

[53] *Alteration* of the priesthood to the order of Melchizedek reflects the *inferiority* of the Levitical priesthood (Heb 7:11) due to their *mortality* (Heb 7:23). Also see Paul J. Kobelski, *Melchizedek and Melchireša^c* (CBQMS 10; Washington, DC: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1981), 123. In his investigation on Heb 7:3 Kobelski points out the most important element in the tradition (Heb 7:3) is that Melchizedek has *neither a beginning nor an end of days*, which Kobelski argues is an element that is used to establish the superiority of Melchizedek to the *mortal* Levitical priests (Heb 7:7–8). The *italics* are mine.

The diagram has three main aspects. The first feature concerns what is represented by the three principal columns, which refer to the ultimate issue—the priestly system that would be capable of achieving perfection.[54] The second aspect concerns what is implied horizontally, where every element of the Levitical priesthood and Jesus' priesthood is contrasted with each other in a symmetrical arrangement. The third aspect is in the centre, the author's claim of change from Levitical priesthood to Jesus' priesthood, which is placed as the axis of the symmetry where Ps 110:4 seems to play a critical function both as the source and as the proof text for the author's claim that the priestly system is replaced.

In this passage (Heb 7:11–28), the perfection (τελείωσις, v. 11) emerges as the main issue of the priesthood.[55] The inferiority (τὸ ἔλαττον, v. 7) of the Levitical priesthood and the superiority (τοῦ κρείττονος, v. 7) of Jesus' high priesthood are juxtaposed, forming a framework for the conceptualization of the priesthood. The inferiority of the Levitical priesthood is due to mortality (τὸ θανάτῳ, v. 23), which is represented by the multiple priests and the multiple sacrifices (vv. 23 and 27), and the superiority (τοῦ κρείττονος, v. 7) of Jesus' high priesthood is due to the eternity of his life (ζωῆς ἀκαταλύτου, v. 16 and διὰ τὸ μένειν αὐτὸν εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα, v.24),[56] which is represented by the once for all sacrifice (v. 27). The author projects the inferiority and superiority onto Abraham and Melchizedek, which represent Jesus' high priesthood and Levitical high priesthood, respectively. At the end of this chain is Psalm 110:4, both as a source[57] and as a scriptural proof text (μαρτυρεῖται, v. 17) for the author's argument (vv. 11, 15, 17, and 21).

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[54] Koester comments that "this section [Heb 7:11–19] is part of a larger argument that is framed by references to 'completion' [7:11, 28]." See Koester, *Hebrews*, 358. According to Lindars, the perfection is related to the direct access to God. See Lindars, *Theology*, 47.

[55] Johnson, *Hebrews*, 210–15, esp. 211. For an extensive study on τελείωσις in Hebrews, see Peterson, *Hebrews and Perfection*, 185–200. See also Kevin B. McCruden, "The Concept of Perfection in the Epistle to the Hebrews," in *Reading the Epistle to the Hebrews: A Resource for Students* (ed. Eric F. Mason and Kevin B. McCruden; SBLRBS 66; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2011), 209–30.

[56] The expression "because he continues forever" (διὰ τὸ μένειν αὐτὸν εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα, Heb 7:24a) possibly implies the eternity of Jesus' life. The verse reads that Jesus holds his priesthood permanently (or unchangeable, ἀπαράβατον ἔχει τὴν ἱερωσύνην), because Jesus continues everlasting (Heb 7:24). Therefore the everlasting feature is the cause of the permanent (or unchangeable) priesthood of Jesus. And this verse is presented as the contrast to the previous one, where the death (θανάτῳ, Heb 7:23) prevents the Levitical priests from the continuing (τὸ θανάτῳ κωλύεσθαι παραμένειν, Heb 7:23).

[57] For a discussion about Psalm 110 as the source for the priestly Christological understanding in Hebrews 7, see n. 61 of this chapter.

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The Psalms are one of the preferred texts of the author of Hebrews.[58] For example, Psalm 2 is quoted in the first two chapters; Psalm 93 is featured frequently in the composition and Psalm 110 is another psalm that is central to the book.[59] Also the author probably knew well the emerging importance of such texts in relation to Christology in early Christian discourse, such as Psalm 2, Isaiah 11, and Psalm 110.[60] In other words, the author might well have texts at his disposal and be acquainted with his contemporary Christian way of reading some particular texts in relation to Jesus' Christology, which includes Psalm 110. So to him, Ps 110:4 possibly is the source of his idea on Jesus' priesthood.[61] And at the same time, Psalm 110:4 is also the proof text (μαρτυρεῖται, Heb 7:17) for the author's argument for Jesus' priesthood. The author seems to have a range of texts, and he chooses this one, because this is obviously going to fit, with some development, with his purpose to set up Jesus' priesthood against the Levitical one. To my mind, it seems that the author was choosing this particular text, presumably because it serves him in multiple ways; not only concerning the priestly tradition in Psalm 110:4 but also concerning the swearing or oath motif. Ps 110:4 seems to be used by the author to

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[58] The book of Psalms is quoted fourteen times in Hebrews. The frequency of the number is followed by Pentateuch, which is thirteen. See Ellingworth, *The Epistle*, 39.

[59] Buchanan even identifies Hebrews 1–12 as a *homiletical midrash* on Psalm 110. He defines homiletic midrash as "sermons or essays which expand important subjects or texts in the Old Testament" (Buchanan, *Hebrews*, xxi–xxii). Ellingworth gives a short survey on the scholarly suggestions for the genre of the composition (Ellingworth, *The Epistle*, 60–61, n. 27). See also Alan C. Mitchell, *Hebrews* (SP 13; Collegeville, MN: Liturgical Press, 1989), 13–17.

[60] Victor C. Pfitzner, *Hebrews* (ANTC; Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1997), 32–33; Ellingworth, *The Epistle*, 41.

[61] One aspect of the Christological understanding based on Psalm 110 is that the exalted Christ is a royal figure (Ps 110:1). This understanding might have provoked the author to develop another aspect of the Christological understanding, which has not been claimed before, namely that the exalted Christ was the priestly figure like Melchizedek based on the same psalm (Ps 110:4). This position is supported by Koester. See Koester, *Hebrews*, 346. Barnabas Lindars holds a similar position to Koester. He argues that the author of Hebrews produced the high priestly doctrine from his own study of Ps 110:4 in order to respond to the need to find a convincing argument for his audience (Lindars, *Theology*, 64). For a different view see William R. G. Loader, *Sohn und Hoherpriester: Eine Traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung zur Christologie des Hebräerbriefes* (WMANT 53; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1981), 203–50. In his book, Loader, defines two distinct priestly traditions in Hebrews: (1) Christ becoming a high priest at his exaltation, (2) Christ functioning as high priest in his earthly life and particularly in his passion. According to Loader, that the exalted Christ functions as a heavenly priest, has been the most original layer of the priestly traditions in Hebrews (Loader, *Sohn und Hoherpriester*, 233–36). Loader argues that the author, through his exegesis of Ps 110:4 and the Yom Kippur typology in Hebrews 9, applies the original layer of the priestly tradition to the life and death of Jesus (Loader, *Sohn und Hoherpriester*, 236–37). Therefore, according to Loader, a circulated heavenly priestly tradition in the author's contemporaries became the source of the author's development of Jesus' priesthood in Hebrews.

articulate the combined concept of priesthood and covenant. This is going to be discussed more precisely in the next chapter.[62]

2.2. Priest (ἱερεὺς)

The term "priest" (ἱερεὺς) occurs fourteen times in this composition. Ten of these references are used in relation, either to Melchizedek as a priest or to Jesus as the priest after the order of Melchizedek (Heb 5:6; 7:1, 3, 11, 14, 15, 17, 20, 21, and 10:21).[63] Hebrews frequently uses Melchizedek traditions for the discussion of priesthood, especially for the author's claim of the superiority of Jesus' priesthood over against the Levitical priesthood.[64]

The remaining four references to "priest" give us a glimpse of the author's priestly profile of the Levitical priestly office, that is the priest in the earthly tabernacle (Heb 7:23; 8:4; 9:6; 10:11). According to the author, the priests at present are (1) many in number (Heb 7:23), (2) to offer gifts prescribed by the law (Heb 8:4),[65] (3) to enter into the outer room (the first room) for their service (Heb 9:6),[66] and (4) to offer the same services

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[62] See § 3.4. "Law, Oath, and Covenant in Hebrews" in this chapter. Also see § 2.2. "Hebrews' Use of Ps 110:4" and § 2.3. "Melchizedek and the Anticipation of a Better Covenant in Hebrew 7" in chapter 6.

[63] Due to the intensity of the term in relation to the Melchizedek based on Ps 110:4 and Gen 14:18–20, the chapter is identified as a midrash (*Midrasch-Pescher*) on Ps 110:4 and Gen 14:17–20. Friedrich Schröger, *Der Verfasser des Hebräerbriefes als Schriftausleger* (BU 4; Regensburg: Friedrich Pustet, 1968), 156. Attridge agrees with Schröger's identification of the chapter with a note that different interpretative techniques are evident from the earlier cases in Heb 2:5–9 and 3:7–4:11. Attridge, *Hebrews*, 186. However, this terminology, *Midrash-Pesher* could be problematic in various aspects. First, this term is not used in Hebrews. The term is imposed from Qumran, which consequently implies that Qumranic reading is in effect in the reading of Hebrews without verification. Second, the term possibly presumes that Hebrews 7 is simply an exegesis or a *midrash* on the scriptural passages, subsequently the readers may put too much focus on Genesis and Psalms rather than on what the author is doing with these materials, about which I think that the author uses the materials in order to make a framework for the concept of priesthood and priestly covenant tradition for Jesus' priestly office.

[64] As it is emphasized in the previous section, Melchizedek tradition in Ps 110:4 is both the author's source for his priestly understanding of Jesus and the scriptural proof text at the same time. Consult Koester, *Hebrews*, 346.

[65] According to Koester, the present tense of the verb (participle, ὄντων τῶν προσφερόντων κατὰ νόμον τὰ δῶρα) is considered as evidence that Hebrews were written before the destruction of the temple by some commentators. Yet Koester argues that this is not necessarily the case. See Koester, *Hebrews*, 53, 377. Bruce suggests that the verb is a literary present. Bruce, *The Epistle*, xliii–xliv.

[66] This practice is given to introduce the next verse (Heb 9:7), where high-priestly practice on the Day of Atonement (Exod 30:10; Lev 16:2, 29, 34) is mentioned in relation with "blood." This blood motif is used by the author in the later verses (Heb 9:11–14) in order to claim the superiority of Jesus' sacrificial blood over against the inferiority of the blood of the animal sacrifices, which sanctifies the conscience (συνείδησιν) and flesh (σαρκὸς) respectively. According to Koester, this emphasis on the "blood" and "inner-chamber" seems intentional considering the author's ignorance of other aspects of the Day of Atonement ritual, such as the incense, the slaughter of the bull and goat, or the confession of sins over the head of the scapegoat (Lev 16). See Koester, *Hebrews*, 404.

repeatedly (Heb 10:11). It is clear that the author does not arbitrarily suggest this profile. The features of the profile of the Levitical priests seem to be presented based on the framework suggested in the previous section, namely the "change from inferiority to superiority."[67] With a clear purpose to emphasize the superiority of Jesus' priesthood, each characteristic is compared to and contrasted with its counterpart.

The first feature, "many in number" (Heb 7:23),[68] is presented in its immediate context as evidence of the mortality of the Levitical priesthood (Heb 7:23). In the same way, the fourth feature, "to offer the same services repeatedly (Heb 10:11), is presented as evidence for the incapability of the Levitical cultic service in regards to the removal of sin (Heb 10:11), which never achieved the perfection of the worshipers (Heb 10:1–2).[69]

In terms of the second feature, "to offer the gifts prescribed by the law" (Heb 8:4), the author says that the offering happens at the sanctuary on earth (ἐπὶ γῆς, Heb 8:4), which is a sketch and shadow (ὑποδείγματι καὶ σκιᾷ, Heb 8:5) of the heavenly sanctuary, the true tent (τῆς σκηνῆς τῆς ἀληθινῆς, Heb 8:2).[70] The third feature, "to enter into the outer room" (Heb 9:6), superficially contrasts the priests who only can approach the first tent with the high priest, who can approach the second tent (the holy of holies) once a year

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On the other hand, Loader, in his investigation of the tradition histories of Jesus' priesthood in Hebrews, has emphasized the Yom Kippur typology (Loader, *Sohn und Hoherpriester*, 178, 233–38, esp. 235). Another attempt to read Jesus' high priesthood through Leviticus 16 has been made by Willi-Plein. See Ina Willi-Plein, "Some Remarks on Hebrews from the Viewpoint of Old Testament Exegesis," in *Hebrews: Contemporary Methods—New Insights* (ed. Gabriella Gelardini; BIS 75; Leiden: Brill, 2005), 25–35. However, Attridge rightly critiques Loader by questioning whether Yom Kippur is the dominant element in the author's articulation of Jesus' priesthood. I think, as we will argue in a later section of this chapter, the covenantal aspect seems to play more central role in the development of Jesus' priesthood. See Harold W. Attridge, review of William R. G. Loader, *Sohn und Hoherpriester*, *JBL* 103 (1984): 304.

[67] Consult the diagram in the previous section.

[68] This is in the sense of "succession" rather than "amount." Josephus names eighty-three high priests from Aaron to Phanasus in *Ant.* 20.227.

[69] In Heb 10:11, by saying that the each priest stands and performs his duties day by day, the author points out the repetitiveness of the earthly priesthood, from which he raises the issue of perfection (Heb 10:1–18); the author argues that the repetition of their sacrifices proves that their sacrifice is not perfect (Heb 10:1–2), in the sense of the incapability of removing sins (Heb 10:11). Therefore one clear and strong aspect of the matter of perfection is the sacrificial capability of removing sins (as well as the number of the priests) (Koester, *Hebrews*, 399; Lehne, *The New Covenant in Hebrews*, 78).

[70] In this passage, the framework of the inferiority and the superiority seems to apply to the issue of covenant. Through the contrast of the earthly tent to the heavenly one (Heb 8:1–5), the author leads the discourse from the priestly issue to the covenant issue (Heb 8:6), and puts the covenant issue upon the same framework of inferiority and superiority (Heb 8:7): inferiority of the first one and superiority of the new one. The new covenant tradition in Jeremiah 31 is presented here (Heb 8:8–12) as a reference to the "better covenant" (Heb 8:6).

(Heb 9:7).[71] The outer room, which also is referred to as "the first tent" (Heb 9:8), is considered at the present time (Heb 9:9)[72] in his symbolic explanation (παραβολὴ, Heb 9:9), when the offering and sacrifices are incapable of making the worshipper's conscience perfect (Heb 9:9). The author presents Christ as the high priest, who enters into the greater and perfect tent (τῆς μείζονος καὶ τελειοτέρας σκηνῆς, Heb 9:11). Here again, the author presents the Levitical priestly profile based on his framework of the "*change* from the *inferiority* to the *superiority*."[73]

2.3. High Priest (ἀρχιερεύς)

Seventeen uses of the term "high priest" (ἀρχιερεύς) are found in Hebrews. The term is distributed widely throughout the composition (chapters 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 13),[74]

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[71] The dichotomy, which contrasts heavenly with earthly in the sense of true and shadow, has been related to the issue of the influence of Philo's Middle Platonism on the writing of Hebrews. According to Spicq, Hugo Grotius was first to note the possible influence of Philo in his reading of Heb 4:11 in 1644 (Spicq, *L'Èpître aux Hèbreux*, 1.39). Spicq has leaned toward this direction by insisting that the author was "un philonien converti an christianisme," and therefore has more precisely developed a case for the authorship of Apollos (Spicq, *L'Èpître aux Hèbreux*, 1.209–19). In a similar way, James W. Thompson strongly argued that Hebrews' argument and interpretation of the OT and early Christian traditions have been based on Platonic cosmological dualism by saying, "while there is a definite eschatology in Hebrews, it has been reshaped with metaphysical interests. This fact is of decisive importance for the understanding of Hebrews." See James W. Thompson, *The Beginnings of Christian Philosophy: The Epistle to the Hebrews* (CBQMS 13; Washington: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1982), 52. Although Thompson admits that there is little evidence that the author of Hebrews has a profound knowledge of Platonism, he argues that "the author of Hebrews nevertheless works within the two levels of reality to affirm that the work of Christ is *ephapax* (once for all) and beyond multiplicity in a way that is analogous to the ontology of the Middle Platonists." See James W. Thompson, "What Has Middle Platonism to Do with Hebrews?," in *Reading the Epistle to the Hebrews: A Resource for Students* (ed. Eric F. Mason and Kevin B. McCruden; SBLRBS 66; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2011), 47, 51. Attridge assumes the author's acquaintance with contemporary philosophy, namely middle Platonism, although he notes that Hebrews is not a technical philosophical work. Attridge, *Hebrews*, 26, n. 210.

Hurst on the other hand, argues against Alexandrian influence on Hebrews. He argues that cosmological ("vertical" or heavenly and earthly realm) framework of the Hebrews eschatology (which is originally "horizontal" or temporal) is not necessarily considered to be based on the dichotomy of Philo or Platonism because the Jewish apocalyptic literature already had a vertical as well as horizontal framework (the heavenly Jerusalem is conceived vertically in 4 Ezra and 2 *Baruch*, but horizontally in 1 *Enoch* 90:29). See Hurst, *The Epistle to the Hebrews*, 11–42, esp. 30, 32. Koester also provides a detailed analysis on the differences between Hebrews' cosmology and the dichotomy of Platonism. See Koester, *Hebrews*, 97–100.

[72] According to Koester, the "present time" is the author's own time rather than the past time when the Tabernacle existed. However, he limits the aspects of the "present time," only referring to the cultic practices mentioned in Heb 9:9–10. Consult Koester, *Hebrews*, 398.

[73] See § 2.2. "Priest (ἱεπεὺς)" in this chapter.

[74] This does not necessarily mean that the term is casted randomly. There are two places where the term used more intensively. The first passage is Heb 4:14–5:10 where four instances are found. The other place is Heb 7:26–8:3 where five instances of the term appear in six verses. Heb 2:17; 3:1; 4:14, 15; 5:1, 5, 10; 6:20; 7:26, 27, 28; 8:1, 3; 9:7, 11, 25; 13:11.

which differs from the other two terms.[75] In many of the verses, the author contrasts Jesus' high priesthood with the Levitical high priesthood.[76] In this process, four characteristics are significant in his comparison between the two concepts: "once for all" in contrast with "daily" (Heb 7:27), "appointed by oath" in contrast with "appointed by the law" (Heb 7:28), "heavenly" against "earthly" (Heb 8:1, cf. Heb 8:4), and "his own blood" against "blood of others" (Heb 9:25, cf. Heb 8:3; 9:7; 13:11).

Again, "once for all" and "daily" are the issue in relation to the perfection of their sacrifices. "His own blood" and "blood of others" are also used respectively as the evidences for capablility of Jesus' sacrifice and incapability of the Levitical sacrifices in terms of achieving perfection. "Heavenly" and "earthly" is not only a matter of location, but also a matter of eternity and non-eternity from which the author derives his typology. The author explicitly presents Jesus as the "heavenly" high-priest in Heb 8:1 by saying that Jesus is at "the right side" of God which the author drives from Ps 110:1. In order to make Jesus' heavenly nature more clear, the author includes a prepositional phrase "in the heavens" (ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς) in this verse.[77]

"Appointed by the law" and "appointed by oath" (Heb 7:18, 20) concerns the order of the priesthood.[78] "The law" here again seems to refer to Exodus 28–29,[79] the regulations in relation to the anointing of Aaron and his sons as the priests (cf. Heb 7:11–12, 18). And "the oath" (ὁρκωμοσίας, Heb 7:20, 21, 28),[80] which stands against "the law" (νόμος, Heb 7:28) is the author's particular word, referring to the declaration "You are a priest forever, in the order of Melchizedek" (Ps 110:4b). So to the author of Hebrews, appointment of priesthood is a matter of oath, rather than genealogy. The author seems to suggest an alternative way of endorsing the priesthood here.[81] These two elements are contrasted in Hebrews 7 based on the framework of inferiority and superiority. Therefore,

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[75] The other two terms ἱερωσύνη and ἱερεὺς are concentrated in Hebrews 7. All three references to ἱερωσύνη are found only in Hebrews 7. In terms of ἱερεὺς, we have nine instances in Hebrews 7. Hebrews 5, 8 and 9 have one in each, and two are found in Hebrews 10.

[76] The comparison begins in Hebrews 7.

[77] Compare the author's allusions to Ps 110:1 in Heb 1:3 and 8:1.

[78] A detailed discussion on the law and the oath, and their relationship with the covenant is dealt with a later section. See § 3.4. "Law, Oath, and Covenant in Hebrews" in this chapter.

[79] Yet, when the author says the "change of the law," it probably refers to the whole system of the Mosaic law in which the Levitical priesthood is instituted. Bruce, *The Epistle*, 145.

[80] The oath motif is from שבע in נִשְׁבַּע יְהֹוָה ׀ וְלֹא יִנָּחֵם (Ps 110:4a, MT). The phrase is translated with different wording in LXX: ὤμοσεν κύριος καὶ οὐ μεταμεληθήσεται (Ps 109:4a, LXX).

[81] This concept is interesting concerning 1 Maccabees, in which the author uses a father motif as well as a zeal motif in order to claim high priesthood for the Hasmonean heirs. See chapter 2.

all of these features support the author's framework of contrasting "inferiority with superiority."

Finally, most of the characteristics that the author contrasts between Jesus as high priest and the Levitical priesthood are related to the cultic roles of the high priest. The cultic roles are related to Jesus' role of redemption (Heb 5:9[82]; 9:28). So it can be said that the author attemps to understand Jesus' redemption through the lens of the cultic role of the high priest.[83] The sacrificial aspect is also significant in relation to the concept of perfection in Hebrews. As has been mentioned, perfection seems to be a matter of the capability of removing sins through a sacrificial practice (Heb 10:1–18).[84] It is worthy of note that in Hebrews the priestly emphasis is on the sacrificial aspect, whereas in the DSS the stress is on the didactic aspect.

2.4. The Nature of Jesus' High Priesthood

In the previous sections, I have attempted to show how the author frames the concept of priesthood in Hebrews. Here I will mention two significant features of the author's discourse on the framework of priesthood; the first is the overall cultic setting in the author's discourse of the priesthood, and the other is the author's metaphorical approach to Jesus' priesthood.

First, as has been mentioned at the end of the previous section, the cultic role of the high priest is the way in which the author approaches Jesus' high priesthood in contrast to the Levitical office. The author seems to be concerned in particular with the cult in this section (Heb 7–10). Not only the discourse of the priesthood but also the law and oath motifs, and the new covenant motif in Hebrews 7–10 seem to be discussed in a cultic

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[82] The relationship between the cultic role of Jesus' high priesthood and Jesus' role of redemption is also suggested in Heb 4:14–5:10. In Heb 5:9 the author presents Jesus as a high priest who becomes source of the eternal salvation (αἴτιος σωτηρίας αἰωνίου). In Heb 4:14–5:10 the functions of a high priest are defined as offering and atoning sacrifice (Heb 5:1). The author further argues that Jesus became a high priest, first, according to God's calling (Heb 5:5–6, 10), which is a prerequisite for someone to become a high priesthood (Heb 5:4), and second, due to Jesus' suffering and obedience, which results in allowing him to become a source of redemption (Heb 9). So in this passage, Jesus' high priesthood is suggested based on the cultic role of the Levitical priesthood, further argued that Jesus' high priesthood is related to the eternal salvation of the poeple.

[83] In Morna D. Hooker's words, "our author thought it necessary to spell out precisely how Jesus' death could deal with sin and how this was 'according to the scripture.'" See Morna D. Hooker, "Christ, the 'End' of the Cult," in *The Epistle to the Hebrews and Christian Theology* (ed. Richard Bauckham, et al.; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2009), 209.

[84] Peterson also observed that the incapability (inefficacy according to him) of removing sin is the matter of the concept of perfection here (Peterson, *Hebrews and Perfection*, 146). Peterson plausibly explains the cultic aspect of the concept of perfection from a perspective of the failure of the Old Covenant. See Peterson, *Hebrews and Perfection*, 144–47.

setting. This possibly allows us to infer the author's overall cultic framework of discourse in this section; the nature of the covenant or the oath can only be appropriated or lived out through the atonement that they represent in cultic terms.[85] The author provides the cultic framework rather than the legal, political, or military framework. To the author the cultic view of the world is prioritized more than any other perspective in all aspects of his community (or audience).

The author's emphasis on the cultic perspective shows us that to the author the whole purpose of existence is about being one with God. The accessibility to God is a key cultic concern in Hebrews (Heb 7:19; 10:19–20). So, the cult serves as the positive frame of reference even though in actual practice it may be a negative frame of reference. This perspective fits well with what is presented in Hebrews 7–10, where the overall cultic setting is very strong; whereas the criticism of the Levitical priestly office is more severe at the same time.

In a sense, the author's approach to the priesthood in Hebrews seems distinctive from that of the *Yahad*, where the didactic roles of the priest group are explicitly appointed. The didactic role of the priesthood is commonly recognized in the "sons of Zadok," the priestly identified leadership group, as well as *Moreh Zedek* and the eschatological figure. As I have attempted to demonstrate in the previous chapter, the didactic roles of the priestly group seem to be rooted in a priestly tradition in Deuteronomy that continues in Ezekiel and Ben Sira. The emphasis on the didactic role in the *Moreh Zedek* movement and *Yahad* is possibly due to the lack of the accessibility to the Jerusalem temple. The participation in the Jerusalem temple cult seems to be minimized by the writers of DSS, due to the defilement of the temple, and therefore the *Yahad* viewed themselves as a substitute for the temple.

The *Yahad* also seems to have a cultic dimension in their concept of the covenant. In the *Rule of the Community* (1QS), we get a glimpse of the significance of the covenant through a ritual act that makes a person a member of the covenant community. Also, in 1QS we learn that the community members do three things when they gather at night that are integral to the life of community: (1) they read scripture, (2) they seek (or interpret, דרש) what they read, and (3) they bless each other. These activities consist of an atonement for the land according to 1QS col 8. The life of the gathered community is expressed in the

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[85] A similar perspective might be detected in 1QS because the text, a collection of rules, amongst other things, begins with covenantal ceremony. So 1QS reflects that the rules only make sense if someone appropriates it through being a member of a cultic community.

atonement for the land, which means that the community life has a cultic backdrop, without a sacrificial system. Community living may well be about interpreting scripture, especially the proper interpretation of hidden things that prevent defilement. Therefore, both the *Yahad* and Hebrews incorporate a cultic background, yet Hebrews presents a metaphorical sacrifice of Jesus as a key to understanding the cultic significance; whereas a didactic function is a key for the *Yahad*.

Second, Jesus' priesthood in Hebrews uses a metaphorical approach to the concept of priesthood based on a concrete understanding of the Jewish tradition.[86] In terms of priesthood, Maccabees and Qumran deal with actual priests; Maccabees is concerned with an active High Priest in Jerusalem; the DSS deals with a particular working-leadership group with priestly identification, titled the "sons of Zadok" or the "sons of Aaron." But in Hebrews, Jesus' priesthood is concerned with a metaphorical transfer. Jesus' high priesthood and the sacrificial function are understood in the heavenly realm, because Jesus' priestly sacrifice did not happen in the Jerusalem temple. It could be said that the combination of the facts, namely, Jesus was killed and that early Christians have recognized the significance of the blood on the basis of a meal practice or eucharist, have encouraged the author to think about the cultic setting. So the author's approach is a matter of conceptualization. However, it seems obvious to the author, that his metaphor has an actual effect.[87]

I am arguing that it is the combination of the concepts of priesthood and covenant that makes a significant difference for our understanding of Hebrews. Having considered the priesthood, we now can consider the covenant.

3. Covenant

In most cases, the term "covenant" in Hebrews is combined with other words. In some cases, the term "covenant" is modified by some words such as, "better" (Heb 7:22;

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[86] The concept of priest in Hebrews does not rest on the priesthood of the Greek world or Egyptian world. Christian Eberhart also has attempted to elucidate the nature of the sacrificial imagery in Hebrews by investigating the Israelite and Judean cult in Hebrew Bible. See Christian Eberhart, "Characteristics of Sacrificial Metaphors in Hebrews," in *Hebrews: Contemporary Methods—New Insights* (ed. Gabriella Gelardini; BIS 75; Leiden: Brill, 2005), 37–64.

[87] According to the author, Christians have a new and living way to enter the sanctuary by the blood of Jesus through the curtain, which is symbolic of his flesh (Heb 10:19–20). This reflects the way in which the author understands the torn curtain at Jesus' death (Mark 15:38, Matt 27:51, Luke 23:45) in relation to the sacrificial aspect of Jesus' crucifixion. Therefore, to the author, his metaphorical understanding of Jesus' crucifixion seems to exist not only in the heavenly realm but also to have an actual effect in the earthly realm.

8:6), "new" (Heb 8:8; 9:15), or "former" (Heb 9:15). Sometimes, in the genitive form the term works as a modifying word: "mediator of the (better or new) covenant" (Heb 8:6; 9:15; 12:24) or "blood of the covenant" (Heb 9:20, 10:29, 13:20).[88]

Considering only the foregoing phrases, we may be able to speculate on the author's argument about the covenant; there has been "former [first] covenant" and will be a "new covenant." The "new covenant" is a "better covenant." And someone functions as the "mediator of the new and better covenant" in a way that he shed the "blood of the covenant."

3.1. Covenant in Hebrews 7–8

One significant usage of the term "covenant" appears in chapter 8, where the author quotes from Jer 31:31–34. The author, after he presents Jesus as the high priest in the order of Melchizedek in chapter 7, now presents Jesus as the high priest of the new covenant. Although Hebrews does not explicitly mention, "the high priest of the new covenant," the author seems to relate the two concepts, "high priest" and the "new covenant," in the first half of chapter 8 (Heb 8:1–6).

The author opens this passage with an introduction to Jesus' high priesthood by saying, "we have such a high priest" (τοιοῦτον ἔχομεν ἀρχιερέα, Heb 8:1). In the subsequent comparison between Jesus' high priesthood and the one on earth (Heb 8:4), the author says that Jesus has obtained a more excellent ministry (λειτουργίας, Heb 8:6). This ministry mentioned in the same verse parallels the mediator of the better covenant (κρείττονός ἐστιν διαθήκης μεσίτης, Heb 8:6), which introduces the new covenant passage from Jeremiah 31 in the subsequent verses (Heb 8:8–12). And at the same time, based on the cultic character of the term,[89] this term also refers to Jesus' high priesthood (Heb 8:1–2, a minister [λειτουργὸς] in a sanctuary and the true tent of the Lord). In other words, "a more excellent ministry" (Heb 8:6) seems to connect "Jesus' high priesthood" and "the mediator of the new covenant" by referring to both aspects of the ministry. The relationship between the two concepts is more explicitly articulated in the next chapter.

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[88] Two instances of the term "covenant" in Heb 9:4 refer to two articles in the holy of holies: "the ark of the covenant" (τὴν κιβωτὸν τῆς διαθήκης) and "the tablets of the covenant" (πλάκες τῆς διαθήκης). The two occurrences are out of our concern.

[89] This term also gives a cultic flavor. This term refers to temple service in Exod 37:19; Num 8:22; 16:9; 18:4, and also to priestly services in 2 Ch 31:2. All of these cases, the term is LXX translation of Hebrew עֲבֹדָה. Also see Luke 1:23 and Heb 9:21. See F. W. Danker ed., "λειτουργία," *BDAG* 591.

In Heb 8:8–12, the author quotes the new covenant tradition faithfully from Jer 31:31–34.[90] In this quotation, the former (first) covenant (διαθήκην) refers to the Mosaic covenant (Exod 19–24) at Mt Sinai (Heb 8:9). The new covenant (διαθήκην καινήν, Heb 8:8) is "My [God's] covenant" (τῇ διαθήκη μου, Heb 8:9), which God would make in the future (ἡ διαθήκη, ἣν διαθήσομαι, Heb 8:10). We can then observe the author's exegesis of this new covenant tradition in Heb 8:13. From the concept of the "new covenant," he can state that the Mosaic covenant is the "former covenant," from which he characterizes the first covenant as something growing old (παλαιούμενον καὶ γηράσκον) and eventually disappearing (ἐγγὺς ἀφανισμοῦ, Heb 8:13).

The author's view of the new covenant tradition (Jer 31:31–34) seems very different from its original context in relation to the value of the old covenant.[91] In Jeremiah 31, God promises a new covenant because the Israelites have broken the old one (Jer 31:32). The new covenant is different from the old (Jer 31:32). Yet the difference does not seem to be radical here, but concerns the formal aspect of the covenant, from giving the law externally on the tablet to giving it in the people on their hearts (עַל־לִבָּם, Jer 31:33). The oracle that God would forgive their iniquities (עֲוֺנָם) and would not remember their sin (חַטָּאתָם, Jer 31:34)[92] reflects a concept that God would keep the relationship with them by restarting it. Moreover, the author of Hebrews argues that the new covenant is needed not because of the people's violation of the old covenant, but because of the weakness (μεμφόμενος, Heb 8:8, 7) of the old system;[93] weakness most probably refers to the incapability of achieving perfection (Heb 7:11, 26–28).[94] Therefore, the first system is abolished (ἀναιρεῖ) by Jesus who establishes the second (Heb 10:9).[95]

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[90] Lehne, *The New Covenant in Hebrews*, 30–31.

[91] Lehne, *The New Covenant in Hebrews*, 31.

[92] The sin here probably refers to their ancestors' violation of the first covenant (Jer 31:32).

[93] As is emphasized by Peterson by saying, "the introductory and concluding verses [Heb 8:7, 13] stress the imperfect and provisional character of the Old Covenant" (Peterson, *Hebrews and Perfection*, 132).

[94] Scholer says, "the cultic contexts in which τελειουν occurs in Hebrews [7:11, 19; 9:9, 10:1, 4] serve to contrast the old covenant cult and its ritual practice—through which access to God was presumed—with the actual realization of such access only under the new covenant" (Scholer, *Proleptic Priests*, 198). He further notes that the term in relation to Jesus in Hebrews, by saying "Where Jesus is concerned, has exactly the same meaning as [entering into the true holy of holies in heaven] in Heb" (Scholer, *Proleptic Priests*, 197–98). According to McCruden, the concept of perfection in Hebrews closely related to the figure of Jesus. He argues, "while the event of Jesus' exaltation comprise one aspect of what Jesus' perfection means for the author of Hebrews, the personal faithfulness of Jesus also plays a significant role in the perfecting in the Son as eternal high priest" (McCruden, "Concept of Perfection," 212–13, 229).

[95] According to Hebrews, the old law is set aside (ἀθέτησις) because of the weakness and ineffectiveness (ἀσθενὲς καὶ ἀνωφελές, Heb 7:18). The author further argues that God himself made

As mentioned above, it is important to understand that the author of Hebrews, not only in his discourse about Jesus' priestly office, but also in his reading of the concept of the new covenant tradition, seems to make his discourse within an overarching cultic setting. This setting seems to allow the author to develop the combination of the two concepts. The author's understanding of the covenant and priesthood in Hebrews seems to concentrate on the significance of the sacrificial system. The author seems to give us an old frame of reference, however it is being replaced by this new covenant.[96] Jesus occupies the centre of the new order, playing the role of mediator of the new covenant and the high priest who performs the sacrificial atonement, which replaces Moses and the Levitical high priests from of the old order (Heb 7–8).[97] The author seems to claim a new system with a new agent and new people from his reading of the new covenant tradition from Jeremiah.[98]

In terms of the Jerusalem temple, an aspect of Jeremiah's new covenant is that it is probably reflecting upon a time when there was no temple, and at a time when it was not even certain when there was going to be a new one. In contrast, in the *Damascus Document* there is a temple, but it is defiled in some way, therefore the *Damascus Document* appears to show a different agenda. And in Hebrews, either the Temple is

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the old one unused (παλαιούμενον, "obsolete" in NRSV, Heb 8:13), so as to vanish soon (ἀφανισμοῦ, Heb 8:13). By using the same verses (Heb 7:12, 18; 10:9) Lehne reached the same conclusion stating that "we have definitively left the realm of the OT." See Lehne, *The New Covenant in Hebrews*, 31.

[96] Contra to Johnson, who insists on the continuity of the new covenant in Hebrews as well as in *Yahad*. See Johnson, *Hebrews*, 211–12.

[97] As it has been argued frequently in scholarly discussion, the newness of the new covenant in Hebrews is closely related to the author's theological exposition on the Christology of Jesus. From this perspective, the newness is emphasized because Jesus is definitely a new figure. On the other hand, from a perspective of the Israelite God, the continuity of the covenant seems to have emerged. If we consider the purpose of the author, the new covenant in Hebrews is a new one rather than a renewed one.

[98] Bruce, in many places throughout his commentary, emphasizes the new order's supersession over the old. The newness of the new covenant in Hebrews has been in dispute, especially in relation to supersessionism, which has a long history of connotation of anti-semitism. Richard Hays says, "Hebrews is no more supersessionist than Jeremiah." Yet he talks about "supersessionist" in the sense of "God has rejected Israel in favor of Gentile believers in Jesus." See Richard B. Hays, "'Here We Have No Lasting City': New Covenantalism in Hebrews," in *The Epistle to the Hebrews and Christian Theology* (ed. Richard Bauckham, et al.; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2009), 165. Mark Nanos is opposed to reading Hebrews as a supersessionist. He comments, "it is a new development in a continuous story." See Mark D. Nanos, "*New* or *Renewed* Covenantalism? A Response to Richard Hays," in *The Epistle to the Hebrews and Christian Theology* (ed. Richard Bauckham, et al.; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2009), 188. Oskar Skarsaune seems more cautious in defining whether the author of Hebrews is a supersessionist. He wisely suggests that the supersessionism of Hebrews "depends very much on how we define this term." See Oskar Skarsaune, "Does the Letter to the Hebrews Articulate a Supersessionist Theology? A Response to Richard Hays," in *The Epistle to the Hebrews and Christian Theology* (ed. Richard Bauckham, et al.; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2009), 182.

ineffective or it has been destroyed. Therefore, Hebrews implies a literal or figurative absence of the temple in Jeremiah. Consequently, we need an alternative to the Temple, which is then expressed through this new priestly covenant that is associated with Jesus in some way.

3.2. Covenant in Hebrews 9

Chapter 9, based on a conflating of Jer 31:31–34 and Exod 24:6–8, presents a fascinating picture of the heavenly cult of the new covenant (Heb 9:11–14) and the inaugural sacrifice of the new covenant (Heb 9:15–22).[99] This passage is particularly important to our discussion because this is where the author seems explicitly to elaborate on the concept of the new covenant in a cultic framework.

Although the original context of the new covenant passage of Jeremiah 31 lacks a cultic context,[100] the author attempts to make a connection between Jeremiah's new covenant and a sacrificial cultic setting. Hebrews 8 ends with a comment that "the first [covenant]" (τὴν πρώτην) will disappear due to the inauguration of the new covenant (Heb 8:13). The new covenant in Hebrews 8:13 refers to the Jeremiah new covenant tradition, which is quoted in previous verses (Heb 8:8b–12). The word, "the first [covenant]" (τὴν πρώτην) in Hebrews 8:13 is employed by the author in a transitional clause (Heb 9:1).[101] Then the author introduces the sacrificial cultic setting of the first covenant[102] as a symbol (παραβολὴ, Heb 9:9) of the cultic setting of the new covenant in the rest of chapter 9 (Heb 9:1–28). It seems that, to the author of Hebrews, the Mosaic covenant and the subsequent cultic setting (Exod 19–24 and Exod 25–30) is a useful framework for reading the new covenant of Jeremiah 31 in a priestly cultic setting.

In this passage, Jesus is presented as the "mediator of the new covenant" (διαθήκης καινῆς μεσίτης, Heb 9:15). The key elements of the "mediator" are "death" (θανάτου, Heb 9:15, 16) and "blood" (αἵματι, Heb 9:20), which produce "redemption" (ἀπολύτρωσιν, Heb 9:15).[103] The new covenant (διαθήκης καινῆς) and the former

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[99] Attridge, *Hebrews*, 244, 253. They are the subtitles for the two passages.

[100] Jeremiah's new covenant tradition does talk about the forgiveness of the iniquity (Jer 31:34). However, the passages seem to talk about iniquity in the sense of the people's violence against the first covenant; cultic atmosphere is not found in the passage.

[101] The author mentions the word, "the first [covenant]" (ἡ πρώτη, Heb 9:1), which refers to the first covenant in previous verse (Heb 8:13).

[102] The first covenant seems to include the Mosaic covenant in Mt. Sinai from Exodus 19–24 and the day of atonement from Leviticus 16 according to the subsequent context Heb 9:1–7.

[103] In this passage, the author depicts the mediator of the new covenant as Jesus' sacrificial offering of himself from his death and blood motifs. The mediator of the new covenant motif seems to

covenant (πρώτη διαθήκη) here (Heb 9:15) is based on the author's understanding of the new covenant in Jeremiah 31:31–34, which he quotes in the previous chapter (Heb 8:8–13).[104] The author's mediator motif is derived from his exegesis of this quotation by emphasizing the issue of the "disobedience [παραβάσεων] of the former [first] covenant" (Heb 9:15). In this verse, the author implies that the disobedience requires redemption through sacrificial practice.

In verse 16 and 17 the same word, διαθήκη, is used with a different meaning "[death] will" (Heb 9:16, 17). By using this particular term, διαθήκη for the meaning of "[death] will," the author seems to emphasize and make a connection with the two motifs of διαθήκη: the death motif and the covenant motif. So, these texts seem to support the author's position of connecting the "mediator of the new covenant" with the "death for the redemption" (Heb 9:15) motif.

3.3. Covenant in Hebrews 10, 12, 13

We have a few references to the covenant in chapters 10 (2 times), 12, and 13. In Heb 10:16–17 the author quotes again from Jer 31:34, as the proof of the perfection of the new covenant, from which he concludes that any sacrifice for sin is unnecessary (Heb 10:18). Additionally, by explicitly recalling Jer 31:34 from which the author writes, "I will remember their sins and their lawless deeds no more" (Heb 10:17), he makes a link to the "forgiveness" motif (Heb 10:18). To the author, forgiveness is a barometer to distinguish between perfection and imperfection, which are related to Jesus' priesthood and the Levitical priestly office, respectively. So here again, the author's reading of the blood of the new covenant functions under the overall cultic sacrificial setting.

In Heb 10:29, the author in his exhortation mentions the blood of the covenant (τὸ αἷμα τῆς διαθήκης). Needless to say, the phrase is closely related to the one in the previous chapter. Particularly in this verse, the author considers this blood of the covenant as the blood of Jesus, which achieves sanctification (ἐν ᾧ ἡγιάσθη, Heb 10:29). This exhortation fits well with the argument that he makes in the previous chapter (Heb 9:18–28).

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be adopted from the role of Moses as the mediator of the covenant in Exodus 24, yet here the motif is clothed with priestly sacrificial language. Therefore, in Hebrews, distinctively from the covenant in Exodus tradition, the new covenant (Jer 31) cannot come into effect without some kind of priestly process.

[104] Therefore the meaning of "new" here has a strong sense that the new covenant would replaces the former (first) one, which will be going to vanish (ἀφανισμοῦ, Heb 8:13), when God will make a new one (Heb 8:10).

We find another example of the idea of covenant being related to blood in Hebrews 12:24, which reads, "and to Jesus, the mediator of a new covenant (διαθήκης νέας μεσίτῃ Ἰησοῦ), and to the sprinkled blood (αἵματι ῥαντισμοῦ) that speaks a better word than the blood of Abel." Here the author relates Jesus' role as the mediator of the new covenant with his blood, as he has stated in the previous chapter.

3.4. Law, Oath, and Covenant in Hebrews

In reading about the priesthood and covenant in Hebrews 7–10, we encounter an interesting interplay between various key concepts, such as oath, law, and covenant.[105] Hebrews 7 is a good place to start recognizing the relationship between the concepts. In the literary context of Heb 7:1–28, the author contrasts Jesus' priesthood in the order of Melchizedek, based on the oath in Ps 110:4, with the Levitical priesthood rooted in the law. In this passage (Heb 7:1–28), we may well speculate that "the law" (Heb 7:11, 12, 19, 28),[106] the "law of the fleshly commandment" (νόμον ἐντολῆς σαρκίνης, Heb 7:16),[107] and "earlier commandments" (προαγούσης ἐντολῆς, Heb 7:18) are commonly referring to the law, Mosaic Torah, or a part of the Torah, connected with the appointment of the Levitical priesthood (Exod 28–29).

Hebrews contrasts Jesus' priestly office with the Levitical priesthood by the existence of oath[108] in the process of assigning their priestly offices: "with an oath" (μετὰ ὁρκωμοσίας, Heb 7:21a) and "without an oath" (χωρὶς ὁρκωμοσίας, Heb 7:20). In Heb 7:21, the author explicitly mentions that the contents of the oath occurs in the second half of Ps 110:4, which reads, "you are priest forever." In Heb 7:28, the author contrasts "the word of the oath" with "the law." Here, the two expressions are presented as the authorities that have appointed the priestly offices of Jesus and Levites. Therefore, the author understood the oath as the counterpart to the law in relation to the appointment to the priesthood.

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[105] Koester discusses Hebrews' use of the Promises, Covenant, and Law, in separate sections. See Koester, review of Susanne Lehne, 110–15.

[106] Two Greek words are used: νενομοθέτηται in v. 11 and νόμος in vv. 12, 19, and 28.

[107] NRSV translates this phrase as follows: "a legal requirement concerning physical descent."

[108] The intense use of the oath in Heb 6:13–20 (ὅρκος in nominal form in Heb 6:16, 17 and ὀμνύω in verbal form in Heb 6:13, 16) is worth noting. Here the author strongly argues for the extent to which the divine oath is authoritative without being changed. The emphasis on the importance of the oath (Heb 6:13–19) is linked to Jesus' becoming the high priest according to the order of Melchizedek (Heb 7) by the use of the transitional phrase (Heb 6:20). Considering this development, the emphasis on the oath in Hebrews 6 may well be the author's strategic position in order to give more authority to the concept of oath, when he used it as a counterpart of the (Mosaic) law in the following chapter (Heb 7). Bruce also relates the oath in Heb 7:21 and in Heb 6:13ff (Bruce, *The Epistle*, 150).

In Hebrews 8 the author mentions the first covenant and the second covenant (Heb 8:7).[109] As Koester notes, the first covenant refers to the one that God made after he brought Israel out of Egypt (Heb 8:9).[110] The second covenant is the "better covenant" (Heb 8:6) and the "new covenant" (Heb 8:13), which directly refers back to the previous verses of the new covenant passage from Jer 31:31–34 (Heb 8:8b–12). In Heb 9:1 the author introduces the sacrificial aspect of the new covenant. The author uses Mosaic tabernacle (Heb 9:1–10) and Moses' role as the mediator of the first covenant (Heb 9:18–20) in order to magnify Jesus' sacrificial role in the perfect tent (Heb 9:11–14) and his role as the mediator of the new covenant (Heb 9:15).[111] Therefore, the author seems to present the old and new covenant (Hebrews 8–9) as a back-drop to the Mosaic law and the oath (Heb 7). In other words, Hebrews seems to suggest that the law (in Hebrews 7–8) is the priestly element of the first Mosaic covenant in Exodus[112] and the oath (in Hebrews 7) is the priestly aspect of the new covenant in Jeremiah.

The author's particular use of the oath motif, as a component of the new covenant for appointing a priestly office, seems not to have been developed before Hebrews. Nowhere in the LXX is found this particular cultic usage of the oath motif.[113] It seems that Hebrews is paying more attention to the oath motif than most scholars have seen. The author of Hebrews seems to develop the oath motif from his reading of Ps 110:4. Although Psalm 110 most probably was widely understood as a Christological text among the early Christian circle, Jesus' priestly Christology based on Psalm 110 has not been developed yet by the time of the composition of Hebrews. The author of Hebrews must have recognized that Psalm 110 contains a priestly aspect (Ps 110:4b) as well as a kingly aspect (Ps 110:1–2). In order to develop the priestly Christology based on Ps 110:4, the author might need a divine authority for the appointment of Jesus as a high priest just as the law

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[109] According to Koester, Hebrews uses the term covenant rather exclusively to refer to either the Sinai covenant (Exod 24:3–8) or new covenant in Jer 31:31–34.

[110] Koester, *Hebrews*, 112. Although there is no explicit expression of the first or old covenant in Heb 8:9, I think Koester is right concerning the context that the new covenant is contrasting the one in Heb 8:9.

[111] So as Koester, who defines the first covenant (Heb 9:18) as the Mosaic covenant. Koester, *Hebrews*, 418.

[112] Attridge recognizes that Hebrews focuses on the cultic dimensions of the Torah. See Attridge, *Hebrews*, 204. On the other hand, Koester does not see much difference between the "law" and the Mosaic "covenant" in Hebrews. He argues that the "law" in Hebrews also has an ethical dimension. See Koester, *Hebrews*, 114.

[113] In Ezek 17:18–19 a term ὁρκωμοσία seems to parallel διαθήκη. Yet there is no particular link between the oath and priestly assignment. According to Ezekiel 17, the oracle rebuked a royal offspring who broke the covenant with the Babylonian king, for his breaking of the covenant by despising the oath (Ezek 17:18). Despising the oath seems to be parallel to breaking the covenant in the next verse (Ezek 17:19).

(Exod 28–29) was the authority for the appointment of the priesthood for Aaron and his sons, because Jesus was not a descendent of the Levites (Heb 7:14). Concerning this, the swearing of God (Ps 110:4a) must have been a good motif to the author especially in his searching for an authority parallel to the law.[114] This explanation may reinforce one of my arguments that Ps 110:4 was used as the source and the proof text for the author's development of priestly Christology.[115]

4. Bridge between the Priesthood and Covenant
4.1. Blood of the Covenant as the Link of Priesthood and the New Covenant

In the previous two sections, I have argued that in Hebrews 7 the author presents the framework of priesthood. According to the author, the superiority (τοῦ κρείττονος, Heb 7:7) of Jesus' priesthood, which is represented by eternity (immortality, ζωῆς ἀκαταλύτου, Heb 7:16) is contrasted with inferiority (τὸ ἔλαττον, Heb 7:7) of the Levitical priesthood, which is represented by mortality (τὸ θανάτῳ, Heb 7:23). The author argues for the change of priesthood from the Levitical office to Jesus' high priesthood based on Psalm 110. It is worth noting that the author introduces the covenant motif in his discourse of the conceptual framework for the priesthood by suggesting that Jesus is the guarantor (ἔγγυος) of the better covenant (κρείττονος διαθήκης, Heb 7:22). The author has the covenant in mind when he is discussing the high priest.

I also observed that the author's concept of covenant relies mostly on his reading of the new covenant in Jeremiah 31 (in Hebrews 8), from which the author articulates the connections between the covenant and the death motif (Heb 9:16–17), and also between the covenant and blood motif (Heb 9:18–22). The death and blood motifs are the two elements that the author had at the time when he began to write this composition,[116] and he juxtaposed these concepts with the discussion of priesthood and covenant. In chapter 9 the author deliberately sets up the motif of Jesus' blood as a development from, but also as a contrast to Levitical cultic sacrifices (Heb 9:11–13).

In terms of the author's combination of the two concepts, my position is that the covenant blood tradition from Exodus 24 and oath making tradition from Ps 110:4 are the

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[114] The author seems to build up divine authority for an oath-taking motif in the previous chapter (Heb 6:13–18) by emphasizing ὀμνύω (Heb 6:13, 16) and ὅρκος (Heb 6:16, 17) in the recount of God's promise of the countless descendents to Abraham (Gen 22:17).

[115] For the importance of Ps 110:4 in Hebrews, Attridge writes, "Ps 110 runs like a red thread throught the work." See Attridge, *Hebrews*, 23.

[116] The author might well have these two elements in mind concerning Jesus' crucifixion and blood shedding as its backdrop.

two most significant traditions. I will deal with the oath-taking motif of Ps 110:4 more closely in the next chapter (chapter 6), which concerns Jesus' priesthood in the order of Melchizedek. In this section, I will argue for the importance of Hebrews 9 as the place where the concept of High Priesthood and the concept of the covenant are interwoven by means of the blood motif. The blood motif is presented in the author's interpretation of the covenant making tradition from Exodus 24 (Heb 9:18–22), from which the author connects the blood shedding (αἱματεκχυσίας) (of the new covenant) with the purification (καθαρίζεται) and forgiveness (ἄφεσις) motifs (Heb 9:22).[117] So the author's understanding of the covenant making tradition (Exodus 24) in Heb 9:18–22 is a stepping stone between what the author has (the death and blood-shedding of Jesus) and what he intends to establish (Jesus' High Priesthood in the effective new covenant era). In other words, the author transitions from the physical death of Jesus to its ongoing significance.

The covenant in Jerermiah 31, which is quoted in Heb 8:8–12, does not require any blood to be shed, because it is written on the heart. So the author has to reintroduce the old Mosaic covenant to help explain the reason for the shedding of Jesus' blood. Attridge, in his comments on the Jeremiah quotation (Heb 8:8–12), points out that the New Covenant is where sins are effectively forgiven (Heb 8:12), which allows him to argue that this verse (Heb 8:12) provides the essential link between the themes consisting of covenant and priesthood.[118] Yet, there seems to be another layer of exegetical work to make this connection. In the last part of chapter 9 (Heb 9:18–22), the author quotes Exod 24:6–8, in order to apply the "blood" motif to the process of combining the priesthood and covenant. Exod 24:6–8 is probably the most fitting passage for the author, because it presents the

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[117] Koester, *Hebrews*, 424, 335–37. The way in which the author interacts with the earlier traditions here also gives us an insight into the use of the Old Testament/Hebrew Bible in Hebrews. In terms of the use of the Hebrew Bible in Hebrews, Brooke points out two features from Docherty's work about the use of the Old Testament in Hebrews. See Brooke, "Revisiting," 5–6. One of them is that the author interplays of multiple scriptural texts. Docherty exemplifies the combination of Ps 2:7 and 2 Sam 7:14 in Heb 1:5. This well-known combination is also attested in 4Q174 from which Docherty argues that the interplay of scriptural texts seems to be a characteristic of contemporary Jewish exegesis, so that this particular combination might not be originated by the author of Hebrews, but from the Jewish tradition of biblical interpretation of which the author of Hebrews was a part. See Susan E. Docherty, *The Use of the Old Testament in Hebrews: A Case Study in Early Jewish Bible Interpretation* (WUNT 260; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009), 154. Our case, where three scriptural texts interplay in Hebrews 6–9 (Ps 110:4 in Heb 6:20, Jer 31:31–34 in Heb 8:9–12, and Exod 24:8 in Heb 9:19–20), suggest us that the author seems to use a scriptural tradition (Exod 24) to interpret/interplay multiple scriptural texts (Jer 31:31–34 and Ps 110:4).

[118] Attridge, *Hebrews*, 226. Here, Attridge suggests two features of the new covenant as an interior covenant and also as a covenant where the sins are effectively forgiven. The first feature corresponds to our "metaphorical" orientation of the concept of priesthood and covenant in relation to Jesus.

"blood of the covenant." The "blood" and the "covenant" are definitely the two elements that the author wants to combine here. Yet, here the author seems to need some extra exegetical work to make his argument possible, because the author wants to proceed to the concept of purification (καθαρίζεται, 9:22) or forgiveness (ἄφεσις, 9:22) through the "blood of the covenant," which does not exist in its original context of Exod 24:6–8.

The blood of the covenant (דַם־הַבְּרִית in MT and τὸ αἷμα τῆς διαθήκης in LXX, Exod 24:8) in its original context is a symbol to represent the making of the covenant between God and Israel as His people.[119] Interestingly, there appears to be no instance of purification (καθαρίζεται) or forgiveness (ἄφεσις) in the original context (Exod 24:6–8) from which the author of Hebrews extracts these elements and incorporates them in Heb 9:22. The author's extra exegetical practice is seen in Heb 9:21, which reads that "and in the same way he [Moses] sprinkled with the blood both the tent and all the vessels used in worship" (καὶ τὴν σκηνὴν δὲ καὶ πάντα τὰ σκεύη τῆς λειτουργίας τῷ αἵματι ὁμοίως ἐρράντισεν). We do not see this scene in the Exodus account (Exod 24:6–8).[120]

Dunnill suggests a wide range of possible allusions in Heb 9:18–21, where the author writes that Moses sprinkles the blood of calves [and goats] (τῶν μόσχων [καὶ τῶν τράγων][121]) upon the book (βιβλίον, Heb 9:19), the tent, and all the vessels of worship (καὶ τὴν σκηνὴν δὲ καὶ πάντα τὰ σκεύη τῆς λειτουργίας, Heb 9:21). These objects are not in the list of items being sprinkled with blood in Exod 24:4–8.[122] Dunnill has proposed

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[119] According to Koester, some commentators such as Vanhoye, Ellingworth, and Hughes, attempt to allude the quotation in Heb 9:20 to the eucharistic tradition, which according to Matt 26:28 (cf. Luke 22:20) was "for the forgiveness of sins." Koester, Attridge, and Lane are not in support for this opinion because of the lack of any reference to the Lord's Supper in Hebrews. Koester, *Hebrews*, 419.

[120] One place where we may see the link between the blood that is sprinkled and purification is during Aaron's ordination (Exod 28–29). In Exod 29:10–21, the blood sprinkled is related to "consecrated" (וְקִדַּשׁ in MT, ἁγιασθήσεται in LXX, Exod 29:21), yet in this case they only put the blood on the horns of the altar (Exod 29:10) and lobes, the ears, thumbs, and big toes of Aaron and his sons (Exod 29:20a), or sprinkle the blood on the altar on all sides (Exod 29:16, 20b), yet not on the tent and all the vessels as it is mentioned in Heb 9:22. The goats in Heb 9:19 is not in the Exodus parallels.

[121] Some MSS (P⁴⁶ א² K L Ψ etc.) do not refer to goats, and others (א* A C Maj D 365 etc) refer to goats. NRSV has "the goats" in brackets. NIV does not refer to it. Dunnill assumes the reference to goats are original. Dunnill suggests that the goats are from the sacrifice of the day of atonement (Lev 16:5), where both the calves and goats are slaughtered. He also notes that a female goat is involved in the covenant sacrifice of Abraham in Gen 15:9; Yet in that case, we also have rams (אַיִל), doves (תֹּר), and pigeons (גּוֹזָל) as well as heifers (עֶגְלָה) and female goats (עֵז). So the link between the two lists of sacrificial animals seems weak. John Dunnill, *Covenant and Sacrifice in the Letter to the Hebrews* (SBLMS 75; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 127. On the other hand, Koester prefers the reading without the word "goat." He argues that the shorter reading was expanded to include goats to harmonize with earlier verses (Heb 9:12–13). Koester, *Hebrews*, 419.

[122] In Exod 24:4–8, Moses sprinkled the blood upon only the altar and the people. Dunnill also suggests possible allusions to the other differences between the Hebrews account of covenant making

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that they were possibly derived from Moses' consecration of "the tabernacle of the tent of meeting" in Exod 40:9, where Moses anointed them with oil.[123] By suggesting these possible allusions, Dunnill asserts, "nonetheless, the covenant-sacrifice. . .has been subsumed into the dominant ideology of expiation. . .in line with a widespread intertestamental trend already described, but with the specific purpose of showing how far. . .the Mosaic covenant stands from the will of God."[124] I appreciate many of suggested allusions by Dunnill, yet I think the author's articulation of the Exodus tradition is more significant than merely showing how far the Mosaic covenant is from the will of God. I think the author deliberately and carefully has articulated this Exodus tradition in order to connect the blood of covenant mediation with the concept of purification (καθαρίζεται, Heb 9:22) or forgiveness (ἄφεσις, 9:22). If Heb 9:18–21 alludes to Moses' consecration of "the tabernacle of the tent of meeting" in Exod 40:9, as Dunnill has suggested, it reinforces my argument that the author elaborates these sophisticated allusions to present the blood sprinkled in relation to the theme of "consecration."[125]

One more thing to be noted here is that the author adds a book (τὸ βιβλίον, Heb 9:19)[126] among the articles to be sprinkled by blood (Heb 9:19, 21). In the original context of Exod 24:1–8, the book of covenant (סֵפֶר הַבְּרִית)[127] has been brought and read by Moses

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tradition (Heb 9:18–21) and Exod 24:4–8. For the "water, scarlet wool and hyssop" (ὕδατος καὶ ἐρίου κοκκίνου καὶ ὑσσώπου, Heb 9:19), he suggests the leprosy-rite from Lev 14:4f; Dunnill suggests the red-heifer rite for "water of purification" (Num 19:6f), and a traditional version of the Day of Atonement rite in Mish. Yoma 4.2. See Dunnill, *Covenant and Sacrifice*, 125–26. Koester adds Exod 12:33 (passover) and Ps 51:7 for possible allusions of hyssop in each of which, the hyssop is to be used as to daub blood on the doorpost and as a flail for purification, respectively. Koester, *Hebrews*, 419.

[123] Dunnill, *Covenant and Sacrifice*, 127. The book of the covenant does not appear either among the articles in Exod 40:9–10. For this, Dunnill further notes to consult Josephus' account of consecration, in which water and blood are found as well as oil (*Ant.*, 3.205). Dunnill, *Covenant and Sacrifice*, 127, n. 41.

[124] Dunnill, *Covenant and Sacrifice*, 127. Dunnill reads the new covenant in Heb 9:15–22 as covenant-renewal because of 1) the frequent OT background in Heb 9:15–22, 2) continuation of the covenant-renewal sacrifices, and 3) his point of view, in which he looks at the sacrificial languages within an overarching symbol of covenant (Dunnill, *Covenant and Sacrifice*, 123–134). However, I think, Dunnill, in the reading of Hebrews' new covenant, seems to rely too much on the secondary materials rather than on Hebrews internal argument. To my mind, it seems that the cultic aspect is, at least in Hebrews, definitely more than just a part of an overarching symbol of covenant. The cultic aspect occupies the centre of the author's argument in regard to the new covenant. Lehne rightly comments, "the covenant is viewed almost exclusively in cultic terms" (Lehne, *The New Covenant in Hebrews*, 53). Furthermore, by reading the new covenant in Hebrews as a covenant-renewal, Dunnill may imply (unintentionally) that the cultic sacrifice of the new covenant in Hebrews is on a similar level to the annual covenant-renewal sacrifices.

[125] Lehne has a similar view. See Lehne, *The New Covenant in Hebrews*, 23. See also Koester, *Hebrews*, 426.

[126] According to Koester, "the book" presumably includes the Ten Commandments (Exod 20:1–7) and the covenant code (Exod 21:1–23:33). Koester, *Hebrews*, 419.

[127] In Greek, the phrase is τὸ βιβλίον τῆς διαθήκης (LXX).

(Exod 24:7). As Koester rightly recognizes, Hebrews reflects here that the law and sacrifices are inseparable.[128]

It is my point that by adding a phrase (Heb 9:21) to the Sinai blood sprinkle tradition (Exod 24:6–8)[129] the author might be able to add the elements of purification (καθαρίζεται) or forgiveness (ἄφεσις) (Heb 9:22) upon the "blood of the covenant" motif. By emphasizing the "blood" matter, the author seems to make sure that the death is understood as bringing about all that the sacrificial system stood for (Heb 9:18–22). Consequently he might have combined the role of the mediator of the new covenant (Heb 9:15) with the sacrificial blood shedding (Heb 9:18) for forgiveness (Heb 9:22).[130] In this way, he places the concept of the covenant with the sacrificial cult, especially redemption through blood and death. Subsequently, Jesus as the mediator of the new covenant (promised in Jer 31:31–34), functions both as Mosaic figure of the mediator for the new covenant[131] and as high priestly figure.

In summary, the author of Hebrews seems to present Jesus as the high priest of the new covenant, who mediates between God and the people through the once-for-all sacrifice of his own body and blood, which sanctifies the people from their sin. One of the key words to describe this event is "redirection" or "reorientation" of the old traditions towards Jesus' death and blood.[132] This reorientation constitutes distinctive characteristics of Hebrews' new covenant, which discontinues it from of the old. Hebrews' picture of Jesus as the high priest of the new covenant seems very different from Qumran's view of

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[128] Koester, *Hebrews*, 419.

[129] Bruce considers this portion (Heb 9:21) as one of the evidences of the author's strictly limited use of an oral midrash on the Pentateuch. Bruce, *The Epistle*, xlix. Docherty criticizes Bruce's careless use of the technical term, *midrash*, by which he seems to refer to some details not found in the scriptural text. Docherty, *Use of the OT in Hebrews*, 28.

[130] In this passage, the author parallels the blood of Christ (τὸ αἷμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ, Heb 9:14) with the blood of the covenant (ὁ αἷμα τῆς διαθήκης, Heb 9:20). In Heb 9:13–14, the author presents the capability of the blood of goats and calves (Heb 9:13) and the capability of the blood of Christ (Heb 9:14). In these verses, bloods of goats and calves and the blood of Jesus are presented as the means for sanctification/purification of flesh and conscience, respectively. The author considers the "sprinkle of blood" in relation to the concept of "sanctification."

[131] Yet here, Jesus as Mosaic figure is just about the mediator of the covenant as it is apparent in the author's use of Exodus tradition. At least in this passage, no other features are involved such as didactic or prophetic roles. And Jesus' role as the mediator of the covenant (just as Moses at Sinai) does not seem to be emphasized at all in his overall argument, instead Jesus' role as the high priest is the concept that the author wants to magnify. Why then does the author include the covenant issue here? as the counterpart of the law? It may be the author's exegetical tool to make a link between the old covenant and the new covenant, the earthly one and heavenly one. There is another place where the author compares Jesus with Moses corresponding them with son (υἱὸς) and servant (θεράπων) of God's house (Heb 3:5–6).

[132] This reorientation is also detected in Hebrews 11, where the author presents ancient heroes. The traditions are reoriented with "faith" and "Christ" motifs.

the priest, in terms of the dimensions (metaphorical or physical) and roles (absence of didactic role of the priesthood), as well as from Maccabees' perspective.

4.2. Relevance of this Argument to the Author's

In this chapter, I have attempted to demonstrate the way in which the author of Hebrews presents Jesus' high priesthood in relation to the new covenant in Hebrews 7–10. I have argued that the author reads the old and new covenant motifs, including the law and oath, in a cultic setting in which he strongly argues that Jesus' self-sacrifice made perfect atonement by removing sins from the conscience of people,[133] and by eventually replacing the Levitical priestly office, which would diminish due to its ineffectiveness. The relevance of my arguments to the author's might be assessed from various perspectives: a broader context and the author's use of traditions.

My reading of Hebrews 7–10 also applies to the broader context of Hebrews, including Hebrews 11 and 12. In the discussion about the aim and message of Hebrews, Attridge considers Heb 11:1–12:13 as the "paraenetic application" of the preceding argument of Jesus' priesthood.[134] To my mind, the author in Hebrews 11 appears to be giving us more than merely a "paraenetic application," but seems to present the audience with a new way of reading about the biblical heroes. In Hebrews 7–10, the author has argued that Jesus' crucifixion and his blood have become the mediator (inauguration)[135] of the new covenant, and also Jesus' blood has made a perfect atonement with a sacrifice under the new covenant. Yet, the perfect atonement by means of Jesus' sacrifice has happened not on the earth, but in the realm of heaven. In other words, the author has conceptualized or employed a metaphorical approach to explain the effect of the unseen realm. It seems that the author further applies a metaphorical approach to his reading of the traditions of biblical heroes in the subsequent chapter (Heb 11) by suggesting a new frame

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[133] See § 2.2. "Priest [ἱερεὺς]" in this chapter. See also Peterson, *Hebrews and Perfection*, 145–46; Lehne, *The New Covenant in Hebrews*, 78.

[134] Attridge comments that "the paraenetic application of the last two movements [Heb 10:26–12:13 and Heb 12:14–13:21] of the text constitutes an invitation to follow the path that Christ has blazed, a path of faithful endurance [11:1–12:13] and grateful service in the world [13:9–16]." See Attridge, *Hebrews*, 27. For the division of each movement, see Attridge, *Hebrews*, 19.

[135] Based on D'Angelo (D'Angelo, *Moses*, 244), Koester notes "in Hebrews, inaugurating the covenant and dedicating the Tabernacle become a single event." See Koester, *Hebrews*, 426.

consisting of "faith," which the author combines with "hoped for" (ἐλπιζομένων) but "not seen" (οὐ βλεπομένων, Heb 11:1).[136]

The new reading of the old tradition of biblical heroes is an example of the way in which the audience may participate in a metaphorical reality. Therefore, the author's framework of "faith" in Hebrews 11 seems to be a bridge between the metaphorical conceptualization of Jesus' high priesthood in the new covenant, which the audience cannot experience physically (Heb 7–10), and their present context (Heb 12), in which they have to be struggling against sin (Heb 12:4)[137] and trials (Heb 12:7).

Second, I have shown that the way in which the author exegetically uses the traditions reinforces the relevance of my arguments about the author's purpose. As I have examined in the previous section, the author's use of covenant making tradition in Exodus 24 has two aspects: (1) in the author's reading of Exodus 24, Jesus is presented as the mediator of the new covenant of Jeremiah 31 as Moses is the mediator of the old covenant. (2) The author's reading of Exodus 24 also presents the blood of the covenant as the key link between the blood motif and the sanctification and forgiveness motifs. In this process, the author expands his reading of the Exodus 24 tradition by adding one phrase, which enables him to combine "sanctification" and "forgiveness" with the blood motif. Hebrews' reworking of the traditions shows that the author of Hebrews is very explicit in his use of scripture, which he is developing for himself rather than simply quoting material from the early Christian traditions. Consequently, my argument about the author's reading of the traditions in which I have argued that the author used Exodus 24 tradition as the medium that connected high priesthood motif (Psalm 110 tradition) with the new covenant motif (Jeremiah 31 tradition), is relevant in terms of the methodological aspect.

5. Conclusion and Further Implications

5.1. Priestly Covenant and its Nature in Hebrews

As I have mentioned in the introductory section, my concern in this chapter was to observe how Hebrews combines the two concepts, priesthood and covenant. My working hypothesis was that by a careful observation concerning how the two concepts are

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[136] The author further seems to connect faith with the perfection motif in the conclusion of his discussion on the faith of the heroes by saying, "since God had provided something better so that they would not, apart from us, be made perfect" (τελειωθῶσιν, Heb 11:40).

[137] According to the immediate context, sin (ἁμαρτίαν, Heb 12:4) refers to an opponent whom the members of the community are depicted struggling against. See Attridge, *Hebrews*, 360. Based on Michel (Michel, *Der Brief an die Hebräer*, 437), Lane suggests a hostile power standing against the church for the identity of the sin in Heb 12:4. Lane, *Hebrews 9–13*, 418.

interwoven in Hebrews 7–10, we might be able to have a better understanding of the author's overall argument for 1) Hebrews' priestly covenant tradition in general,[138] and 2) more particularly, Jesus' high priesthood in the new era as the combined concept of priesthood and mediator of the new covenant.[139] In order to see how the combination is employed, I have analyzed the way in which the author has conceptualized priestly and covenantal language in Hebrews 7–10.[140] I have argued that the author's articulation and use of Exodus' "blood sprinkling" tradition (Exod 24:5–8) in Heb 9:19–21 is a key to connect the two concepts (priesthood and covenant) by means of deriving two functions from Jesus' blood: sacrificial atonement (the concept of purification [καθαρίζεται, 9:22] or forgiveness [ἄφεσις, 9:22]) as well as covenant mediation.

Before I close the discussion, I need to suggest an answer to a question. Why did the author of Hebrews bother with combining the two concepts: priesthood and covenant? It seems plausible that he may have desired to help his people realize that Jesus' crucifixion,[141] which they viewed as a historical event, is the key element of the new order, which they belong to, but no longer as a simple physical reality on earth.[142] In this context, Jesus' blood shedding has both covenant mediating and sacrificial aspects, a key for the two concepts: making a new community and achieving the atonement that ultimately allows them access to God Himself. In other words, Jesus' death, which is both atoning sacrifice and covenant sacrifice, is the sacrifice with two dimensions: atonement on one hand, and covenant endorsement on the other.[143] These two aspects of the sacrifice are metaphorical with two corresponding effects. The covenant sacrifice achieves a new community and the atonement sacrifice achieves forgiveness and purification (Heb 9:22). According to the author, Jesus' death has accomplished all of this at once. So the blood is

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[138] I will discuss this concept in a more detailed manner in the next chapter.

[139] In a more theological term, the priestly Christology.

[140] I have divided my argument into two chapters; in the present chapter (chapter 5), I have attempted to make an observation on the relationship between the priesthood and covenant Hebrews 7–10 in a more general sense. In the next chapter (chapter 6) I will consider more specifically how the author interweaves the Melchizedek priestly tradition (from Ps 110:4) with the new covenant tradition (Jer 31:31–34) through his articulation of the oath motif.

[141] Hooker has attempted to give an answer for a question of the dilemma of the cross in the contemporary Christians from a theological perspective. According to her, Hebrews has given an answer for the question, "how, then, does the Christ's death deal with our sins?" and "how this was according to the scripture?" which comes after the "why" question: "why did it happen?" with an answer of "for our sins," given in the Pauline epistle. See Hooker, "End of the Cult," 207–10.

[142] In this sense, I agree with Koester's assumption about to which he says, "the author understood the role of blood christologically." Koester, *Hebrews*, 427.

[143] Koester, *Hebrews*, 337.

both literal and metaphorical, because Jesus actually shed blood, but Jesus' blood was not actually a sacrifice.

With this purpose, the author articulates Jesus' priesthood, which is in the order of Melchizedek (Heb 7), under the new covenant of Jeremiah (Jer 31:31–34) in Hebrews 8. Then in Hebrews 9, the author continues by arguing that Jesus' blood was the covenantal blood so that he could consider Jesus as the mediator of the new covenant prophesied in Jeremiah 31. These chapters serve to develop the point that the Christian community is a community under the new covenant, which is eminently characterized by an idea that the new covenant community is able to approach the holy of holies based on the sacrificial and covenant-mediating blood of Jesus (Heb 10:19–20). By means of metaphorical understanding of the physical event, the author seems to lead his people into the new order of the new era. I think this is the way in which the author of Hebrews draws his people from Mt Sinai (Heb 12:18–21) to Mt Zion and the heavenly Jerusalem (Heb 12:22–23),[144] and also to Jesus, the mediator of the new covenant (Heb 12:24).

5.2. Further Implications
5.2.1. Priest, a Teacher or a Mediator

It goes without saying that Jesus' priesthood in Hebrews 7–10 functions as a mediator of the new covenant. One of the key roles of Jesus in Hebrews seems to be the mediation by means of blood shedding, which ratifies the new covenant. However, we do not see any kind of teaching role in the description of priesthood in Hebrews. This is worth noting due to the emphasis on the didactic role of the priesthood in DSS as one of the eminent features.[145] In the Qumran texts, mediation does not seem to be the feature of the priesthood, but it served rather as a means of authority in the community, which may accompany a didactic role.

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[144] There is καὶ in between "Mt. Zion" and "the city of living God, the heavenly Jerusalem." The καὶ could be either apposition or coordination here. Although apposition is less possible than coordination, as Attridge notes, "often, Zion and Jerusalem are linked." For a detailed discussion on the relationship between the two, see Attridge, *The Epistle*, 374.

[145] One of the most interesting features of Qumran's new covenant is נסתרות, so called the *hidden things*. According to the *Damascus Document*, *Moreh Zedek*, who is a priestly figure, was the one who could make a proper interpretations of the hidden things of the law. This interpretive function seems to be succeeded by the priestly leadership group, which is called the "sons of Aaron" or "sons of Zadok" at the time of the *Serek* material. This feature seems to have been magnifying the didactic role of the priestly leadership in the *Moreh Zedek* movement and *Yahad*. For a detailed discussion on the priestly didactic role in the DSS see chapter 4.

The stress of the priestly didactic role in Qumran, seems partly due to their remoteness from the Jerusalem cult. According to Hannah Harrington, no aspect of atonement in DSS is related to a particular priestly group in *Yahad*.[146] This concurs with VanderKam's assessment that atonement would have taken a different form because no animal sacrifices are detected at Qumran.[147] According to VanderKam, Yom Kippur in the *Temple Scroll* (11Q19 XXV.10–XXVII.10) is about a specification of legislation from Leviticus (Lev 16:23, 27–32). Moreover, the different calendarical dates of the holiday is a significant matter in some calendrical documents.[148] Both of these aspects of Yom Kippur in the DSS seem to be related to a didactic feature of the priestly office of *Yahad*.

However, atonement in Hebrews is very closely related to Jesus' priesthood in Hebrews 7–10. Jesus' crucifixion and blood shedding are employed as a metaphor of the atoning sacrifice of the new covenant era. Atonement language in Hebrews looks different from DSS. The meaning of perfection in Hebrews is related to the high priest's capability of removing sin from even the conscience of people so that they may have access to God. We hardly find any case of "perfection" (תמים) used in relation to the sacrificial context as part of the priestly atonement process in the *Damascus Document* (CD) or the *Rule of the Community* (1QS).[149] The language of perfection in CD and 1QS is emphasized more in the behavioral aspect than the sacrificial aspect. The term is related to moral behavior with a meaning of faultlessness in light of the law, symbolizing a part of the character of the community. In short, priestly covenant language in Hebrews emphasizes sacrificial and theological themes; whereas it seems to serve a didactic purpose in DSS. Hebrews' sacrificial and theological aspect of Jesus' priesthood of the new covenant also appears distinctive from 1 Maccabees, where the author considers the priestly covenant motif from a political perspective.

5.2.2. New Covenant or Renewed Covenant

My investigation of the combination of the concept of priesthood and covenant in Hebrews 7–10 has given me an insight in terms of the newness of Hebrews' new covenant,

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[146] She does not mention this, yet no particular priestly group is mentioned in her brief article on "Atonement" in the Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls. See H. Harrington, "Atonement," *EDSS* 1:69–70.

[147] J. Vanderkam, "Yom Kippur," *EDSS* 2:1001–1003.

[148] Calendrical Document A, 4Q3204.iii.7, 4.iv.3, 4.v.6, 4.vi.1; Calendrical Document B[a], 4Q321 2.ii.2, 2.ii.6; *Rule of the Community*[e], 4Q259, 7.2. Consult VanderKam "Yom Kuppur," 2:1002.

[149] One of the closest example would be 1QS VIII.10 where the *Yahad* is described as the acceptable sacrifice atoning for the land, and as part of it, the individuals must be blameless (perfect) in their conduct.

which I think is distinctive from Qumran's understanding of the new covenant as well as from the original context of Jeremiah's new covenant tradition. One thing to note in terms of the new covenant is that Hebrews' approach is significantly based on the cultic context. According to which, it would be inappropriate to talk about the newness of Hebrews' new covenant from every possible dimension of the concept of covenant.

According to Koester, based on Wolff and Lehne, the new covenant in the Dead Sea Scrolls (CD VI, 18–19; VIII, 20–21; XIX, 33–34; XX, 11–13; cf. 1QpHab II, 3) is essentially the Mosaic covenant, rather than the new covenant in Jer 31:31–34. He says, "the newness is not correlated with Jeremiah 31."[150] I agree with Koester when he notes that the new covenant in the Dead Sea Scrolls is essentially the Mosaic covenant. But I do not agree with his assertion that the newness of DSS is not correlated with Jeremiah 31. First, the same terminology, "new/renewed covenant" (ברית חדשה), which occurs both in Jeremiah and *Damascus Document* cannot be ignored so easily. And more importantly, the new covenants of Jeremiah and DSS seem to be understood as the continuation of the Mosaic covenant.

Koester further notes, "Jewish sources say virtually nothing about the new covenant. Texts that speak of God giving his people an obedient heart and an everlasting covenant envision the restoration of an existing relationship rather than the formation of a new covenant."[151] This perspective is an important point that applies to Jeremiah's new covenant (which also can be translated as "renewed covenant") as well as the new covenant in DSS. As far as we can understand from its original context, the most distinctive features in the new covenant in Jeremiah is that God would inscribe the law upon their heart (rather than a tablet, Jer 31:33). According to the DSS, the misunderstanding of the "hidden things" (נסתרות) of the law have caused the defilement of the calendar and consequently the cultic festivals and Sabbaths, which were based on the desecrated calendar.[152] So, in terms of the newness of the new covenant, both Jeremiah and the DSS commonly insist on the failure of the covenant people due to either their disobedience or their defilement caused by their ignorance. So, the new covenant in Jeremiah and DSS is viewed as a restoration of or a reformation to the original covenant.

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[150] Koester, *Hebrews*, 113.
[151] Koester, *Hebrews*, 113.
[152] Lehne seems to emphasize the distinctiveness of the DSS' new covenant in relation to the *hidden things*. However, she tends to read the word חדשה in the DSS in a sence of "renewed" rather than "new." See Lehne, *The New Covenant in Hebrews*, 51, 52–53.

However, as we have seen in a previous section,[153] Hebrews seems to have a different position from Jeremiah's original context. The author of Hebrews argues that the new covenant is needed not because of the people's violation of the old one but because of the weakness (or fault, μεμφόμενος, Heb 8:8) of the old system.[154] I have argued earlier that the weakness, according to the author of Hebrews, most probably seems to refer to the incapability of achieving perfection (Heb 7:11, 26–28), in terms of the removal of sin. This is one clear reason why the author of Hebrews establishes the second covenant with the first one being abolished (ἀναιρεῖ, Heb 10:9). To the author of Hebrews, the "perfection or weakness (or defectiveness)" of the original system was the concern, rather than the people's "disobedience" (Jeremiah) or "misunderstanding" (Qumran) of it.[155] We get a very strong sense of replacement of the second over the first, especially in the priestly office based on the replacement of the new covenant in Hebrews 7–10. Therefore, in terms of the newness of the new covenant in Hebrews, a new state begins with a systemic change rather than by people's violation or misunderstanding of the covenant. This understanding of the newness of the new covenant also reinforces the different worldview of the Hebrews of which the author seems to argue that the new era has already begun,[156] whereas the Qumran was still in the anticipation of it.[157]

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[153] See § 3.1. "Covenant in Hebrews 7–8" in this chapter.

[154] Koester, *Hebrews*, 426, 114–15; Peterson, *Hebrews and Perfection*, 146.

[155] Lehne, *The New Covenant in Hebrews*, 53–54. Koester, in his comment on Christ's sacrificial work (Heb 9:24–28), says, "To abolish sin is to change the human condition—to write God's laws on human hearts [8:10; 10:16]." Koester, *Hebrews*, 429. However, I think, to the author of Hebrews, 'to abolish sin' means more than simply referring to "changing the human condition," a feature of the new covenant in Jeremiah 31 tradition as Koester comments here. As I have argued, "to abolish sin" in Hebrews seems to be functioning as a barometer of the "perfect or defect" of the new and old covenant which are represented by Jesus' priesthood and Levitical priesthood respectively. See § 2.4. "The Nature of Jesus' High Priesthood" in this chapter.

[156] See Bruce's comment that Christ's coming made the time of fulfillment rather than he happened to come at the time of fulfillment (Bruce, *The Epistle*, 222). In this respect, Hooker states that "each of them [Hebrews' congregation] understood that the fulfillment of God's promises meant that the regulations that had hitherto governed their lives belonged to an era that was past" (Hooker, "End of the Cult," 210). For her detailed argument on how the death and resurrection/exaltation had effected a radical change in relation to the newness issue of Hebrews' new covenant, see Hooker, "End of the Cult," 207–10.

[157] Laurence H. Schiffman, "Temple, Sacrifice and Priesthood in the Epistle to the Hebrews and the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Echoes from the Caves: Qumran and the New Testament* (ed. Florentino García Martínez; STDJ 85; Leiden: Brill, 2009), 175–76.

Chapter 6

Priestly Covenant and Melchizedek Traditions in Hebrews 7

The previous chapter discussed the combined concepts of the priesthood and covenant in Hebrews. We have observed how the priestly and covenantal languages are conceptualized in Hebrews 7–10. Then, I have argued that the author's elaboration of Exodus' covenant making (by blood sprinkling) tradition (Exod 24:5–8) in Hebrews 9 is a key place where the two concepts are juxtaposed. I further have shown that the combined concepts were made by the author in order to explain the meaning of Jesus' death. According to the author of Hebrews, the combined concepts represent two aspects of Jesus' blood shedding: covenant mediating and sacrificial aspect. As a result, the author may be developing the point that the Christian community is a group under the new covenant characterized by an idea of their accessibility to the holy of holies, based on the sacrificial and covenant mediating blood of Jesus.

The primary concern of this chapter is to investigate how the author of Hebrews uses the Melchizedek tradition especially in relation to the combination of priestly and covenantal motifs. The covenantal aspect seems to have been neglected in the study of Melchizedek, possibly due to the absence of explicit covenantal language in the biblical Melchizedek traditions (Gen 14:18–20 and Ps 110:4). However, in the discussion on the tradition in Hebrews, a Melchizedek section (Heb 7) seems to be read also within the dynamic of the metaphorical use of the combination of priesthood and Jeremiah's new covenant tradition. Therefore, in this chapter, first, I will briefly review the description of Melchizedek in various texts, and then I will consider the Melchizedek traditions in Hebrews, particularly the most prominent features in chapter 7. I will investigate the way in which the Melchizedek traditions are interwoven with Jeremiah traditions in relation to oath-taking (ὁρκωμοσία) and covenant (διαθήκη) motifs, so that I may be able to demonstrate that the material on "Jesus as high priest in the order of Melchizedek" makes better sense if we understand it metaphorically in relation to the new covenant tradition in Jeremiah.

1. A History of Melchizedek Traditions

1.1. Melchizedek Traditions in Biblical Accounts

The proper noun מַלְכִּי־צֶדֶק and its Greek transliteration Μελχισέδεκ appear only twice in the Hebrew Bible and the LXX: Gen 14:18 and Ps 110:4 (Ps 109:4, LXX). The Melchizedek passage in Gen 14:18–20 is part of a broader story of Abram's defeating the allied kings in order to rescue Lot (Gen 14:1–24). The LXX translates the Melchizedek narrative (Gen 14:18–20) relatively faithfully.[1] Historical-critical scholars have questioned the literary integrity of the passage,[2] predominately because of the abruptness of Melchizedek's appearance and departure. The location of Salem (either at Jerusalem or Shechem)[3] and the origin of Melchizedek (either as the Israelite God or a Canaanite deity)[4] are also some of the issues investigated from a historical-critical perspective. However, it seems unlikely that the author of Hebrews found these issues significant in his use of the tradition.

In Heb 7:1, the author summarized Gen 14:17–19 by stating that Melchizedek was the king of Salem, and blessed Abram, when Abram was returning from defeating the kings. In the next verse (Heb 7:2a), the author paraphrased Gen 14:20b, which refers to a tithe. In a modern interpretation of the original context (Gen 14:20), it has been questioned by some scholars whether Melchizedek was the one receiving or the one offering the tithe.[5] Yet, the author of Hebrews explicitly noted that Abram ("Abraham" according to

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[1] Fitzmyer notes five differences between the LXX and the Hebrew text. Only one of them belongs to the passage of my primary concern (Gen 14:18–20). The variation consists of the use of the singular (MT, לֶחֶם) and plural (LXX, ἄρτους) for "bread" that Melchizedek brought for Abram (Gen 14:18). The rest of the variations are found in the subsequent story where Abram encounters the king of Sodom after the abrupt departure of Melchizedek (Gen 14:21–24). See Joseph A. Fitzmyer, "Melchizedek in the MT, LXX, and the NT," *Bib* 81 (2000): 63–69. See also Mason, *You Are a Priest Forever*, 139–40.

[2] For a detailed introduction and discussions on the historical-critical approach to this passage, see Claus Westermann, *Genesis 12–36: A Commentary* (Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1985), 187–90; John A. Emerton, "The Riddle of Genesis XIV," *VT* 21 (1971): 403–39; Nahum M. Sarna, *Genesis* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1989), 109; Gordon J. Wenham, *Genesis 1-15* (WBC; Dallas: Word, 1987), 303–307.

[3] According to Attridge, the identification of Salem with Jerusalem was already part of a tradition by the first century CE. See Attridge, *Hebrews*, 188. For an argument for Shechem instead of Jerusalem, see John G. Gammie, "Loci of the Melchizedek Tradition of Genesis 14:18-20," *JBL* 90 (1971): 390–93.

[4] Attridge notes that the term ὕψιστος was frequently used of God in the LXX. See Attridge, *Hebrews*, 188. According to Delcor, Melchizedek's relationship to the Canaanite god "Elyon" is suspected due to the fact that the phrase "priest of God Most High" is preserved in Genesis. See Mathias Delcor, "Melchizedek from Genesis to the Qumran Texts and the Epistle to the Hebrews," *JSJ* 2 (1971): 117–18.

[5] Melchizedek has been considered as the one receiving the tithe from Abram by some of the late Second Temple Jewish authors and many of the modern interpreters. According to Mason, the late

the author of Hebrews) offered the tithe to Melchizedek (Heb 7:2, 4, 6).

In the next section (Heb 7:2b), the author showed an etymological understanding of both the name Melchizedek, Μελχισέδεκ (βασιλεὺς δικαιοσύνης, king of righteousness) and his city, βασιλεὺς Σαλήμ (βασιλεὺς εἰρήνης, king of peace).[6] However, these two elements (righteousness and peace) do not seem to be developed further in relation to Jesus' priesthood in the rest of Hebrews.[7] On the contrary, in the next verse (Heb 7:3) the author seems to develop an eternity motif concerning Melchizedek's priesthood, which the author further develops in his subsequent discussion on priesthood as a significant motif that Melchizedek and Jesus' priesthood commonly share.

Another instance of the name Melchizedek in the Hebrew Bible is found in Psalm 110, a royal psalm.[8] In the original context, the addressee, probably a king seems to be granted an eternal priestly office, which is in the order of Melchizedek. The original context of Psalm 110 has raised issues in relation to the combined roll of king and priesthood.[9] Some other critical questions, such as whether the word, מַלְכִּי־צֶדֶק, is a proper noun or not, are raised in the history of scholarship.[10]

There are two significant features of Psalm 110. First, the Melchizedek tradition mentioned in Psalm 110 appears not to be developed by most of Second Temple Jewish

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Second Temple Jewish authors have used this passage as the vindication for the priests' tithe-receiving practice. See Mason, *You Are a Priest Forever*, 142. Wenham presupposes Melchizedek as the one receiving the tithe in his comments on this section. See Wenham, *Genesis 1-15*, 318. However, Fitzmyer argues that the tithe is offered by Melchizedek to Abraham. See Fitzmyer, "Melchizedek," 67. For a similar argument, see also Robert Houston Smith, "Abram and Melchizedek [Gen 14 18-20]," *ZAW* 77 (1965): 131-39.

[6] This etymological explanation of the word is found in Philo (*Leg. all.* 3.79) and Josephus (*Bell.* 6.10.1 § 483). However, as Bruce notes, besides the etymology the author's typological understanding of Melchizedek differs significantly from Philo's allegorization. See Bruce, *The Epistle*, 158. Attridge notes that this etymological understanding might be a standard Jewish interpretation of the name based on its appearance in Philo and Josephus (Attridge, *Hebrews*, 189).

[7] Attridge notes that the author seems to ignore the etymologies of Melchizedek in this text, so that the two themes (righteousness and peace) play only a limited role elsewhere in this composition. He suspects that the author mentions the two elements in Heb 7:3, because these two have messianic connotations (Attridge, *Hebrews*, 189).

[8] For the genre of the particular psalm, see Leslie C. Allen, *Psalms 101-150* (WBC 21; Dallas: Word, 1983), 111–14.

[9] The date of the passage or the alternative meaning of the term כֹּהֵן has been questioned. For an argument for a Second Temple period date, see Jakob J. Petuchowski, "The Controversial Figure of Melchizedek," *HUCA* 28 (1957): 135–36. For an alternative meaning of the term כֹּהֵן, see Horton, *Melchizedek Tradition*, 45–48, 50–52. Horton suggests that the term refers to a secular office of chieftain or an administrative official.

[10] Allen provides a brief survey of the interpretations that have attempted to eliminate a personal reference to Melchizedek (Allen, *Psalms 101-150*, 116). It is worth noting that the LXX understands this term as a reference to Melchizedek, as a person (Mason, *You Are a Priest Forever*, 146).

authors, whereas the tradition has been quoted in and alluded to extensively in Hebrews.[11] Second, alongside Psalm 2, which the author of Hebrews has quoted in Hebrews 5:5–6 in order to claim Jesus' high-priesthood, Psalm 110 may have been a Christological source in early Christian circles by the time of the composition of Hebrews.[12]

1.2. Melchizedek Traditions in other Second Temple Compositions

The figure Melchizedek appears several times in various Second Temple period Jewish texts such as Genesis Apocryphon (1QapGen ar XXII, 12–17), *Jubilees* (*Jub* 13:25–27), Pseudo-Eupolemus (Eusebius, *Praep. ev.* 9.17.5–6), Josephus (*J.W.* 6.438; *Ant.* 1.179–81;), Philo (*Abraham 235*; *Prelim. Studies 99*; *Embassy* 3.79–82), *Song of Sabbath Sacrifice* (4Q401 11 3), *Visions of Amram* (4Q544 f3.3), and 11QMelchizedek (11Q13 II 5, 8, 9, 13, 25; f8.1).[13] Most of the texts, except some of the Qumran texts, appear to be recounting the Genesis tradition where Melchizedek encounters Abram (Gen 14:18–20). I will not attempt to make an extensive analysis on each text here.[14] Rather, I will make three points on the usage of Melchizedek tradition in Second Temple period Jewish compositions, which are potentially related to my own argument.

First, in many cases Melchizedek's priesthood is viewed as prefiguring the Levitical priesthood. In *Jub* 13:25 where a tithe-giving scene is expected, the author explains that "the Lord made it an eternal ordinance that they should give it to the priests who serve before him for them to possess it forever."[15] Josephus has made a portrait of Melchizedek as the first priest who built the first temple in Jerusalem (*J.W.* 6.438).[16] It seems likely that some of the Second Temple Jewish compositions such as *Jubilees* and

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[11] Allen recognizes other early Christian texts that use Psalm 110 in order to develop a Christology of the person and the work of Jesus, such as Rom 8:34, Col 3:1, and 1 Pet 3:18–22 (Allen, *Psalms 101-150*, 119).

[12] Attridge recognizes the importance of Hebrews' use of Ps 110:4, in view of the fact that it is a royal psalm that appoints the Lord as a priest according to the type of Melchizedek. According to Attridge, the psalm accords with Melchizedek tradition of Gen 14, where Melchizedek is depicted as a priest-king (Attridge, *Hebrews*, 188). For a detailed discussion on Melchizedek's combined feature as both priest and king, see Israel Knohl, "Melchizedek: A Model for the Union of Kingship and Priesthood in the Hebrew Bible, *11QMelchizedek*, and the Epistle to the Hebrews " in *Text, Thought, and Practice in Qumran and Early Christianity: Proceedings of the Ninth International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, jointly Sponsored by the Hebrew University Center for the Study of Christianity, 11–13 January, 2004* (ed. Ruth A. Clements and Daniel R. Schwartz; STDJ 84; Leiden: Brill, 2009), 255–66.

[13] Some references to the name in the DSS, such as 4Q401 and 4Q544, rely on extensive reconstructions.

[14] For a detailed analysis of these texts, consult Mason, *You Are a Priest Forever*, 146–90.

[15] VanderKam, *Book of Jubilees*, 49.

[16] Horton, *Melchizedek Tradition*, 82–83.

Jewish War appear to have the Melchizedek's priesthood as the precursor of Levitical priesthood.[17]

Second, none of these texts quotes from or alludes to Melchizedek in Ps 110:4. According to Mason, the Ps 110:4 tradition is found nowhere in the accounts of Melchizedek in Genesis Apocryphon (1QapGen ar XXII), Pseudo-Eupolemus (Eusebius, *Praep. ev.* 9.17.5–6), Josephus (*J.W.* 6.438; *Ant.* 1.179–81), Philo (*Abraham 235*; *Prelim. Studies 99*; *Embassy* 3.79–82), and some DSS texts such as *Song of Sabbath Sacrifice* (4Q401 11 3) and 11QMelchizedek.[18] Mason's observation is confirmed by Lange and Weigold. According to their recent work on biblical quotations and allusions in Second Temple Jewish Literature (2009–2011), Psalm 110 is not found in any of the presently accessible Second Temple Jewish literature.[19] This is significant considering Hebrews' extensive use of Ps 110:4.

Third, a description of the figure of the heavenly Melchizedek in some DSS documents such as *Song of Sabbath Sacrifice*, *Visions of Amran*, and 11QMelchizedek is different from other contemporary Jewish literature.[20] Melchizedek in 11QMelchizedek is described as a priestly messianic figure in the heavenly realm, which would perform the deliverance and judgement at the time of the eschaton.[21] The portrait has fueled large disputes on the ontology of the figure and also on the relationship between

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[17] Mason, *You Are a Priest Forever*, 160.

[18] Mason, *You Are a Priest Forever*, 149, 154, 156, 158, 160, 161, and 162. Mason suspects a possible allusion of *Song of Sabbath Sacrifice* (11Q17 3 II, 7) to Ps 110:4. Mason writes, "[in the *Song of Sabbath Sacrifices*] the striking feature is that Melchizedek would stand at the head of the heavenly priesthood, which is reminiscent of 'the order of Melchizedek' in Ps 110:4." However, the figure ("my lord" in Ps 110:5), who is offered with the heavenly seat next to the Lord, is not Melchizedek. Moreover, as Mason notes, the existence of the word "Melchizedek" is not definite in the suggested location (Mason, *You Are a Priest Forever*, 166). Ellingworth has a skeptical view in terms of the direct influence of other texts on the treatment of Melchezedek in Hebrews. See Ellingworth, *The Epistle*, 352.

[19] See Armin Lange and Matthias Weigold, *Biblical Quotations and Allusions in Second Temple Jewish Literature* (JAJSup 5; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2011), 175. Only one possible instance of Ps 110 is suspected in 4QVisions of Amram^c (4Q545) 4 19, which is categorized as "Uncertain Quotations and Allusions" (Lange and Weigold, *Biblical Quotations and Allusions*, 370).

[20] In the case of the *Songs of Sabbath Sacrifice*, the reference to Melchizedek exists only in Newsom's reconstruction of 4Q401 11 3, where she suggests, "[... Melchi]zedek, priest in the assemb[ly of God ...]" ([-- צדק כוהן בעד]ת אל --]). See Carol Newsom, "Shirot 'Olat Hashabbat," in *Qumran Cave 4.VI: Poetical and Liturgical Texts, Part 1* (ed. Esther Eshel, et al.; DJD 11; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), 205. Also, in the case of *Visions of Amram*, Melchizedek is found in Puech's reconstruction of 4Q544 3 IV 3, where he proposes, "[light and Melchizedek. . .]" ([-- נהורא ומלכי צדק]). See Èmile Puech, "Visions de Amram," in *Qumran Grotte 4.XXII: Textes Arameens Premiere Partie 4Q529–549* (ed. Èmile Puech; DJD 31; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2001), 283–405.

[21] Mason, *You Are a Priest Forever*, 185.

11QMelchizedek and Hebrews.[22]

2. Melchizedek Traditions in Hebrews 7[23]

As I mentioned above, in some Melchizedek traditions of Second Temple Jewish compositions such as *Jubilees* and Josephus' *Jewish Antiquities*, the authors attempt to create a relationship between Melchizedek's priesthood and the Levitical priesthood by considering Melchizedek as a prefiguration of the Levitical priesthood.[24] However, Melchizedek in Hebrews is clearly distinguished from the Levitical priesthood.[25] Instead, the author uses the Melchizedek tradition to develop Jesus' priesthood, which is contrasted with the Levitical priestly office. To the author of Hebrews, it seems likely that Melchizedek is an important example employed to vindicate Jesus' priestly office, which has a non-Levitical genealogy.

Moreover, the author uses the Melchizedek tradition in order to claim the superiority of Jesus' priesthood over against the Levitical priesthood. In Hebrews 7:3 the author seems to use the Melchizedek traditions of Genesis 14 and Psalm 110:4 in order to explore two important literary features: an "eternity" motif and an "oath-taking" motif. The "eternity" motif is a key element that the author commonly claims for the priesthood of Jesus and Melchizedek. The "oath-taking" motif seems to mediate between Jesus' priesthood and the covenant motif, which is based on Jeremiah's new covenant tradition.

2.1. Hebrews' Use of Genesis 14 in Heb 7:1–3

A distinctive feature of the author of Hebrews' use of the Melchizedek tradition of Genesis 14 is found in Heb 7:3.[26] Heb 7:3 is a part of Heb 7:1–3, where the Melchizedek

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[22] Mason, *You Are a Priest Forever*, 185–90.

[23] For a recent discussion on the interpretation of the Old Testament in Hebrews, consult David M. Moffitt, "The Interpretation of Scripture in the Epistle to the Hebrews," in *Reading the Epistle to the Hebrews: a Resource for Students* (ed. Eric Mason and Kevin B. McCruden; SBLRBS 66; Atlanta: SBL, 2011), 77–98.

[24] A concept of tithe seems to be a mediator between the Melchizedek tradition and the Levitical priesthood. Philo and the author of *Jubilees* (13:25) use the Genesis tradition to support the practice of tithing in the Levitical system, though Philo allegorizes the tithe (Mason, *You Are a Priest Forever*, 27). Horton notifies that "by ca. A.D. 135, the words of Ps. Cx. 4 had been applied to Abraham by R. Ishmael [t. b. Ned 32b]." Horton seems to consider R. Ishmael's application of Ps 110:4 to Abraham tradition as a way in which the earlier Rabbinic interpreter harmonized two facts: 1) Melchizedek was the first priest in the Torah, but 2) there can be but one priesthood, the Levitical priesthood (Horton, *Melchizedek Tradition*, 160). Josephus relates the establishment of the first temple with Melchizedek, rather than Solomon (*War* 6.437–39). See Mason, *You Are a Priest Forever*, 28.

[25] Dunnill, *Covenant and Sacrifice*, 166.

[26] For a discussion of the importance of Heb 7:3 in this passage, see Eric F. Mason, "Hebrews 7:3 and the Relationship between Melchizedek and Jesus," *BR* 50 (2005): 41–62.

tradition based on Genesis 14 is paraphrased.[27] Heb 7:3 stands out from the previous two

verses, because the contents are not derived directly from Genesis 14. Heb 7:3 is

considered as the author's interpretational work (or a *midrash*[28]) on the Genesis 14

Melchizedek tradition with a particular purpose;

(Heb 7:3a)   ἀπάτωρ ἀμήτωρ ἀγενεαλόγητος,
(Heb 7:3b)   μήτε ἀρχὴν ἡμερῶν μήτε ζωῆς τέλος ἔχων,
(Heb 7:3c)   ἀφωμοιωμένος δὲ τῷ υἱῷ τοῦ θεοῦ,
(Heb 7:3d)   μένει ἱερεὺς εἰς τὸ διηνεκές.

             without father, without mother, without genealogy
             having neither beginning of days nor end of life
             but resembling the Son of God
             he remains a priest forever.

The suggested line division is made to emphasize the rhetorical distinctiveness of each

cluster, without any attempt to present it as a poem. Grammatically, Heb 7:3 is a single

sentence with one main verb, μένει.[29] The peculiar rhetoric and poetic style, with a

particular phrase ἀφωμοιωμένος δὲ τῷ υἱῷ τοῦ θεοῦ in Heb 7:3 has raised an issue of a

hypothetical *Vorlage*, namely a hymnic source attributed to Jesus or Melchizedek.[30] Yet

the arguments for a *Vorlage* have suffered due to the lack of evidence.[31] Melchizedek's

mysterious origin in Heb 7:3 has raised an issue of whether the origin of Melchizedek in

Hebrews is considered a heavenly or an earthly figure. However, it is not likely that

Melckizedek's ontological origin is something that the author of Hebrews intends to

present in this verse.[32] The mysterious origin of Melchizedek in Heb 7:3 seems to be the

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[27] Heb 7:1 is a summary of Genesis Melchizedek tradition (Gen 14:1–20). Heb 7:2 shows an etymological understanding of the name Melchizedek.

[28] Schröger uses the term, *midrash* for this verse. See Schröger, *Der Verfasser*, 156. The particular exegetical technique that seems to be used in Heb 7:3 is an "argument from silence." The technique, according to Bruce, is "an important part in rabbinical interpretation of Scripture where nothing must be regarded as having existed before the time of its first biblical mention." The technique is also extensively used by Philo for allegorical purposes. See Bruce, *The Epistle*, 159, n. 18. See also Attridge, *Hebrews*, 187.

[29] De Jonge and van der Woude made the same line division with the purpose of showing the poetic character of the verse. See de Jonge and van der Woude, "11QMelchizedek and the New Testament," 319.

[30] Otto Michel initially raised the issue of the hypothetical poetical *Vorlage*. See Otto Michel, *Der Brief an die Hebräer* (KEK 13; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1966), 259, 261–63. Buchanan follows Michel's suggestion. See Buchanan, *Hebrews*, 119–20.

[31] Attridge, *Hebrews*, 189. Ellingworth provides a detailed history of the discussion on this matter. Also see Ellingworth, *The Epistle*, 350–54.

[32] The origin of Melchizedek is discussed in a more detailed manner later in this chapter at § 3.2. "Origin of Melchizedek in Hebrews: Heavenly or Earthly Being?"

author's method of magnifying the importance of the eternity motif of Melchizedek's priesthood.

The two peculiar sets of phrases—three α-prefixed words ("fatherless, motherless, without genealogy") and two μήτε phrases ("having neither beginning of the days nor end of life")— increase tension word by word and phrase by phrase. The mysterious third phrase ("but resembling the Son of God")[33] adds more curiosity about the figure, Melchizedek. Then the author discloses the key character that he intends to highlight from the Melchizedek tradition. As Attridge rightly acknowledges, the *raison d'être* of the three preceding clauses most probably is to emphasize the last clause "he remains a priest forever" (μένει ἱερεὺς εἰς τὸ διηνεκές).[34] The eternity of Melchizedek seems to be the element of his priesthood that the author wants to underscore.

The translation of the phrase μένει ἱερεὺς εἰς τὸ διηνεκές could be either "he remains a priest continually" or "he remains a priest eternally."[35] According to Lane, the phrase εἰς τὸ διηνεκές is identified as a classical expression that is attested only in Hebrews (Heb 7:3; 10:1, 12, 14) among the NT compositions.[36] The phrase has a strong sense of "being uninterrupted." However, we have two instances that the author uses the phrase to mean "eternal" in Hebrews (Heb 10:12, 14). It seems that, in Hebrews 7:3 the author possibly uses the term to mean "eternal" ([from that time] to the end of time) and "continuous" (without interruption) at the same time.[37]

Horton argues that in Heb 7:3 the author intentionally avoids using the particular expression εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα from Ps 110:4 (Ps 109:4 in LXX) in order to differentiate Melchizedek's priesthood from Jesus' priesthood. According to Horton, the author of Hebrews avoids using the phrase (εἰς τὸ διηνεκές), because the author uses the other phrase εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα from Ps 110:4 in relation to Jesus (Heb 7:24).[38] However, Horton's argument seems less supported by the author of Hebrews' use of the term διηνεκές. Two

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[33] This phrase may well allude to the author's own writing at Heb 4:14, where the author defines Jesus as: 1) a high priest and 2) son of God, who ascended to heaven.

[34] Attridge states that "the combination of such literary devices builds to an effective climax, focusing on the affirmation of Melchizedek's eternal priesthood" (Attridge, *Hebrews*, 189).

[35] Koester, *Hebrews*, 343; Buchanan, *Hebrews*, 120.

[36] Lane, *Hebrews*, 158. See also Charles Francis Digby Moule, *An Idiom Book of New Testament Greek* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1959), 164.

[37] My position is similar to Attridge, who notes that "Hebrews here uses a more literary phrase for the 'forever' (εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα) of Psalm 110, emphasizing perhaps the enduring continuity of the priestly status." See Attridge, *Hebrews*, 191.

[38] Horton uses this as an argument for a typology between Melchizedek and Jesus in Hebrews 7. Horton, *Melchizedek Tradition*, 162. For a detailed discussion on the typology of Hebrews 7 in relation to Melchizedek and Jesus, see § 3.1. "Melchizedek in Hebrews: an Antitype of Jesus?" in this chapter.

out of four instances of διηνεκές are used in relation to Jesus in Heb 10:12 and 14.[39] Another one is used in Heb 7:3 indicating the eternity of Melchizedek's priesthood. The other instance is found in Heb 10:1, where the word indicates endless repetition of Levitical sacrifices.[40] In other words, the term διηνεκές is used in order to indicate the eternity of both Melchizedek's priestly office and Jesus' priestly sacrifice (Heb 7:3; 10:12, 14). The "eternity" feature of Melchizedek and Jesus is contrasted with the Levitical priests' "endless" repetition of yearly sacrifices in the author's use of the term διηνεκές.[41] Therefore, the author's use of the word, διηνεκές seems to reveal the importance of the "eternity" motif, even in the extended context.[42]

In short in Heb 7:3 the author seems to stress the "eternity" motif of Melchizedek's priesthood rather than the origin of Melchizedek, that is, whether he is a heavenly or earthly figure.[43] The eternity of Melchizedek is not made explicit in the Genesis Melchizedek tradition. Yet, the author seems to derive the eternity motif from his reading of the Genesis 14 tradition (Heb 7:1–3) in order to claim the eternity of Jesus' priesthood (Heb 7:23–24). In the immediate context, the "eternity" motif in Heb 7:3 is suggested as a key element claiming the superiority of Jesus' priesthood against the Levitical priesthood.[44]

2.2. Hebrews' Use of Ps 110:4

As I have mentioned above, one of the most significant points in the author's use of the Melchizedek tradition is that Hebrews uses Melchizedek traditions from Ps 110:4 as well as Genesis 14.[45] Hebrews extensively quotes from and alludes to Ps 110:4,

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[39] The term διηνεκές refers to the eternity of Jesus' priestly sacrifices in these verses.

[40] The text reads that "by the same sacrifices that are continually offered year after year," (κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ταῖς αὐταῖς θυσίαις ἃς προσφέρουσιν εἰς τὸ διηνεκὲς, Heb 10:1)

[41] The "endless" repetition of the yearly sacrifices of the Levitical priests represents the incapability of the Levitical priests in terms of achieving perfection in Heb 10:1.

[42] This argument is similar to Fitzmyer's. According to Fitzmyer, the real comparison in Hebrews 7 must be that both Melchizedek and Jesus have "a life which cannot end." See Joseph A. Fitzmyer, "'Now this Melchizedek...' [Heb 7:1]," in *The Semitic Background of the New Testament* (BRS; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1997), 236–38. A similar position is found in Kobelski. According to him, the author uses the Melchizedek traditions in Hebrews 7 particularly in order to magnify the superiority and eternity of Jesus' priesthood. See Kobelski, *Melchizedek and Melchirešaᶜ*, 129.

[43] Many commentators on Hebrews agree with this, whereas those who focus on the study of Melchizedek show more interest in Melchizedek's heavenly or earthly status.

[44] In this sense, my position is similar to Moffet's, who argues that Heb 7:1–3 explains the expression, εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα of Ps 110:4. See also Attridge, *Hebrews*, 189–90. The "eternity" motif constitutes a significant character in the priestly framework in Hebrews. For the priestly framework of Hebrews, see § 2. "Priesthood" in chapter 5.

[45] According to Lange and Weigold, none of the Second Temple Jewish texts quotes or alludes

"according to the order of Melchizedek" (κατὰ τὴν τάξιν Μελχισεδεκ, Ps 109:4 in LXX).[46] I believe that the author has used this particular tradition for the following reasons.

First, the author probably used Ps 110:4 because he wanted to apply the verse to Jesus. Ps 110:4 may be one of the most useful biblical proof texts (Heb 7:17; "attested" [μαρτυρεῖται]) available to the author in order to set up a priestly position for Jesus, because the psalm may have been recognized as a Christological source among his contemporaries.[47] Second, the author may want to use the combined motifs consisting of "eternity" and "oath-taking" (Heb 7:16–17; 7:20–21, 28). Hebrews 7 shows that the author uses the two motifs as keys to differentiate Jesus' priesthood from the Levitical priesthood.

"Eternity" is a key matter of the author's claim for the change of priesthood from the Levitical priesthood to Jesus.[48] The author employs an "eternity" motif from Psalm 110:4b, which reads, "you are a priest forever according to the order of Melchizedek" (Σὺ εἶ ἱερεὺς εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα κατὰ τὴν τάξιν Μελχισεδεκ, Ps 109:4, LXX). The author uses this element as a proof of his claim for the nature of Jesus' high priesthood (Heb 7:17b), which the author identifies as "an indestructible life" (ζωῆς ἀκαταλύτου) in the previous verse (Heb 7:16).[49]

Additionally, an oath-taking motif based on Ps 110:4 seems to be articulated in Hebrews 7 in order to associate Jesus' priestly office with the covenant motif. In order to make this connection the author contrasts "with an oath" (μετὰ ὁρκωμοσίας, Heb 7:21a) of Jesus' priestly office with "without an oath" (χωρὶς ὁρκωμοσίας, Heb 7:20) of the

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to Psalm 110. See Lange and Weigold, *Biblical Quotations and Allusions*, 175.
    [46] The phrase is attested in Heb 5:6, 10; 6:20; 7:11, 17. MT reads, עַל־דִּבְרָתִי מַלְכִּי־צֶדֶק (Ps 110:4). For a discussion of this phrase, see Fitzmyer, "'Now This Melchizedek...'," 225–27, esp. n. 18.
    [47] The psalm in the early Christian circles was considered as a Christological source. Many New Testament writers used the psalm as a proof text for Jesus' Christology. Kraus has listed the NT's citations of Psalm 110 as: 1) Matt 26:64, Acts 2:34; 7:55, Rom 8:34, Eph 1:20, Heb 1:13; 8:1; 10:12, and 1 Peter 3:22 quote "Sitting at the right hand of God"; 2) Acts 2:35, 1 Cor 15:25, Heb 1:13, and Heb 10:13 have "defeating the enemies" from Psalm 110. Among the New Testament texts, only Hebrews (Heb 5:6ff.; 7:1ff.) quotes "Priest after the order of Melchizedek." See Hans-Joachim Kraus, *Psalms 60–150* (CC; trans. Hilton C. Oswald; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993), 354. See also Ellingworth, *The Epistle*, 67; Westermann, *Genesis 12-36*, 110.
    [48] "Eternity and non-eternity" is the key argument for the author's claim of superiority of the Jesus' high priesthood against the inferiority of the Levitical priesthood. For the framework of superiority and inferiority, see § 2.1. "Priesthood (ἱερωσύνη)" in chapter 5.
    [49] The verse reads: "one who has become a priest, not through a legal requirement concerning physical descent, but *through the power of an indestructible life*" (ὃς οὐ κατὰ νόμον ἐντολῆς σαρκίνης γέγονεν ἀλλὰ *κατὰ δύναμιν ζωῆς ἀκαταλύτου*). Emphasis is mine.

Levitical priesthood (Heb 7:20).[50] And "the word of the oath" (ὁ λόγος δὲ τῆς ὀρκωμοσίας) is contrasted with "the law" (ὁ νόμος) in Heb 7:28. According to the context, "the word of the oath" refers to God's swearing in Ps 110:4, which concerns the appointment of Jesus' priesthood, and "the law" refers to Mosaic Torah in which the Levitical priestly office was appointed.[51]

It is to be noted that there is little difference in the author's use of three different expressions associated with the law: "law of the fleshly commandment" (νόμον ἐντολῆς σαρκίνης, Heb 7:16), "earlier commandments" (προαγούσης ἐντολῆς, Heb 7:18), and "the law" (ὁ νόμος, Heb 7:28). These three expressions refer to the authority that accompanies the appointed of the Levitical priestly office. As I have showed above, in Hebrews 7 these three are contrasted with the "oath" (ὀρκωμοσίας, Heb 7:20–21), which the author has quoted from Ps 110:4. The author seems to argue that the oath substitutes the law. Consequently, the oath in this passage implicitly refers to the changed law (νόμου μετάθεσις, Heb 7:12) and the better covenant (κρείττονος διαθήκης, Heb 7:22). Thus, the "oath" in Hebrews 7 seems to be a priestly aspect of the new covenant, as the "law" in Hebrews 7 refers to the priestly aspect of the Mosaic Torah.[52] Therefore it is likely that, when the author constructs Jesus' high priesthood based on Melchizedek's in Hebrews 7, the author already seems to have the "new covenant" from Jeremiah 31 in his mind. The "oath-taking" motif, in the author's use of Melchizedek tradition from Ps 110:4, is a bridge between the two: Jesus's priesthood and the new covenant of Jeremiah.

There is a significant point being made concerning the way in which the author uses the content of the oath, "you are a priest forever according to the order of Melchizedek" (Ps 110:4; אַתָּה־כֹהֵן לְעוֹלָם עַל־דִּבְרָתִי מַלְכִּי־צֶדֶק in MT and Σὺ εἶ ἱερεὺς εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα κατὰ τὴν τάξιν Μελχισεδεκ in LXX Ps 109:4). The author of Hebrews sometimes directly quotes the phrase (Heb 5:6; 7:17),[53] and sometimes paraphrases it

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[50] Another reference to the oath-taking motif appears in Heb 7:21, where Ps 110:4 is quoted again. According to Heb 7:21, the contents of the oath is "you are priest forever" (σὺ ἱερεὺς εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα, Heb 7:21).

[51] Although no specific phrase or location is suggested in the passage, the law most probably refers to Exodus 28–29, where Aaron's priesthood is not introduced by explicit mention of God's swearing (oath). See Bruce, *The Epistle*, 150.

[52] The old covenant is mentioned explicitly in Heb 8:6–7. "That first" (πρώτη ἐκείνη, Heb 8:7) refers to "the first [or former] covenant."

[53] The direct quotations in Heb 5:6 and 7:17 are commonly missing the verb εἶ from LXX. Is this possibly evidence that the author of Hebrews translated this phrase directly from the Hebrew text, where the "be" verb is implied in its reading of "you [are] a priest forever" (אַתָּה־כֹהֵן לְעוֹלָם), instead of quoting this phrase from LXX, where the "be" verb is explicit? According to Attridge, a study which speculates that the author used Hebrew text either primarily or secondarily has been done by George

(Heb 7:11, 15). When the author paraphrases the statement, he adds the word ἕτερος in order to emphasize that Jesus' priesthood is different from the Levites. Horton, however, reads ἕτερος in Heb 7:15 in a different sense. He relates this word to Melchizedek, so that he reads the phrase in the sense of "resembling Melchizedek, but another (or different) Melchizedek." Then Horton provides this reading as an argument for a claim in which he asserts that the author of Hebrews presents Melchizedek as an antitype of Jesus' priesthood.[54] Although Horton's reading is possible, it is unlikely in view of the context of the passage.

In Heb 7:11, we find "another priest arising" (ἕτερον ἀνίστασθαι ἱερέα). The beginning of the verse reads: "now if perfection had been attainable through the Levitical priesthood" (Εἰ μὲν οὖν τελείωσις διὰ τῆς Λευιτικῆς ἱερωσύνης ἦν, Heb 7:11a, NRSV). This phrase clearly shows that the "another [or different] priest" (ἕτερον. . .ἱερέα) here means "another [or different] from the Levitical one."[55] We have one more use of the term ἕτερος in Heb 7:13. In this verse, the author indicates that Jesus belongs to a different tribe (φυλῆς ἑτέρας), again, from the tribe of Levi. Therefore, in an extended context (Heb 7:1–28), it is clear that ἕτερος is one of the author's key literary motifs to claim Jesus' priesthood as an alternative to the Levitical priestly office. So, it appears that the concept ἱερεὺς ἕτερος in Heb 7:15 is to be understood in a similar way in which the author contrasts Jesus' priesthood with the Levitical priesthood rather than with Melchizedek's priesthood. The reference to "another priest" (ἱερεὺς ἕτερος, Heb 7:15) most probably implies a priest resembling Melchizedek, who is different from the Levitical priests (Heb 7:15). In this sense, NRSV's translation of the verse seems appropriate, where ἱερεὺς ἕτερος are separated from Μελχισέδεκ by commas.[56]

This position is also supported by the immediate context (Heb 7:12–17). Heb 7:12 states that the change of priesthood causes the change of the law. It is obvious that by saying the change of priesthood and the law the author attempts to vindicate his claim of

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Howard. See George Howard, "Hebrews and the Old Testament Quotations," *NovT* 10 (1968): 208–16. See also Buchanan, *Hebrews*, xxvii–xxviii. Attridge evaluates this approach as "unwarranted speculation." See Attridge, *Hebrews*, 23, n. 186.

[54] For more detailed discussion of Horton's anti-typology, see § 3.1. "Melchizedek in Hebrews: an Antitype of Jesus?" in this chapter.

[55] In the last part of the verse, "according to the order of Melchizedek" (κατὰ τὴν τάξιν Μελχισέδεκ), as the source of the different priesthood, is contrasted with "according to the order of Aaron" (κατὰ τὴν τάξιν Ἀαρὼν λέγεσθαι), as the source of the Levitical priesthood (Heb 7:11c).

[56] NRSV translates Heb 7:15–16 as: "It is even more obvious when another priest arises, resembling Melchizedek, one who has become a priest, not through a legal requirement concerning physical descent, but through the power of an indestructible life."

Jesus' priesthood, who is from the tribe of Judah, not from the tribe of Levi (Heb 7:13–14). Melchizedek is provided as evidence for the possibility of the non-Levitical priesthood of Jesus (Heb 7:15). A suggested qualification for non-Levitical priesthood of Jesus is "the power of an indestructible life" (δύναμιν ζωῆς ἀκαταλύτου) rather than "a legal requirement concerning physical descent" (νόμον ἐντολῆς σαρκίνης γέγονεν, Heb 7:16). In the immediate context, the author combines Jesus and the Melchizedek's priesthood in contrast with the Levitical priestly office. Concerning the line of argument provided by the author of Hebrews, it seems appropriate to read ἱερεὺς ἕτερος (Heb 7:15) in the sense that "another (or different from the Levitical priests)" priest arises, rather than that "another (or different from Melchizedek)" priest arises.

So far I have attempted to show the way in which the author of Hebrews uses Melchizedek traditions in Hebrews 7. The "eternity" motif and the "oath-taking" motif may be two of the most significant features in the author's use of Melchizedek tradition based on Genesis 14 and Psalm 110. In addition, the Christological understanding of Psalm 110 within his contemporary Christian circle may partially allow the author to rely on Psalm 110 for his claim of Jesus' priesthood. In the previous chapter, I have argued that the "eternity" motif constitutes one of the most significant elements in the author's framework of the conceptualization of the priesthood.[57] This argument seems to be reinforced by the author's use of Melchizedek tradition from Genesis 14 and Psalm 110.

2.3. Melchizedek and the Anticipation of a Better Covenant in Hebrews 7

In the previous chapter, I have attempted to demonstrate that the author seems to build a combined idea of the concepts of priesthood and covenant in Hebrews 8–9. I have endeavored to show the way in which the author interwove Jesus' priesthood and the new covenant from Jeremiah (Jer 31:31–43) by means of the author's particular exegesis on the blood sprinkle tradition of Exodus 24. It seems that the author in Hebrews 7 makes a similar attempt to combine the two concepts, namely priesthood and covenant. While the author is developing the concept of Jesus' priesthood, which is in the order of Melchizedek, he seems to show an anticipation of the new covenant of Jeremiah in Hebrews 7. The anticipation seems to be implied in the author's articulation of oath-taking motif, which he derives from Ps 110:4.

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[57] See § 2.1. "Priesthood [ἱερωσύνη]" in chapter 5. To my mind, the eternity motif is the most important factor of the author's framework for the concept of the (high)-priesthood. According to the author of Hebrews, eternity that parallels with immortality guarantees the superiority and ability to reach to (achieve) perfection, the ultimate goal.

The author in Heb 7:12 presupposes the change of the law in accordance with the change of the priesthood. The change of the priesthood implies the change of the priestly office from the Levitical priesthood to Jesus' priesthood. The law is expressed using various terms, such as the "law" (νενομοθέτηται in v. 11 and νόμος in vv. 12, 19), the "legal requirement" (νόμον ἐντολῆς, v. 16), and the "earlier commandment" (προαγούσης ἐντολῆς, v. 18), expressions which refer to the Mosaic law, or at least a part of it as an authority for the appointment of the Levitical priesthood.[58] Additionally, according to the author, Jesus has already been designated as a high priest by God (Heb 5:10). Therefore, the author implies that the law already has been changed or altered by something else. In this context, the author presents Jesus as the "guarantee [or guarantor] of a better covenant" (κρείττονος διαθήκης γέγονεν ἔγγυος Ἰησοῦς, Heb 7:22). The "better covenant" (κρείττονος διαθήκης) in Hebrews 7:22 seems to refer to the "second covenant" (Heb 8:7), which is enacted by a "better promise" (Heb 8:6).[59] Then in the subsequent verses, the new covenant tradition from Jeremiah (Jer 31:31–34) is quoted as a better covenant (Heb 8:8–12).

In Heb 7:28, by means of contrasting the law (ὁ νόμος) with the word of oath (ὁ λόγος ... τῆς ὁρκωμοσίας), the author seems to argue that the "priest in the order of Melchizedek" should be understood in relation to the new covenant. As we have investigated earlier, the author seems to derive the oath-taking motif from Ps 110:4.[60] According to the author, Melchizedek's priesthood in Ps 110:4 is part of God's oath, which the author discusses subsequently in chapter 8 in relation to the new covenant of Jeremiah. So the oath (Ps 110:4) implicitly projects the new and better covenant. By contrasting the word of oath (ὁ λόγος δὲ τῆς ὁρκωμοσίας) with the law (τὸν νόμον) in Heb 7:28, the author seems to imply that Ps 110:4 is a part of (or a priestly part of) the new covenant (Heb 8:6) of Jeremiah. Therefore, it seems that Jeremiah's new covenant tradition is already anticipated here in chapter 7 by means of the oath-taking motif. This anticipation should be considered for a better understanding of the author's presentation of Jesus' priesthood, which is specifically said to be "in the order of Melchizedek" (Ps 110:4) in Hebrews 7.

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[58] According to Heb 7:12–13, at least the "law" (νόμου) in Heb 7:12 seems to refer to Exodus 28–29, where Aaron and his sons are appointed as priests.

[59] The text reads, "The covenant he [Jesus] mediates is better [κρείττονός ἐστιν διαθήκης μεσίτης] since it is enacted through better promises [ἥτις ἐπὶ κρείττοσιν ἐπαγγελίαις νενομοθέτηται]" in Heb 8:6.

[60] Also the oath-taking motif is evidently used in Heb 7:20–21 as the scriptural bases for Jesus' priesthood.

It also is worth noting the metaphorical feature of Jesus' priesthood, which is "in the order of Melchizedek." Jesus' priesthood is metaphorical, because it is at work in their present but, at the same time, it is something that the author and his audience cannot physically experience. This ambiguous reality is implied in various places, such as Heb 8:4 where the author writes, "if he were on earth, he would not be a priest at all" (εἰ μὲν οὖν ἦν ἐπὶ γῆς, οὐδ᾽ ἂν ἦν ἱερεύς). The metaphorical feature of Jesus' priesthood possibly reflects the idea of the early Christian community's eschatology, which is characterized by the concept "already, but not yet," as it is implied in Heb 9:28 or 11:39.[61] Reminding the readers about the physical reality that Jesus has been crucified and the community has experienced oppression, the author may wish to assure his audience of the true meaning of the physical reality. This reality is premised upon the fact that they were obviously in the new sphere inaugurated by the sacrifice of Jesus and that Jesus' priesthood is in the order of Melchizedek through the oath of God as a part of the new covenant, which has replaced the old law.

What I attempted to demonstrate here is that the material on Jesus as high priest in the order of Melchizedek (Heb 7) makes better sense if we understand it metaphorically in relation to Jeremiah's new covenant traditions. The transition of the priesthood from the Levitical household to Jesus in the order of Melchizedek presupposes and anticipates the transition to the new law or the new covenant from the old law. Although the quotation of the new covenant from Jeremiah 31 appears at the end of Hebrews 8, the author already seems to have the new covenant tradition of Jeremiah 31 in mind, when he made the change from the inferiority of the Levitical priesthood to the superiority of Jesus' priesthood in Hebrews 7. In this way, the author's extended argument in regard to Melchizedek in Hebrews 7 also works as part of a bigger picture, the framework of "eternity-superiority-change" of Hebrews 7–10.[62]

3. Issues to be Answered in Relation to Melchizedek in Hebrews

In this chapter, I have attempted to demonstrate that the author used Melchizedek

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[61] Heb 9:28 reads, "so Christ, having been offered once to bear the sins of many, will appear a second time, not to deal with sin, but to save those who are eagerly waiting for him" (οὕτως καὶ ὁ Χριστὸς ἅπαξ προσενεχθεὶς εἰς τὸ πολλῶν ἀνενεγκεῖν ἁμαρτίας ἐκ δευτέρου χωρὶς ἁμαρτίας ὀφθήσεται τοῖς αὐτὸν ἀπεκδεχομένοις εἰς σωτηρίαν). Heb 11:39 reads, "yet all these, though they were commended for their faith, did not receive what was promised" (Καὶ οὗτοι πάντες μαρτυρηθέντες διὰ τῆς πίστεως οὐκ ἐκομίσαντο τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν). Bruce understands this particular timeframe as the "age of preparation ends and the age of fulfillment begins" (Bruce, *The Epistle*, 165–66).

[62] For a development of this framework, see § 2.1. "Priesthood [ἱερωσύνη]" in chapter 5.

traditions from Genesis 14 and Psalm 110 in order to emphasize the "eternity" and "oath-taking" motifs. The oath motif in Hebrews 7 is a key to understanding the author's combination of the priesthood and covenant especially in terms of Jesus' priesthood in the order of Melchizedek. The author articulates the oath motif from Ps 110:4 to present the position that the oath functions as a priestly aspect of the new covenant, which parallels the law of the Mosaic covenant (Heb 7:12). An understanding of the author's articulation of the combined concept of priesthood and covenant is helpful for a better understanding of the author's use of the Melchizedek traditions in Hebrews 7. Based on this understanding, I will discuss four issues in regards to the Melchizedek priestly tradition in Hebrews 7, which have been raised by scholars. The issues consist of: 1) typology, 2) status, 3) relationship between 11QMelchizedek and Hebrews, and 4) Melchizedek in relation to the covenant motif.

3.1. Melchizedek in Hebrews: an Antitype of Jesus?

The first issue concerns an "antitypology," which is claimed by Horton. Why does the author employ the concept of Melchizedek's priesthood in order to claim Jesus' (high) priestly office? Horton, in his lengthy discussion on Melchizedek in Hebrews 7, argues that Melchizedek's priestly office is the earthly antitype of Jesus' heavenly true priestly office.[63] Horton argues that Melchizedek in Hebrews 7 is another example of typology, like the one in Hebrews 9, where Moses' tabernacle is described as an earthly antitype of the heavenly true tent.[64] To my mind, Horton's arguments are not convincing. For instance, the typology between Jesus' and Melchizedek's priesthood (Heb 7) differs from the typology between a heavenly and an earthly tabernacle (Heb 9), therefore a different framework of typology needs to be applied in order to understand properly the Melchizedek typology. Kobelski notes his disagreement with Horton's "antitypology."[65] Yet Kobelski does not fully develop an argument against it. Horton's antitypology is worth discussing in detail for a better understanding of the author's intention of using Melchizedek tradition in Hebrews 7.

Horton has argued against Westcott's position that the author in Hebrews 7 imports typology between Jesus and Melchizedek as a real, historical correspondence of the two figures. Westcott's argument is unconvincing to Horton, because he thinks that

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[63] Horton, *Melchizedek Tradition*, 152–64.
[64] Horton, *Melchizedek Tradition*, 161.
[65] Kobelski, *Melchizedek and Melchirešaᶜ*, 125–26.

Westcott's idea leaves ἀφωμοιωμένος (Heb 7:3) unexplained. So that Horton suggests a concept of "antitypology" in which he places Jesus' priesthood as a type and Melchizedek's priesthood as its antitype. Horton seems to reach this conclusion by projecting the typology of Jesus and Melchizedek through the typology of heavenly and earthly tabernacle in Hebrews 9.[66] Therefore, Horton's arguments are focusing on demonstrating how Jesus' priesthood is described as being superior to Melchizedek's priesthood in Hebrews.

Horton points out two pieces of literary evidence for his argument. The first one is the expression "resembling the Son of God" (ἀφωμοιωμένος δὲ τῷ υἱῷ τοῦ θεοῦ, Heb 7:3c) from which he argues that Jesus is a heavenly true priesthood and Melchizedek is an earthly copy of the true priesthood.[67] Yet the term ἀφωμοιωμένος does not necessarily mean that Melchizedek is an antitype of the Son of God. In Heb 7:15 the author uses a very similar expression, but this time, the subject and object are reversed, so that Jesus is a priest who is "resembling Melchizedek" (ὁμοιότητα Μελχισέδεκ, Heb 7:15). It seems to me that the author may wish to reveal that there is a similarity between Melchizedek and the Jesus' priesthood, which I propose is the "eternity" motif.

Horton's second argument concerns the author's different use of two similar expressions: εἰς τὸ διηνεκές (Heb 7:3d, of Melchizedek) and εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα (Heb 7:24, of Christ). Horton argues that "by using an almost equivalent expression which does not stem from Ps 110:4," the author successfully makes Melchizedek as an antitype of the eternal priesthood of Christ.[68] However, later in Hebrews chapter 10 the same phrase εἰς τὸ διηνεκές, is attributed to Jesus as a characteristic of Jesus' sacrifice (Heb 10:12) and the perfectness of those who were sanctified through Jesus' sacrifice (Heb 10:14). Therefore it seems inappropriate to consider the particular expression εἰς τὸ διηνεκές as evidence for making Melchizedek as a subordinate antitype of Jesus' superior priesthood.

In addition, Horton suggests a phrase from Heb 7:15, εἰ κατὰ τὴν ὁμοιότητα Μελχισέδεκ ἀνίσταται ἱερεὺς ἕτερος, as more evidence of the "antitypology," by reading it in a sense of "similar to, but different from Melchizedek."[69] However, I have argued earlier that ἱερεὺς ἕτερος here in Heb 7:15 means "another (or different) priest

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[66] Horton, *Melchizedek Tradition*, 160–64.
[67] Horton, *Melchizedek Tradition*, 161. Based on this typology, Horton also argues that Melchizedek in Hebrews is an earthly human being rather than an angelic figure. For a detailed discussion on Melchizedek's status, see the following section, § 3.2. "Origin of Melchizedek in Hebrews: Heavenly or Earthly Being?" in this chapter.
[68] Horton, *Melchizedek Tradition*, 162.
[69] Horton, *Melchizedek Tradition*, 161.

from a Levitical priest" rather than "another (or different) priest from Melchizedek." First, because the verse is a part of the author's argument for the appropriateness of the change of the priestly office from the Levitical household to Jesus, both in the immediate context (Heb 7:12–17) and in a larger context (Heb 7:1–28).[70] Second, because the term ἕτερος seems to be a key literary element used by the author in order to distinguish Jesus' priesthood from the Levitical priesthood in Hebrews 7 (Heb 7:11, 13, and 15).

It appears that the primary purpose of this paragraph (Heb 7:12–18) is to show a reason why the author has brought Melchizedek into the discussion. Melchizedek in Hebrews is a solution for the author in regards to the tribal issue of Jesus' priesthood. Knohl correctly summarizes two problems that the author encounters in his attempt to support the view of Jesus' priesthood;

> (1) According to the accepted Christian genealogy Jesus was a descendant of David and thus a member of the tribe of Judah (Heb 7:14). The priestly laws of the Torah clearly state that anyone who is not a descendant of the priestly house of Aaron cannot be a priest. (Num 17:40); (2) According to the Torah, there must be a total separation between priesthood and kingship; the king is not given a ritual position in the cult and the priest has no royal power.[71]

A genealogical problem is recognized very clearly by the author of Hebrews (Heb 7:12–17). In some Second Temple Jewish writings, Melchizedek's mysterious origin and his priestly position are problems to be answered. Yet, to the author of Hebrews, Melchizedek's mysterious origin and his priestly position seem to work together as a strong biblical evidence for the legitimacy of Jesus' priesthood.[72]

As it is noted earlier, Horton suggests reading the typology of Melchizedek and Jesus in Hebrews 7 through the lens of the typology of Moses' tabernacle which is presented as an earthly shadow of the heavenly true tabernacle in Hebrews 9. If Horton's position is right, then inevitably Jesus' heavenly priestly office is in contrast with Melchizedek's earthly priestly office, which is succeeded by Abraham and Levites.[73]

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[70] See § 2.2. "Hebrews' Use of Ps 110:4" in this chapter.

[71] Knohl, "Melchizedek: a Model," 264.

[72] The author of Hebrews presents Melchizedek and Levi with the view of discontinuity in terms of the priestly office. The account of giving a tithe is interpreted differently in Hebrews 7 from other contemporary Jewish writings, where Melchizedek is presented as the precursor of the Levitical priesthood. According to Mason, the later Second Temple Jewish authors have used this tithing passage (Gen 14) as the vindication for the (Levitical) priests' tithe-receiving practice. See Mason, *You Are a Priest Forever*, 142. However, the author of Hebrews emphasizes Melchizedek's superiority over the Levitical priesthood by considering that Melchizedek receives tithes even from Levi, because Levi was in Abram's waist (one of Abram's unborn descendents) when Abram offered a tithe to Melchizedek (Heb 7:4–10).

[73] According to Horton, this is the way in which Josephus, Philo, and some Rabbinic sources

However, in a larger context it is evident that Jesus' priesthood in Hebrews 7 is in contrast with the Levitical priesthood,[74] not with Melchizedek's priesthood. Melchizedek's priesthood is supporting the superiority of Jesus' priesthood over against the Levitical priesthood. This is a significant problem that one may encounter by confusing the typologies in Hebrews 7 and 9.

The author's intention of suggesting a typology in Hebrews 9 is clear: the author introduces Moses' earthly inferior tabernacle according to the first covenant (Heb 9:1) as an antitype of Jesus' heavenly tabernacle under the new covenant (Heb 9:15) to magnify the superiority of the latter. The typology in Hebrews 9 may be defined as a spatial typology.[75] However, the author's discourse about the priesthood of Melchizedek and Jesus in Hebrews 7 seems different from this spatial typology. Melchizedek typology is to be understood in a sense of temporal typology. The author of Hebrews considers Melchizedek's priesthood as prefiguring Jesus' priesthood. Therefore the relationship between Melchizedek's priesthood and Jesus' priesthood in Hebrews 7 does not fit with the relationship between Moses' tabernacle and Jesus' heavenly tabernacle in Hebrews 9.

In a spatial/vertical typology in Hebrews 9, the heavenly temple is a type and earthly Mosaic tabernacle is an antitype. However, in a temporal/horizontal typology in Hebrews 7, what comes earlier is a type and what comes later is an antitype. Therefore, in the setting of a temporal typology, Melchizedek may be understood as a type of Jesus' priesthood. It appears that the author of Hebrews has no problem when he applied Ps 110:4 to Jesus: "you are a priest forever, according to the *type* of Melchizedek" (σὺ ἱερεὺς εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα κατὰ τὴν τάξιν Μελχισέδεκ, Heb 7:17). To the author, Melchizedek is a type of Jesus' priesthood in a sense of being prefigured, so that Melchizedek does not need to be forced to fit into the scheme of an "earthly shadow of the heavenly reality" in terms of his priesthood.

understand the priestly line based on Genesis 14.

[74] Therefore, if the "heavenly-earthly" typology is to be applied in Heb 7, the earthly antitype is the Levitical priests instead of Melchizedek.

[75] A spatial typology seems to be related to Middle Platonism. To understand Jesus' priesthood and the consequent effect, scholars have taken largely two different approaches: spatial and temporal. According to Koester, some scholars, such as Spicq, Grässer, Dunn, and Thompson include early Christian writers such as Clements of Alexandria and Origen, who have attempted to understand Jesus' priesthood in Hebrews based on the dualism of Middle Platonism (Koester, *Hebrews*, 98). In a similar sense, James Thompson has attempted to understand the relationship between Jesus' priesthood and Melchizedek's priesthood based on the dualism of Middle Platonism. See Thompson, "What has Middle Platonism," 41–47. Some scholars have pursued some apocalyptic traditions that might lie behind Hebrews. They are searching for an eschatological understanding of Jesus' priesthood (Koester, *Hebrews*, 98). I agree with Koester who notes that "the problem is that Hebrews operates with both categories, yet it fits neatly into neither category" (Koester, *Hebrews*, 98).

3.2. Origin of Melchizedek in Hebrews: Heavenly or Earthly Being?

The second problem concerns the status of Melchizedek. Melchizedek's mysterious origin in Heb 7:3 has raised an issue concerning whether Melchizedek is from heaven or earth. De Jonge and van der Woude, in their study on 11QMelchizedek have claimed Melchizedek's heavenly status.[76] They further argue that the phrase in Heb 7:3, "fatherless, motherless, without genealogy," which mentions Melchizedek's mysterious origin, reinforces their conclusion about Melchizedek's heavenly status. They claim that the author of Hebrews considers Melchizedek as an angelic high priest who was inferior to the Son of God.[77]

Horton is not convinced by the position of de Jonge and van der Woude. According to Horton, the characteristic that the author wants to disclose in Heb 7:3 is the "originality" of Melchizedek's priestly office, which has been shared by Josephus, Philo, and some Rabbinic authors.[78] Based on the idea that Melchizedek is the first priest of God, Horton argues that Melchizedek's priesthood is an earthly antitype of Jesus' heavenly true priestly office. In this way Horton considers Hebrews 7 as another example of a typology passage similar to Hebrews 9.[79] Based on this argument, Horton concludes that "the Epistle to the Hebrews should not be reckoned with the literature in which Melchizedek is considered a divine or heavenly figure."[80]

Kobelski is opposed to Horton's argument and rejects the relationship between Heb 7:3 and the originality of Melchizedek's priesthood.[81] Kobelski asserts that "the speculation about Melchizedek in Hebrews 7 does not appear to be derived from traditions about Melchizedek being the first priest."[82] Instead, Kobelski contends that the eternal life is the key element of Heb 7:3, and by extension Ps 110:4 is a key to understanding the attribution of eternal life to Melchizedek in Hebrews 7.[83] Based on these arguments, Kobelski concludes that the author of Hebrews in all probability regarded Melchizedek as a heavenly being, an angel (אלוהים) as 11QMelchizedek states it.[84] Relatively recently, Mason adds himself to those who argue for Melchizedek's angelic status. Like Kobelski, Mason recognizes the importance of the eternity motif, and he considers the eternity motif

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[76] See de Jonge and van der Woude, "11QMelchizedek and the New Testament," 310–26.
[77] See de Jonge and van der Woude, "11QMelchizedek and the New Testament," 321.
[78] Horton, *Melchizedek Tradition*, 155–59.
[79] Horton, *Melchizedek Tradition*, 152–64.
[80] Horton, *Melchizedek Tradition*, 164.
[81] Kobelski, *Melchizedek and Melchireša*ᶜ, 116–17.
[82] Kobelski, *Melchizedek and Melchireša*ᶜ, 117.
[83] Kobelski, *Melchizedek and Melchireša*ᶜ, 123–24.
[84] Kobelski, *Melchizedek and Melchireša*ᶜ, 126.

as evidence for Melchizedek's heavenly status.[85] Based on this conclusion, Mason further considers Melchizedek's meeting with Abram in Genesis 14 as an angelophany.[86]

However, it needs to be questioned whether Melchizedek's heavenly or earthly status is such a significant matter in Hebrews, because the author's idea about this matter seems unclear in the text.[87] It seems that the issue of Melchizedek's status as an angelic being or human being has been raised frequently by scholars based on the amount of interest in the figure of Melchizedek. However, this attention has not given enough consideration to how the author of Hebrews thinks about Melchizedek's status. To my mind, heavenly or earthly status of Melchizedek is not a primary interest to the author in Hebrews 7. Rather, as I have argued in the earlier part of this section,[88] Melchizedek's mysterious origin in terms of his genealogy in Heb 7:3 seems to be written to emphasize the "eternity" motif as a key character of Melchizedek's priesthood.

On the one hand, I agree with de Jonge and van de Woude, Kobelski, and Mason's emphasis on the eternity motif in their reading of Melchizedek traditions in Hebrews. On the other hand, I do not agree with their argument that the author of Hebrews articulates this eternity motif in order to reveal the supernatural character of the figure, based on which they have argued that Melchizedek is a heavenly angelic figure rather than a human being. As I have mentioned above, the author's opinion on this matter seems too indistinct to suggest a clear answer.[89] I suspect that the author of Hebrews is not as much interested in presenting his own idea about the status of Melchizedek as de Jonge and van de Woude, Horton, Kobelski, and Mason are. It seems to me that the eternalness of Melchizedek's priestly office is to be magnified; whereas the person himself is to remain mysterious in Hebrews 7.[90]

3.3. Melchizedek in 11QMelchizedek and Its Relation to Hebrews 7

The third issue concerns the relationship between Hebrews 7 and

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[85] Mason, *You Are a Priest Forever*, 31–32.

[86] Mason, *You Are a Priest Forever*, 201.

[87] Mason also recognizes the uncertainty of Melchizedek's status in the text. Mason reaches his conclusion, in which he argues that Melchizedek in Hebrews is a heavenly figure, only by implication. See Mason, *You Are a Priest Forever*, 32.

[88] See § 2.1. "Hebrews' Use of Genesis 14 in Heb 7:1–3" in this chapter.

[89] Mason encounters the same problem. He notes that "in light of the language used to describe Melchizedek, it seems difficult to escape the impression that the author of Hebrews construes him as more than a mere historical person. Admittedly he is never called an angel in Hebrews but he is described in language that implies a heavenly status" (Mason, *You Are a Priest Forever*, 32).

[90] Kobelski admits that Hebrews hardly emphasizes the importance of Melchizedek's angelic status. See Kobelski, *Melchizedek and Melchireša͏ᶜ*, 126.

11QMelchizedek. 11QMelchizedek (11Q13) has many interesting literary elements in relation to the figure of Melchizedek. Eschatological elements (11Q13 II.4, 5–6) and the atonement motif (11Q13 II.8) with a reference to the Day of Atonement (11Q13 II.7) are found in the text. Melchizedek is depicted as the liberator from a debt of iniquities of the inheritance of Melchizedek at the end of days (11Q13 II.5-6). He will deliver God's judgment (11Q13 II.13). We have an explicit expression of "the messenger is the anointed of the spirit (or the messiah of the spirit)" (והמבשר הו[אה [מ]שיח הרו[ח], 11Q13 II.18) and "And 'your G[o]d' is [Melchizedek who will fr]ee [them from the han]d of Belial" (האוה דיה[ו][לאו] -- מלכי צדק אשר יצי[ל][מה מי]ד בליעל), 11Q13 II.24-25).[91]

The variety of these literary features encourages some scholars to identify Melchizedek of 11Q13 in various ways. De Jonge and van der Woude have portrayed Melchizedek in 11Q13 as a heavenly being who is performing deliverance and judgment on behalf of God.[92] Milik has asserted that God is associating himself with Melchizedek in this text.[93] Manzi seems to develop Milik's point, arguing that Melchizedek is a descriptive title for Yahweh in 11QMelchizedek.[94]

Although there is still a dispute over the identity issue, in terms of the role of Melchizedek in 11Q13, scholars seem to have reached an agreement that the prominent role of Melchizedek is a "Messianic role in a priestly base"; the "Messianic role" involves Melchizedek's performing deliverance and judgment on behalf of God; the "priestly base" is derived from the idea that his deliverance is from the debts of iniquities on the eschatological day of Atonement.[95]

The messianic picture of Melchizedek can be distinguished from the description of

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[91] For the reconstruction and translation, see Florentino García Martínez, Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, and A. S. van der Woude, *Qumran Cave 11.II: 11Q2–18, 11Q20–31* (DJD 23; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), 224–30. The peculiarity of the use of אל and אלוהים is one of the well-known issues. For a detailed discussion on the use of the two words, see Mason, *You Are a Priest Forever*, 177–183.

[92] See de Jonge and van der Woude, "11QMelchizedek and the New Testament," 301–26. According to Hurst, their understanding is agreed by relatively wide scholarship, such as Fensham, Longenecker, Buchanan, Wülfing von Martitz, Batdorf, and P. E. Hughes. A major opponent of their position is Carmignac, according to whom God himself occupies the central figure while Melchizedek remains a purely historical figure. See Hurst, *The Epistle to the Hebrews*, 52–53, n. 81, 82. See also Jean Carmignac, "Le Document de Qumran sur Melkisédeq," *RevQ* 7 (1970): 348–78.

[93] Józef T. Milik, "*Milkî-sedek et Milkî-rešaᶜ* dans les anciens écrits juifs et chrétiens," *JJS* 23 (1972): 125.

[94] Franco Manzi, *Melchisedek e l'angelologia nell'Epistola agli Ebrei e a Qumran* (AnBib 136; Rome: Editrice Pontifico Instituto Biblico, 1997), 102–103. See also George J. Brooke, review of Franco Manzi, *Melchisedek e l'angelologia nell'Epistola agli Ebrei e a Qumran*, *CBQ* 60 (1998): 770–71.

[95] Mason, *You Are a Priest Forever*, 83–84.

Melchizedek in other contemporary compositions, even among other DSS.[96] The

distinctiveness seems to reinforce Manzi's argument that the understanding of

Melchizedek evolved at Qumran.[97] This messianic picture of Melchizedek in 11Q13 is

suspected of being indirectly influential on the writing of Hebrews.[98] However, the

portrait of Melchizedek in Hebrews seems much different from 11QMelchizedek. The

difference of the figure of Melchizedek between the two texts seems to overwhelm the

general similarities.[99] If 11Q13 has an influence on Hebrews, it is more on the portrait of

Jesus rather than Melchizedek.[100] Maybe the author of Hebrews argues against 11Q13 by

saying that Jesus was the one whom 11Q13 has attributed to heavenly Melchizedek.[101]

However, it seems unlikely that the author of Hebrews has been acquainted with 11Q13;

although he may have known something of the line of interpretation. In terms of the

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[96] According to Mason, in some DSS such as *Genesis Apocryphon* (11QapGen XX–XXII) and *Book of Jubilees* (*Jub* 13:25), which Mason categorizes as texts shared with wider Judaism (Mason, *You Are a Priest Forever*, 164), Melchizedek is described as an earthly king-priest. However, some sectarian texts such as *Songs of Sabbath Sacrifice* and *Visions of Amram*, Melchizedek is depicted as an angelic priest possibly in an eschatological context as he is in 11QMelchizedek. See Mason, *You Are a Priest Forever*, 149, 167, 168, and 185.

Mason's reading of Melchizedek in *Song of Sabbath Sacrifice* is based on Newsom's reading of 4Q401 11 3 (Newsom, "Shirot," 205). Mason's reading of Melchizedek in *Visions of Amram* is based on Milik (Milik, "4Q Vision s de 'Amram," 77–97). For a detailed discussion on the figure of Melchizedek in other second temple Jewish literature, consult Mason, *You Are a Priest Forever*, 146–64. Also see Eric F. Mason, "Cosmology, Messianism, and Melchizedek: Apocalyptic Jewish Traditions and Hebrews," in *Reading the Epistle to the Hebrews: A Resource for Students* (ed. Eric F. Mason and Kevin B. McCruden; SBLRBS; Atlanta: SBL, 2011), 68–76.

[97] Manzi, *Melchisedek*, 102–103. See also Mason, *You Are a Priest Forever*, 188–190.

[98] Mason, *You Are a Priest Forever*, 190, 200. See also Knohl, "Melchizedek: a Model," 266.

[99] For a detailed argument, see Hurst, *The Epistle to the Hebrews*, 52–66. Hurst suspects that the general similarities between the figure of Hebrews and Qumran are probably because they both have traditional exegesis of the OT as the common background (Hurst, *The Epistle to the Hebrews*, 66). See also F. F. Bruce, "'To the Hebrews' or 'To the Essenes'?" *NTS* 9 (1963): 217–32.

[100] See de Jonge and van der Woude, "11QMelchizedek and the New Testament," 218–23. Mason argues that "the most that is allowed typically is that the portrait of Melchizedek in 11QMelchizedek bears more similarities to Hebrews' presentation of Jesus than to the latter's discussion of Melchizedek." See Mason, *You Are a Priest Forever*, 200, n. 4. See also Horton, *Melchizedek Tradition*, 167–68; Kobelski, *Melchizedek and Melchireša^c*, 128; and Anders Aschim, "Melchizedek and Jesus: 11QMelchizedek and the Epistle to the Hebrews," in *The Jewish Roots of Christological Monotheism: Papers from the St. Andrews Conference on the Historical Origins of the Worship of Jesus* (ed. Carey C. Newman, et al.; JSJSup; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 129–47. Davila shows similar opinion about the similarity between the Melchizedek in 11QMelchizedek and Jesus in Hebrews. See James R. Davila, "Melchizedek, the "Youth," and Jesus," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls as Background to Postbiblical Judaism and Early Christianity: Papers from an International Conference at St. Andrews in 2001* (ed. James R. Davila; STDJ 46; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 250–53, 267–71. Kobelski provides a bibliography of the possible relationship between 11QMelchizedek and Hebrews. Consult Kobelski, *Melchizedek and Melchireša^c*, 115, n. 4.

[101] Davila, based on the similarity as a divine mediator between Melchizedek in 11QMelchizedek and Jesus in Hebrews, argues it is likely that the early Jesus movement knew a Melchizedek tradition like the one in 11QMelchizedek, and the early Christology was influenced by that. By extension, Davila even speculates the possibility that Jesus himself may have known such a tradition and patterned his ministry on it (Davila, "Melchizedek," 273–74).

relationship between Melchizedek in the two texts (Hebrews and 11Q13), Longenecker's opinion seems plausible, which says that the author's intention was to direct the readers' attention to Melchizedek's true OT significance.[102]

3.4. Melchizedek in Relation to Covenantal Motif

The last point that I want to emphasize is the importance of a covenantal motif of the understanding of Melchizedek traditions in Hebrews 7. To my mind the covenant motif has not been significantly recognized among scholars in relation to Melchizedek's priesthood. Some works focus on the figure of Melchizedek in Hebrews while others concentrate on the covenant in Hebrews.[103] Among the studies on the new covenant reflected in Hebrews, there is hardly a discussion from a priestly aspect, especially in relation to Melchizedek.[104] However, the covenantal aspect, especially in relation to Jeremiah's new covenant tradition, seems to be neglected in many Melchizedek studies.[105] Scholarly discussions in regards to Melchizedek tradition in Hebrews seems mostly to focus on the issues of tithe, the relationship between Melchizedek and the Levitical priesthood, and Melchizedek's heavenly or earthly status.

In this chapter, I have attempted to add a new perspective on the relationship between Melchizedek traditions and new covenant tradition in Hebrews 7. In order to support my argument, I have endeavoured to demonstrate the way in which the author articulates and uses the oath-taking motif from Ps 110:4 as an anticipation of Jeremiah's new covenant in his discussion on Melchizedek in Hebrews 7. The author imports a concept of God's swearing from Ps 110:4 and develops this characteristic of God into an oath-taking motif by considering Ps 110:4b as the content of an oath. The oath consists of the priestly Melchizedek tradition of Ps 110:4: "you are a priest forever according to the order of Melchizedek." The author seems to advance the oath motif further in the larger context (Heb 7:1–28) by contrasting the law with the oath. In the passage (Heb 7:1–28) the law and the oath represent the authorities by which the Levitical priesthood and Jesus'

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[102] Richard Longenecker, "The Melchizedek Argument of Hebrews: A Study in the Development and Circumstantial Expression of N. T. Thought," in *Unity and Diversity in the New Testament Theology: Essays in Honor of George E. Ladd* (ed. Robert A. Guelich; Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1978), 173.

[103] Such as Lehne, *The New Covenant in Hebrews*.

[104] Lehne recognized that the *cultic perspective* was a significant element of the author's reworking of the covenant motif in Hebrews. However, Lehne's discussion on priesthood is limited to the tabernacle. See Lehne, *The New Covenant in Hebrews*, 93, 97–104.

[105] For instance, in Horton's work on the Melchizedek tradition, the word "covenant" does not even appear in the subject index. See Horton, *Melchizedek Tradition*, 190–92.

priesthood have been appointed respectively. Furthermore in the overall framework of Hebrews 7–9, the contrast between the law and the oath parallels with a contrast between the old law (Mosaic Torah) and the new covenant (Jeremiah 31). Therefore, it seems plausible that when the author uses the oath-taking motif based on the Melchizedek tradition from Ps 110:4, the author may have considered the oath as a priestly aspect of the Jeremiah's new covenant. Consequently, the Melchizedek tradition in Hebrews 7 is to be understood in relation to a covenantal motif.

The understanding of the combined concepts of priesthood and covenant also appear in Hebrews 9. As it has been demonstrated in the previous chapter, the author seems to combine the concept of covenant-making and the concept of sacrificial atonement in his use of the blood-sprinkle tradition of Exodus 24 (Heb 9:18–22). The combined concept is the author's metaphorical interpretation of the physical reality of Jesus' crucifixion and blood-shedding. Therefore, according to the author of Hebrews, Jesus' death and his blood-shedding is to be understood as having two effects: making a new community based on Jeremiah's new covenant and performing the atonement for direct access to God.

In sum the author's use of Melchizedek tradition of Ps 110:4 (Hebrews 7) and the blood-sprinkle tradition of Exodus 24 (Hebrews 9) shows the way in which the author combines the two concepts of priesthood and covenant in order to develop Jesus' priestly Christology and its effect. This argument seems to reinforce my hypothesis that the idea of combined concepts of priesthood and covenant are needed for a better understanding of the author's presentation of priestly Christology in Hebrews.

4. Conclusion

Portraits of Melchizedek in some Second Temple period literature are heavily based on Genesis 14, and Melchizedek is depicted as prefiguring the Levitical priesthood without any further argument. It is worth noting that there is no allusion to Ps 110:4 among these Melchizedek traditions. The portrait of Melchizedek in the DSS shows variety. The variety allows some scholars to argue that the portrait of Melchizedek has evolved in the DSS. As a part of the variety, 11Q13 suggests very interesting features of Melchizedek, describing him as an eschatological messianic figure, a heavenly being who would perform the deliverance and judgment on behalf of God on the day of Atonement at the end of the day (in the tenth Jubilee). It seems unlikely to find some similarities in the features of Melchizedek between 11QMelchizedek and Hebrews 7.

Based on the above background understanding, I have argued that Hebrews' use of the Melchizedek tradition might be characterized by its use of Ps 110:4 as well as Genesis 14. A key feature of the author's use of Genesis 14 is represented by an emphasis on the "eternity" motif of Melchizedek's priesthood. In addition, the author's use of Ps 110:4 is characterized by an "oath-taking" as well as an "eternity" motif. The "eternity" motif again stands as a key feature that distinguishes the superiority of Jesus' priesthood, which is based on the order (or "type" τάξιν) of Melchizedek, from the inferiority of the Levitical priesthood. In this sense, Melchizedek in Hebrews 7 serves as a part of the author's framework of Eternity-Superiority-Change of the extended context.[106]

When the author develops the "oath-taking" motif from a Melchizedek tradition in Ps 110:4, he seems to consider the oath in Ps 110:4 as a part of the new covenant promised in Jeremiah 31. By doing so, the author argues that Jesus' priesthood, which is in the order of Melchizedek, is part of the new covenant, which replaces the Levitical priesthood authorized by the diminishing old law. In this way the oath-taking motif in Ps 110:4 seems to play an important role in mediating Melchizedek's priestly tradition and Jeremiah's new covenant.

It seems worth noting that the author of Hebrews claims high priesthood by "oath" not by "genealogy." In an earlier chapter, I have attempted to show how 1 Maccabees articulated the "zeal" and "father" motif in order to claim the legitimacy of Simeon's high priesthood. 1 Maccabees' effort seems to imply how significantly the author considers the matter of genealogy in relation to the high priest even in the case of Maccabean household, who were probably from the tribe of Levi. In Qumran section, I have attempted to show how the author of Ben Sira attributes Phinehas' covenant of eternal priesthood to Aaron by means of a "father [or inheritance]" motif. However, in the case of Hebrews, the author uses oath-taking motif as a divine authority for the appointment of priesthood in a new era of the new covenant. Hebrews' emphasis on the oath seems more distinctive considering the importance of genealogy in the priestly office of the contemporaries.[107]

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[106] See § 2.1. "Priesthood [ιερωσύνη]" in chapter 5.
[107] Records of the priestly genealogies seem to be reserved in Jewish communities. Josephus presents an exhaustive list of priests in *Against Apion* 1.32.

CONCLUSION

Chapter 7
Conclusion

In this study I have attempted to demonstrate how significant the various combinations of the concepts of covenant and priesthood are in the reading and understanding of some Second Temple texts. I also have tried to show the various ways in which some Second Temple compositions have articulated the combined concepts of covenant and priesthood on the basis of their treatment of various biblical and extra-biblical traditions. By doing so I endeavoured to demonstrate my hypothesis that some Second Temple texts are meaningfully and deliberately concerned with the combined concepts of covenant and priesthood for various reasons so that the combined concepts have to be kept in mind for a better understanding of some Second Temple texts.

In the first chapter I have argued that a study of the combined concepts of covenant and priesthood is necessary. On one hand, a review of a history of studies on the concept of covenant in the Second Temple period seems to show that there is a need to evaluate the location of the concept of covenant between two polarized views represented by Overman-Green and Grabbe. These two perspectives hold that either, the theological significance of the concept of covenant has prevailed in the Second Temple Judaism(s), or that the concept of covenant has significantly lost its religious value. On the other hand, scholarly indifference toward the significance of the priestly institutions in the discussion of the Second Temple Judaism has been noted in order to suggest the need for a priestly dimension in reading and understanding the covenant in the Second Temple period.

A review of a history of studies of the concept of covenant over a century or more was also helpful in suggesting some methodological perspectives in terms of the significance of traditions, institutions, and the matter of ideological or sociological approaches to the concept in Second Temple Judaism. The concept of covenant in the Second Temple period seems more than just an ideological concept; it seems to be related to the claim of a particular identity. Concerning this sociological aspect of the concept, the significance of priestly institution(s) in the Second Temple Period, not only as a cultic centre of the Jewish people, but also as a political, administrative, and scribal institution shed much light on the present discussion. Having these observations in mind, I introduced

three exemplary studies on 1 and 2 Maccabees, the Dead Sea Scrolls, and Hebrews where these two ideas can be easily identified and discussed in combination.

In chapter 2 I have demonstrated the way in which the priestly-related concept of covenant has been developed and used in 1 and 2 Maccabees. In 1 Maccabees the author uses eight out of ten instances of the term "covenant" in his introduction (1 Maccabees 1–2). In terms of the use of the term "covenant," the structure of the introduction seems to be laid out in order to identify the renegade Jews as an *anti-covenantal group*, whereas Mattathias is introduced as the guardian of the *covenant of the fathers*. Most of all, Mattathias is presented as the mediator of Phinehas' covenant of perpetual priesthood (Num 25:13) to his successors, particularly to Simon. The author seems to articulate a "zeal" and "father" motif to make this claim.

In 1 Maccabees 1, Mattathias' zeal for the law is presented through the lens of Phinehas' zeal for God and is explained accordingly, and consequently implies that Mattathias is the heir of the covenant of perpetual priesthood that Phinehas had been endowed with because of his zeal. In 1 Maccabees 2, the author defines Mattathias' Phinehastic zeal for "the service of one's fathers" (1 Macc 2:19) or "the covenant of our fathers" (1 Macc 2:20) as "zeal for the law" (1 Macc 2:26). He emphasizes the "zeal for the law" and "the covenant of our fathers" as the elements that Mattathias' sons have to inherit (1 Macc 2:50). Furthermore, we have seen that among the list of modeled fathers in Mattathias' deathbed scene, Phinehas was the only figure who was explicitly recognized as "our father," and he was the one who received the covenant of the eternal priesthood (1 Macc 2:54). Therefore, the "covenant" in chapter 2 with the "father" motif seems to promote strongly Mattathias and his sons as the heirs of Phinehas and the covenant of the eternal priesthood. By articulating those two motifs, the author claims that Mattathias, Simon, and John Hyrcanus are the legitimate high priests and ethnarchs. And by this means, the author develops the ideology of the priestly covenant by means of zeal and father motifs in the introduction to the text (1 Macc 1–2).

In 2 Maccabbes, Jerusalem Temple ideologies are emphasized under an overarching Deuteronomic framework, and thereby the concept of a priestly-related covenant seems to be suggested. It seems likely that a concept of covenant is presented as a part of an extended priestly blessing (2 Macc 1:2–5). I have argued that the reference to the patriarchal covenant (2 Macc 1:2) in a composition alluding to the priestly blessing seems particularly significant concerning the way in which the patriarchal covenant is used

in favour of Levitical priestly ideology in some contemporary literature, such as *Jubilees* and the *Temple Scroll*. This approach is different from 1 Maccabees' development of the priestly covenant, which emphasizes a Hasmonean perspective.

In Part II I have analyzed some pre-sectarian (chapter 3) and sectarian documents (chapter 4) in order to see the way in which some priestly traditions, particularly in relation to the concept of covenant, have been introduced and developed in the *Moreh Zedek* movement and the subsequent *Yahad* movement. I think that an analysis of those traditions suggests a significant development of priestly covenantal ideologies alongside the changes within the movements. To support this position, I have attempted to identify various priestly ideologies in the earlier part of chapter 3. And I have argued that largely two relatively distinctive groups of traditions support *Enoch-Levi priestly traditions* and the *Aaronic-Zadokite priesthood* respectively. In the latter half of chapter 3, I have analyzed Ben Sira, on the one hand and *Aramaic Levi Document*/*Testament of Levi* and *Jubilees*, on the other.

In Ben Sira, both the Hebrew author and the Greek translator seem to have developed the Aaronic priestly covenant by using standard scriptural tropes from priestly traditions. In the Aaron and Phinehas part (Sir 45:6–26) in the Praise of Fathers section (Sir 44–50), I have attempted to demonstrate that explicit covenantal language is attributed to Aaron based on Phinehas' priestly covenant tradition (Numbers 25), but not in terms of the "zeal" motif, but in terms of inheritance by introducing Phinehas' priesthood as a genealogical "inheritance of Aaron" (Sir 45:23–25). In Sir 45:15, the perpetual covenant (ברית עולם) is attributed to Aaron and also his descendants with the purpose of being a minister to the Lord and serving as (high) priest. The Greek translation seems to emphasize or develop further Aaron's priestly covenant ideology by translating "eternal office/ordinance" (חק עולם) with the "eternal covenant" (διαθήκην αἰῶνος) at the introductory unit of the Aaron section (Sir 45:7a). In this verse, the eternal covenant is directly related to Aaron's priesthood in the following line (Sir 45:7b). In addition to the development of the Aaronic priestly covenant tradition, Ben Sira seems to emphasize the didactic and judgmental roles as significant priestly functions. Ben Sira's priestly emphasis on their didactic role in conjunction with the development of Aaronic priestly covenant tradition seems particularly significant because that concept seems to be adopted by the *Yahad* movement and reflected in a *Serek* document.

However, *Aramaic Levi Document*, *Testament of Levi* and *Jubilees* seem to represent Levitical priestly ideology. Levi's priestly covenantal ideology is developed by projecting the zeal motif of Levi's Shechem episode onto Phinehas' zeal for God in those texts. The emphasis on Levi's priestly covenantal element in these texts seems to be related to a claim for antiquity of the Levitical priestly ideology by reading Levi's Shechem episode in relation to the patriarchs. In this sense, *Jubilees'* presentation of the Levitical priestly covenant is more significant in the way in which the texts use Shechem and Bethel traditions together. By doing so the author possibly presents Levi as a prefigure of Phinehas in order to attribute the origin of the priestly covenant tradition to the patriarchal era (as the author has done for other biblical laws and customs in *Jubilees*). This emphasis is more significant if we consider the way in which the Hasmoneans worked with the Phinehas priestly covenant tradition. 1 Maccabees has claimed the legitimacy of high-priesthood for the Hasmonean heir by making Phinehas their father. Furthermore, the claim of antiquity of the priestly covenantal ideology in some Levitical priestly traditions might be admitted by the *Moreh Zedek* movement as a counter claim against Jerusalem priesthood.

In chapter 4 I have tried to demonstrate how and for what reasons the priestly related covenant is admitted and developed in some quasi-sectarian (*Temple Scroll* and 4QMMT) and sectarian (*Damascus Document* and *Serek* document—1QS and parallels, 1QSa and 1QSb) texts. In the *Temple Scroll*, the *Levitical priesthood* is favored in various ways, but some references to the sons of Aaron are also found in the text (11Q19 xxii.4–5, xxxiv.13, and xliv.5). In addition, a reference to the covenant of Jacob found in 11QT XXIX.8–10 is particularly significant because this covenant is presented in relation to God's promise for the establishment of a temple. Therefore, the covenant of Jacob in the *Temple Scroll* is associated with the cultic aspect as well as the Deuteronomic elements of the land and abundant offspring. Consequently, we could conclude that the covenant of Jacob in the *Temple Scroll* is related to the matter of the antiquity of the priestly covenant of Levi in the patriarchal period as we have observed in *Jubilees*. In 4QMMT we have observed that strong priestly oriented laws in the *halakhic* section are presented under the overarching Deuteronomic covenantal structure. The literary character of these texts (*Temple Scroll* and 4QMMT) can be summarized as the use of priestly sources or priestly perspectives in combination with Deuteronomic ideas, which possibly enables various

priestly ideologies to coexist in those texts. This literary tendency is also apparent in the *Damascus Document*.

In terms of the priestly traditions and ideologies, the *Damascus Document* seems to be similar to the *Temple Scroll*, which reflects the plurality of priestly ideologies in the *Moreh Zedek* movement. On one hand, in the *Damascus Document* we may see some traces of *Aramaic Levi Document* or *Jubilees*, which represent the Levitical priestly ideology. On the other hand, Aaronic-Zadokite priestly traditions are explicit in certain places of the *Damascus Document* based on Ezekiel. However, although the Aaronic priestly ideology is adapted in the text, it seems not to be developed significantly compared with *Serek* materials.

In the *Serek* texts (1QS and parallels, 1QSa and 1QSb), I have demonstrated how significantly the Aaronic priestly ideology (the sons of Aaron and the sons of Zadok) are presented in 1QS, whereas the Levites are not prominent. The sons of Aaron and the sons of Zadok similarly seem to occupy the centre of the covenantal community where the Teacher of Righteousness is not attested anymore. The editor of 1QS seems to juxtapose the concepts of priest, covenant, and laws in 1QS column 5. By doing so, he would be able to suggest an idealized priestly group as the leadership of the community of the post *Moreh Zedek* movement. In a different manner, the absence of "the sons of Zadok" in the 4QS texts (4QS[b, d]) might reflect a phenomenon of a renewal (or reformation) of an idealized earlier form of the community.

One of the significant literary elements is the reference to the renewal of the covenant of the eternal priesthood (1QSb III.26). A rare explicit reference to the covenant of eternal priesthood and emphasis on the didactic role (in relation to teaching and judging) in the passage strongly echoes the Aaron-Phinehas account in the Praise of the Fathers section of Ben Sira (Sir 45:6–25). In this text we have an explicit reference to the covenant of the eternal priesthood (which is from Num 25:13) and the priestly didactic role. The two elements also echo Ezek 44:23–24. Based on this observation, I have argued that 1QSb (and more generally *Serek* materials) seems to have used Ben Sira (Aaron-Phinehas account) as a lens through which to see the Aaronic priestly covenantal ideology.

Based on the preceding observation, I have suggested that the development of priestly covenantal ideology of the sons of Zadok and the sons of Aaron in some sectarian documents possibly reflects a transition of the Qumran movement from an egalitarian movement led by a charismatic leader (*Moreh Zedek*, Teacher of Righteousness) to a community led by a particular leadership group with exclusive authority (sons of Aaron).

A significant emphasis on the authority and priestly didactic role in *Serek* texts seems to explain this particularly well. This suggestion also implies that a purpose for the (relatively later) development of the Aaronic priestly ideology is more internal, to set up a distinguished priestly group in a process of community building, whereas the (earlier) emphasis on the Levitical priestly traditions reflects the external claim against the contemporary priestly rivals in Jerusalem, as Brooke and Kugler have suggested.

In Part III I have investigated the combined concepts of covenant and priesthood in Hebrews, an early Christian (at least partly Jewish-Christian) text. In chapter 5 I have analyzed the way in which the author has conceptualized priestly and covenantal language in Hebrews 7–10. I have argued that the author has elaborated Exodus' "blood sprinkling" tradition (Exod 24:5–8) in Heb 9:19–21 in order to articulate the combined concepts of priesthood and covenant. His purpose was to derive two functions from Jesus' blood-shedding: sacrificial atonement as well as covenant mediation. The author seems to have helped his audience to realize that Jesus' crucifixion, which they viewed as a historical event, is the key element of the new order, which they belong to but no longer as a simple physical reality on earth. In Hebrews 7–10 the author further articulates Jesus' priesthood. This priesthood is in the order of Melchizedek in Hebrews 7, under the new covenant of Jeremiah (Jer 31:31–34) in Hebrews 8. Then in Hebrews 9 the author continues by arguing that Jesus' blood was the covenantal blood so that he could consider Jesus as the mediator of the new covenant prophesied in Jeremiah 31. This position appears to be presented so that he can develop the point that the Christian community is a community under the new covenant, which is eminently characterized by an idea that the new covenant community is able to approach the holy of holies based on the sacrificial and covenant-mediating blood of Jesus (Heb 10:19–20).

In chapter 6, I have concentrated more on the way in which the author of Hebrews has interwoven the Melchizedek priestly tradition (especially Ps 110:4) with a new covenant tradition (Jer 31:31–34) through an articulation of the oath motif. I have argued that Hebrews' use of Melchizedek tradition might be characterized by its use of Ps 110:4 as well as Genesis 14, whereas other Second Temple texts were heavily based on Genesis 14 in order to depict Melchizedek as a prefigure of the Levitical priesthood. The author's use of Ps 110:4 is characterized by an "oath-taking" and an "eternity" motif. On the one hand, the "eternity" motif stood as a key feature that distinguished the superiority of Jesus'

priesthood from the inferiority of the Levitical priesthood. On the other hand, the author seems to have considered the "oath-taking" motif from a Melchizedek tradition in Ps 110:4 as a part of the new covenant, which was promised in Jeremiah 31. By doing so, the author could argue that Jesus' priesthood, which was after the order of Melchizedek, was part of the new covenant that replaced the Levitical priesthood which was authorized by the diminishing old law. In this way the oath-taking motif in Ps 110:4 seems to play an important role in mediating Melchizedek's priestly tradition and Jeremiah's new covenant.

The three exemplary studies show the interesting and varying dynamics of the use of the combined concepts of covenant and priesthood. 1 Maccabees articulated the "zeal" and "father" motifs from Phinehas' priestly covenant tradition in order to claim the legitimacy of high priesthood for the Maccabean and Hasmonean heirs. This implies how much the author concerns the matter of genealogy in order to claim high priesthood. In the Qumran section, I have argued that the author of Ben Sira attributes Phinehas' covenant of eternal priesthood to Aaron by means of the "inheritance" motif, which also reflects the significance of genealogy. This claim seems to be developed in 1QSb in order to support a particular priestly leadership group with exclusive authority. In contrast, the author of Hebrews uses "oath-taking" motif in his use of Melchizedek traditions as a divine authority for the appointment of the priesthood for Jesus in a new era of the new covenant, which is distinctive from his contemporaries.

The elaborate articulations of the combined concepts of covenant and priesthood in the examined texts partly reflect the concern of the Second Temple Jewish authors; how significant the priestly institutions and priesthood were not only in terms of cultic matters but also in terms of political and authoritative concerns (ethnarch in 1 Maccabees, authoritative leadership in *Serek* texts, and the eschatological covenant mediator in Hebrews). In my view some of the Second Temple compositions have pursued ideas of the legitimacy or the authority of priestly identities by juxtaposing the concepts of covenant and priesthood from various traditions. Interpretation and representation of certain traditions seem to have been a way in which some Second Temple Jews and some members of early Jewish Christian communities have developed their priestly covenantal identities. Therefore, considering the combined concepts of covenant and priesthood certainly seems necessary for a better understanding of some Second Temple texts.

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