"Trajectories of Holy War Discourses from Second Temple Jewish to Early Christian

Apocalypticism: The Book of Revelation and the Qumran War Scroll – A Comparative Study"

by

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DECLARATION

I, David Chapman Harris, declare that *"Trajectories of Holy War Discourses from Second Temple Jewish to Early Christian Apocalypticism: The Book of Revelation and the Qumran War Scroll – A Comparative Study"* is my own work and that all the sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.

I further declare that I submitted the thesis/dissertation to originality checking software and that it falls within the accepted requirements for originality.

I further declare that I have not previously submitted this work, or part of it, for examination at Unisa for another qualification or at any other higher education institution.

ABSTRACT

This study is a comparative analysis of the Qumran War Scroll (1QM) with John's Apocalypse. It is conducted along the lines of discursive comparison, with a focus on the literary and ideological theme of Holy War. The study incorporates a mixed methodological approach, initially drawing its literary comparisons between the discourses of the two primary texts, then assessing their rhetorical aims throughout.

ABSTRAKTE

Hierdie studie is 'n vergelykende analise van die Qumran Krygsrol (1QM) met die Openbaring van Johannes. Dit word uitgevoer deur 'n diskursiewe vergelyking, met die fokus op die literêre en ideologiese tema van die Heilige Oorlog. Die studie bevat 'n gemengde metodologiese benadering, wat aanvanklik literêre vergelykings tussen die diskoerse van die twee primêre tekste teken en dan hul onderskeie retoriese doelwitte deurgaans beoordeel.

ABSTRACT

Lokhu kuhlola kuwukuhlaziywa okuqhathanisayo komQumran War Scroll (1QM) ne - Apocalypse kaJohn. Iqhutshwa ngemigqa yokuqhathanisa okudumazayo, kanye nokugxila esihlokweni sencwadi nemiqondo yeMpi Engcwele. Lolu cwaningo luhlanganisa indlela exubile yokuhlaziya izinto, ekuqaleni ludweba ukuqhathanisa kwalo okubhaliwe phakathi kwezinkulumo zemibhalo emibili eyinhloko, bese luhlaziya imigomo yazo engokomlando kuyo yonke indawo.

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1. Setting up a Comparative Reading

1.1 Introduction

It has been noted that apocalyptic literature, along with the symbolic worlds which it generates, and the theologies it gives birth to, is, by nature, literature of conflict, struggle, violence, and resistance.[1] Moreover, whether it be of Jewish or Christian origin, historically-based or otherworldly, restorative or utopian,[2] in its final form the impulse to conquer an evil world, or more specifically, the apocalyptic hope that evil would one day be overcome by means of divine intervention, was widespread as a diversified worldview throughout ancient Israel during the Second Temple period.[3] It is perhaps unsurprising, then, that John's Apocalypse (the Book of Revelation) would be seen as comparable to Jewish sectarian literature, to the extent that Revelation has been described as a "Christian War Scroll"[4] in the vein of the Qumran War Scroll, or War Rule, known by its designated siglum as 1QM. Accordingly, the following research will focus on the exploration of the relationship between these two ancient documents with an eye towards illuminating the larger matter of Jewish thought development leading as it does into Christian origins by way of shared discourses. This side-by-side comparison will be

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[1] Anathea Portier-Young, "Jewish Apocalyptic Literature as Resistance Literature," in *The Oxford Handbook of Apocalyptic Literature*, ed. John J. Collins (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 145-162.

[2] The eschatology of the Dead Sea sect was both restorative and utopian. See Lawrence H. Schiffman, *Reclaiming The Dead Sea Scrolls: The History of Judaism, The Background of Christianity, The Lost Library of Qumran* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1994), 339.

[3] The apocalyptic worldview was a forward-thinking perspective based on the Jewish prophetic tradition. It was not monolithic, and each sect was inclined towards idiosyncrasies that distinguished the group. Some of these theological differences will be taken into account in this study. For a discussion of the genre of apocalypse as distinguished from the apocalyptic worldview, see John J. Collins, *Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (London; New York: Routledge, 1997), 1-8.

[4] The phrase "Christian War Scroll" was coined by Richard Bauckham in *The Climax of Prophecy: Studies on the Book of Revelation* (London: T&T Clark, 2007), 210-237. Bauckham's inspiration was derived from Matthew Black, "Not Peace but a Sword: Matt. 10:34ff; Luke 12: 51ff," in *Jesus and the Politics of His Day*, ed. C.F.D. Moule and E. Bammel (Cambridge, GBR: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 287–294.

viewed through the lens of Holy War[5] as a recurring phenomenon found in the common body of sacred literature shared by both texts.

Since the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls (DSS) occurred less than a century ago, it is reasonable to consider DSS research to be as yet in its infancy when compared with the centuries of scrutiny directed towards the Apocalypse of John. In light of this imbalance and numerous other unknowns, it must be asked, is John's Apocalypse, and by extension certain facets of Christian theology, indebted in some way to 1QM? Conversely, is Qumranic apocalypticism a direct antecedent to that of nascent Christianity, and if so, what would be the nature of such development? Most specifically – and for the purposes of this study – within the literary motif of *Holy War*, is there a type of metatextual relationship[6] to be found within the discourse between Revelation and 1QM, giving some credence to the coining of terms such as 'Christian War Scroll?' And beyond all of these, if indeed such a relationship exists, does the Holy War motif then provide any insight with regard to the so-called 'parting of the way' between Judaism and Christianity? Such questions will serve as doorways into a critical analysis which will drive our study forward. Consequently, a re-examination of the Book of Revelation in light of Holy War as it is depicted by 1QM is appropriate.[7]

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[5] Holy War has been alternately categorized as a literary theme, an institution, and an ideology by scholars. See Tremper Longman III, "The Divine Warrior: The New Testament Use of an Old Testament Motif," *Westminster Theological Journal* 44 (1982): 290–307. While not neglecting these categories, for our purposes we will engage with the topic in a broader sense, referring to it as a phenomenon or shared experience embedded in Jewish collective memory during the centuries immediately preceding and following the Second Temple period when our two texts were written. Von Rad used the same terminology. See Gerhard Von Rad, *Holy War in Ancient Israel*, trans. Marva J. Dawn (Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock Publishers, 2000), 44.

[6] This study seeks to hone Bauckham's thesis describing Revelation as a "Christian War Scroll," to the more sharply defined literary category of a *metatext*, per Genette. See Gérard Genette, *Palimpsests: Literature in the Second Degree*, trans. Channa Newman and Claude Doubinsky (Lincoln; London: University of Nebraska Press, 1997). We will stop short of theorizing that Revelation may have used 1QM as a *vorlage*, because of the association that term has with works of translation. Genette's categories define the metatext as a commentary on a prior text, not necessarily quoting or even referencing the earlier document.

[7] Despite disagreement over the true identification of the Qumran sectarians, it is widely understood that they existed as an apocalyptic community, with expectations of divine intervention in an anticipated Holy War that would overthrow the enemies of God and of the sect itself. While 1QM itself is not an 'apocalypse' in terms of its

Section One of this study will begin with a rationale for our research, accompanied by a survey of various Qumran-Christian theories. These theories will establish the outer boundaries of analysis by referencing the possibilities of Qumran-Christian points of contact, and serve as background for our study. While tentative in nature, such theories are relevant for historical, geographical, cultural, and literary considerations, and will support the discursive aspect of our methodology. Following this will be a general review of the theories of authorship and origination ascribed to both Revelation and to 1QM, with provisional positions taken for the purpose of furthering historical and comparative theological analysis.

Our opening section will conclude with a review of scholarly thought concerning the Holy War phenomenon and literary motif as it is found in ancient Israelite Scripture preceding both Revelation and 1QM. This will clear the way for a detailed examination by way of the juxtaposition of a series of comparisons in the form of contrasting literary symbols, referents, phrases, terms, and concepts from both Revelation and 1QM, all pertaining to the larger theme of Holy War as depicted in each document.

In Section Two, we will outline a comparative/rhetorical methodology appropriate to our investigation, which will enable us to triangulate questions of genre and intertextuality, language and perception, cultural and theological trajectories, in conjunction with the apocalyptic expectations expressed by both documents. These comparisons will be located within the domain of discourse, as both 1QM and Revelation are recognized as being in dialog with a wider pool of shared influences.

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literary genre, it does reflect the apocalyptic worldview that was common among many, if not all, Second Temple Jewish sects. According to Collins: "A worldview is not necessarily tied to any one literary form, and the apocalyptic worldview could find expressions in other genres besides apocalypses," John J Collins, *Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (London; New York: Routledge, 1997), 8.

Section Three will be comprised of a detailed comparative analysis of these aspects of Holy War as they are employed by 1QM and Revelation. We will work progressively through 1QM, it being the earlier of the two documents, noting aspects which correspond to and/or conflict with that of Revelation, while noting features which may be analogous to, or dependent upon the Qumran War Scroll. These elements and aspects will be garnered from the immense world of discursive interaction which may be readily detected in both texts.

Finally, theological comparisons will be drawn between that of 1QM and early apocalyptic Christianity, vis-à-vis Revelation, as they shaped the trajectory and evolution of the institution of Holy War. These will be accompanied by a final set of assessments regarding the contribution of this study to the larger issue(s) of Jewish thought development feeding into Christian origins.

1.2   Rationale

This study is given warrant, in part, by the textbook writings of J. VanderKam and P. Flint, who assert the need for renewed attention to be directed toward this area of research.[8] D. Aune has verified this assertion, noting that the raw number of DSS citations to be found in commentaries on John's Apocalypse had steadily decreased over a 20+ year period of time, rather than increasing, as one might expect.[9] Yet as a number of scholars indicate, 1QM is of

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[8] "Most discussions of the relationship between the Qumran scrolls and the New Testament have placed little emphasis on the book of Revelation...This is somewhat surprising, in view of the relevance of the documents such as the War Rule [1QM] and the New Jerusalem Text for our understanding of the New Testament book. Although there are many references to the Dead Sea Scrolls in scholarly literature that throw light on the interpretation of specific passages in Revelation, most studies and commentaries on the book of Revelation have not felt the full impact of the scrolls." James C. VanderKam and Peter W. Flint, *The Meaning of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Their Significance for Understanding the Bible, Judaism, Jesus, and Christianity* (London: T & T Clark, 2005), 362.

[9] David Aune, "Qumran and the Book of Revelation," in *Apocalypticism, Prophecy, and Magic in Early Christianity: Collected Essays* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker Academic, 2008), 79.

particular interest to the study of Revelation.[10] Many reasons can be given for this association,
among them being the prominent literary motif of Holy War, along with its associated imagery
and theology, which provides a basis for mutual comparison. Under this rubric we would
include the following points.

- The thematic indicators which accompany a biblical Holy War are detectable in both
  Revelation and in 1QM, even as the two documents differ in their approach to, and
  understanding of the battle(s).

- Both Revelation and 1QM share the expectation of a final battle between Israel's God
  and the powers of evil in the world, with the portrayal of an ultimate victory on the
  part of God. In both cases the result is a victory which culminates in eternal peace for
  God's faithful people, who are expected to endure an extended period of tribulation
  prior.

- Both primary texts share a use of otherworldly beings, i.e., angelic figures in the
  context of the Holy War with specific angels being named. In both cases it is
  anticipated that these angelic beings, will engage in a decisive battle (or series of
  battles), with the people/armies of God taking either a passive or active stance as the
  Holy War unfolds.[11]

- Both Revelation and 1QM share a common foreign enemy in the Roman Empire,
  which appears as a cypher in Revelation as *Babylon*,[12] and as a cypher in 1QM as the
  Kittim.[13] Along these lines, both texts include various names referencing a number of

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[10] See Aune, "Qumran and the Book of Revelation," in *Apocalypticism, Prophecy, and Magic in Early Christianity: Collected Essays*, 79-98*;* Adela Yarbro Collins, "Revelation, Book of," in *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls vol.2,* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 772-774; VanderKam and Flint, *Meaning of the Dead Sea Scrolls,* 362-378.

[11] See Richard Bauckham, "The Book of Revelation as a Christian War Scroll," *Neotestamentica*.22 (1988): 17–40.

[12] David E. Aune, *Revelation*, Word Biblical Commentary (Nashville: Thomas Nelson, 1998), 829-830; Gregory K. Beale, *The Book of Revelation: A Commentary on the Greek Text*, NIGTC (Grand Rapids, MI; Cambridge, UK: Eerdmans, 2013), 18-19.

[13] Acknowledging the possibility that the Kittim may also include the Seleucids, we stay with Rome, since this is the majority view among scholars, and the comparison is most useful for our purposes. It is quite possible that the Kittim references are aimed not only at certain people but also to specific *events*, such as the taking of Jerusalem. See Timothy H. Lim, "Kittim," in Schiffman and VanderKam, *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 469-471.

Israel's other historic enemies. Similarly, both share a common spiritual enemy in *Satan*, or *Belial*, whom, it is predicted, will suffer a final defeat.

- Each book references military arrangements and aspects of conquest found in the Hebrew Scriptures; hence the same authoritative written sources are drawn from in both documents.

- Revelation and 1QM share assorted symbolism in depictions of trumpets, insignia, and priestly designations. Moreover, they share characteristics that stem from Levitical holiness requirements prior to battle.

These, and several other features of our subject texts, perhaps provide more "points of contact" between the two literatures than previously assumed.[14]

1.2.1 Background: Various Theories of a Qumran-Christian Connection

DSS research is particularly susceptible (as is Revelation) to unwarranted and undisciplined theorizing. As a result, the hope of clearly defining any relational links between Qumran and the early Christian movement has not been promising. Most efforts have been marked by sensationalism and disappointment. F. García Martínez, expressing his own dismay, reflected that, having once been enthusiastic about the possibility of uncovering new areas of overlap between the DSS and Christianity, in retrospect he had hoped for far richer findings than what has been produced.[15] Thus, in an effort to stave off overblown expectations and the grief that inevitably follows, some caveats are necessary. To that end, this section will survey a list of

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[14] Loren L. Johns, "The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Apocalypse of John," in Princeton Symposium on Judaism and Christian Origins, *The Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls. Vol. 3*, ed. James H. Charlesworth (Waco, Texas: Baylor University Press, 2006). Citing Aune, Yarbo Collins, and Flint, Johns asserts that a consensus among scholars is that two individual themes: 1) the final eschatological battle and 2) the New Jerusalem, appear to be the most promising motifs for furthering intertextual studies of Revelation. In the present research we pursue the former.

[15] "But the results have been disappointing and, in spite of the thousands of books written on the matter during the fifties and sixties, no real consensus among scholars was reached. The quest has been practically abandoned, and the relationship between the two corpora is only sporadically treated." Florentino García Martínez, "Qumran Between The Old And The New Testament," *Echoes from the Caves: Qumran and the New Testament* (2009): 1–6.

hypotheses which will serve as theoretical background material for our study. It is the intention of this researcher to set aside excessive guess work, in favor of a more circumspect approach, in an attempt to salvage whatever data and information may be useful to the matter of Jewish thought development leading into Christian origins. While this catalog is by no means intended to be exhaustive, our overview will begin with an historical extrapolation from John the Baptist, followed by supporting considerations per Josephus. We will then look at the geographical location of Qumran according to Pliny the Elder, followed by a review of Qumran as a holiness school. This will be followed by considerations of Greek manuscript evidence found in Cave 7. Finally, we will consider the possibility that John of Patmos had some familiarity with the Qumran sect and its literature. Taken together these items would conceivably link the early Christian movement to the Qumran sectarians *from a conceptual standpoint*, if not an historical one.

It must be noted that the point of these caveats, again, is to set the outer limits of our research, beyond which we shall not speculate. In the flush of excitement which naturally surrounds such momentous discoveries as the DSS, the rush to apply new information to old questions is understandable and to be expected, and since the novelty of the DSS made its initial impact beginning in 1947, the scholarly world has indeed seen a host of new theories. Yet this impulse must be tempered in order to yield accurate and useful findings. The intention of this study is to make a precise assessment of a certain aspect of two documents in our possession, and to avoid contributing to the unrestrained conjecture of popular conspiracies. Thus, the following overview of some plausible connections between the visionary worlds of the *yaḥad* and that of John of Patmos is simply a survey intended to provide the context for other points of contact which will arise during the course of our study. These must each be considered on their own

individual merits, but the cumulative weight of the plausible connections also, we would argue, begins to build a fairly persuasive case for some degree of intertextuality between our pair of texts.

1.2.2   Extrapolation from John the Baptist

First, while it has been suggested that John the Baptist might be a possible candidate for some level of direct involvement in the Qumran community, this now largely marginalized hypothesis was originally fueled by the following five factors:[16]

1. John's family background as having elderly parents.
2. John's lineage as one having come from a priestly family.
3. John's ministry being located in the vicinity of the Judean wilderness.
4. Similarities between John's ministry and that of Qumran, including ritual baptism.
5. John's interpretation of certain Scriptures being similar to that of Qumran.

Taken together, these do present a rather compelling, yet ultimately inconclusive case for the famous Baptist to have been at one time directly associated with the Qumran sect. For example, Josephus points out that, located at Qumran, was a community which found room for child adoption,[17] which some speculate may have been the case with John the Baptist himself, having been born to elderly parents.[18] Second, John's own lineage being derived from a priestly family would have coincided with the sectarian concern for a halachically pure priesthood and Qumran's own possible Zadokite origins.[19] Third, John's ministry as an adult is said to have taken place in the Judean wilderness, the same region if not the precise locale as Qumran.[20]

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[16] These have been excerpted from VanderKam and Flint, *The Meaning of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 330-332.
[17] Flavius Josephus and William Whiston, *The Works of Josephus: Complete and Unabridged* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 2008): 2.120.
[18] See Luke 1:7, 18, and VanderKam and Flint, *The Meaning of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 330.
[19] Ibid.
[20] As referenced in Luke 1:80 (NASB), "And the child continued to grow and to become strong in spirit, and he lived in the deserts until the day of his public appearance to Israel."

Fourth, John's form of baptism into repentance was similar to the sectarian ceremonial washings, although the meaning of those rituals, while theologically connected, would have been performed differently.[21] Of the five points listed above, perhaps the most compelling is the similar interpretation of Scripture. The Baptist's own interpretation of Isaiah 40:3 shares with the Qumran sect a common reasoning for dwelling out in the wilderness, namely, to prepare for the coming of the Lord.[22]

As a result, although this theory has largely been set aside due to its lack of concreteness, the factors which made it attractive to begin with should not be entirely discarded, particularly when we widen the scope to include the possibility of social interaction between the Qumran community and the larger cross section of Jews in the region, including those of the earliest Christian movement. By extension, if John the Baptist were indeed tied to the Qumran sect as a youth, it seems plausible that the harsh strictness of Qumran discipline would have been sufficient to drive him and many would-be followers away later in life, out into other related communities such as that of Jewish Christianity.[23] We know, for example, that Josephus himself

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[21] Among the difference being that John apparently performed the baptisms himself as a single instance practice, while the members of the *yaḥad* used the ritual baths on a personal and regular basis. See VanderKam and Flint, *The Meaning of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 331.

[22] Ibid.

[23] In the disorderly historical progression often described as the 'parting of the ways,' which saw the development out of an ancient Jewish milieu, into the transitory 'Jewish Christian,' and finally leading to the distinctly recognizable Christian cultural markings of later centuries, rituals such as *baptism* become very useful for tracing the evolution of religious practice and theology in the era from which our two documents are derived. Hence, while the present research is not centered or focused on the practice of baptism per se, the transitionary (and much overlooked) 'Jewish Christian' blending and overlap of ritual and its accompanying holy writ is germane to our study. On the issue of baptism, G. van den Heever frames the matter thusly:

> "There was a widespread culture of practicing a specific kind of washing, labelled baptism. It constitutes an essential characteristic of 'heterodox' Jewish groups because of its underlying critique and replacement of temple cult and ritual (which are deemed—for the period—an essential marker of Jewishness and identity). The rite carries apocalyptic overtones due to its association with repentance as entry into the end-time people of God. It is within this trajectory that Jewish Christian groups should be understood, and that Jewish Christianity should be localized."

Van den Heever continues:

claims to have had direct contact with the Qumran sectarians as a teenager, albeit briefly.[24] For

this reason John the Baptist (and Josephus) are representative of what may have been typical

experiences at the time. It is to the claims of Josephus to which we now turn our attention.[25]

1.2.3   Josephus at Qumran

The claim on the part of Josephus to have spent time among the Qumran sectarians is

entirely defensible, and, on the balance, while his writings are understood by scholars to indicate

a high degree of concern for his Roman audience, the supporting evidence for a direct connection

between Josephus and the Qumran sectarians seems to substantiate his assertion. The list of

accurate descriptions provided by Josephus of the Qumran community is lengthy. These include

the following:[26]

Josephus accurately describes a three-year period of initiation into the sect.

1. Josephus accurately depicts the strict organizational authority among the
    sectarians.
2. Josephus discusses the aspects of shared communal property within the sect.

"Second, by drawing the line like this, that is, running almost straight over Qumran via John the Baptist
(even though the differences between John and Qumran are noted) into the Jesus movement and
subsequently into the New Testament literature as the charter documents of later first century Christian
social formations, implies that the New Testament to a large extent itself is an exponent of Jewish
Christianity, which then causes Jewish Christianity practically to disappear from view when it is, so to say,
indistinguishable from emerging 'mainstream' Christianities."

This note is helpful as it is this same amorphous and transitional 'Jewish Christianity' which the present
research deals with, as it represents an inheritor of Jewish thought and culture, and subsequently feeding as it does
(by way of discourse) into the apocalyptic literature of the Christian Scriptures, i.e., via John's Apocalypse. Prior to
the 'parting of the ways' between Jewish and Christian theology (and the clash of civilizations which ensued), the
intermediary *Jewish Christian* understanding of divinely sanctified warfare (or Holy War) was based on a shared
tradition with which both Jews and Christians would interact. It is this tradition which we will focus on as it is used
and reconfigured in both 1QM and Revelation. See Gerhardus A. Van den Heever, "The Spectre of a Jewish Baptist
Movement. A Space for Jewish Christianity?," *Annali Di Storia Dell'Esegesi* 34 (2017): 43–69.

[24] Josephus, *Life* 10-12; *Ant.*13:171; 15:371.

[25] For a broader sociological perspective on the hypothesis of a Qumran-Christian connection existing
between John the Baptist and the *yaḥad*, see f.n. 110 below.

[26] These items have been excerpted from *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 2000 ed., s.v. "Essenes,"
by Todd S. Beall, 262-269.

3. Josephus accurately describes the daily routines and rituals which take place at Qumran, including regular ceremonial washings and communal meals.
4. Josephus specifically indicates that oil was forbidden by members of the sect due to ritual defilement, a prohibition which is verified by the writings of the sect.

These and other descriptions indicate a personal familiarity with the Essene sect on the part of Josephus which appears to go beyond the mere desire to entertain a Roman audience. When we consider that Flavius Josephus, born Joseph ben Matthias, himself a Galilean Jew, had some direct contact with the Qumran community – and he the only known Jewish historian from the Second Temple era – what strong objection could arise from the notion that so many other Jews from the same time period and locale, Christian Jews in particular, would also have had some direct contact with Qumran? The point seems evident: The Qumran sectarians did not exist in a vacuum, isolated from the rest of the Jewish population.[27] Moreover, Jews of the time widely shared a common language and spiritual heritage, with shared Scriptures and holy observances. Furthermore, while many undoubtedly held opposing political positions – a common sociological characteristic which we would expect among any diverse population – they all lived under the same theocratic sacrificial system, ruled over during that time by the Roman Empire. For this reason, we must not make the assumption that Christian Jews in the region were unconscious or ignorant of the existence of the Qumran sectarians with their particular views and practices, despite the argument which comes from silence. Quite the opposite, we must posit some familiarity between Jewish neighbors.

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[27] 4QMMT by itself indicates contact with the outside world. See 4Q394 1:2-5, 8.

1.2.4 Pliny the Elder and the Qumran Location

To the previous points, we must further emphasize that, given the pivotal geographic location of Qumran as described by Pliny the Elder[28] – stationed as it was at an intersection that constituted the main thoroughfare leading up to Jerusalem, departing eastward from the King's Highway, heading away from the Jordan River – that it is entirely possible, again even likely, that many, if not most or all, of the disciples of Jesus came within close vicinity of the Qumran communal location repeatedly during their lifetimes.

A trek to Jerusalem was a tri-annual event required by Torah law of every Israelite family.[29] Consequently, it is almost inconceivable that the first Jewish Christians would have, *en masse*, been completely unaware of the Qumran sectarians, or so unobservant as to be oblivious to the existence of Qumran as the central hub of a thriving Jewish sub-community contemporary with their own. The existence of the Qumran sect predating Christianity by roughly 250 years would have also meant that the sect had long been established at its outpost, even considering the history of destruction and rebuilding now thought to have occurred at the location.[30]

1.2.5 Qumran as a Holiness School

A final ingredient in determining the plausibility of nascent Christianity's general acquaintance with Qumran has to do with the nature of the Essene community itself. As described by the *Community Rule* (1QS)[31] and Josephus,[32] a candidate seeking admittance to the

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[28] See Pliny et al., *Natural History* (Cambridge; London: Harvard University Press ; W. Heinemann, 1971), 5.73. "Beneath them stood the town of Engadda, for Fertility (of soil) and Groves of Date-trees the next City Hierosolyma, now a place for the dead. Beyond it is Masada, a castle upon a Rock, and not far from Asphaltites."

[29] Exodus 23:17; 34:23; Deuteronomy 16:16-17.

[30] See revised chronology in Jodi Magness, *The Archaeology of Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2002).

[31] 1QS 6:13-23.

sect would have gone through a rigorous two-to-three-year period of initiation. This lengthy

process would have required any new initiate to dedicate his full energies and resources to the

working ethos of the community, subject to a yearly review appraising the success or failure of

his dedication. The pitfalls and punishments were considerable, and demerits were apparently

doled out liberally for a wide variety of reasons.[33] This being the case, full acceptance as a

member would have been no small accomplishment.

To this end, it has been theorized, based on the mention of a plurality of outposts in the

Damascus Document (CD),[34] plus a disproportionately high number of men to women buried in

the nearby cemetery,[35] that Qumran functioned as a "study center,"[36] where individual men

would go to complete their training and education as Essenes.[37] Combining these observations

with data provided by Josephus and Philo, both of whom note that there were pockets of Essenes

scattered throughout all the towns and villages in the region, we may postulate that any number

of men living throughout the wider areas of Judea and Samaria could reasonably have practiced

yaḥad discipline[38] in his local hometown for an extended period of time before venturing to

Qumran to complete his training. Since this is evidently the case, as scholars have observed,[39]

then by extension any number of the local fishermen living in a highly trafficked area such as the

Galilee, through casual conversation, likewise would have had ample opportunity to become

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[32] *The Jewish War* 2.137-42.

[33] For example, 1QS 7:1-27 prescribes ten days punishment for talking over another person's words.

[34] CD 7:6; 12:23; 13:20, 14:3; 14:9; 14:17; 19:2.

[35] "…the archaeological evidence attests to only a minimal female presence at Qumran." Magness, *The Archaeology of Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 182.

[36] Schiffman, *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls,* 53.

[37] *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 2000 ed., s.v. "Essenes," by Todd S. Beall, 262-269.

[38] Of the main identifications applied to the DSS sectarians, *yaḥad* (יחד) appears to be the one adopted by the sect itself, as evidenced by its sixty-eight appearances in several of the DSS. The term is scattered across a range of halachic texts from cave 4, including three instances in the Damascus Document (CD), and forty-four times the Community Rule (1QS). Although the terms *Qumran* and *Essene* are predominant, neither are used by the sect. For our purposes we will refer to the group as *Qumran sectarians*, and to their distinctive halachic views and practices as the discipline of the *yaḥad*.

[39] Beale concludes, "Thus there appears to have been a major settlement in the Dead Sea region with other, smaller groups elsewhere in Palestine." Also see Schiffman, *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 101.

familiar with the basic tenets of the Qumran program. There is, therefore, a marked possibility, if not a high probability, that Qumran functioned as a central hub in what would have been a sprawling network of smaller "campuses" facilitating the spread of Qumran theology and its distinct halachic practices though these means.[40]

Given this arrangement we can see not only the likelihood that the followers of Jesus would have been aware of the Qumran sect, but, quite conceivably, that one or more of the early Christians could have actively participated in the strident discipline of the *yaḥad* before defecting to follow their newfound Lord and Messiah in Christianity. We will return to this point and its greater implications below.

1.2.6   Extrapolation from Greek Fragments Found at Cave 7

With respect to the discussion and theories surrounding the unsuccessful attempts to show that the DSS contained portions of the Christian Scriptures, it must be noted that no fragments of any New Testament writings have been found among the DSS whatsoever. Be that as it may, among the Qumran biblical texts there have been discovered occasional textual variants which serve to clarify some of our understanding as to what earlier versions of a small number of Bible verses may have said prior to the Masoretic Text (MT). These clarifications have often reflected renderings from the Septuagint (LXX), but while they are indeed significant and important finds, none has risen to the level of affecting Christian theology or illuminating its origins.

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[40] Schiffman posits that the concurrent location of nearby Ein Feshka (2 miles / 3 km south of Qumran) would have been one such camp in association with the sect, serving as a livestock and tannery for parchment that would become DSS canvas material. Another possible candidate would be Ein el-Ghweir (9 miles / 15 km south of Qumran), which was inhabited by Jews during the Second Temple period. See Schiffman, *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 58-60.

Notwithstanding, while the Hebrew texts of the DSS tend to garner the most attention, there is one cache of papyri found in Cave 7 which is written in Greek. These texts are highly fragmentary in nature, and although there have been hypotheses put forward, nothing indicates any Christian writings exist among these Greek DSS fragments. This isn't surprising or unexpected, as the Christian Scriptures were written largely after the Qumran community had already shaped its own corpus of literature.[41] Nevertheless, if we posit that Qumran was the source, or at least the steward, in some way connected with the Greek texts of cave 7, then we must necessarily conclude that both Qumran and the early Christian movement shared the Hellenistic *bilingualism* that was widespread among Second Temple Jews. Furthermore, it follows that both parties shared a common scriptural fountain head, beginning with the Torah.

At this juncture it serves our purposes to point out that, while it may seem as if an observation of this sort is too general to be of use, it must be remembered that the present study is focused on John's Apocalypse over and against 1QM specifically; two semi-related writings that embody the expectations of two groups sharing a common *written* culture. Therefore, we may identify the sociolinguistic overlap in perceptions of Holy War on the part of the *yaḥad* with that of the early Jewish Christians as being readily apparent, but also the product of a common cultural seedbed within the Hebrew Scriptures, as well as residing within a shared Judeo-Hellenistic culture. This despite 1QM being written in Hebrew, while John's Apocalypse is written in Koine Greek.

As such is the case, one may appropriately pause to inquire as to why neither Qumran, nor the Essene community itself, are explicitly referenced within the Christian Scriptures. For that answer we must content ourselves with the assumption that, for the writers of the New

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[41] The question as to whether the DSS texts constitute a corpus or "library" is taken up in *1.3.7 Scriptural Canonicity and the Qumran Library.*

Testament at least, Qumran and its concerns simply did not merit direct literary attention. Thus, in the aftermath of the unrequited hopefulness which played out during prior decades, and in concurrence with the conclusions of García Martínez, we are not in search of "direct connections between the two literary corpora, the Scrolls and the New Testament, or between the Essenes and the early Christians."[42] Rather, we are concerned with the data which may be derived from analysis of the development of a shared and theologically oriented *ideology* into which our primary texts provide, as it were, windows of insight. Consequently, while we might wish, along with García Martínez, for more bracing data to substantiate a direct Qumran-Christian connection, we cannot be quick to cast aside what literary and theological commonalities we do have. With these in mind we now turn to John of Patmos specifically.

1.2.7   John of Patmos' Potential Familiarity with Qumran

What then is the likelihood that John of Patmos, the author of Revelation, was familiar to some degree with the Qumran sectarians? Writing from Patmos, would he have been aware of their location? If so, what chance is there that John may have been personally acquainted with some of its practitioners, either former or current? Going a step further, would it be outside the realm of possibility that John was familiar with various Qumranic writings? As is evident, to be dogmatic in our conclusions would be unwarranted and incautious at this juncture, but stock must be taken of the points which might build a persuasive case. Thus far we have observed the following:

1. Specific candidates from the earliest Christian movement such as John the Baptist cannot be conclusively said to have been Essenes. Nevertheless, an individual like

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[42] See García Martínez, *Qumran Between The Old and The New Testament*, vol. 85.

Josephus, who claims to have come into contact with the sect, appears to have a high degree of credibility in this regard.

2. The strategic location of Qumran and the traffic and commerce it would have received indicates that few Jews of the Second Temple period could have been unaware of the existence of the sect.

3. The presence of numerous small pockets of practicing Essenes associated with the sect and scattered throughout the region of Judea and Samaria further increased the potential for awareness of and contact with the rest of the Jewish population, including Jewish Christians.

4. The Judeo-Hellenistic literary tradition in written Hebrew, Greek, and Aramaic, alongside the universal authority of the Torah among all Jews of the time, provides for a cultural commonality between Qumran Jews and those of nascent Christianity, hence the plausibility of high intertextual awareness, and the possibility of metatextual influence stemming from the written culture of the older Qumran sect into the newer literary production of the Christian movement.

Considering these points together and applying them to John of Patmos, we must ultimately be content to rest the suggestion of personal interaction between himself and the Qumran sect alongside that of the previously discussed hypothesis centering on John the Baptist. Like John the Baptist, but unlike Josephus, John of Patmos makes no claim to have come into contact with Qumran or the *yaḥad*, and although we might assume his knowledge of the world around him to have included some sense of their existence, again, we cannot make an argument from silence.

However, there is room to suggest based on church tradition as opposed to critical scholarship, that John of Patmos may have had ample opportunities during his lifetime to come into close proximity to Qumran, as nearly every Jewish sojourner making the tri-annual trip to Jerusalem from the surrounding regions would have. If, as the tradition holds, John of Patmos was the son of Zebedee, a Galilean fisherman, widely supposed to be identified as *John the beloved disciple*, he would most certainly have been among the many multitudes of families who made that trek, which would have made it nearly impossible not to come into contact with

Qumran.[43] The journey itself is not insurmountable, and Jewish worshippers would have

prepared well in advance for the distance. One can readily conceive of such travelers, with

family and others in tow, reaching the base of the mountain, preparing for the last leg of the

excursion upward from below sea level. This final stretch would have been the last effort needed

to reach Jerusalem, and the Qumran community was situated near the intersection of that very

terrain. Given that Jewish sojourners could hardly fail to become aware of the Qumran

sectarians situated at such a pivotal location, the possibility that John of Patmos (John the

Beloved, per the traditional view) came into contact with the sect seems at least as likely as John

the Baptist (or even Josephus for that matter) coming into contact with Qumran sometime during

his own upbringing. While inconclusive (and based solely on church tradition), the suggestion

certainly lies within the realm of possibility and should be a consideration. Moreover, as noted

above, a scattering of smaller groups of *yaḥad* practitioners would have greatly increased the

likelihood of widespread Jewish awareness, as people from all walks of life are known to engage

in a wide range of societal involvements. As such, any gathering of Essenes within the region

would not have gone unnoticed by the local Jewish population. To be clear on this point, our

contention is not that John of Patmos would have had direct interaction with the Qumran

sectarians, although this is not outside the realm of possibility, but that it would have been

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[43] We would be quick to note that this tradition (i.e., John of Patmos as being John the son of Zebedee), is
weakened by the perceived lack of internal evidence supporting it, yet is upheld by the tradition of the early church
for both theological and linguistic reasons. (Compare, for example, the use of λόγος in John 1:1 with that of Rev
19:13.) Thus, while the consensus of scholars and text critics mitigates against the traditional view, conservative
scholars come to its defense. For a defense of this view, see Robert H. Mounce, *The Book of Revelation* (Grand
Rapids, Mich: Eerdmans, 1977), 25-31. For a discussion which ultimately addresses the notion that both literatures
are descriptively 'Johannine' see Pierre Prigent, *Commentary on the Apocalypse of St. John*, trans. Wendy Pradels
(Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2001), 36-50. This debate notwithstanding, the central matters of a relatively close
geographic proximity and a shared regional locality remain a factor within the sphere of the ancient Mediterranean
world, and particularly in the locale of Roman Palestine/Judea.

difficult for such people as the author of Revelation to have been unaware of the *yaḥad*, by virtue of general proximity and locality.[44]

Finally, and most substantially, the extremely high degree of familiarity with the Hebrew Scriptures as seen in the Book of Revelation, combined with John's studied perspective on the Roman empire, exhibits the workings of a mind schooled in an expanse of literary sources, drawing as Revelation does from so vast a range of texts, that one can only wonder how a writer like John of Patmos could have been unaware of the distinctive world of *yaḥad* thought. As the purpose of this study is not ultimately to prove or disprove this particular hypothesis, we must turn a corner and concentrate our focus on other matters. Nevertheless, these tantalizing contextual questions are foundational to the thesis of this study, as it gives us the needed background considerations which will inevitably arise when we embark on the comparison of the two primary texts in question.

1.2.8   Summary

We have attempted to circumscribe the fair limits of acceptable Qumran to Christian overlap from an historical, geographical, and evidentiary point of view as it pertains to the present study. We have intentionally restricted our appraisals to general factors which may reasonably be deemed to warrant further consideration outside of the present study, and which may appropriately feed into the trajectory being traced. This overview has been presented for the

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[44] On this line of thought, Prigent concludes his discussion on the term 'Johannine' as follows:

"The most judicious conclusion is that there existed in ancient Christianity in Syria and in Asia Minor a prophetic movement influenced by the Qumran tradition, and that it is here that a very specific eschatological theology developed. One might simply add that among its literary productions, the work that was received as the last book in the canon was intended to present itself as the work of a certain John. It is difficult not to compare this tactic with that which placed the 4th gospel under the same patronage." See Prigent, *Commentary on the Apocalypse of St. John*, 50.

sake of background information, and our survey has been deliberately broad, intending to reflect a measure of restraint with regard to the vast field of questioning and investigation involved in advanced DSS research. While it may seem superfluous to make such apologia, an examination of this nature requires it.

Beyond this overview lie several legitimate questions regarding the *yaḥad* and Christian origins which we have not addressed. Such questions include whether or not the Jesus movement as a whole or in part can be construed as 'Essenic' or not, and if so to what degree; or whether the messianism of Christianity is in some way indebted to the theological sensibilities of the *yaḥad*. These questions fall outside the scope of the present study, which focuses on a pair of static texts as we have them. But our topics are not static, nor were they so at the hands of the authors who wrote about them. Simon J. Joseph, in his volume on these matters, notes the challenge presented by the faulty assumption that the *yaḥad* was itself a monolithic movement, and that the DSS corpus likewise represents no evolution of thought or perspective:

> "This assumption not only contradicts how religious movements actually function; it also raises rigid and unwarranted boundaries between Essenism and early Christianity and fails to take into account the profoundly (realized) eschatological nature of both movements." [45]

It is exactly this eschatological nature which we will attempt to take into account in the present study, as the trajectories of the two movements – the *yaḥad* and nascent Christianity – moved in divergent directions but along similar paths. Our two primary documents provide a pair of snapshots in time, allowing for us to consider the perceptions they had regarding their present situations, taking into account their grasp towards the future, as well as the unavoidable

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[45] For a more expansive discussion surrounding possible Christian-Qumran connections including various theories of an Essene Jesus (a topic beyond the range of the present research), see Simon J. Joseph, *Jesus, the Essenes, and Christian Origins: New Light on Ancient Texts and Communities*, 2018.

warfare which both texts assumed was necessary in order to arrive at an outcome which both

1QM and Revelation anticipated would transpire in comparable ways.

1.3   Background: Provisional Positions Regarding Revelation and 1QM

1.3.1   Revelation as a 'Christian War Scroll'

An unassuming observation has been posited regarding the relation of John's Apocalypse

to 1QM. The suggestion was prompted by a minor observation from M. Black in a piece that

examines the use of sword imagery on the part of Jesus in Matthew 10:34, and Luke 12:51.[46] In

what R. Bauckham characterizes as an incidental remark,[47] Black submits, in his analysis of this

imagery in association with political zealotry, that, "In the Apocalypse of John, which one could

describe as a kind of '*War Scroll*,' of Christianity, the sword is a sign of Christ triumphant."[48]

Bauckham, in turn, takes this notion and expands on it slightly. He considers the

possibility that John intended to reinterpret Jewish Holy War tradition in his own apocalypse. In

doing so, Bauckham argues that 1QM provides evidence that 1) such a Jewish Holy War

tradition existed, and 2) that John incorporates it and reimagines it in Revelation. As Bauckham

considered Black's suggestion in a more expansive manner, the purpose of the present study is to

do the same with Bauckham's. What follows is an overview of the Bauckham theory.

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[46] Matthew Black, "'Not Peace but a Sword': Matt. 10:34ff; Luke 12: 51ff," in *Jesus and the Politics of His Day*, ed. C.F.D. Moule and E. Bammel (Cambridge, GBR: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 287–294.
[47] Richard Bauckham, "The Apocalypse as a Christian War Scroll," in *The Climax of Prophecy: Studies on the Book of Revelation* (Edinburgh, Scotland: T&T Clark, 2007), 212.
[48] Black, "Not Peace but a Sword: Matt. 10:34ff; Luke 12: 51ff."

1.3.2   Passive vs. Active Participation in Holy War

The paradigm described by Bauckham and others[49] regarding the stance of God's people during a Holy War event is one of either *passivity*, or *active participation*. Along these lines, Bauckham argues, 1QM, with its ranks of priests and military order, stands as a rare example in Hebrew literature which could be described as an *active model of participation* on the part of God's people in Holy War.[50]   Bauckham, drawing on detailed exegesis from Revelation (5:5-6; 7:2-14; and 14:1-5),[51] makes the case that John of Patmos was well aware of this Jewish Holy War tradition, and theorizes that he reconfigured it away from the *active model* of military violence per 1QM, into a war of *passive* Christian resistance to the point of willing martyrdom.[52] With respect to this reshaping of Jewish Holy War conventions, he observes, "it changes the readers' perception of the situation in which they live and so enables them to behave differently in response to it."[53]   This change of perception represents a significant theological adjustment, one which effectively negates what would be the normative human aversion to one's own death. Consequently, Bauckham sees the Revelation as rejecting Jewish expectations of conquest through military violence, and rejecting nationalistic Jewish triumph over the Gentile nations, while still illustrating the hopes of God's victory over evil as fully expressed through the crosswork of Jesus. He notes that the imagery of the conquering Davidic messiah gives way to

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[49] For example Aune, *Revelation*, 956.

[50] Ibid. "…most apocalyptic texts that depict the final eschatological war tend to emphasize the *passive* model, i.e., the role of God and his angels in the eschatological battle, ignoring the role, if any, of the people of God in the conflict."

[51] Bauckham, "The Book of Revelation as a Christian War Scroll."

[52] Although Bauckham would object to the term 'passive,' we would deem it appropriate. To his thinking, "It is misleading to describe this as 'passive resistance': for John it is as active as any physical warfare and his use of holy war imagery conveys this need for active engagement in the Lamb's war." Bauckham, *The Climax of Prophecy*, 234.

[53] Ibid. Bauckham narrows his focus to the three passages cited above, while acknowledging that, "In a full treatment examination of all the passages in which Christians are represented as participating in the Holy War would be necessary..."

the slain Lamb in Rev 5:5-6; that the messianic army has become "international" in Rev 7:2-14; and that the army of the Lamb share in his victory through a passive (yet paradoxically active) stance of martyrdom in Rev 14:1-5.

Among the direct links he draws between 1QM and Revelation is the *washing of garments* after the Holy War. With the washing of garments, we see in 1QM 14:2-3 a cleansing from the blood of "guilty corpses," whereas Rev 7:14 depicts the victors as having washed their robes "in the blood of the lamb." This turn of imagery on the part of John, according to Bauckham, represents a direct reimagining of the Jewish Holy War motif, one in which the conquerors have prevailed by becoming Christian martyr-victims in accordance with the death of Jesus. Consequently, John has effectively reconfigured this and other aspects of 1QM into the Book of Revelation.

Despite these observations Bauckham's theory has been critiqued, as Revelation does not necessarily appear to present an *absolutely* passive model of Christian resistance, but a decidedly mixed one. Aune notes the following verses as representing a model of *active* participation found within the Holy War of John's Apocalypse: Rev 7:1-9; 14:1-5; and 17:14.[54]

It is telling that both Bauckham and Aune claim Rev 7:1-14[55] and 14:1-5 on opposite sides of the argument. At issue in these passages are the 144,000 witnesses of Revelation. In short, the perspective of Bauckham sees these witnesses as a messianic army of Christian martyrs, reconfigured from Jewish tribal ranks into an innumerable (and thus uncountable)

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[54] According to Aune the passages in question which depict an active participation are the following: The sealing of the 144,000 according to their tribal affiliation as preparation for battle in Rev 7:1-9; the depiction of the 144,000 standing on Mount Zion accompanying the conquering Lamb in Rev 14:1-5; and the statement in 17:14 which says, "These will wage war against the Lamb, and the Lamb will overcome them, because He is Lord of lords and King of kings, and *those who are with Him are the called and chosen and faithful*," (emphasis added). See Aune, *Revelation*, 956.
[55] Ibid.

multitude. They are identified as those Christians who conquer through the passivity of a

martyr's death. Aune, for his part, sees these not as martyrs but *survivors*.[56]

Noting these opposing views, we further observe that, whether or not these 144,000 are a

particular group of Christian survivors (per Aune), or the makings of what becomes an

internationalized group of Christian martyrs (per Bauckham), a "new song" is sung by them later

in Rev 14:3. This brings us to yet another proposed link between 1QM and Revelation on the

part of Bauckham, and another point of contention among scholars. The verse in question reads

as follows:

> "And they sang a new song before the throne and before the four living creatures
> and the elders; and no one could learn the song except the one hundred and forty-
> four thousand who had been purchased from the earth." Rev 14:3 (NASB)

At issue then, is whether this new song constitutes the celebration of a *military* victory

after the Holy War, or not. Bauckham, for his part, sees within this verse a direct reference to

hymns of praise being sung as part and parcel of the larger Holy War motif. According to his

view, it is a hymn of victory sung by the prevailing martyrs, just having won the final

eschatological war.[57] Bauckham points to a similar celebration after the military victory of 1QM

4:4-5. Aune, for his part, disagrees. He argues that a "new song" only appears in direct

connection with military victories on very rare occasion, even if 1QM does contain such a

celebration.[58] As such, he does not recognize with Bauckham that there is evidence of a direct

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[56] "In my view, the 144,000 of Rev 7:4-8 represent that particular group of Christians (including all ages and both genders) who have been specially protected by God from both divine plagues and human persecution just before the final eschatological tribulation begins and who consequently survive that tribulation and the great eschatological battle that is the culmination of that tribulation." Aune, *Revelation,* 443. Both Aune and Bauckham recognize a tribulation tradition in 1QM and Revelation.

[57] We use the adjective 'eschatological' fully aware that it presents an anachronism to the writers of both our texts, but for lack of a better term it will serve our purposes.

[58] Aune, *Revelation,* 808.

connection between the two literatures in this regard. It appears then that a spectrum exists as to what properly constitutes a military victory song within apocalyptic literature.

Taking something of a step back from textual details at this juncture, D. Falk, commenting on the overall liturgical nature of both Revelation and 1QM, affirms the comparison, and states what appears to him to be obvious:

> "…a partial analogy to the use of an eschatological war text in the ritual life of a religious community might be derived from the New Testament book of Revelation. It is effectively a Christian *War Scroll*, explicitly mentioning a liturgical function: "Blessed is the one who reads aloud the words of the prophecy" (Rev 1:3 NRSV).[59]

To Falk's thinking, the songs of praise, along with other liturgical features found in 1QM and Revelation are tactical aspects of the Jewish Holy War motif, hence John's Apocalypse stands as a so-called "Christian War Scroll."

With a general outline of this theory now in place, it must be reiterated that one intention of this study is to probe the question as to whether (and to what extent) 1QM exerts a metatextual influence on Revelation, giving rise to the possibility of speaking to certain matters pertaining to Christian origins.[60] We will accomplish this by historically situating 1QM, and considering the way in which it speaks to the Holy War theology of Revelation via discourse. Thus, the term 'Christian War Scroll' serves as a useful launching point into areas of broader comparison and analysis. Our efforts will require a widened scope beyond that which Bauckham has presented,

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[59] Daniel K. Falk, "Prayer, Liturgy, and War," in Kipp Davis et al., eds., *The War Scroll, Violence, War and Peace in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature: Essays in Honour of Martin G. Abegg on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday*, vol. 115 of *Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2016), 275-294.

[60] Per Genette's conceptualization, a metatext may be any text which stands as a commentary on a prior piece of literature, not necessarily quoting or even referencing the earlier document. To this end we are considering the *points of contact* (as opposed to direct connections) between 1QM and Revelation, so as to make assessments regarding the evolution of the motif and institution of Holy War. This approach is not unwarranted, as a wide range of comparable texts may be said to be 'metatexts' in relation to prior works. In direct relation to our present pair of subjects we may therefore include the entirety of the Hebrew Scriptures, along with the full DSS corpus, and the larger body of Second Temple literature which comprises the enormous discursive sphere from which our texts are derived. It would therefore not be inaccurate to describe both 1QM and Revelation as 'metatexts' in relation to certain of these and other writings. See Genette, *Palimpsests*.

and will necessitate a consideration of issues which pertain to Holy War on a larger scale. It

must also be emphasized that the aim is to compare our texts on a level field from a value neutral

perspective, avoiding any temptation to elevate one above the other in terms of quality or virtue,

or to diminish one at the expense of the other. As such, our use of the Black/Bauckham

terminology – i.e., "Christian War Scroll" – is not intended to pigeonhole or diminish either

1QM or John's Apocalypse, or to imply any sense of theological superiority on the part of either.

Rather, the descriptor serves as a helpful example of the type of theorizing which allows us to

delve further into the way in which these two documents handle a shared literary motif.

1.3.3   The Two Literary Components

The following section will survey both Revelation and 1QM with regard to basic

provisional positions taken for the sake of comparative analysis. These positions will serve to

maintain a clear differentiation between the origins of the two writings with regard to authorship

and dating of each text, along with considerations regarding the source and redaction history of

both. Such contradistinctions must be kept in mind throughout our study. Our primary goal will

be to consider the documents as they exist in their final states; since we will be considering the

discursive relationship between Revelation and 1QM, these positions serve as necessary

background material. This section will also include a justification for comparison between the

two texts based on the intertextual research of other scholars.

1.3.4 The Book of Revelation

Beginning with John's Apocalypse, the traditional view holds that a certain individual, self-identified as "John" on four separate occasions in the text of Revelation,[61] was on the Aegean Isle of Patmos, either by choice or through imposed exile, and that he wrote his book in isolation there, either during the period of Domitian (81-96 CE), or following the Neronian persecution (64-70 CE).[62] It has been posited by R. Bauckham that, based on the complexity of the composition, Revelation would have been authored over an extended period of time, perhaps encompassing several years.[63] While theories abound as to whom this John was, there is no scholarly consensus as to which of several proposed Johns may have written Revelation. Beyond this, there are a variety of authorial theories based on the conjecture of an existing Johannine school of prophets which presumably would have included teachers and pupils, possibly responsible for completing Revelation and perhaps other Johannine writings as well.[64] All of these theories may be placed alongside the somewhat plausible suggestion that John's Apocalypse is in actuality pseudonymous, with the cautious caveat on the part of Aune, that characterizing Revelation as fraudulent – or such works as "forgeries," in the modern moralistic sense of the word is unhelpful.[65] We find this view on the part of Aune to be prudent, and it serves as a cautionary note against anachronism. Therefore, for the purposes of this study we will posit that the most useful designation of the individual(s) that penned Revelation is simply *John of Patmos*. Accordingly, we will refer to the author as such.

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[61] Rev 1:1; 1:4; 1:9; 22:8.
[62] Aune, *Revelation*, lvii.
[63] Bauckham, *The Climax of Prophecy,* 3-4.
[64] Aune, *Revelation*, liii-liv, (see "The Social Identity of John").
[65] Ibid., xlix.

1.3.5 The War Scroll (1QM)

1QM presents a different set of issues with regard to authorship. The text is classified by

scholars as a sectarian scroll,[66] penned from within the *yaḥad* of Qumran.[67] It may have been

considered 'canonical' from the standpoint of their understanding of authoritative Scripture,

although the book does not claim such status for itself. 1QM is one of a number of DSS *rules*

which present orderly descriptions of expected actions and halachic behavior prescribed for

members affiliated with the sect.[68]

The redactional history of the document indicates development over time, but its final

form stands as a cohesive work. Based on the analysis of arms and tactics employed in 1QM, in

tandem with numismatic evidence unearthed at Khirbet Qumran, it has been suggested that the

date of its origin would have been concurrent with Roman military activity in Judea, circa 70 CE.

For this reason, our dating of 1QM would fall in line with those estimations which place it in or

around the late first century BCE, or the early first century CE.[69] Duhaime pinpoints the

terminus a quo of 1QM as being 164 BCE, because significant sections of the scroll make

reference to Dan 11,[70] which shows an awareness of the purification of the Temple along the

lines of 1 Macc 6:16. Citing paleographic evidence in conjunction with like fragments from cave

4, Duhaime further estimates a *terminus ad quem* for the text as being pre-Herodian, which we

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[66] VanderKam and Flint, *The Meaning of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 219-221.

[67] B. Schultz describes 1QM as both a "foundational text," as well as a "composite document" which evolved within the Qumran sect.   Brian Schultz, "Compositional Layers in The War Scroll (1QM)," *Qumran Cave 1 Revisited* (2010): 151–64.

[68] Other examples would be the Rule of the Community (1QS), and the Rule of the Congregation (4Q249), and lesser known fragments such as the 4QSerek Damascus Rule (4Q265), and 5QRule (5Q13).

[69] See Schiffman and Vanderkam, *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 2000 ed., s.v. "War of the Sons of Light Against the Sons of Darkness," by Philip R. Davies, 965-968. Also see Yigael Yadin, *The Scroll of the War of the Sons of Light Against the Sons of Darkness*, trans. Chaim Batya and Chaim Rabin (London, UK: Oxford University Press, 1962), 243.

[70] 1QM has been described as a Midrash on Daniel 11:40ff. See Frederick F. Bruce, "War Scroll," *Encyclopedia Judaica,*16:1558-60.

would suggest as being no later than 47 BCE.[71] Ableman, in his analysis of the Kittim of the

DSS, suggests a correspondence of 1QM 1:1-7 with the Roman campaigns of 63-30 BCE.[72] For

the purposes of our comparison to Revelation is it sufficient to note that 1QM predates John's

Apocalypse by at least a century or more. As the document is unsigned, the authorship of 1QM

must be attributed to an unidentified Qumran scribe, or scribes, affiliated with the *yaḥad*, such

that the term 'Yahadic' might be used to describe the general character of the DSS as a whole.

1.3.6   Genre and Intertextuality

The evaluation and establishment of a fixed literary genre is no simple task, particularly

when dealing with documents from antiquity. Moreover, the complexity of language via the

written word stands as testimony to the extraordinary flexibility of human communication, which

allows words to be wielded as tools of analysis and critique, and to apply them directly to our

selfsame words, and by extension, the ideas they represent. This reflexive analytical facility is

unique to humanity, yet even our best efforts have their limitations. This being the case, it is

apparent that to devise a sound definition by which to categorize a given piece of literature as 'an

apocalypse,' specifically, and to concoct a highly precise definition which encompasses the

totality of the nuances of a literary genre, presents an impossible task. Nevertheless, the effort

itself is not fruitless, nor do we wish to exaggerate the limitations of human language and

knowledge.

Admirable efforts, then, have been made to categorize and accurately define the genre of

apocalyptic literature. Furthermore, it is the results of these efforts that allow us, in the present

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[71] Antipater I the Idumaean was appointed by Julius Caesar as procurator over Judea that year. See Jean Duhaime, *The War Texts: 1QM and Related Manuscripts.* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2006), 64-65.
[72] Oren Ableman, "The Kittim and the Historical Context of the War Scroll" (International Greenfield Scholars Seminar Jerusalem, Israel, presented at the International Greenfield Scholars Seminar, 2 June 2020).

study, to draw distinctions between apocalyptic *literature*, and an apocalyptic *worldview* held by a tribe or society.[73] To wit, Revelation is the paradigmatic text upon which the genre of apocalyptic literature was initially recognized and conceived by modern scholarship.[74] Having nearly all the earmarks of 'an apocalypse,' as the genre has been conceptualized by scholars – apart perhaps from pseudonymity as noted above – no defense needs to be given to substantiate Revelation as an authentic literary example of *an apocalypse*. Moreover, scholars are in broad agreement that three literary forms are at play in the book, namely, that it presents itself simultaneously as a cyclical letter, an oracular prophetic work, and an apocalyptic writing.[75] Approaching Revelation with these foundations in mind allows us to work within the framework of what can be considered mainstream scholarship. Beyond these considerations, the most notable definition of apocalyptic literature as provided by J. Collins reads thus:

> "'Apocalypse' is a genre of revelatory literature with a narrative framework, in which a revelation is mediated by an otherworldly being to a human recipient, disclosing a transcendent reality which is both temporal, insofar as it envisages eschatological salvation, and spatial insofar as it involves another, supernatural world."[76]

While Collins' description has been both critiqued and built upon, particularly with regard to the *function* of apocalyptic literature as a genre, we must acknowledge both the benefits and the limitations of the usefulness of this definition.

On the one hand, it serves our purposes well, because 1QM, in contrast to Revelation, is not recognized by scholars as an apocalypse, but rather it represents a *rule*, or an eschatological tactical treatise, highlighting an apocalyptic *worldview* on the part of the Qumran sectarians.

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[73] See Collins, *Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 7-8.

[74] John J. Collins, "Towards the Morphology of a Genre: Introduction," *Semeia* 14 (1979): 1–20.

[75] Aune, *Revelation*, lxxii; Richard Bauckham, *The Theology of the Book of Revelation* (Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2015) 1-2; Gregory K. Beale, *The Book of Revelation: A Commentary on the Greek Text*, NIGTC, (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2013), 37.

[76] Collins, "Towards the Morphology of a Genre."

This is helpful in that Collins' definition allows once again for the clear delineation between an apocalyptic text, and an apocalyptic worldview – Revelation being an apocalyptic text, and the *yaḥad* of Qumran adhering to a related apocalyptic worldview. In this sense the defined genre category of *apocalypse* is beneficial to our comparison.

On the other hand, the fact that 1QM is perceived to be of an entirely different literary genre than Revelation may be seen as an obstacle to comparison on the grounds that these two texts exist within disparate categories, and therefore are fundamentally incomparable. This point need not hinder our study however, because, as noted above, the task of genre definition is more art than science and there remains much overlap between the two documents in question.[77] Moreover, while our two primary texts are indeed comprised of different languages, contents, and styles, they do share a similar *purpose* with regard to the successful accomplishment of Holy War, making the comparison sensible. In other words, what we are comparing, in reality, is the diachronic development of a certain species of Holy War, as seen through the lens of these two related texts.

For these reasons, our study will not be overly concerned with genre definitions, but will, as with other provisional positions, take into consideration the textual differences as the issue arises. As such, this study will require us, per Vorster, to look beyond genre in search of many intertextual discursive materials from which to draw our comparisons. To reiterate, significant differences in genre categories should not preclude literary analysis, particularly with regard to

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[77] It may also be argued that the progress of this endeavor, to precisely define the apocalyptic literary genre, has itself seen a loss in momentum in recent years, as noted by W. S. Vorster, who, as far back as 1988, observed the following: "The two main options for New Testament scholars regarding the study of the genre of Revelation are either to continue the search for a theory of genre which can accommodate the problems involved in studying genre from the point of view of the interpretation of texts, or to accept the challenge of deconstruction and face the death of genre and the birth of intertextuality. Both options are viable on different epistemological grounds." William S. Vorster, "Genre and the Revelation of John: A Study in Text, Context and Intertext," *Neotestamentica* 22.1 (1988): 119. Also see Beale, *The Book of Revelation,* 37-43.

related documents, as is the case with Revelation and 1QM.[78] In its final form John's

Apocalypse comes to us as a prophetic circular letter, while 1QM is a *rule*, or eschatological

tactical treatise, stemming from a community that undoubtedly held an apocalyptic worldview; it

too has its own apocalyptic elements. Consequently, our analysis may be understood as a

comparison between an *apocalyptic letter* on one hand, and an *apocalyptic treatise* on the other.

Since the two entities share a striking number of similarities within the common motif of Holy

War and its purposes, this makes comparison only fitting, and if one were to categorize the two

texts in relation only to each another, the genre of '*revenge fantasy*' might be most fitting.

Lastly, there have been a variety of studies investigating intertextual allusions to other

biblical books as found within Revelation, yet it must be pointed out that John of Patmos seldom

(if ever) quotes any texts in the manner in which modern attribution to original sources is the

expected norm. As a result, debates over intertextuality in Revelation are ongoing, with the more

recent studies including those of G.K. Beale, J. Fekkes, M. Jauhiainen, S. Moyise, and J.P.

Ruiz.[79]

This study will build on the work of these and others who have done prior intertextual

studies of Revelation within the framework of the books of the Jewish Scriptures, while taking

into consideration the many references to Holy War found throughout a wide range of sources.

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[78] One might just as well compare any two disparate texts which contain even the slightest overlap of genre at any level.

[79] Gregory K. Beale, *The Use of Daniel in Jewish Apocalyptic Literature and in the Revelation of St. John* (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock Publishers, 2010); Jan Fekkes, *Isaiah and Prophetic Traditions in the Book of Revelation: Visionary Antecedents and Their Development*, The Library of New Testament Studies (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994); Marko Jauhiainen, *The Use of Zechariah in Revelation* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005); Steve Moyise, *The Old Testament in the Book of Revelation* (London: Bloomsbury, 2015); Jean-Pierre Ruiz, *Ezekiel in the Apocalypse: The Transformation of Prophetic Language in Revelation 16,7-19,10* (Frankfurt am Main; Bern; Paris: Peter Lang International Academic Publishers, 1989).

1.3.7   Scriptural Canonicity and the Qumran Library

Two final preliminary notes must also be made with special regard to the contextual issues of canonicity, and to the notion of a Qumran library. For the purposes of this study we will assume – per L. Schiffman and VanderKam & Flint – that the wider canon of Jewish Scripture beyond the Torah was still in flux and being established during the time of John's authorship of Revelation. Therefore, apart from positing the near unanimous recognition of the authority of the Torah among Second Temple Jews,[80] this study will not be focused on the complexities or the process involved with the development of a canon; such a discussion would take us far afield. As noted, it is possible that the Qumran sect considered 1QM itself, along with several others of its own writings, to be 'canonical,' in the sense that they were authoritative and to be obeyed. John of Patmos, likewise, it must be assumed, was acquainted with the same set of writings that would eventually comprise the full Jewish scriptural canon, but we cannot assume he had access to some or all of the writings that would become the Christian Scriptures. Setting issues of canonical development aside then, this frees us to focus on the two texts at hand, namely Revelation and 1QM, as they may be found to relate primarily to one another as authoritative texts in their respective final forms.

The concept of a 'library' at Qumran must also be mentioned briefly. We must take caution not to overstate our understanding of the DSS, and the relation which the totality of the scrolls may have to each individual scroll, or even to the sect itself. While scholars are in broad agreement that certain scrolls are best considered 'sectarian,' it is beyond the scope of this study to delineate which writings might constitute a Qumran 'library.' In other words, describing the DSS as a *library* is not necessarily accurate phraseology, but the term may be useful as

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[80] See Schiffman, *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 161-180.

shorthand.[81] Therefore, when we use the term 'library' to describe the DSS it is not meant to

imply a corpus of unified literature deriving from a single source, and dealing with a particular

topic. As the present study deals narrowly with Revelation and 1QM, we will describe the DSS

as a 'library' only in the sense that the sectarian writings of Qumran do form a *collection* which

includes the *War Scroll*.

1.4   Background: Apocalyptic Perception and Apocalyptic Imagination

With the understanding that apocalyptic literature is born directly from within the scope

of the contemporary perceptions of the author in his own cultural setting, we must affirm the

nature of apocalyptic as being activist, responsive, and immediate, with direct reference to the

timeframe from which a given example of this type of literature springs. As such, there can be

no accurate understanding of apocalypticism removed from the historical forces directly

influencing the author in his own day. Indeed, this genre of writing cannot be comprehended

apart from the specific grounding of the author's own historical seedbed, which includes all

manner of influence ranging from cultural obscurities, to political upheaval, to theological

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[81] M. Bockmuehl notes the necessity of a more cautious stance against sweeping generalizations than that
which have characterized DSS research prior to 1977, when far fewer scrolls were published and available. Thus, to
speak in overly broad terms about complex aspects of Qumran or Essene theology is to run the risk of overstating
one's case.   See M. Bockmuehl, "1QS and Salvation at Qumran," in *Justification and Variegated Nomism. Volume
I: The Complexities of Second Temple Judaism*, ed. D. A. Carson, Peter T. O'Brien, and Mark A. Seifrid (Tübingen:
Mohr Siebeck, 2001), 382-383.
        In the same vein, E. Tov describes the DSS as a "library" of heterogeneous writings, from a variety of
literary genres, both sectarian and from outside of Qumran, and including ancient copies of biblical texts. He notes
with caution: "Because of the diverse nature of the Qumran corpus, one cannot speak of a single discipline devoted
to Qumran research, for such a discipline would, of necessity, have to include many subdisciplines; in addition to a
thorough grasp of the different literary genres found at Qumran, a knowledge of the history of the Jewish people in
the Second Temple period, the history of the Hebrew and Aramaic languages, archaeology, the history of ideas, and
the background of Christianity would all be necessary." See E. Tov, introduction to *The Meaning of the Dead Sea
Scrolls: Their Significance for Understanding the Bible, Judaism, Jesus, and Christianity,* by James VanderKam and
Peter Flint (New York, NY: HarperCollins, 2002), ix-x.
        For an evaluation of the validity of the term "library" as applied to the DSS, and supporting argumentation
in favor of the term, see Ian Werrett, "Is Qumran a Library?," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls at Qumran and the Concept
of a Library*, ed. Sidnie W. Crawford and Cecilia Wassen, Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah, Volume: 116
(Leiden, NL: Brill, 2015), 78–105.

convictions, personal opinions, and sentiments on the part of the author. Thus, we concur with

the arguments of B. Lincoln, as bolstered by J. Z. Smith,[82] in which apocalyptic literature is seen,

necessarily, as the product of what we would deem in our time to be something of a subversive

propagandistic impulse, setting its sights clearly on the corrupt powers of the day, and

envisioning a future in which a given system of oppression would be removed with finality. In

the case of apocalyptic literature in particular, that extends also to the reordering of the cosmos.

Nevertheless, for our purposes we must also affirm the equal necessity of balance

between the apocalyptic *perception* and the apocalyptic *imagination*.[83] Apocalyptic imagery can

range from the mundane to the phantasmagoric, and every symbol and thematic element must be

understood within the visionary arena of the literature itself in relation to the other symbols

around it. As a result, some images still remain 'static,' in that these do not, on their own,

conjure within the mind of the reader (either ancient or modern), a sense in which time elapses.[84]

Yet others do, and for these we must take a more nuanced view. War, as a considerably major

thematic matter in both 1QM and Revelation, represents not a static imagistic object but an

event, cosmic or otherwise. Even the prospect of celebration of a military victory implies the

temporal nature of a war event, as it traverses time. As such, thematic Holy War must be treated

somewhat differently than the static symbols contained therein, as the motif carries its own set of

objectives and aims, designed to inspire the reader (if not the original writer), to look forward to

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[82] See Bruce Lincoln, "Apocalyptic Temporality and Politics in the Ancient World," in *The Encyclopedia of Apocalypticism. Vol 1, The Origins of Apocalypticism in Judaism and Christianity* (New York, NY: Continuum, 1999), 457–475. Lincoln cites Smith in Jonathan Z. Smith, "A Pearl of Great Price and a Cargo of Yams: A Study in Situational Incongruity," *History of Religions* 16.1 (1976): 1–19.

[83] As observed by John J. Collins, ed., introduction to *The Encyclopedia of Apocalypticism. Vol 1, The Origins of Apocalypticism in Judaism and Christianity* (New York, NY: Continuum, 1999), xvii.

[84] I.e., a scroll, a seal, a censor, an altar, throne, or trumpet (Rev 5:1; 6:1; 8:3; 11:15), and like objects. Inanimate objects such as these and others, while used for symbolic purposes, retain a concrete material sense that necessarily requires outside force(s) to press them into the service of some larger symbolic action. (The anthropomorphizing of such objects itself constituting an 'outside' force of creativity.) These sorts of limitations point to certain constraints even of the apocalyptic imagination. As a consequence, even the seer of the most otherworldly visions must ground his eschatological imagination within boundaries of his historical perception and the sensibilities that dictate what may be connected to that which is 'real.'

the hope of a positive outcome in the future. This then is the balance which must be struck in comprehending the symbolism of apocalyptic literature. Hence, the immediate historical and cultural sources of the author's inspiration must be held in tension with the untethered imagination of the author, and we may at times conjecture whether or not the original artist/writer comprehended his own work as optimally as did his earliest readers. Accordingly, the contemporary forces which bore down upon the writer(s) must be counterbalanced with the expectations spun by what he envisages. To do any less is to undercut the creativity of the apocalyptic imagination.

It is because of this that John of Patmos, for example, can repeatedly pronounce the demise of Babylon/Rome: "Fallen, fallen, is Babylon the Great… (Rev 14:8, 18:2)." This pronouncement may not stand, as Lincoln says,[85] as a *faits accomplis,* but artistically consigning Rome at its zenith to the fate of the extinct Babylonian Empire is indeed a projection of a then-possible Roman future, even if it merely represented wishful thinking at the time. Clearly, we must assert that this statement stands as politically subversive against Rome, but the effect of both anticipation and expectation is intentionally implanted into the mind of the reader by the combination of the aorist tense with the fall of Babylon (taken from the writer's historical past) by way of a direct comparison between two distinct empires. Without both of these aspects together – perception and imagination – the literature would fail to inspire a sense of *hope*, and more likely than not, would have been forgotten in the mists of time. As it stands, it is the perception along with the imagination together which constitutes the enduring power of apocalyptic literature.

For this reason, Holy War presents a clear yet complicated imagistic lens through which to examine aspects of John's Apocalypse. With 1QM as a near contemporary Second Temple

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[85] Lincoln, "Apocalyptic Temporality and Politics in the Ancient World."

era text, and the guidelines for execution of Holy War as its primary concern, the comparison

with John's Apocalypse is potentially very useful.[86] The actual aims of Holy War, as we will

demonstrate in due course, are centered on the *holiness* of God saturating a society, and, in the

apocalyptic setting, saturating the entire cosmos. At the same time, using any sort of war, be it

holy or otherwise, as a vehicle for the literary imagination necessarily sets some parameters

around the symbolism contained therein. 1QM, focusing as it does almost exclusively on war,

confines itself to commentary related to some wartime *event*. This mode of communication thus

distinguishes 1QM in that *event symbolism* is markedly different from *static symbolism* found

elsewhere in other texts. For example, the Burning Bush from Exod 3, may be understood as

both an event and a symbol, but ancient Jews looked back at the totality of the Exodus tale as an

epic singular occurrence in their historical memory. Moreover, events, be they historical or

mythological, by their very nature, unfold over time. Because of this we cannot help but

consider Holy War as an event (imagined or real), which, although the author of 1QM may have

had only immediate political concerns in mind at the time of writing, the very earliest readers

and hearers of the *War Scroll* would have naturally appropriated them into their own future

hopes and aspirations, thus reimagining the Holy War in different iterations, such as the

depiction seen in Revelation. This is the nature of event symbolism, over and against static

symbolism. Accordingly, there is no socio-cultural expectation to be found in ancient Jewish

literature or sensibilities wherein a Burning Bush might again 'occur,' but wars of all kind were

altogether to be expected.

　　We would make the arguments above regarding the balance between apocalyptic

perception and imagination as applied specifically to John's Apocalypse, which demands to be

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[86] Add to this the comparatively recent discovery of 1QM, and the task of comparison with Revelation may be considered still to be in its infancy.

taken seriously as both resistance literature and a divine oracular vision. 1QM, however, stands

as a rule,[87] and although it shares some apocalyptic concerns with John's Apocalypse, the *War*

Scroll differs from Revelation in that there are other DSS texts which accompany it, and these

serve to fill in details which would otherwise be lost to us. An example of this would be the *Rule*

of the Congregation (1QSa = 1Q28a). This text is a post-script to the *Rule of the Community*

(1QS), and its concerns dovetail with our topic of Holy War. Because of this document, while

we may be required to cautiously hold any temporal aspect(s) of Revelation in tandem with the

books' most immediate cultural and political occasion, we need not hold 1QM with such delicate

gloves. The *Rule of the Congregation* gives us every reason to believe that 1QM was written

with the full expectancy of an actual future Holy War, resulting in a hopeful outcome for the

yaḥad at the End of Days. We find, in point of fact, the phrase 'End of Days' in the very first

line of the *Rule of the Congregation*, in a military context:

> "This is the rule for all the congregation of Israel in the Last Days (אחרית הימים),
> when they are mobilized…"
>
> (1Q28a (1QSa) I:1)

As it stands, the *Rule of the Congregation* provides a framework of military

responsibilities for the governing authorities to uphold when the final battle and the messianic

era begins. Among these is the duty to declare war at the recognition of the appropriate sign(s).[88]

The men of the assembly are charged with military oversight, and, we would presume, when the

convocation gathered to officially declare war, the configuration and events described in 1QM

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[87] A "rule" (סרך) being a text that "legislate(s) for the life of a community by explaining the regulations
governing how to join the group, meetings of the membership, meals, and similar topics." VanderKam and Flint,
The Meaning of the Dead Sea Scrolls, 215. In the case of 1QM we see the written rule governing (and envisioning)
the actions of the sect during the final eschatological Holy War.
[88] See Schiffman, *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls,* 330.

would be initiated and put into motion.[89] Thus, we can say for certain that the Qumran

community had an explicitly 'eschatological' expectation. These documents – the *War Scroll*

and the *Rule of the Congregation* – both being found in the same cave, with the *Rule of the*

Congregation as an amendment to the constitutional *Rule of the Community*, gives us ample

reason to associate them with one another, and to consider them as accurately reflecting the

theological and eschatological views of the sect. Accordingly, we may rightly conclude that the

Qumran sect was an apocalyptic community, despite having never penned what we would

categorize as an 'apocalypse.'

　　All of this leads us to observe an important differentiation between Revelation and 1QM,

namely, that John's Apocalypse represents, in part, a subversive document intent on undermining

Roman governmental and spiritual authority, while 1QM – with its own present-tense political

concerns being far less transparent than that of Revelation – was originally intended to be an

internal document, aimed solely at those initiated members of the sect, in anticipation of a future

Holy War at the End of Days.

1.5　　Background: Holy War in 1QM and Revelation

1.5.1　Introduction

　　In this section we consider the institution of Holy War as it was first conceived, and as it

gradually developed from the earliest biblical examples up into the times of 1QM and

Revelation. As both of our subject texts share a common store of inspired writings and history

from within the Hebrew Scriptures, our comparison will move along the developmental lines

initially laid out and described by Gerhard von Rad, whose work in the area of Holy War is

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[89] Ibid.

foundational. We will then move chronologically beyond the Hebrew Scriptures into the Second

Temple period. This will enable us to compare 1QM and Revelation with a diachronic approach

to the Holy War motif.[90]

1.5.2   The History of Holy War

In our time the study of Holy War has become largely focused on the question of

morality (or immorality) of the historical phenomenon and mythos surrounding religious Holy

War.[91] In an attempt to delve into the antiquated world of Christian origins, we will be going

back to an earlier understanding of Holy War, and specifically, the question as to what influence,

if any, classic Holy War from the Hebrew Scriptures may have had on nascent Christianity. Did

Holy War migrate directly from Judaism into Christianity, and if so, equally as important, how

did that happen? Moreover, what exactly would this sort of transition entail? Over the course of

the chapters that follow we will attempt to address these and other questions.

Von Rad's seminal 1958 work on Holy War[92] is recognized as a landmark piece of

research in this field. While he did not coin the term 'Holy War,'[93] he is credited with framing

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[90] A few qualifying remarks here are in order. It is of utmost importance that we circumscribe the fair limits of our comparative analysis. As such, we take an approach to Holy War that necessarily encompasses the two primary texts which this study is centered on, along with a definition of Holy War that focuses on the theological overlap between the two. It would be a mistake to assume that such a perspective would be universally sufficient for all so-called 'holy war' texts in all places and times. That which we call 'Holy War' in this study is of a certain category, drawn from the shared cultural heritage between the Qumran sectarians and John of Patmos, which both originating entities were familiar with. Outside of this specific milieu we may find any number of other violent and warlike impulses and expressions which may be designated as 'holy war,' either correctly or incorrectly. As such, Holy War does not exist in a phenomenological vacuum, hence our aim is not to isolate the Holy Wars of Revelation and 1QM from the larger sphere of so-called 'holy war,' but to juxtapose them against one another as being of a related species. Over the course of our study the opportunity will arise to reference other texts in light of the content and discourse evident between our two primary texts. These will serve to widen the scope of our comparison in such instances, and will be particularly helpful since no single piece of literature of any sort may be understood as representing the definitive ancient compendium of all information pertinent to Holy War.

[91] See as an example, Jeremy A. Evans, Heath Thomas, and Paul Copan, *Holy War in the Bible: Christian Morality and an Old Testament Problem* (IVP Academic, 2013).

[92] Von Gerhard von Rad et al., *Holy War in Ancient Israel* (Grand Rapids, Mich: Eerdmans, 1991).

the topic in such a way that has endured considerable scrutiny.[94]   In essence, von Rad dealt with

Holy War in ancient Israel as an issue of *unifying Jewish identity*. He saw Holy War through the

lens of a gradually solidifying Israel, previously comprised of loose tribal alliances in its earliest

stages.[95] Thus, his concern was for the development of the Holy War phenomenon over the

course of Israel's historical and literary growth, and he traced this development from its earliest

rudimentary period. As a consequence, von Rad's conceptualization of Holy War lays the

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[93] That distinction goes to F. Schwally. See Friedrich Schwally, *Semitische Kriegsaltertümer: Der heilige Krieg im alten Israel* (Leipzig: Dieterich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, T. Weicher, 1901).

[94] While von Rad's analysis of Holy War has been critiqued and certain aspects of his thought debunked, the overall historical outline sketched in *Holy War in Ancient Israel* remains. For an overview, see T. Longman III and D. G. Reid, *God Is a Warrior* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Zondervan Pub. House, 1995), 19-26.

[95] For von Rad the entirety of Jewish Holy War as an institution had died along with the military of Israel, but the Deuteronomistic (Chronicles) reworking brought it back to its original form (*Sitz im Leben*). Von Rad notes that the subsequent Maccabean literature does not exhibit particular attention to God in the actions of Holy War, which the present researcher would suggest is itself a reaction that is also reflected in 1QM. See Von Rad, *Holy War in Ancient Israel*, 133-134.

Note, too, that this historical paradigm used as a framework by von Rad could not have factored in the more recent Copenhagen school of thought, which views the Hebrew scriptural corpus as a Judeo-Hellenistic identity forming library, codified by exiled Jews during the Persian period in the Province of Yehud. Nevertheless, von Rad himself was a form critic who stood in the tradition of other scholars who did not view the Hebrew Scriptures as reliable sources of history. For the sake of clarity, the viewpoint assumed by the present researcher regarding the historicity and the possibility of developing accurate historiography of ancient Israel based on the Hebrew Scriptures, is one of due appreciation for the skepticism necessary to perform proper investigatory analysis apart from any influence beyond the verifiable data at our disposal. Moreover, we would be inclined to concur with the arguments of Provan, Long, and Longman III, namely, that a *falsification principle* is preferable to a *verification principle* when considering the Hebrew Scriptures as sources of information pertaining to ancient Israel. See Iain Provan, V. Philips Long, and Tremper Longman III, *A Biblical History of Israel* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 2003), 79.

To that same end, we would be remiss if we failed to observe that while the concept of an authoritative 'canon' is anachronistic terminology to apply to the Second Temple Period, it has been established that the Torah and the Prophets were indeed seen by the *yaḥad* as authoritative textual collections, while there remains some question as to the openness (or 'canonicity') of the Writings. Thus, the essential Tanakh of the *yaḥad*, and of Second Temple Jews in general, would have been understood as a recorded chronological history, despite our lack of biblical manuscripts prior to the earliest documents extracted from the caves of Qumran. This in no way precludes the hypothesis that the Hebrew scriptural corpus may be considered, in some respects, a Hellenistic collection. Schiffman describes the still fluid situation at the time, wherein the canon was being established during the Second Temple period, and was subsequently affirmed by the rabbis. According to his assessment, the completion of the canon of the Hebrew Scriptures occurred by 132-135 CE, at the time of the Bar Kokhba Revolt, with the Masoretic tradition being the dominant literary recension. For our present purposes then, it is sufficient to point out that, as with von Rad's study, the formation of *Jewish identity* in this regard is duly noted, but unlike von Rad, Jewish identity formation is secondary to our primary concerns which revolve around *Christian origins*. See Schiffman, *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 161-180.

groundwork for our analysis, as it has for many scholars who have followed in his footsteps.[96]

At the same time, since our ultimate concerns deal with texts written later on the historical

timeline than that of ancient Israel, von Rad's schema (though not his form critical rubric) is

foundational to the present study, in that it allows us to survey the full scope of the history of

Holy War, and to compare its influences on our pair of later texts.[97] This approach permits us to

examine the phenomenon of Holy War as it grew and matured theologically, and ultimately how

it came to be understood in the minds of Second Temple Jews and Jewish Christians of a later

era. In each individual epoch we will see influences of Holy War on both 1QM and Revelation,

albeit to varying degrees.

Starting then at the earliest beginning, von Rad and others recognized the Exodus as

being the materializing event in which the God of the Hebrew Bible first appears explicitly as a

warrior.[98] Subsequently, the period of the Conquest[99] presents the clearest early examples of

successfully executed Holy War on the part of the Israelites, upon which our later writers, both

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[96] Other important contributors to the topic would include R. Smend, F.M. Cross, P.D. Miller, M. Weippert, T. Longman, M. Lind, and D. Stuart. For a review of scholarship, see T. Longman III, "The Divine Warrior: The New Testament Use of an Old Testament Motif." *The Westminster Theological Journal* 44.2 (1982): 290–307.

[97] To elaborate, Von Rad's methodology was thoroughly form critical, building on the pioneering work of H. Gunkel and J. Wellhausen. As a result, his analysis of the development of Holy War is seen through the lens of the Documentary Hypothesis, including estimations as to which texts likely preceded others. While we find this approach to be both justifiable and valuable, our concerns lie elsewhere. Moreover, this methodological approach would have been anachronistic to the authors of the texts we are presently dealing with. The authors of 1QM and Revelation would have understood the narrative chronology (the 'story') of Israelite history to have unfolded from Creation to the Exodus, to the Conquest, to the early era of the Kings, into the Exile and the times of the Prophets. This background would have shaped Holy War understanding into the later centuries. While this basic periodization is an historical simplification, it is amply represented in the ordering of the Hebrew Scriptures as chronological by way of narrative. Since the present research has a vested interest in the perception of Holy War as it would have been understood retrospectively by the authors of 1QM and Revelation, the Israelite chronology must therefore be considered as it would have been viewed from the standpoint of Second Temple Jews and Christians. Thus, we set aside von Rad's methodological approach, but retain his framework with regard to the development of Holy War.

[98] See for example, Exodus 15:3 (NASB), "The Lord is a warrior; the Lord is his name." B. Waltke observes, as do others, that the one-sided battle between God and Pharaoh, culminating in the crossing of the Sea of Reeds, "becomes an important component of the paradigm for Israel's future holy wars." This development includes the setting of clear legal guidelines which regulate the execution of Holy War, per Deut 20. See Bruce K. Waltke, *An Old Testament Theology: An Exegetical, Canonical, and Thematic Approach* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Zondervan, 2008), 395-396.

[99] In the Book of Joshua, we see a four-part Holy War campaign covering the localities of Jericho, Bethel/Ai, Gibeon, and Hazor.

of 1QM and Revelation, would come to understand the phenomenon in its most idealized

depictions. Moving forward still, von Rad traces the development of Holy War as it appears to

have evolved and transformed into a secular or "novelistic" institution, then as it reappeared in

different form during the post-monarchical prophetic era.[100] The subsequent sections of our

study will follow this same developmental line and continue beyond the prophetic era into that of

the Persian Period, the Hasmonean Dynasty, and into the Second Temple period under Rome,

where we will see the added component of eschatology becomes essential to the Holy War

sensibility. This historical schema provides a progressive framework for discursive comparison

between the various sections of 1QM and Revelation, as both texts interacted directly or

indirectly with a number of periods from Israelite history as the phenomenon developed.

1.5.3   The Nature of Holy War

Israelite warfare was perceived as being guided by God from the earliest days of the

Exodus.[101] Participation was recognized as a virtue, with the outcome of the inaugural Holy War

victory (against Egypt) being celebrated in the *Song of the Sea*, as recorded in Exod 15. With the

presence of God amidst the Israelites, resting above the Ark of the Covenant, the execution of

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[100] Von Rad posits the overall cultural development of the Israelites as attesting to the flourishing of several qualities which may be considered anachronistic to varying degrees, including, "enlightenment, adoption of an educational ideal, cultivation of the individual, attention to rhetoric, new interest in the natural sciences." Moreover, he contends, the eventual disuse of the command to utterly destroy (חרם) every human and creature in a given society reflects a type of *Solomonic humanism*. With this second point in particular we would be forced to disagree, even though the specific Hebrew term itself does indeed seem to have fallen into disuse. More likely, the arrival of the kingship via Saul, David, and Solomon seems to indicate not the secularizing of Holy War as von Rad contends, but rather the failure(s) on the part of human beings as kings to exact the same level of punishment which divine judgment would have required. The account of Saul in particular is marked by several failures to abide by the religious protocols of Holy War, and it is this repeated failing which, according to that narrative, ultimately results in Saul's removal. (See 1 Sam 13:8-14; 14:18-19; 15:3-24.) Even still, the historical outline of Holy War development delineated by von Rad is entirely useful to the present purposes, not the least of which is the analysis of the eventual apocalyptic aspect which becomes associated with it by the time 1QM and Revelation are written. See Von Rad, *Holy War in Ancient Israel*, 74-86.

[101] See Jeffrey H. Tigay, *The JPS Torah Commentary: Deuteronomy* (Philadelphia, PA: Jewish Publication Society, 1996), 430.

ongoing Holy War became either an active or passive exercise.[102] Although Deuteronomy does

not include the ark as an essential component to Holy War, and its actual use fades as the

Conquest era unfolds,[103] subsequent wars would be waged by God by means of either 1) forged

weaponry in the hands of the Israelite army, or 2) via miraculous intervention of God wherein

the forces of nature (i.e., floods, earthquakes, hail, the sun, etc.) were used to destroy the enemies

of God; at times both were employed. Since victory was assured and the cause was that of

holiness, a pacifist stance which refused to engage in a Holy War "constituted an act of

disobedience to God's command."[104]

Douglas Stuart has provided a list of twelve characteristics describing the expected

activity of Israelites at Holy War.[105] They may be paraphrased as follows:

1. No standing army was permitted.
2. No pay for soldiers was allotted.
3. No personal spoil/plunder could be taken.
4. Holy War could only be fought for the conquest or defense of the Promised Land.
5. Cities outside the boundaries of the Promised Land were to be spared.
6. Only at the call of God could Holy War be waged.
7. The call to Holy War could only come through a prophet.
8. God did the actual fighting in Holy War because the war was always his.
9. Holy War was a religious undertaking which required ritual holiness.
10. A goal of Holy War was the total annihilation of an evil culture.
11. An Israelite violator of Holy War became the enemy.
12. Decisive, rapid victory characterized faithful Holy War.

Granting that one may quibble with some details among these items, such as the notion

that no standing army was permitted, or the lack of age requirements,[106] Stuart's list serves as a

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[102] Per above, see section *1.3.2 Passive vs. Active Participation in Holy War.*
[103] See Tigay, *The JPS Torah Commentary: Deuteronomy,* 430. The Ark was indeed used to a lesser degree during the period of Conquest, and entirely set aside during the period of the Judges. As we shall see, Holy War as a phenomenon evolves over time.
[104] Ibid.
[105] Douglas K. Stuart, *Exodus, NAC* (Nashville, TN: Broadman & Holman Publishers, 2006), 395-398.

useful set of descriptors to reference when assessing the contours of a Holy War tradition. Likewise, we may wish to add aspects which are not listed, such as the recurring theme that a smaller and weaker force normally overwhelms a numerically and technologically superior enemy when Holy War is enacted properly.[107] Nevertheless, Stuart's list was culled from Deut 20, which has been recognized as paradigmatic Holy War instruction according to the tradition of Moses.[108]

Moreover, since a singularly decisive victory is reflected in the presuppositions of both Revelation and 1QM, our study requires us to draw a distinction between the general biblical phenomenon of Holy War, and *the final* Holy War as a conclusive apocalyptic expectation. While these two temporal conceptions are interdependent and related, they are differentiated by, 1) a series of biblical events as they were understood to have occurred in prior Deuteronomistic History, as compared with 2) a final Holy War *event* as it was anticipated by both our primary texts to occur in the impending future(s) of each. To be sure, both past and future conceptions of Holy War were envisioned as unfolding in various stages, and an argument can be made that both of our texts understood the last war as already occurring *in their present*, while the denouement of the Holy War expected by both Revelation and 1QM is finally realized in the

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[106] An argument may be made that the nation of Israel itself constituted a standing army, though not comprised of professional soldiers. This is evidenced by the fact that the Exodus generation, in contrast to the latter Conquest generation, was unwilling *en masse* to enter the Promised Land, thus incurring the sentence of wandering in the wilderness until their demise. Hence the notion of a lax policy allowing for the general opting out of Holy War is belied by this dire outcome, and is further characterized as disobedience in Num 14:20-23. For those individuals who may have had pivotal life events awaiting their return after battle, or those overcome by fear which threatened to demoralize their fellow soldiers, there was an exemption provided per Deut 20:5-8. These exemptions, however, need not imply a volunteer army. Moreover, Num 1:45 sets an age restriction.

[107] NB. Joshua 23:10 (NASB), "One of your men puts to flight a thousand, for the Lord your God is He who fights for you, just as He promised you."

[108] Stuart considers Deut 20, to be the *locus classicus* for the topic of Holy War. See Stuart, *Exodus, NAC*, 395-397.

termination of Holy War itself.[109] In other words, the eschatological Holy War depicted by both

Revelation and 1QM represents *the last* Holy War.[110]

Furthermore, any war tale, even in the case of a proleptic Holy War as in the traditions

we are discussing here, makes use of dramatic effects, such as turning tides, melees, and

precarious moments in which all appears to be lost. These aspects appear in both Revelation and

1QM, providing an underlying foundation for the documents which stands quite independent of

the composite creatures and cosmic beings used to stage apocalyptic drama. In other words,

when we strip the monsters and angels away, getting down to the bare bones of a simple conflict

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[109] In fact, the termination of war is an assumption of the Jewish apocalyptic expectation. In the world to come, war and suffering become a thing of the past. J. Collins observes, "While the various models of eschatology found in the scrolls do not yield a fully coherent system, some ideas may be characterized as typical of the sect. One such idea is the expectation of an eschatological war. This is described elaborately in the War Rule…" He notes that there are "surprisingly few descriptions of the state that was to follow the eschatological war," but at the same time there are, "frequent references to the blessed state of the elect after death…" See Schiffman and Vanderkam, *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls,* 2000 ed., s.v. "Eschatology," by John J. Collins, 256-261.

Aune, in his commentary, goes so far as to translate κατάθεμα in Rev 22:3 with the phrase "curse of war," thus indicating that the final outcome of events in Revelation as seen culminating with the removal of a generic curse would not have been what the author had in mind. Rather, he contends, the curse of war is no longer extant. He argues this point on the basis that κατάθεμα represents a rendering of the Hebrew חרם (*ḥrm*) as used in Zech 14:11, which describes the peaceful final state of Jerusalem, sans warfare. In the case of Zech 14:11, he suggests, the use of *ḥrm* is couched in covenantal language, and pertains to a genocidal warfare which will no longer exist. Hence, John of Patmos refers not to the removal of a generic curse, but to the curse of warfare specifically. This researcher is aware of no other English translation that follows this line of reasoning to indicate such an aspect. See Aune, *Revelation*, 1178-1179.

[110] To extrapolate, when Holy War became a kingly affair (moving out of the Conquest and into the Monarchy), and certainly later on when the ideology had apocalyptic sensibilities attached to it (as is the case in 1QM and Revelation), its effect was to *separate* the holy society from the unholy and irredeemable elements endemic to those surrounding people groups who had no hope or aspiration towards such theological holiness whatsoever. Consequently, a similar and related sociological phenomenon which often bolstered the impulse towards division away from the mainstream(s) of society is found also in the *baptismal movement(s)* of the Second Temple Era and beyond. The impetus to self-segregate by these means is at least partly driven by an awareness of social ostracization, and is naturally coupled with the same inherited religious ethic of theological holiness which stands as the driving force behind Holy War. In effect, to separate from one's society, or from the outer world, constitutes an attempt to extract one's self from a perceived contamination and un-holiness. Understood from the outsiders perspective then, and applying it to the later period, the suggestion that Jewish Christian baptism was acquired from the immersion rituals of the Qumran *yaḥad* – itself an alienated community – is noteworthy since the ritual represented a *cleansing* of the unholiness which is a byproduct of life in a sinful world that will ultimately be destroyed. This ritual cleansing was a marker of preparation for Holy War, as well as a marker of participation in an ongoing spiritual struggle which would culminate in a final battle. It also underscores the possibility of connections between these and other baptismal movements via such figures as John the Baptist. See G. van den Heever, "The Spectre of a Jewish Baptist Movement. A Space for Jewish Christianity?"

dealing with winners and losers, the relationship between Revelation and 1QM becomes readily apparent.

Finally, we would be remiss if we failed to acknowledge the paradoxical nature of Holy War, as an abstract concept. In what sense can a war or warfare of any sort be contrived as a 'holy' event?[111] The quality of theological holiness is certainly key. While not entirely satisfying to those inclined to a more rationalist leaning, the abstract concept of holiness as an absolute moral perfection is, nevertheless, within the bounds of apprehension. Theological holiness, then, is that essential quality which ancient Jews and their Christian progeny understood to be intrinsically associated with the character of a personal God, which comported an otherworldly moral perfection that humanity could recognize, but not attain, apart from the external support of God. The trait of holiness allowed for an understanding of God as being transcendent above and beyond that of lesser human morality. Thus, holiness is that theological aspect which separates the God of creation from the humanity made in his image. Any encounter with holiness in the Hebrew and Christian Scriptures is marked by humiliation on the part of the people and the possibility of their destruction, as exemplified by the Exod 3:5 encounter between God and Moses, wherein Moses is told to remove his sandals before the burning bush because the close proximity to the presence of God is regarded as "holy ground." Thus, in many ways the aspect of *holiness* is both threatening and lethal to human beings, as seen in numerous examples where people are struck down due to irreverence or lack of preparedness prior to approaching the holy sphere or domain of God.[112] Understood in this sense, Holy War

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[111] The Hebrew word קדש is used abundantly in the Hebrew Scripture in an adjectival sense applied to the holiness of God, and to any item or person which is associated with God.

[112] In the Hebrew Scriptures the consequences for transgressing the holiness of God is, without exception, death. This is evident in the reaction to the golden calf (Exod 32:17-29); the narrative of the manna and the quail (Num 11:1-34); the wandering in the desert which resulted in the death of a generation (Num 14:26-35); the stoning of an unnamed man who violated the Sabbath (Num 15:32-36); and the execution of Achan, who violated the tenet of Holy War which required total destruction (חרם) of everything associated with the errant culture (Deut 7:1-26).

becomes that harrowing violence which is deemed a necessity in order to provide a suitable

precinct for the God of the Bible to reside among mankind.[113] One marker of such holiness is

that it appears to be restrained as it accompanies the omnipotent power of the God it

characterizes. But in the event of a Holy War such restraint is set aside, and any object or person

that represents an impediment to holiness is annihilated. It is this sanctioned violence which we

will grapple with in understanding our two primary texts, 1QM and Revelation.

Along with these several other examples could be cited, including the design details of the Tabernacle in which every item was to be characterized by holiness, as well as the Levitical laws, each of which are predicated on a holy people following a holy God. Moving from the Conquest into the morally degenerate period of the Judges and finally to the early pre-monarchic era where the Ark of the Covenant is captured and transferred from one Philistine location to another thus causing death and destruction at every location (1 Sam 4:1-7:1), we see that even the slightest mis-step with regard to holiness is met with the quick destruction of large numbers of people. The singularly startling example of Uzzah being struck down merely for steadying the Ark as it was transferred from one location to another, in 2 Sam 6:6-7, illustrates a general *lack of awareness* on the part of mankind of the high requirements demanded by theological holiness, which could be described as obliviousness.

[113] Furthermore, it is this *theological* aim which distinguishes Holy War from genocide. Behind the impetus to Holy War in the Hebrew tradition (and the command to חרם), there lies a sense that higher judgment is at work which transcends human sensibilities and limitations. One indicator of this is the accompanying restriction which forbids monetary gain from the execution of such warfare. This can be seen, by way of example, in the failure of King Saul to dispense with Agag the Amalekite ruler, in 1 Sam 15. A similar failure is seen by way of the soldiers (under Saul's command) who retain the best pickings of the flocks of the Amalekites in the same chapter. This failure is characterized as rebellion on the part of Saul (1 Sam 15:23), and represents a failure to execute the clear command of Holy War. Moreover, while we may chafe at this differentiation in contemporary times, to posit a higher (divine) perspective on such warfare serves to exonerate the holy side of the warring parties, and to vindicate the deity in the narrative. If a Holy War was rightly executed (as in Josh 5:13-6:26), the outcome stands represented as morally virtuous and right. Referring again to the case of Agag, his final execution comes with the clear indication that he himself was a murderer deserving of annihilation (1 Sam 15:32-33), as adjudicated by God. Any moral ambiguity is thus resolved in such a way (i.e., theologically), even though the end result appears to be an act rank genocide, as again seen in the example of Saul's failure in Holy War where the list of intended victims explicitly includes "children and infants," (1 Sam 15:3). In point of fact, the ethical tension between an act of murder and a justified execution is what lies at the heart of the matter. In the case of Holy War this tension is alleviated by virtue of a higher perspective provided by God, who deems the action necessary for reasons that relate to the larger cause of establishing *holiness*.

1.5.4   Defining Terms

1.5.4.1 Holy War vs. Yahweh War

Contrary to the arguments of Smend in favor of the term 'Yahweh War,'[114] we opt for the

established term 'Holy War' as it specifically invokes the key theological concept of *holiness*

which embodies that primary characteristic of the God of the Hebrew Scriptures, and was the

ritualistic requirement of Israelite soldiers on the battlefield. We would concur with Smend that

Holy War is a "later theologization,"[115] but this is precisely what we are seeking after from the

standpoint of 1QM and Revelation, namely, a fully developed theology on the part of Second

Temple Jews which could be adopted and built upon by nascent Christianity. Thus, while we

concur with Smend's argument against von Rad's transposition of the Greek concept of an

amphictyony onto Israelite society, we do retain the term Holy War.

1.5.4.2 Holy War vs. Just War

As much as it is imperative to establish a working vocabulary to describe the

phenomenon commonly referred to as Holy War, and to delineate and distinguish between what

we are referring to, it is equally necessary to set aside that which we are excluding. When von

Rad wrote his classic work on the topic, it was soon followed by the works of R. Smend,[116] M.

Weippert,[117] and M. Lind,[118] all of whom served to move the focus away from Holy War to

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[114] Rudolf Smend, *Yahweh War and Tribal Confederation: Reflections Upon Israel's Earliest History* (New York: Abingdon Press, 1970).

[115] As so described in a review of Smend's work by Charlene B. McCarthy, "Yahweh War and Tribal Confederation: Reflections upon Israel's Earliest History," *The Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 33.1 (1971): 142–43.

[116] Smend, *Yahweh War & Tribal Confederation*.

[117] Manfred Weippert, "'Heiliger Krieg' in Israel und Assyrien. Kritische Anmerkungen zu Gerhard von Rads Konzept des 'Heiligen Krieges im alten Israel,'" *Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft.* 84(4) (1972): 460-493.

'Yahweh war,' and eventually to theories of an Augustinian 'just war.'[119] With this in mind, we would seek to reorient our focus back towards the biblically rooted concept, while cautiously defining our subject apart from other equally important concerns such as 'just war' theory. The remarks of N. Sarna are appropriate here.

> "The poetic biblical notion of God as a warrior has nothing in common with the idea of 'holy war' as it found expression in the crusades of medieval Christendom and in the Christian 'wars of religion,' or in the Islamic *jihad*, which regards the propagation of Islam by waging war against unbelievers as a religious duty."[120]

Thus, in the interest of definitional precision, we shall seek to use the term 'Holy War' in reference to that biblical phenomenon thus far described, and as it became institutionalized in the life of the ancient Israelites. This does not preclude comparison with external and analogous examples of related historical events, but moral considerations regarding the generic waging of war, and those assessments which pertain to the concerns of modernity will be addressed as byproducts of our analysis.

1.5.4.3 Holy War, Theomachy, and the Combat Myth

The related concept of theomachy is distinct here from the Jewish institution and ideology of Holy War in that the expressed aims of Holy War are that of the propagation of theological *holiness* as it relates to deity, locale, and population; thus, we presume a more

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[118] Millard C. Lind, *Yahweh Is a Warrior: The Theology of Warfare in Ancient Israel* (Scottdale, PA: Herald Press, 1980).

[119] The concept of 'just war events' (*iusta bella gesta*) being attributed originally to Augustine in *City of God* (4:15), and more fully delineated by Aquinas in *Summa Theologica* (Secunda Secundæ Partis, Q40).

[120] Nahum M. Sarna, *Exodus: The JPS Torah Commentary.* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1991), 75.

Tigay affirms this assertion, stating that, "In fact, the idea of spreading Israelite religion to foreigners and compelling them to accept it is completely foreign to the Bible. The Bible looks forward to the time when other nations will recognize the Lord's superiority, and ultimately abandon other gods, but it expects this to be a voluntary action on their part in response to witnessing the Lord's greatness." J. H. Tigay, *The Concept of War in Deuteronomy*.

narrowed definition of Holy War than might otherwise be the case. While the present research

recognizes critical examples of theomachy in Revelation,[121] the scope of our study involves the

examination of the phenomenon of Holy War from its classical Jewish roots moving into both

1QM and Revelation, and comparing our two primary documents on those historic terms. Along

with theomachy we would also recognize the related concept of the Combat Myth in our two

texts as being the seminal rubric of struggle between the primordial and dualistic forces of order

and chaos, light and darkness, creation and destruction, etc. Our focus, however, will be

centered on the offshoot of the Combat Myth, namely, theologically distinctive Holy War of

Jewish and (by extension) Christian antiquity, which allows for an examination based, in no

small part, on battle field narratives of the Hebrew Scriptures in the immediate aftermath of the

Exodus. One significant difference between the Combat Myth and Holy War (its offshoot), is

that the Combat Myth seeks to explain the establishment of cosmic order, while institutional and

historical Holy War seeks to establish theological holiness. Although certain key elements that

are associated with classical Jewish Holy War did indeed develop into aspects found in

otherworldly warfare literatures,[122] influencing such works as John's Apocalypse, and these

developments are also evident in literary expressions of theomachy and the Combat Myth,[123] our

analysis will focus on the full evolution of the ideological institution of Holy War, tracing its

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[121] In commenting on Rev. 12:7-9, Frankfurter describes 'War in heaven,' as being, "Like the great primordial theomachies (divine battles) of Titans versus gods, and Yahweh verses dragon, … the dragon and his angelic army battle Michael, God's military angel …, and his host." He notes also that, "The idea of armies amassing in heaven in preparation for eschatological battle is presumed in …1QM." In another section, commenting on the release of Satan in Rev 20:7-10, he does not detect theomachy, but notes that, "Large-scale eschatological war often takes precedence in Jewish apocalyptic tradition over heroic theomachy," once again noting 1QM as an example of this aspect. Frankfurter further observes that, "increasingly, scholars are looking at Revelation as a Jewish text that reveals a heavenly Christ rather than a Christian text with Jewish attributes." It is within this rubric which the present research will also attempt to view the Apocalypse of John. See David Frankfurter comments and introduction, "Reading Revelation as a Jewish Text," in Amy-Jill Levine and Marc Zvi Brettler, eds., *The Jewish Annotated New Testament: New Revised Standard Version Bible Translation* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2017), 463; 482; 494.

[122] See list of characteristics provided by D. Stuart above, in *1.5.3 The Nature of Holy War*.

[123] For the essential study on the Combat Myth in Revelation, see Adela Yarbro Collins, *The Combat Myth in the Book of Revelation* (Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock Publishers, 2001).

trajectory as it affected both 1QM and Revelation. What we will find, over the course of our study, is that classical Israelite Holy War transitioned into a form of eschatological Holy War, as a diversity of theological traditions developed under historical and political pressures. Tracing these developments will constitute the bulk of our study.

1.6   Methodology: Comparative Analysis and Rhetorical Criticism

In an attempt to bridge the gap between our two primary texts, the methodology we will employ will be interdisciplinary. Taking seriously the rhetorical persuasiveness of the symbolic worlds found in both Revelation and 1QM, along with the necessity of comparing and contrasting these two documents as directly as possible, our approach will fall within a certain spectrum of rhetorical criticism, guided by principles of comparative analysis. In essence, the task at hand is to allow the two primary texts to speak in their final forms, and, as much as may be attained, to determine the possible dependency and/or analogy between them at various points, thus leading to assessments of the logical, moral, and/or emotional statements[124] made from within the "visionary rhetoric"[125] of both literatures. In the effort to juxtapose them against each other, we will follow a process of investigation which, ideally, will allow us to determine if a given facet of 1QM may said to be 'analogical' or 'genealogical' in relation to Revelation. To this end, we will use the framework of 1QM as the basis for our comparison, as it is the more antiquated of the two documents. Most importantly, our analysis will be done at the level of discourse, leading ultimately to theological comparison. We will draw our comparisons directly

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[124] Here we simply refer to the three *artistic proofs* as the modes of persuasion described by Aristotle. These may or may not be referred to individually, or blended in a more general way as we move through our study.

[125] This term is coined by Fiorenza to argue that Revelation stands as a rhetorical work, not merely a poetic text, as its content is ultimately intended to persuade. She argues that Revelation goes beyond poetics and seeks to "teach and instigate." With this argument we would concur. See Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza, *The Book of Revelation: Justice and Judgment.* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1999), 187.

from the two primary texts themselves, and also from the uses of constituent Holy War elements

as they overlap and are shared by the wider discourses that exist between our two primary

texts.[126] What follows then is an outline of the components of our interdisciplinary process,

beginning with comparative analysis, and followed by rhetorical criticism.

For the comparative analysis of our texts, we will follow the guidelines compiled and

codified by Lutz Doering.[127] Doering outlines a comparativist approach beginning with the

example set out by Schiffman, who begins by working from an original DSS manuscript.[128]

First, philological issues are considered with regard to a given word or phrase within a passage,

which is then considered in light of the larger section within the setting of the scroll or

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[126] It must also be made clear that our working understanding of *discourse* is one of virtually unlimited connective bounds, even as we have intentionally set certain parameters above (see section *1.2.1 Background: Various Theories of a Qumran-Christian Connection*). Per the observations of G. van den Heever, "all discourses are positional," each possessing an "unlimited number of layers," which indeed allows for an infinite number of bases upon which to derive our comparisons. Interacting with Foucault, Van den Heever further explains:

> "While 'discourse' itself appears as an abstract concept, it is actually a taxon with which to investigate all the concrete operational sites of a given historical society's sense of self – its self-understandings, its self-representations, and its self-reinscriptions; the way in which these manifest in social and political institutions, the monumentalised environment, public texts and literary traditions – and the way power (understood as the operation of 'force relations' – Foucault's term, but for which I prefer the term 'inducements' to signify 'that which causes things to happen') is dispersed through all interactional sites of engagement or withdrawal."

Van den Heever casts an all-encompassing definition of discourse, as including, "all manner of signifying practices – speech, gestures, texts, performances, signs, spaces, material objects, environments as arranged space, the rhythms of life as hidden persuasions." This discursive understanding allows us to explore any of a wide range of elements related to the pair of texts at hand, and to freely triangulate our texts in opposition to outside elements of any nature, religious or otherwise. As such, we limit our comparisons only to those which seem appropriate. See Gerhardus A. Van den Heever, "Introduction. Reflections on the Ampersand: A Manifesto of Sorts, Etc. Etc.," *Religion and Theology* 26.1 & 2 (2019): 1–39.

[127] Doering applies comparative analysis to DSS Halakhah specifically, whereas we intend to apply the same guidelines to apocalyptic imagery. Lutz Doering, "Parallels Without 'Parallelomania': Methodological Reflections on Comparative Analysis of Halakhah in the Dead Sea Scrolls," eds. S.D. Fraade, A. Shemesh, and R.A. Clements, *STDJ* (2003).

[128] By doing so, Doering argues, it is possible to side-step the pitfalls of 'parallelomania,' a problematic practice observed by S. Sandmel, who criticized scholars of the Christian Scriptures for the overabundant mining of supposed 'parallels' between passages, neglecting concentration on original manuscript evidence. See Samuel Sandmel, "Parallelomania," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 81.1 (1962): 1–13. Also see Lawrence H. Schiffman, "The Halakhah at Qumran" (Brill, 1975).

manuscript itself. The information derived is compared to that of the larger DSS corpus, and to biblical literature in general. We will follow this example throughout the course of our study.

Doering's comparative methodology incorporates also the observations of Jonathan Z. Smith,[129] who puts an important corrective on comparative analysis of the past, and emphasizes the *analogical* aspect of every comparison. This analogical emphasis, Doering states,[130] is an Aristotelian/Pythagorean perspective rightly recovered, in which, "Analogy is a correspondence of different proportions with respect to the same logos (ἀνὰ λόγον)."[131] What we have then, is the recovery of the neglected half of the equation, wherein analogy may be balanced with the possibility of dependency,[132] when comparing two semi-related texts.[133] This also provides a means of comparing two documents of dissimilar genres.

Doering refines his methodology further in two steps. First, by citing Klauck, who calls for more stringent standards when deeming one text to be dependent upon another. These standards would ideally include historical and geographical considerations,[134] features which overlap with Schiffman's own comparative methodology, and which Doering (again citing Schiffman) holds to be philological, historical, synchronic, and diachronic.[135] The present study

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[129] Citing as he does from Jonathan Z. Smith, *Drudgery Divine: On the Comparison of Early Christianities and the Religions of Late Antiquity* (London: School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, 1990).

[130] Citing W. Pannenberg, *Analogie und Offenbarung. Eine kritische Untersuchung zur Geschichte des Analogiebegriffs in der Lehre von der Gotteserkenntnis.* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2011).

[131] Doering, "Parallels without 'Parallelomania'" (eds. S.D. Fraade, A. Shemesh, and R.A. Clements).

[132] Doering frames this dichotomy in the terms of analogy *vs.* genealogy, citing Adolf Dissmann, *Licht vom Osten* (Tubingen: Inktank Publishing, 2018).

[133] Doering observes, "What may be learned from Smith, however, is the need to dissociate the question of historical relationship from comparison proper and treat the establishment of historical relationship as a methodical step of its own. Thus, the *first* step of comparison should treat alleged 'parallels' as analogies. Only at the *second* step should we then proceed to ask about the genesis of these 'parallels': Is their relationship one of *analogy* or is their similarity mediated through direct *dependence?"* See Doering, "Parallels without 'Parallelomania'" (eds. S.D. Fraade, A. Shemesh, and R.A. Clements).

[134] Hans-Josef Klauck, *Herrenmahl und hellenistischer Kult. Eine religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung zum ersten Korintherbrief* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1982).

[135] Doering solves the ambiguous nature of the Saussurean categories of synchronic vs. diachronic, by deferring to Klauck's conceptualization of *context*, working in 'concentric circles' starting from the smallest aspect of a word, moving outward to the larger historical setting within which it appears, in relation and proportion (and comparison) to the more recent document at hand.

will endeavor to include these influences as they appear in both texts, taking into account the implications which arise.

Doering hones his methodology even further with the standards of comparison provided by Müller,[136] who suggests four markings of dependency: 1) adoption without modification; 2) adaptation within certain limits; 3) reorganization of the material; and 4) its traceable rejection.[137] Thus, by recovering *analogy* and setting appropriate boundaries for *dependence*, Doering has provided a means by which one may work systematically through texts such as 1QM, taking into account the various constituent elements, viewing each word if necessary, first in light of its column, then the scroll itself, then the full DSS corpus, and ultimately within the world of Second Temple biblical and Christian literature. To that end, we will pursue this same methodology with the aim of drawing conclusions which will lead to rhetorical critical assessments, to which we now turn.[138]

The study of rhetoric as a discipline dates back to antiquity, from the time of Aristotle, but we need not delve so far into the past in order to set out a contemporary working method. Thus, we will derive our fundamental approach from the model prescribed by George

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[136] See K. Müller,"Die religionsgeschichtliche Methode. Erwägungen zu ihrem Verständnis und zur Praxis ihrer Vollzüge an neutestamentlichen Texten." *Biblische Zeitschrift* 29, (1985): 161-192.

[137] To this Doering adds his own criteria, particularly aimed at comparative analysis of Halakhah: "…I have further distinguished, besides regulations related to one another by pure analogy, between participation in common tradition and immediate dependence of a literary nature." Doering, "Parallels without 'Parallelomania'" (eds. S.D. Fraade, A. Shemesh, and R.A. Clements).

[138] We must also note that productive comparative analysis may be legitimately impeded by the fact that texts and documents stand as unique specimens. The relative quality of literary 'uniqueness,' however, is rarely if ever without peculiarities and analogous characteristics which indeed are represented elsewhere in other texts, either as precursors or as later imitators. We must therefore take caution to avoid isolating individual texts from all form of comparison on the basis that no other text in history is precisely similar to a given literary work. If indeed we were to withhold comparison on that basis, no comparative literary analysis would be legitimate. It is evident that the literary output generated by such comparisons as the present research attempts to conduct is indeed a legitimate form of literature in its own right. As such, while we acknowledge the relative uniqueness of every written text, such that its individual linguistic contours and thematic idiosyncrasies are indeed 'one-of-a-kind,' the activity of comparison remains valid nonetheless, so long as a proper balance is struck between recognizing uniqueness and observing commonality.

Kennedy,[139] and examples set out by Elizabeth Schüssler Fiorenza,[140] with some key adjustments made.[141]

This stage of our task will involve identifying the contours and boundaries of elements within our two texts which speak to the motif and metaphors pertinent to the literary theme, institution, and ideology of Holy War, and assessing their rhetorical aims.[142] This will be done in conjunction with the comparative analysis described above so as to comprehend the purpose of a given aspect of Holy War within our two primary texts, and its use as an object of rhetoric. The aim here will be to assess the logical, moral, and/or emotional (i.e., rhetorical) characteristics derived from the comparison, as both 1QM and Revelation present their perceptions of Holy War, each through its own unique theological lens. At the completion of the study, after making many such comparisons, we will draw conclusions regarding the hypothesis that Revelation may (or may not) constitute a metatext that would in some measure be indebted to, or dependent upon, or reacting against 1QM, in light of our final theological assessments.

One final proviso: As with the rhetorical philosophy of Kennedy, we will focus primarily on the text rather than the reader(s), contra Fiorenza (and the approach of "New Rhetoric");[143] hence we will not seek a creative assessment based on the personal self-identification of the researcher. While personal and cultural bias on the part of any reader is undeniably influential on the perceptual meaning of a given text, the self-identification of the contemporary individual

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[139] George A. Kennedy, *New Testament Interpretation Through Rhetorical Criticism* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2014).

[140] Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza, *The Book of Revelation*, 181-199.

[141] In laying out his methodology, Kennedy, for his part, does not deal with the text of Revelation. In contrast, Fiorenza, for her part, deals exclusively with Revelation, but subscribes to the New Rhetoric approach which, in our estimation, places undue emphasis on the position of the reader. We will be using the Fiorenza approach to Revelation as a guideline, while employing the Kennedy philosophy regarding the primacy of the text over the individual reader.

[142] For a treatment of these three aspects as they extend the phenomenon of Holy War into the Christian Scriptures, see Longman III, "The Divine Warrior: The New Testament Use of an Old Testament Motif." Westminster Theological Journal 44 (1982): 290-307.

[143] *The Postmodern Bible: The Bible and Culture Collective.* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 1997).

reader is in fact a 'moving target,' one which necessarily fluctuates over time. As such we may conclude that the cultural and personal background and assumptions of any individual reader(s) are of secondary importance to our task, and less than helpful to transparent and accurate analysis. Along these lines, on the spectrum of rhetorical criticism, we will take a decidedly modernist approach to our methodology, while simultaneously acknowledging the postmodern pessimism regarding the capacity of human beings to know and to communicate reality. Despite the evident limitations on our abilities, it is equally apparent that these shortcomings may be unnecessarily exaggerated. Therefore, we shall proceed in our analysis along cautious exegetical lines, with the assumption that our best corrective comes from the larger sphere of the scholarly world.

2.   Frameworks and Influences – Structures of Comparison: A Systematic Comparative Reading Part 1

2.1   Discourse between 1QM and John's Apocalypse

In this section we to begin working systematically through 1QM, the earlier and more recently discovered document, with an eye towards what may be helpful to our understanding of John's Apocalypse. The text of 1QM is comprised of nineteen columns, with damage along the bottom edge of the entire scroll. This makes for lacunae in every column, and several rough areas where scholars and translators have surmised what the missing text might have been.[144] Since the large majority of the scroll has been preserved intact, we may adhere to the literary structure outlined by B. Schultz, as follows:[145]

Col.1	Regional War against Kittim, waged in 7 rounds from the wilderness
Col.2	Introduction to global War of Divisions, waged from temple in Jerusalem
Col.3-9	Rules for the War of Divisions
Col.10-14	Liturgical prayers blending elements from War of Divisions and War against Kittim
Col.15-19	Global War against Kittim/all nations

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[144] We will use translations from Michael O. Wise, Martin G. Abegg, and Edward M. Cook, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A New Translation* (New York, NY: Harper Collins Publishers, 1996); Florentino García Martínez, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Translated: The Qumran Texts in English*, trans. Wilfred G.E. Watson, 2nd Edition. (Leiden, DE: E.J. Brill, 1996); Timothy H. Lim and Philip S. Alexander, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Electronic Reference Library* (Leiden, DE: Brill, 1997).

[145] This structure based on B. Schultz, "Compositional Layers in The War Scroll (1QM)."

2.2   1QM Column 1

In the opening column of 1QM the stage is set for the final Holy War event, an event

which the apocalyptic community of Qumran anticipated, with an understanding akin to that of

the Zealot party; when the war came, they believed, God would intervene.[146] In the War Scroll

we see various enemies arrayed against the armies of God, and a return of the exiles from the

wilderness.[147] The picture sketched constitutes an overview of the Holy War with ties to the

Exodus, Joshua, Daniel, allusions to Rome, and dire warnings of tribulation, set within a

heptadic framework. These features are arranged with an eye towards the carnage of a divine

war waged against the forces of Darkness/Belial, but an outcome of "peace and blessing, glory

and joy, and long life for all Sons of Light."[148] Paradoxically, for all of its violence, 1QM begins

and ends as a document of hope for the members of the *yaḥad*.

2.2.1   1QM 1:1-7 – Major Thematic Issues

> 1. For the In[structor, the Rule of] the War. The first attack of the Sons of Light
> shall be undertaken against the forces of the Sons of Darkness, the army of Belial:
> the troops of Edom, Moab, the sons of Ammon,
> 2. and [Amalekites] Philistia and the troops of the Kittim of Asshur. Supporting
> them are those who have violated the covenant. The sons of Levi, the sons of Judah,
> and the sons of Benjamin, those exiled to the wilderness, shall fight against them

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[146] See Magness, *The Archaeology of Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 184.

[147] "According to the Damascus Document, the origins of the Essenes are to be traced directly back to the time of the exile." Schiffman and Vanderkam, *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls,* 2000 ed., s.v. "Exile," by Michael A. Knibb, 276-277. This identification with exile existence was accompanied by a sense that the *yaḥad* community was comprised of those faithful individuals who, according to the Community Rule (1QS 8:13-14), were called out to the wilderness to separate themselves in order to 'prepare the way of the Lord,' as per Isa 40:3. 1QM lists those exiles as being the sons of Levi, Judah, and Benjamin (1QM 1:2). 1QM makes use of the 'wilderness' motif with an eye towards eventually moving out of the "wilderness of the people," and returning to the "camp in the wilderness of Jerusalem," (1:2-3). This desire to move to Jerusalem on the part of the *yaḥad* is best explained by Schiffman's noted theory of a Qumran-Sadducean connection, which posits the sect as being originally comprised of dispossessed Zadokite priests who forged the community on the basis of an ongoing work towards a restoration of their former positions in the Temple. The Holy War of 1QM constitutes the means by which such a restoration would ultimately be accomplished. See Schiffman, *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls*. 253.

[148] 1QM 1:9.

3. with […] against all their troops, when the exiles of the Sons of Light return from the Wilderness of the Peoples to camp in the Wilderness of Jerusalem. Then after the battle they shall go up from that place

4. a[nd the king of] the Kittim [shall enter] into Egypt. In his time he shall go forth with great wrath to do battle against the kings of the north, and in his anger he shall set out to destroy and eliminate the strength of

5. I[srael. Then the]re shall be a time of salvation for the People of God, and a time of dominion for all the men of His forces, and eternal annihilation for all the forces of Belial. There shall be g[reat] panic

6. [among] the sons of Japheth, Asshur shall fall with no one to come to his aid, and the supremacy of the Kittim shall cease, that wickedness be overcome without a remnant. There shall be no survivors

7. of [all the Sons of] Darkness.

We note immediately that this text has been considered a Rule (סרך),[149] rather than an

Apocalypse, distinguishing it from Revelation in terms of its literary genre, although the word

(*serekh*) does not appear in the opening line, due, most likely, to obvious damage in the scroll.[150]

This does not forego the apocalyptic concerns of the *yaḥad*, or the categorizing of 1QM as a

Rule, but it does give us pause to consider the nature of the text, and the assumptions of modern

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[149] With regard to the general practice of retaining the literary designation of a 'Rule' (*serekh*), we do see examples such as 4Q285, which retains that designation in some circles, but the title of that document has more recently been deemed, '*The War of the Messiah.*' It is possible that this particular fragment provides for us the missing conclusion of 1QM. See Wise, Abegg, and Cook, *The Dead Sea Scrolls,* 291.

[150] Regarding scroll damage, when moving from 1:4 forward, while it is tempting to fill the lacuna with the phrasing, "[and the king of] the Kittim [shall enter] into Egypt," (per Wise, Abegg, and Cook), we would point here to the more cautious translation of García Martínez, which does not assume the text to be speaking of kings, or that any one king is destined to enter into Egypt, but which does present us with a literary scenario containing greater difficulties. While the Wise, Abegg, and Cook translation provides an attractive possibility (as does Vermès) based on the strong combination of evidence from 4Q496 frg. 3, in conjunction with Dan 11:40-44, and the use of the phrase "king of the Kittim" in 1QM 15:2, Martínez is more circumspect in his approach, leaving us with a mere sentence fragment, "[…] of the Kittim in Egypt." The sentence following, however, which makes reference to a single wrathful figure going to war, (ובקצו יצא) "in his time he shall go out," (במלכי הצפון) against the "kings of the North," finds translators in full agreement, with which we concur. Hence, whatever information may have been conveyed between 1:3 and 1:4, with regard to the Sons of Light returning from exile as it relates to the Kittim in proximity to Egypt, is technically lost to us due to the large tear along the outer edge of first column of the document. This undiscriminating damage provides for pronounced uncertainty in the first nine lines of the opening column of 1QM.

Similarly, the lacuna at the start of 1:5, in which Wise, Abegg, and Cook render the object of the wrathful warrior's antagonism to be *Israel*, is another inference, albeit following the subsequent discovery of the telltale fragment 4Q496, which does indeed fill this lacuna. Thus, where Yadin had previously supposed the object of wrath to be *Belial*, there is substantive reasoning now to assume *Israel* indeed fills this second lacuna, based on the evidence of a single yod (י), and the corresponding text from 4Q496. See Wise, Abegg, and Cook, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A New Translation*. See Geza Vermes, *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English: Revised Edition* (London, UK: Penguin Books, 2011). Yadin, *The Scroll of the War*.

translators as we progress.[151] Transitional markers with this same linguistic format serve as

sectional headings in several other places in 1QM,[152] clearly marking off topical divisions in the

text. Thus, it is likely 1QM originally began with just such a heading, but the best estimations of

the most informed scholars are still educated guesses, which must not be ignored when they

create limitations in our datasets. As it stands, what was formerly known as the *War Rule* is now

commonly called the *War Scroll*, while the sense in which 1QM is a regulating set of

prescriptions to be enacted by the sect during a final Holy War is still very much present in the

text. What we see then are idealized marching orders, even as the lack of the word *serek* at the

outset leaves us with very slight reservations regarding literary genre. At the same time, we note

that the word for 'war' or 'battle' (מלחמה), appears at the very beginning of the text along with

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[151] Unless otherwise noted, for the purposes of the present research we will employ the English translation of Wise, Abegg, and Cook, insofar as the War Scroll is concerned. We will note important differences between this translation and that of García Martínez as they arise.

Anecdotally, in his early dissertation work, Beale, following Yadin and Davies, mistakenly supposes the object of wrath in the lacuna of 1:5 to be *Belial*, thus deducing the wrathful warrior to be God himself destroying his enemy. In stark contrast, if the more recent rendering of Wise, Abegg, and Cook is to be followed with *Israel* as the supposed object of wrath, it becomes exceedingly difficult to see how the wrathful warrior may be assumed to be God cutting off the horn of chosen Israel, especially in light of the promise that this event would constitute a "time of salvation for the People of God," in 1:5. Yet, based on these assumptions, Beale takes the position that God is indeed the wrathful warrior marching out against the armies of Belial in 1:4-5, and further argues that Daniel 11:10-12:3 forms the "context which provides the unifying basis for the whole of 1QM 1." He posits that the author has modelled the entirety of this column, as seen especially in 1:4, on a "polemical irony," which seeks to reverse the consequences or actions of the enemies of God such that what was originally intended by the enemies is now ironically turned against them. 1QM does this, Beale argues, by applying the phrasing taken from Dan 11, and reconfiguring it into the more climactic outcome of Dan 12:1-3, thereby causing the linguistic similarities in 1QM 1:4ff, to communicate the very *opposite* of what is conveyed in the original Danielic context, while yet retaining the same hopeful finale. In this fashion, 1QM Col.1, is said to be dependent on allusions to Daniel over 50% of the time. In fact, Beale posits, the opening column of 1QM could be seen as an eschatological midrash on the Book of Daniel. Continuing down this path, in his later Revelation volume, Beale describes such examples as "ironic reversals," wherein a given textual allusion is referred to by a second text which conveys a meaning *opposite* to the way in which it is originally presented. These, he describes as "inverted uses" of the Hebrew Scripture on the part of the Christian Scriptures, with 1QM being cited as an analogous example. And yet, if there are grounds to follow the more persuasive rendering of Wise, Abegg, and Cook, which takes into account the single *yod* (י) prior to the lacuna in 1:5, and corresponding with clear evidence derived from 4Q496, thus providing for the high probability that Israel (ישראל) is indeed the *object* of the wrathful warrior's antagonism rather than Belial, then Beale's suppositions have been called into question. It is these types suppositions which we would seek to avoid as much as possible in our attempts to grapple with areas of the document which exhibit extensive damage. See G. K Beale, *The Use of Daniel in Jewish Apocalyptic Literature and in the Revelation of St. John* (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock Publishers, 2010), 42-66. See Beale, *The Book of Revelation,* 94-96. See Wise, Abegg, and Cook, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A New Translation*.

[152] 1QM 3:13; 4:9; 5:3; 9:10.

לֹחֶם, from which it is derived; together *milḥāmâ* and *lāḥam* appear in the War Scroll no less than 104 times, making the primary concern of 1QM abundantly clear. By way of comparison, although many other themes compete for our attention in John's Apocalypse alongside Holy War, we see the equivalent word for 'war,' πόλεμος, appearing nine times in Revelation, which is more than any other book in the Christian Scriptures.[153] In contrast with 1QM, this does not indicate that Holy War as a motif is the central or only concern of John's Apocalypse, simply that it is a significant feature.

Hostility[154] is immediately apparent in 1QM between the Sons of Light[155] and an array of enemies, all preparing for a large-scale conflict that sets the tone for the entire scroll. What is presented in the War Scroll is a direct confrontation between the Sons of Light in partnership with their God on a collision course against the Sons of Darkness and the armies of Belial. The traditional enemies listed here (1QM 1:1-2) are drawn from the earliest days of the patriarchs (Edom, Moab, Ammon), into the Conquest period (Philistia),[156] moving on to the Second Temple era with the Kittim thus far representing the armies of Asshur and Egypt. This list of hostiles presents an important intersection between the approaches of the authors of 1QM and Revelation. Of these, only Egypt appears in Revelation.[157] Conversely, Babylon appears repeatedly as an enemy in John's Apocalypse[158] but is found nowhere in 1QM. Nevertheless, while several traditional enemies (Edom, Moab, Ammon, Philistia, Assyria, and Egypt) are referenced at the outset of 1QM, it is the Kittim that draw the bulk of the attention throughout the

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[153] Rev 9:7,9; 11:7; 12:7,17; 13:7; 16:14; 19:19; 20:8.
[154] Note the immediate use of מִשְׁלוֹחַ, which translators render as 'attack.' Yadin opts for "engagement … to attack." The word is a derivative of שׁלח, verbally to 'send,' or 'weapon' as a noun. Here it indicates a mission or campaign. See R. Laird Harris et al., *Theological Wordbook of The Old Testament* (Chicago: Moody Press, 2004).
[155] While this is not the context in which to press the point, we should note the phrase "sons of light," is Johannine, appearing at John 12:36. Given the perspective of the majority of scholars that of Revelation and John's Gospel were penned by different authors, a mere mention of this point is sufficient.
[156] The Amalekites are an insertion on the part of the translators in 1QM 1:2.
[157] Egypt appears explicitly once in Rev 11:8, and its use is described as "figuratively," or "mystically."
[158] Rev 14:8; 16:19; 17:5; 18:2; 18:10; 18:21.

majority of the War Scroll. Yet the Kittim retain a relatively low profile in the Hebrew

Scriptures, accompanied as they are by consistent references made to coastlands, ships, and

maritime military invasions.[159] These sparse biblical references, most specifically the one

appearing in Dan 11:30, have lead scholars to reason that 'Kittim' becomes a broadly inclusive

cypher for Rome in 1QM, which we would argue corresponds to the similarly encrypted (and

similarly hostile) use of 'Babylon' as a recognized cypher for Rome in Revelation.[160] While it

has been proposed that the Kittim (initially listed here in conjunction with Assyria and Egypt)

correspond to the Seleucids and the Ptolemies,[161] to be sure, neither moniker is explicit, which

seems precisely to be the point, as the Kittim become a collective term applied to several

enemies at once, all in relation to Rome. Hence, both the Kittim and Babylon are used as a

means of referencing the Roman Empire by 1QM and Revelation, respectively, during a time

when it would have been dangerous to speak or write against the empire directly.[162] As oblique

as these encrypted terms may seem, it becomes apparent that both 1QM and Revelation share a

common aversion to explicitly naming the most threatening enemy of the day, namely, the

ubiquitous Roman Empire.

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[159] See Gen 10:4; Num 24:24; 1Ch 1:7; Jer 2:10; Dan 11:30. The final reference to the Kittim coming from Dan 11:30 is rendered in the LXX as Ῥωμαῖοι (Romans).

[160] Cf. Rev 14:8, 18:2. See 1 Pet 5:13 for a similar use of Babylon. For explicit association of Babylon with Rome/Italy, see *Syb. Or.* 5:158-161. While the mere identification of the Kittim by way of Dan 11:30 is persuasive, we do not find the larger structure of 1QM 1:1-17 to derive its "unifying basis for the whole," from Dan 11-12, contra Beale. On this matter we would agree with Yadin, who recognizes similar language with different meanings. See Beale, *The Use of Daniel in Jewish Apocalyptic Literature and in the Revelation of St. John,* 42-65. See Yadin, Batya, and Rabin, *The Scroll of the War of the Sons of Light Against the Sons of Darkness,* 258.

[161] It has been suggested that Kittim and Ashur (Syria) may be linked together based on their close association in Num 24:24, See Schiffman and Vanderkam, *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls,* 2000 ed., s.v. "Kittim," by Timothy H. Lim, 470.

[162] Nevertheless, this association of Rome with Babylon is reflected in a number of pseudepigraphic passages (*Syb. Or.* 4:115-130; 4 Ezra 3:2 and 6:19; as well as 2 Baruch 67:1). In these and other passages we see veiled allusions to the more recent destruction of the Temple in 70 CE, which naturally lead to a general comparison of Rome with Babylon, due to the earlier Babylonian destruction of the first Temple in 586 BCE. To brand Rome as 'Babylon' thus made for wry commentary, which these authors and John of Patmos made use of.

Regarding the protagonists, we see at the outset, in 1QM 1:2, a return of the exiles from the Wilderness of the Nations, including Levi, Benjamin, and Judah. This should not be taken to mean a return of only these three tribes from out of the wilderness, as we are told in 2:7-8, "From all tribes of Israel they shall prepare capable men."[163] What we see then is a sample representing the whole.[164] Likewise, Rev 7:4-8 depicts the 'sealing' of all twelve tribes. Hence the totality of the nation is understood to be involved in the Holy Wars depicted by both 1QM and Revelation.

Moreover, we note the dualism readily apparent in 1QM, indicated by the contrasting tension between the Sons of Light, and the Sons of Darkness. This aspect is theorized to have been adapted from Persian apocalyptic thought, and it has been argued by J. Collins that Plutarch's *De Iside et Osiride* 45-47 provides a model example of several features directly applicable to 1QM in this regard.[165] Collins, comparing 1QM to the book of Daniel, cites the following major points of similarity, as evidence to support a measure of Persian influence on this Qumran text: 1) the division of the war into six equal periods;[166] 2) the imagery of light over and against darkness; and 3) the leaders of the factions (Michael and Belial), 'appointed' as they are to lead the forces of Light and Darkness into the final battle. Collins argues that the post-exilic point of contact between Jewish and Persian thought found its nexus in the final eschatological war, which enabled Jewish thinkers to appropriate certain aspects of Persian dualism. Still, we would be quick to add, that while we may otherwise delineate between several forms of dualism within Qumran thought (cosmic, ethical, etc.), insofar as 1QM reflects the sensibilities of the *yaḥad*, we cannot dogmatically assert that the sectarians held to a view of two

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[163] This may be a result of the redactional history of 1QM, in which the first two columns are supposed to have come from different textual traditions based on texts from Daniel and Ezekiel, respectively. See Schultz, "Compositional Layers in The War Scroll (1QM)."

[164] In 1QM we see thirteen mentions of Levi, three of Judah, and a single reference to Benjamin, here in 1:2.

[165] John J. Collins, "The Mythology of Holy War in Daniel and the Qumran War Scroll: A Point of Transition in Jewish Apocalyptic," *Vetus Testamentum* 25.3 (1975): 596–612.

[166] See *2.2.4 Heptadic Structure(s) and Historical Holy War*, in reference to 1QM 1:13-14.

separate metaphysical realities. This is clearly affirmed in the foundational *Rule of the Community*, 1QS at 3:13-4:26,[167] which describes the dynamic of the human and angelic occupation of the universe as being balanced between the hostilities of Light against Darkness ("the spirits of truth and falsehood").[168] Yet this symmetry, predominant as it may seem, is not the governing reality over the entirety of creation – although it is said to be embedded within the creation – but rather, it reflects the created order organized as a dualistic cosmos under the dominion of the singularity of the Israelite God. Hence, we see that "God has appointed these spirits as equals, until the last age, and set everlasting enmity (איבה) between their divisions."[169] Under this rubric, and in line with Collins' observations, Persian dualism becomes subsumed within an Israelite monotheism, and serves as a useful vehicle which pushes the final Holy War toward its completion in 1QM. As a result, "Qumran dualism"[170] as seen in 1QM, is argued to be a blending of Persian and Jewish sensibilities. Furthermore, in Collins' understanding the Persian influence on 1QM represents a novel element[171] which allowed for the potential untethering of Israelite/Jewish sensibilities regarding the mythology of Holy War, to then be universalized away from ethnic and nationalistic confines, although Collins does not go as far as to say this potential was actualized.

Taking issue with Collins' handling of 1QM, however, is P. Davies[172] who cautions against oversimplification. Using a form critical methodology, Davies takes Collins' work to task on the grounds that Holy War *mythology* is not apparent in Daniel (the book to which

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[167] A section commonly called the *Treatise of the Two Spirits*.

[168] 1QS 3:18-19.

[169] 1QS 4:16-17. The enmity (איבה) here is presumably inspired by the enmity originally described in Gen 3:15.

[170] *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls,* 2000 ed., s.v. "Dualism," by Jean Duhaime, 215.

[171] A "shift," as Collins describes it, perhaps overstating the point. See Collins, "The Mythology of Holy War in Daniel and the Qumran War Scroll."

[172] Philip R. Davies, "Dualism and Eschatology in the Qumran War Scroll," *Vetus Testamentum* 28.1 (1978): 28–36.

Collins is comparing 1QM), and by arguing that the redactional history of 1QM is not nearly as straightforward as Collins portrays. If the opening column of 1QM, coupled with its final columns, 15-19 specifically, constitute a genuinely dualistic framework, Davies reasons, then does the middle section (2-14, which is decidedly mixed) represent a later imposition on the original dualism? Moreover, in a separate response Davies argues that any 'potential' for universalization of Jewish apocalypticism must be concretized in order to be verified.[173] On these and several other fronts Davies disagrees with Collins.

All of this being noted, a specific line of argumentation which takes place in the course of this debate is particularly relevant to the present study. In his initial article, per its title, Collins asserts his aim as being to explore "the difference between the two books [Daniel and 1QM] in their basic conception of holy war."[174] As described above, Collins finds 1QM to be a step in the direction of Persian dualism, potentially moving away from Israelite/Jewish nationalism and ethnicity, a step which he characterizes as a mixed blessing. To Collins, 1QM obtains its structure from this Persian dualism. Davies, in turn, contests the 'step' (or "shift") as being not nearly so fundamental and decisive at all. To him, 1QM represents, at best, a limited and inconsistent Jewish appropriation of Persian concepts, within a far more complex redactional history behind the present text, indicating no clear step has been taken away from that which could be described as fundamentally Jewish. He argues that Holy War mythology (as found in Daniel), is far from evident, and, regarding the general Persian dichotomy of order overcoming chaos, he states, "we are not entitled to assume that this myth belongs intrinsically or exclusively to the holy war complex." To extrapolate then from Davies, the adaptation of Israelite/Jewish

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[173] Philip R. Davies, "Dualism and Eschatology in 1QM: A Rejoinder," *Vetus Testamentum* 30.1 (1980): 93–97.
[174] Collins, "The Mythology of Holy War in Daniel and the Qumran War Scroll."

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Holy War to a Persian mythological setting beyond that of 'real world' warfare, is well outside the bounds of Holy War properly understood.

In response, Collins argues that the *mythology* of Holy War is indeed found in Daniel, though it is non-militaristic, and he defines it fundamentally as, "the representation of violent conflict between supernatural beings." In a footnote he asserts this definition as being supported by substantial scholarship, though here he lists none. Collins includes the provocative counter-observation that, "if fighting is done on a supernatural level, it may enable the faithful human beings to take a non-violent stance and leave the fighting to God, or the angels."

Davies, in turn, takes issue with Collins' basic definition of Holy War, pointing instead to von Rad and others, whose research has firmly established Holy War as an Israelite institution.[175] Hence, Davies, for his part, finds the use of Holy War terminology to be entirely unhelpful in discussions that do not revolve around actual warfare, quite independent of the mythology. 1QM, he asserts, does indeed deal with actual warfare, albeit warfare bolstered by Holy War mythology.

In assessing these areas of contention, we find ourselves willing to agree and disagree with both scholars at various points. To begin with, the argument Collins puts forth regarding the possible influence of Persian dualism on 1QM, specifically found in Plutarch, indeed seems compelling. The understanding of the division of the war into balanced numerical rounds, equally apportioned as these are between spirits of Light and Darkness, along with the representative leaders (Belial *vs.* Michael),[176] is entirely plausible. Coupled with the elaboration found in the *Treatise on the Two Spirits* from 1QS, it becomes difficult to see how the *yaḥad*

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[175] See above, *1.5.2 The History of Holy War*, and *1.5.3 The Nature of Holy War*.
[176] Note that we see Michael involved in the war in both 1QM 9:15, 16; 17:6, 7; and Revelation 12:7.

derived this strain of dualism from traditional Jewish sources alone.[177] We may grant that this

point of contact readily lends itself to a 'sabbatical' format for the Holy War,[178] but this is

precisely the fertile seedbed needed to satisfy what would have been, at the time, developing

Israelite/Jewish apocalyptic sensibilities.

Moreover, with regard to the step away from nationalistic and ethnic exclusivity, towards

a potential universalization of apocalypticism on the part of the *yaḥad*, we cannot assume more

than the evidence warrants. Indeed, the potential is there, as Collins suggests, and Davies

perhaps overstates the impossibility of this notion, but the *yaḥad* nevertheless draws an

extremely hard line, even a potentially violent line, between those on the inside of the covenant

community, and those on the outside.[179] In light of this, it is difficult to see how the possibility

of universalization would have been the intention of the author(s) of 1QM. We may suggest,

however, that even the most subtle germ of universalization within a text like 1QM could have

opened the path for nascent Christian apocalyptic sensibilities to flourish, which indeed do

become universalized beyond that of national and ethnic Jewish identity in Revelation.[180]

Yet the most salient point, for our purposes, comes in the disagreement over Holy War,

and the *mythology* of Holy War. As noted, Davies sees Holy War as a stand-alone Israelite

institution, springing from the Exodus but existing largely during the era of the Conquest, per

von Rad. Collins, for his part, is willing to recognize Holy War as part of a larger matrix of

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[177] It has been suggested that Maccabean era tensions might have been causal to the adoption of a general Qumran dualism, but this seems unlikely given that the *yaḥad* appears to have become a separatist group in response to what they perceived as corrupt Hasmonean rule. See *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls,* 2000 ed., s.v. "Dualism," by Jean Duhaime, 215. Also see Schiffman, *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls,* 87-89.

[178] As was Yadin's proposed framework. See Yadin, *The Scroll of the War,* 35-37.

[179] Indeed, those within the covenant of the Qumran society were understood to have been predestined to have been there. One need look no further than 1QM 10:9, "Who is like Your people Israel, whom You have chosen for Yourself from all the peoples of the lands?" For a thorough overview of Qumran determinism, see Schiffman and Vanderkam, *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 2000 ed., s.v. "Determinism," by Jean Duhaime, 194-198.

[180] See Rev 5:4; 22:2.

thought, moving beyond concrete actions of military warfare, and into the hearts and minds of believing individuals. By drawing our attention to the internal resolution of the individual believer to resist militaristic responses, thereby allowing God and/or the angels to fight the Holy War, Collins has veered into the more recent thinking of Bauckham, who sees Revelation itself as a Christian War Scroll, albeit one espousing *passivity* on the part of God's people, as modeled by the Exodus event.[181] This trajectory takes Collins on to the imagery of Rev 12, with the reference once again to Michael, plus the dragon, along with the Ugaritic/Canaanite chaos myth at the forefront of the Holy War. Such a leap on the part of Collins goes beyond where von Rad was willing to define and delineate the institution of Holy War, but it is our intention to follow this trajectory as well.[182] The so-called 'passive' internalization of what was previously an external struggle on the battlefield must be recognized as an authentic component of *yaḥad* instruction, as well as discipleship within the early Christian movement. Indeed, not all wars are fought with physical weapons, and not all battlefields are external or terrestrial.

To that end, while we may wish to narrowly define Holy War as that which occurred predominantly in the era of the Conquest, we cannot ignore the larger setting out of which Jewish Holy War originated, namely, at the Exodus prior, nor can we afford to be entirely purist in our understanding.[183] Von Rad himself takes note of several key Exodus passages in his original study,[184] and later scholars like M. Lind recognized, as do we, the locus of Exod 15, the *Song of the Sea*, as representing the very earliest attestation of the Israelite God depicted as a warrior.[185] As such, we cannot help but be compelled to include the *mythology* of Holy War as part and parcel of *actual* Holy War as an institution, although we may wish to sharpen our

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[181] Bauckham, "The Book of Revelation as a Christian War Scroll."
[182] Writing in 1958 von Rad addressed neither 1QM nor Revelation.
[183] Contra Davies.
[184] Exod 14:4,14,18; 15:14-16; 23:37-28.
[185] Following Von Rad, Lind sees Exod 15 as, "Israel's earliest poem." Lind, *Yahweh Is a Warrior*, 46-50.

definition beyond that of Collins, while preserving the groundbreaking work of von Rad. Surely the example of Rev 12,[186] a depiction of apocalyptic warfare *par excellence*, merits inclusion within the sphere of what we understand to be proper Holy War, as evidenced by the cosmic struggle towards an end goal of *holiness*. Moreover, one cannot help but notice the various enemies of God in this opening passage of 1QM encompassing the immediate aftermath of the Exodus, followed by the sojourn in the desert, and culminating in the Conquest of Canaan – nearly the full terrain of Israelite Holy War as outlined by von Rad. These enemies are punctuated by the Kittim (likely Rome), and Egypt, calling to mind both the Exodus prior, along with the then present-day situation of the *yaḥad* under Rome. Therefore, we would submit, at this juncture, that a more theologically precise definition of Holy War as understood and appropriated by both the *yaḥad*, as well as that of John's Apocalypse, (and by extension nascent Christianity), is that of a cosmic and earthly struggle between the dualism of holiness *vs.* un-holiness, wherein the forces of holiness are foreordained to prevail. Indeed, we would argue, an accurate representation of Holy War cannot be ascertained apart from this defining characteristic; holiness/un-holiness are depicted variously in 1QM and Revelation by contrasting apocalyptic images of Light *vs*. Darkness, the virgin *vs*. the prostitute, Michael *vs.* Belial, order *vs*. chaos, the slain Lamb *vs.* sin and death, etc. If there is an essentially original Jewish element at all to be found within the rubric of appropriated Persian dualism as it pertains to Holy War, it is that of holiness.[187]

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[186] As cited by Collins, "The Mythology of Holy War in Daniel and the Qumran War Scroll."

[187] One other critical factor that must also be taken into account here is halachic perfectionism on the part of the *yaḥad,* as it relates to John's Apocalypse. As holiness denotes ritual purity, the battle lines between clean and unclean were never applied more strictly than in the Qumran community, which understood itself as coexisting in and among the angels. We will return to this theme repeatedly throughout our study.

What we see then, is *holiness* appearing in 1QM fifteen times (as קדוש), and twelve times in Revelation (as ἅγιος).[188] These terms denoting holiness, along with the 'war' terms, *milḥāmâ* and *lāḥam* in 1QM, plus πόλεμος in Revelation, indicate an apocalyptic form of dualism in which both texts derive their perceptions of conflict and Holy War from a Jewish/Israelite category, either in response to, or in dialog with Persian influences, but with the God of the Hebrew world in absolute control of the outcome. This structure, we would submit, also permits the extension of the institution of classic Holy War, per von Rad, into the realm the internal life of the individuals residing in those communities out of which our texts have originated.

2.2.2   Belial and Nero

The personified figure of Belial (בליעל) is mentioned in 1QM twelve times, more than any other individual scroll yet recovered from the Judean desert caves. Although the term appears most frequently in scrolls found in cave 4, of the 116 times *bly'l* appears in the scrolls, overwhelmingly it is rendered by translators as the proper noun, Belial.[189] While the term *bly'l* has its earliest origins in association with the negative qualities of 'worthlessness,' or 'wickedness,' the metaphorical figure of Belial appears consistently in the form of a proper name throughout 1QM. We turn our attention now to this important character as a basis of comparison to Nero in association with John's Apocalypse.

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[188] We also see ὅσιος twice in Rev 15:4; 16:5, and ἁγιάζω in Rev 22:11, both of which may be rendered as terms of holiness.

[189] The sole exception to this would be that of Vermès who renders Belial consistently as "Satan." Only on four occasions do the translators of the DSS Electronic Reference Library render the term as an adjective. In no place do we find 'Beliar,' the alternative equivalent, in the DSS. With Martone, we would note that F.G. Martínez renders בליעל as a proper name universally. See Géza Vermès, *The Dead Sea Scrolls in English* (Harmondsworth, UK: Penguin Books, 1962). See Lim and Alexander, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Electronic Library*. See Corrado Martone, "Evil or Devil? Belial Between the Bible and Qumran," *Henoch Journal* XXVI (2004): 114–27. As Wise, Abegg, and Cook follow the earlier translation work of M. Abegg from the DSS Electronic Reference Library, their rendering of Belial has been carried over. See Wise, Abegg, and Cook, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A New Translation*.

On its own, 1QM presents a fairly comprehensive biographical picture of Belial. Beginning in 1:1, the first assault of the Holy War is set to be launched against the "lot of the sons of Darkness, against the army of Belial." In 1:5, there is predicted a time of salvation for the people of God, which will spell "everlasting destruction for all the lot of Belial." In 1:13, we see Belial winning three of seven rounds of fighting, wherein the heptadic structure of the Holy War in 1QM is introduced, and the influence of Persian dualism again becomes an issue to take into consideration. In 4:1-2, inscribed on the 'banner of the thousands' are the words, "God's fury unleashed against Belial and against all the men of his lot so that no remnant (is left)." Belial is mentioned again in 11:8, in the context of a victory song celebrating God's miracles and power; this because of the prophets[190] having faithfully taught the times of God's wars to his people, and as a result they have learned to "fell the hordes of Belial." In 13:2-4, Belial is mentioned in reference to blessings and curses akin to those pronounced at Ebal and Gerizim; in this passage a specific condemnation is to be pronounced on Belial personally, along with "all the spirits of his lot." The curse reads thusly: "Accursed be Belial in his malicious plan, may he be damned for his wicked rule; accursed be all the spirits of his lot, in his wicked plan." This curse is juxtaposed by a beatitude immediately following which is pronounced in favor of the God of Israel. In 13:11, a section that emphasizes the strong sense of predestination held by the *yaḥad*, the author of 1QM says to God, "You created Belial for the pit, angel of enmity." In 14:9, again celebrating God's victory, the author writes, "In all our generations you have caused your favors to fall on the rem[nant of our people] during the empire of Belial." In 15:1-3, we see a description of the Holy War, wherein those among Israel who are prepared to do battle go and set up camp "opposite the king of the Kittim, and opposite all the army of Belial." Finally, in 18:1-3, we see a description of the last day of fighting, wherein "the mighty hand of God is

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[190] 'Anointed ones.'

raised against Belial, and against all the army of his dominion for an everlasting blow." We are

told that the holy ones will "pursue Assyria; the sons of Japheth shall fall without rising; the

Kittim will be crushed without a [remnant…] when the hand of God is raised against the whole

horde of Belial."[191] Accordingly and taken as a whole, the character of Belial most aligns with

the figure of Satan in the Hebrew Scriptures.[192]

It is evident, from 1QM alone, that Belial is the premier figure leading the forces of

darkness; that while he is a formidable foe ruling over an empire of wickedness, he is depicted as

a created angelic being who is predestined to lose the Holy War and suffer eternal punishment;

that the plans of Belial, while constituting a present danger to God's people, will ultimately be

foiled in their appropriate season; that the leadership and hostility of Belial against the people of

God is depicted as parallel to that of the earthly Kittim; and that when Belial falls it is expected

to be a climactic eschatological defeat which includes all the enemies of God's people combined.

Belial is said to possess armies, hordes, and loyal followers ("his lot"), all of whom will suffer

the final defeat along with him. In summation, he is understood as standing at the helm of a

violent final war against God and his people, but having no real chance of victory.

Belial appears in the wider context of the DSS in a similar fashion; 1QS and CD both

make sporadic reference to the demonic figure. In 1QS, the constitutional document of the

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[191]This final quote from 18:2, we would suggest, appears to form an *inclusio*, tied back to 1QM 1:5-6, which reads, "There shall be g[reat] panic [among] the *sons of Japhet* (יפת בני), *Ashur* (אשור) will *fall* (נפל) and there will be no help for him; the rule of the *Kittim* (כתיים) will come to an end, wickedness having been defeated, with no *remnant* (שארית) remaining."

In the complimentary verse, 1QM xviii 2-3 reads, "[…] and the call of the holy ones when they pursue *Assyria* (אשור); the *sons of Japhet* (יפת בני) shall *fall* (נפל) without rising; and the *Kittim* (כתיים) will be crushed without a [*remnant*…]"

These prophetic lines share five Hebrew words all representing Israel's enemies, including the construct phrase 'sons of Japheth' in both cases. The initial pair of enemies listed here, namely, the sons of Japheth and Assyria, are listed in reverse order in the second instance, with Assyria said to "fall" in the first verse, and the sons of Japheth said to "fall" in the second. The primary enemy, the Kittim, concludes the trio in both cases. All translators have assumed the word 'remnant' to fill in the lacuna of 18:7, which corresponds to שארית in 1:6.

[192] In the 1962 translation by G. Vermes, all twelve instances of Belial (בליעל) are rendered as 'Satan.' Vermès, *The Dead Sea Scrolls in English*.

yaḥad, Belial looms large as the de facto ruler of the present age[193] whose followers are destined to be cursed, and who wages an internal psychological war against God's people. The members of the sect are encouraged to stay the course of holiness, not giving way to "fear, terror, or persecution,"[194] as 1QS 10:21 proclaims, "I shall give no refuge in my heart to Belial."[195]

CD-A 4:13-17 provides the spiritual diagnosis that "in the present age Belial is unrestrained in Israel," and then enumerates his "three traps" as being fornication, wealth, and the defiling of the sanctuary. In reference to traditions surrounding the Exodus narrative, CD-A 5:18 blames Belial specifically for having "raised up Yannes (יחנה) and his brother,"[196] in the face of Moses and Aaron, with this being the inaugural act of evil against Israel. In a fascinating interlocution between CD-A viii and CD-B xix, judgements against those who have entered into the covenant but subsequently have fallen away are spelled out in terms which differentiate the sensibilities of CD-A, from the more sectarian concerns of the *yaḥad* in CD-B, only to find them coalesce at 8:8, and 19:13-14 (respectively), wherein we are told by both documents that such apostates shall be destroyed "at/by the hand of Belial," indicating some sense in which Belial would be used as a means of punishment against those who would succumb to his ways. Finally, in the legal section of CD-A 12:1-5, the document stipulates a distinction between those who are unwittingly "controlled by the spirits of Belial," and those who blatantly defile the Sabbaths and the festivals. Those appearing to be unwilling victims controlled by the spirits of Belial are subject to confinement and discipline with some hope of recovery and reform; those who blatantly defile the sacred days are to be summarily executed. Suffice it to say, Belial appears

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[193] See references to the *dominion* of Belial in 1QS 1:18; 22-24; 2:19.

[194] 1QS 1:17.

[195] This corresponds with the response of Collins to Davies, regarding the potential for the institution of Holy War to be waged inside the heart. See *2.2.1 1QM 1:1-7 – Major Thematic Issues*.

[196] A reference to Jannes and Jambres, the two traditional names of the sorcerers from Exod 7:10:12.

broadly in the DSS as an arch demonic figure, an antagonist to God, and an enemy of the

yaḥad.[197]

Looking at the connection between Belial and Nero, as described above, the

personification of Belial is unambiguous in 1QM. This is noteworthy because Belial is not

referenced or personified in any known pre-biblical Hebrew sources,[198] nor is he represented as a

personified character in the MT of the Hebrew Scriptures.[199] Beliar (Βελιάρ), however, the

equivalent Greek name with a modified spelling, is referenced one time as a personified figure in

2 Cor 6:15,[200] indicating a significant development in demonology by the Second Temple

period.[201]

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[197] Textual compositional layers being as notoriously complex as they are, Martone prudently urges hesitancy in attempting to tie the scrolls together through their identification(s) of Belial. With this caution in mind, we continue to place our focus exclusively on 1QM. See Martone, "Evil or Devil? Belial Between the Bible and Qumran."

[198] The sources generally understood here include execration texts, Akkadian name and place lists, and the Amarna letters (EA). These do not mention *blyʿl* as an adjectival character trait or as a personal name. See for example, Carl G. Rasmussen, "A Study of Akkadian Personal Names from Mari," Dissertation (Dropsie University; Philadelphia, PA, 1981).

[199] A.P. Otero identifies a single transcription of Βελιαλ as a proper name in LXX(A) at Judg 20:13, contra Martone's contention that none exists. For analysis of Belial in LXX, see Andrés Piquer Otero, "Some Philological Notes on The Sons of Belial and The Septuagint," *Miscelánea de Estudios Árabes y Hebraicos*. 60 (2011): 191–208. Also see Martone, "Evil or Devil? Belial Between the Bible and Qumran."

[200] In this instance it is the alternative spelling of Βελιάρ which appears. This personifying transition is reflected clearly in *T.12 Patr*., where Beliar is equated throughout with Satan and the devil (TDan 1:7; 3:6; 5:6; 6:1; TGad 4:7; Tash 1:9). Beliar is responsible for torment (TAsh 6:5; TJos 7:4), entrapment (TBen 7:1-2), deception (TBen 6:1), derangement (TDan 1:7; TBen 3:3-4), and sexual promiscuity (TReu 6:3; TSim 5:3). Some, we are told, will ally themselves with Beliar (TIss 6:2), but he will flee from those who resist him (TIss 7:7; TZeb 9:8; TDan 5:1; TNaph 3:2). The works of Beliar counter the Law of the Lord like darkness vs. light (TLev 19:2; TNaph 2:6). When salvation arrives, the Lord will 'make war against Beliar,' (TDan 5:10), and free the captives (TDan 5:11). Ultimately, Beliar will be bound in the end times by a 'new priest' (TLevi 18:12), and destroyed. In a passage vividly reflecting the eschatological sensibilities of Rev 20:2,14, Beliar will be cast into 'eternal fire,' (TJud 25:3). Martone compares the usage of Beliar in 2 Cor 6:15, with that of Beliar in Jub 1:20-21, 15:33-34. See Martone, "Evil or Devil? Belial Between the Bible and Qumran."

[201] A.P. Otero and C. Martone both argue as much. Otero, looking at Belial in the LXX, cogently argues that the different translations of *blyʿl* within nominal phrases, "may reveal some information on the different perceptions and interpretations of the word within developing Judaism at the turn of the Common Era." See Otero, "Some Philological Notes on The Sons of Belial and The Septuagint."

C. Martone, in his piece focusing on Belial in the DSS, draws the broader conclusion that, "The Dead Sea Scrolls, once more, have provided us with the missing link between the Old and the New Testament, since they clearly show us a shift from the abstract Biblical concept to the personification we find in the Apocrypha as well as in Christian literature." See Martone, "Evil or Devil? Belial Between the Bible and Qumran."

It is also noteworthy that the text of 2 Cor 6:14-7:1 has been recognized by many as having Qumranic influence. Fitzmyer describes five common categories which indicate as much: 1) the triple dualism of

The issue at hand then becomes, at what point did Belial/Beliar become identified as a personified figure, and, more importantly, what did this transition represent? Moreover, did the repeated epithets found in the Hebrew Scriptures and directed against the generic "son(s) of *bly'l*" (בני בליעל)[202] naturally give rise to the mythology of Belial as a named demonic figure capable of producing a spiritual 'progeny' (as it were) among human beings, so that by the time of the DSS the transition into full personification was simply assumed? This trajectory seems logical, given the descriptive phrasing found so often in conjunction with *bly'l* in the Hebrew Scriptures which refers euphemistically to sons or offspring. Yet what appears in 1QM is nothing short of the full representation of *bly'l* as a sentient and demonic enemy of God and his people, an inglorious depiction which only applies in the equivalent to the Satan figure of the Hebrew Scriptures. This philological development into a personified figure, we would suggest, is connected to further developments along the same continuum, whereby Caesar Nero becomes a demonic Beliar-type of character in Christian literature, up to and including John's Apocalypse. To that end, we will consider Belial/Beliar and Nero in tandem, seeking to establish a correspondence whereby we may posit the personification of Belial (as depicted in 1QM) as serving to inform the Nero figure as understood by John of Patmos. Parenthetically, we would

righteousness *vs* iniquity, light *vs* darkness, Christ *vs* Beliar; 2) opposition to idols; 3) the concept of the *community* as being the Temple of God; 4) separation from impurity; and 5) the concatenation of Old Testament texts. Among these the most persuasive aspect of the argument is that of Beliar appearing in the Corinthian correspondence. As already mentioned, *Beliar* does not appear as a personified figure in the Hebrew Scriptures, nor do we see the figure of *Belial* mentioned anywhere else in the Christian Scriptures, apart from this single mention in 2 Cor 6:15. If we regard the Corinthian passage as an interpolation with Qumranic origins, then it becomes difficult to see the *yaḥad* as entirely isolated from interaction with the wider Mediterranean world. Indeed, based on factors such as these, we will argue in due course that the general exchange of thoughts and ideas among the Jews of the *yaḥad* was not necessarily restricted to the Qumran community, and that certain understandings among Jews and Jewish Christians of the Hellenistic world reflect a more porous situation. Joseph A Fitzmyer, "Qumrân and the Interpolated Paragraph in 2 Cor 6:14-7:1," *The Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 23.3 (1961): 271–80.

[202] The term *bly'l* appears 27 times in 26 passages from the Hebrew Scriptures: Deut 13:14; 15:9; Judg 19:22; 20:13; 1 Sam 1:16; 2:12; 10:27; 25:17; 25:25; 30:22; 2 Sam 16:7; 20:1; 22:5; 23:6; 1 Kgs 21:10; 21:13; Nah 1:11; 2:1; Ps 18:5; 41:9; 101:3; Job 34:18; Prov 6:12; 16:27; 19:28; 2 Chr 13:7. It has been suggested that *blh* (בלה) may be the actual etymological root for *bly'l*, a verb which only appears once in the Hebrew Scriptures, having the connotation of striking fear, or causing psychological trouble as seen in Ezra 4:4. See Harris, Archer, and Waltke, *Theological Wordbook of The Old Testament*.

note that our aim is not to prove that John of Patmos thought within a sort of Judeo-centric vacuum, but rather that the seedbed of his wider apocalyptic vision springs primarily from earlier Jewish sources.[203] In this case, 1QM marks out a specific aspect of that source.

Most often, when scholars debate the so-called Nero redivivus legend which hinges in large part on Revelation and the Sibylline Oracles, the primary issue that comes to the fore is the question as to whether or not Nero would have been understood to remain alive in Parthia before his imminent return, or rather, did the myth expect him to have returned to life after rising from the dead.[204] The evolution of this myth as it appears in the Sibylline Oracles is important for the establishment of what would have been John of Patmos' own understanding of Nero which became a topos used for modeling the antichrist. The Sibylline Oracles are also essential to connecting this understanding with the more antedated contribution which 1QM seems to have made by way of the name *bly'l*. For our purposes then, we are less concerned with the Nero redivivus myth than we are the adaptation of Nero as a Belial-type of figure.

To that end, clear evidence for the conflation of a Beliar/Nero overlap may be found most readily in the *Ascension of Isaiah (Asc. Isa.)*, as follows.[205]

> "And after it has been brought to completion, Beliar will descend, the great angel, the king of this world, which he has ruled ever since it existed. He will descend from his firmament in the form of a man, a king of iniquity, a murderer of his mother – this is the king of this world – and will persecute the plant which the twelve apostles of the Beloved will have planted; some of the twelve will be given

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[203] We would note too that the Nero legend as it is applied to the beastly figure(s) or 'antichrist' figure of Rev 13:3, 12, and 14 has been viewed by some as a development stemming from as late as the 3rd century. See Shushma Malik, *The Nero-Antichrist: Founding and Fashioning a Paradigm* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2020). This view represents a minority position. While acknowledging that the Nero legend would not have become widespread until the end of the 1st century, Aune says, "There is wide agreement among scholars that these are references to Nero…" Aune, *Revelation*, lx, 736-737.

[204] As an example of this see Jan W. van Henten, "Nero Redivivus Demolished: The Coherence of the Nero Traditions in the Sibylline Oracles," *JSP* 21 (2000): 3–17.

[205] The document dates from between the first and third centuries CE; with some sections possibly near contemporary with John's Apocalypse, but for our purposes it is simply noteworthy that *Asc. Isa.* postdates 1QM by centuries.

into his hand. This angel, Beliar, will come in the form of that king, and with him will come all the powers of this world, and they will obey him in every wish."

(Asc. Isa. 4:2-4)[206]

The alluded to matricidal offense of Nero is well known,[207] and it marks the identity of 'Beliar the great ruler,' without question. The fact that Nero is here called 'Beliar' is of interest because the identification and combination of Nero with Beliar is reflected also in the Sibylline Oracles, whose composition and subsequent compilation date from as early as 163 BCE to well into the third century CE. Such a stretch of time may suggest the plausibility of an awareness of the Nero/Beliar synthesis on the part of the likes of John of Patmos, even if John used the Nero legend in a unique way.[208] Indeed, several key passages in the Sibylline Oracles indicate the arc of an evolution of Beliar into Nero, and these documents are the best extant resources we have for tracing the fusion of the two. Of the fourteen books of the Sibylline Oracles (numbers 9 and 10 of which are missing), we find references to Beliar in books 2 and 3, with references to Nero scattered throughout books 4, 5, 8, and 12. Our primary concern is centered on Sibylline Oracles 3, in which we see the 'advent' of Beliar.[209] This depiction of the fully personified arch-demonic figure of Beliar reads as follows.

> "Then Beliar will come *up from Sebastenoi* (εκ δε Σεβαστηνών) and he will raise up the height of mountains, he will raise up the sea, the great fiery sun and shining moon, and he will raise up the dead, and perform many signs for men. But they will not be effective in him. But he will, indeed, also lead men astray, and he will lead astray many faithful, chosen Hebrews, and also other lawless men who have

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[206] Michael A. Knibb translation from R. H Charles, *The Ascension of Isaiah* (London; New York: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge; Macmillan, 1919).

[207] See Max Cary and Howard H. Scullard, *A History of Rome Down to the Reign of Constantine*, 3rd ed. (New York, NY: St. Martin's Press, 1975), 357-358.

[208] "The interest in the death of Nero and thus in his return as a return from the dead seems to be peculiar to the book of Revelation." Yarbro Collins, *The Combat Myth in the Book of Revelation*, 183. Also see van Henten, "Nero Redivivus Demolished."

[209] Section one of *Syb. Or.* 8 dates from 175 to 180 CE; section two dates between the second and third centuries CE. *Syb. Or.* 12 is dated after 235 CE. "The Advent of Beliar" is the heading title of the section given by the editor(s) of the translation and commentary by J. Collins, found in James H. Charlesworth, ed., *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha. Vol. 1* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Co., 1983).

not yet listened to the word of God. But whenever the threats of the great God draws nigh and a burning power comes through the sea to land it will also burn Beliar and all overbearing men, as many as put faith in him." (*Syb. Or.* 3:63-74)[210]

The depiction of Beliar in this section is rightly considered to be eschatological,[211] and the cosmic scale of Beliar's power shown here is massive. We would note several features which equate with the dragon figure of Revelation: Beliar is said to have power over terrestrial and celestial bodies; he will be a 'deceiver' of the highest order who leads astray many faithful and chosen Hebrews; ultimately, he will be burned in the fire of judgment. There are two features of this text which concern us above the others. 1) We are told Beliar will come *up from Sebastenoi* (εκ δε Σεβαστηνών); and 2) we see in this passage Beliar has the power to "raise up the dead."

As scholars have noted,[212] the phrase *up from Sebastenoi* (εκ δε Σεβαστηνών) may have two meanings: One, that Beliar is expected to come "from Samaria," or two, that Nero would come "from the line of Augustus." The equating of Nero with Beliar here is based on the Beliar-Nero connection found in the previous passage referenced above from Asc.Isa 4:2-4, and the fact that Nero is depicted in those verses, and indeed throughout the aforementioned Sibylline Oracles as well, as an eschatological antagonist, thus making the connection seem logical. The framing of Nero as an eschatological figure in Syb.Or 3 gives credence to the dating of this section as being sometime after 70 CE.[213] However, 1QM depicts Belial in a semi-related fashion: As noted above, the Belial of 1QM would be destroyed in the final Holy War, he is an

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[210] Translation by J.J. Collins in Charlesworth, *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha. Vol. 1*.
[211] Cf. with Yarbro Collins, *The Combat Myth in the Book of Revelation*, 188.
[212] See J. Collins footnote in *Syb. Or.* 3:63 from Charlesworth, *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha. Vol. 1*. Also cf. Yarbro Collins, *The Combat Myth in the Book of Revelation*, 181.
[213] Dating the various Sibylline Oracles is essential to the issue at hand. What we see in the texts as they are preserved is a series of prophetic statements which appear to have begun as Jewish oracular pronouncements with later Christian additions and redaction. They are, of course, written in partial response to events of historical significance to their various authors.

angelic/demonic figure created 'for the pit,' his domination over humanity is seen to be such that

he is in fact the Satan, and his armies will ultimately be destroyed by the hand of God. What we

seen then is a larger pool from which to draw influence on the part of John of Patmos than the

Sibylline Oracles alone provide.

Granted that it is impossible to interpret John's unique use of the Nero legend within an

exclusively Jewish framework, but on the same token it appears to be equally as impossible to

interpret this figure entirely outside of a Jewish rubric. In this vein, Yarbro Collins has laid out a

line of argumentation which points up the diversity of influences incorporated by John of Patmos

(as well as by the authors of the Sibylline Oracles), in support of the case that major aspects of

Revelation cannot be understood within the exclusively singular framework of an ancient Near

Eastern Israelite-Jewish setting.[214] With regard to Nero specifically, she reasons that the use of

the Nero legend in Revelation is an example of John of Patmos drawing from sources outside of

the Jewish cultural environment, as evidenced by the fact that 1) it does not seem possible to

interpret such passages within an exclusively Jewish cultural domain, and 2) this legend was a

Roman political myth that existed well outside of the Jewish setting. In anticipation of counter

arguments, she notes the dating of the relevant Sibylline Oracles (books 4 and 5) as being after

that of Revelation. Even if elements from book 5 wherein Nero has been fully transformed into

an eschatological foe were to be dated earlier, she argues, the details would still conflict, as John

of Patmos makes no reference to the matricide committed by Nero, or to the destruction of

Jerusalem, but both are depicted in Sibylline Oracles 5. As a result, Yarbro Collins concludes,

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[214] "The mythic motifs and patterns used in Rev 12 could not have been derived from any single religious tradition….Most significantly, it did not seem possible to interpret the passage strictly within an ancient Near Eastern-Israelite-Jewish continuum. It seemed rather that the author was deliberately choosing to be international by composing his narrative with elements taken from a variety of cultural contexts. The adaptation of the Nero legend in Revelation 13 and 17 is a further example of the way the apocalyptist drew upon the non-Jewish culture of his environment." Yarbro Collins, *The Combat Myth in the Book of Revelation*, 186-187.

we have the fusion of diverse sources which informed a number of facets of John's Apocalypse. Yet we do see among the details of *Syb. Or.* 3 a reference to Beliar (Nero) raising the dead. Thus, while some aspects of the Nero legend clearly do not line up with Revelation's depiction, in this case we seem to have the ironic use of apparent resurrection on the part of an arch demonic figure whose personification appears to have become complete as far back as the writings of the DSS.[215] And while we would not presume, in this case, to propose textual dependence, the larger catalog of Jewish material to which John of Patmos may have been privy cannot, at this point, be ignored. When we consider as well the scholarly estimations that theorize John as writing during the Domitianic era (81-96 CE), we must take seriously the distinct likelihood that he was aware also of the destruction of Jerusalem (70 CE), and perhaps of the final occupation of Qumran by the Romans as well in 68 CE.[216]

Hence, in this particular case it seems the DSS represent, at least in part, the culmination of a transitionary period by which Belial had become a personified figure, with 1QM being a prime specimen of this development. It may also be that apocalypticism itself was the catalyst for this transition, as future-tense battles were envisioned, and the mythos grew over time. It only makes sense then, that Nero, an actual historical figure with a mythology of his own in the ancient world, could have been enfolded into this Jewish tradition. Consequently, although Nero as an historical figure and the so-called Nero redivivus legend existed quite apart from, and outside of, the exclusively Jewish cultural site of Qumran and Judea, we ought not to assume that pagan or non-Jewish sources stand as the most immediate fountainheads from which such

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[215] Note too that resurrection (ἀνάστασις) appears explicitly twice in John's Apocalypse (Rev 20:5, 6) with reference to a first resurrection event, and the implication of a second. See Aune, *Revelation*, 1090.

[216] See Magness, *The Archaeology of Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 68.

apocalyptic imagination arises in Revelation.[217] While we would not wish to contest the use of a wide range of ancient non-Jewish sources on the part of the John of Patmos, in this case we may readily point to at least one earlier Jewish source, namely 1QM and its affiliated writings from Qumran in general, as being a prior location from which Belial (and by later extension Nero) would have derived. As described above, over time *bly'l* in the Hebrew Scriptures became Belial (בליעל) in the DSS, and then Beliar (Βελιάρ) in the Christian Scriptures and early Jewish-Christian writings. This demonic figure, in turn, became an essential ingredient to John's Nero, if indeed John did draw from the Nero legend in the first place.

Rhetorically speaking the use of Belial represents a foil against which 1QM's Holy War may be waged. Without an antagonist there is no point in waging a war. In Revelation the corresponding figure is Satan, or the devil.[218] Both texts seek to persuade their readers/hearers that the war is justified because the antagonist is an enemy of God, and that God alone can defeat the evil persona lurking behind the earthly political powers, even as 1QM takes a more self-assured posture that emphasizes the onus of responsibility as being on the military, as opposed to Revelation which emphasizes the stance of martyrs.

Conversely, the threat of an evil antagonist also serves to instill fear, such that the reader/hearer is coaxed into a definitive decision to stand on the side of God, in opposition to Belial, Nero, the devil, and any other figure that represents the antagonist. The clear and stark line drawn between good and evil, which is driven by a justification of Holy War and a fear of landing on the wrong side, is the essence of the conflicts portrayed by both of our primary documents. Granted that the methods of execution are in opposition, yet the conflicts are similar,

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[217] To the contrary, when a Jewish gene pool exists, it is from within these sources where we must assume primacy of influence when aspects of Jewish and biblical Christian literature is in question. Once these sources are exhausted and found silent with regard to a given phenomenon, only then should secondary or non-Jewish sources be brought in for comparison.

[218] Cf. Rev 2:9, 10, 13, 24; 3:9; 12:9, 12; 20:2, 7, 10.

and so too are the reasons for adhering to the model(s) of Holy War presented by either text.

One may incorrectly assume that a dualism exists between the antagonists (Belial, Nero, etc.)

and the protagonists (God, his angels, etc.), but both 1QM and Revelation depict a created and

subordinate antagonist who is destined to lose the final battle at the hand of a superior creator.

As such, both texts seek to remind the reader/hearer of this imbalance of power, and to induce a

response of loyalty to God, and a contempt towards the enemy.

2.2.3   1QM 1:8-13a – Destruction and Carnage

> 8. Then [the Sons of Rig]hteousness shall shine to all ends of the world,
> continuing to shine forth until the end of the appointed seasons of darkness. Then
> at the time appointed by God, His great excellence shall shine for all the times of
> 9. e[ternity] for peace and blessing, glory and joy, and long life for all Sons of
> Light. On the day when the Kittim fall there shall be a battle and horrible carnage
> before the God of
> 10. Israel, for it is a day appointed by Him from ancient times as a battle of
> annihilation for the Sons of Darkness. On that day the congregation of the gods
> and the congregation of men shall engage one another, resulting in great carnage.
> 11. The Sons of Light and the forces of Darkness shall fight together to show the
> strength of God with the roar of a great multitude and the shout of gods and men;
> a day of disaster. It is a time of
> 12. distress fo[r al]l the people who are redeemed by God. In all their afflictions
> none exists that is like it, hastening to its completion as an eternal redemption. On
> the day of their battle against the Kittim,
> 13. they shall g[o forth for] carnage in battle.

In leading up to the announced format of the battle, a seven round war which culminates

with God breaking what is essentially a tie between the forces of Darkness and those of Light,

we see several thematic elements associated with Holy War, a number of which relate to aspects

of John's Apocalypse. With an eye towards righteousness and Light ultimately overcoming

Darkness and wickedness at the end of their appointed season/time (1:8), a repeated three-fold

emphasis on *destruction/carnage* (נחשיר)[219] is said to mark the battle to come (1:9,10, and 13). This outcome takes an apparent toll on both sides, as it will be (according to 1:11-12a), a "time of distress fo[r al]l the people who are redeemed by God." Simultaneously, the forces of darkness will suffer a final blow.[220] There will be great panic and hearts will melt (1:5 from the previous section with 1:14 from the next),[221] and, the readers are told in regard to the magnitude of suffering expected to occur, that, "In all their afflictions none exists that is like it, hastening to its completion as an eternal redemption (1:12b)."

With respect to the thrice repeated statement of carnage/destruction (*nḥšyr*), we see in 1QM a sustained and focused concern with the sheer destruction of the enemy, a focus which is partly shared by John of Patmos. Among the scattered references in Revelation that most directly indicate carnage and destruction are the exhortation to "be faithful until death" (Rev 2:10); the threat that "I will kill her children" (Rev 2:23); the appearance of the 'four horsemen,' one of which is named Death for his ability to take life (Rev 6:8); and an explicit note that "many men died" due to the waters which had turned bitter (Rev 8:11). Following these, we are also told that people would suffer so greatly that they would desire death, but it will allude them (Rev 9:6); various compounding plagues are mentioned that would kill a full third of mankind (Rev 9:15,18); and a pair of "witnesses" are depicted as having been executed, with their corpses left lying in the street (Rev 11:7-8). When John brings the first beast to the stage, of its victims the sentiment is voiced that, "If anyone kills with the sword, with the sword he must be killed," (Rev

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[219] In the entire DSS corpus the rare term used here (*nḥšyr*), only appears in 1QM, giving credence to the evolution of the document as having developed from Col 1 onward. Qimron notes that it of Persian origin. See *2.2.4.4 The Question of Persian Influence*.

[220] "Throughout the Bible darkness is often a symbol of evil, misfortune, death, and oblivion." N.M. Sarna, *Genesis: The Traditional Hebrew Text with New JPS Translation* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1989). Also see Isa 5:20, 30; 8:22; 9:1; Nah 1:8; Zeph 1:15; Ps 88:11–13; Job 10:20–22; 17:12–13; Lam 3:2; Eccl 6:4.

[221] Due to lacunae in the text, it is questionable as to precisely who will experience this fear, but it seems likely the Sons of Darkness will be thrown into panic akin to that of the enemies of the people of God during the Conquest.

13:10). Following this, the depiction of veritable rivers of blood are envisioned (Rev 14:2), with the sea having been turned into blood, such that every creature within it dies as a result (Rev 16:3). Throughout the text the blood of Jesus (i.e., the death of Jesus) is referred to repeatedly (Rev 1:5; 5:9; 7:14; 12:11; 17:6; 19:2,13). At the climactic height of the drama, the harlot/city of Babylon/Rome is burned with fire (18:8), and the birds of prey feast on the carnage of those who remain (19:17-18, 21). Taken all together these passages make for a truly gory representation.

Yet, in comparison with 1QM, Revelation's destruction and carnage become secondary features to the fantastical figures involved in the author's staging. On the balance 1QM is more preoccupied with the destruction and carnage of conventional warfare than Revelation is, even though Revelation might be characterized as more picturesque. So, while we see an angelic figure summon the birds of the air to feast on the victims of Holy War in Rev 19:17-18, in 1QM the task of warfare is placed almost entirely on the shoulders of the human armies of God.[222] In comparison with 1QM, Revelation is more concentrated (in the ultimate sense) on the *cessation* of war when the final battle is done. To be sure, 1QM 1:9 (and elsewhere) does display explicit celebration and anticipation of "peace and blessing, glory and joy, and long days for all the sons of light," which imbues the document with a sense of hope, but the primary rhetorical aim of the War Scroll is to portray the simple destruction of the enemies of God and the carnage that ensues, rather than the wholesale transformation/re-creation of the cosmos. As mentioned, the War Scroll is a revenge fantasy. By comparison, we can contrast John's rhetorical bent as well, which is, in part, set on pointing his suffering readers and hearers towards *the world to come*

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[222] This comparison does seem to bolster the claim of Bauckham, which sees Revelation as functioning like a Christian War Scroll, as the focus of 1QM is almost exclusively (but not entirely) on the human endeavor of Holy War. We will see the participation of angelic beings in forthcoming sections. See Bauckham, "The Book of Revelation as a Christian War Scroll."

while instilling fear into those who might reject Christ. This he does in lieu of the historical

earthly warfare occurring in the world, both during John's own day and ours as well.

With regard to 1QM 1:11-12a, noting that this will be a "time of distress fo[r al]l the

people who are redeemed by God," we see an echo/quote of the Danielic phrase – *time of*

distress (עת צרה), "such as never occurred since there was a nation until that time."[223] This

phrase stands at the crux of Bauckham's argument that Revelation functions like a Christian War

Scroll, insofar as he associates it with Rev 7:14, "These are the ones who come out of the *great*

tribulation, and they have washed their robes and made them white in the blood of the Lamb"

(emphasis added). Bauckham, associating the 'great tribulation' of Revelation with this 'time of

distress' from Daniel (and now by extension 1QM), notes that 1QM celebrates the Holy War

victory with the washing of clothes:

> "After they have withdrawn from the slain to enter the camp, all of them shall
> sing the hymn of return. In the morning *they shall wash their clothes, cleanse*
> *themselves of the blood of the sinful bodies*, and return to the place where they had
> stood, where they had formed the battle line before the slain of the enemy fell."
>
> (1QM 14:2-3, emphasis added)

This eschatological post-battle ritual, says Bauckham, is reinterpreted by John of Patmos

to include not only the cleansing ritual itself, but the transformation of the tarnished garments,

such that they become "white in the blood of the Lamb."[224] It is this action which Bauckham

argues signifies *martyrdom*, an effectively passive response to Holy War, as opposed to the

active participation on the part of 1QM's soldiers.[225]

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[223] Dan 12:1.

[224] Rev 7:14.

[225] Says Bauckham, "The stress is therefore on martyrdom as a voluntary act." Here we delineate between what Bauckham describes as the "messianic war" (with Christ as the central figure), and the present focus, i.e., that of classic Israelite Holy War as it evolved over time. See Bauckham, "The Book of Revelation as a Christian War Scroll."

But 1QM adds yet another descriptor, saying (in 1:12), "In all their afflictions *none exists*

that is like it, hastening to its completion as an eternal redemption, (emphasis added)." This

phrasing, notes Aune, is a *topos*, used to depict the rhetorical intensity of the thing in question.[226]

It may be associated with a similar depiction of intensity in Rev 16:19, "…and there was a great

earthquake, such as there had not been since man came to be upon the earth." Both Aune and

Yadin find overlap between Revelation and 1QM at the intersection of this phraseology. Yadin

sees a description of severe troubles for all Israel, not limited to the sect.[227] Thus we see in both

1QM and Revelation a propensity for expressing great intensity with the same rhetorical

approach: Nothing like the aforementioned catastrophe has ever happened before.

We may place 1QM 1:11 alongside clear statements regarding great fear, panic, and

figuratively hearts melting, as seen in 1:5 and 1:14, noting again that, while 1QM does pay more

attention to human and military combat than does Revelation, there are indications that its Holy

War involves fighting on the part of angels alongside the conflicts of men, even when it is not

explicitly portrayed. 1QM 1:11 alludes to this aspect when it says, "The Sons of Light and the

forces of Darkness shall fight together to show the strength of God with the roar of a great

multitude and the shout of gods and men." Not only does this statement reiterate the Qumranic

ethical duality between symbolic Light and Darkness, but we see also the communion with the

angels, by which angelic beings were understood to dwell among the *yaḥad*.[228] Of particular

interest is the "roar" (קול) and "shout" (תרועה), voiced by both angels (gods) and men, which

accompany the disastrous day that is marked by victory and carnage. This dynamic, combined

with the great fear and panic of 1QM 1:5 with 1:14, are reminiscent of the Holy War(s) of the

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[226] Aune, *Revelation,* 900.

[227] See Yadin, *The Scroll of the War*, f.n. at 1:12, p.261. This is, in fact, Yadin's single reference to Revelation in his classic 1QM commentary.

[228] Schiffman and Vanderkam, *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* s.v. "Angels," by Michael Mach, 24-27.

Conquest era, starting with the fall of Jericho.[229] Consequently we see similarities between

1QM's Holy War sensibilities and that of the earlier Israelites coming out from the wilderness.

In sum, both 1QM and Revelation depict a great deal of violence and killing, albeit

employing varying degrees of rhetorical flourish; both draw on language from Dan 12:1, to

represent a 'time of distress' (or tribulation) which the true followers of God will be required to

endure; both texts envision and represent the experiences involved to be unlike anything that has

ever happened in human history prior; and both understand the Holy War to be engaged (in one

form or another) by both men and angels. Other similarities include 1QM envisioning panic on

the part of the enemy (1QM 1:5, 14), which corresponds to Revelation's depiction of the enemies

of God crying out to be buried under falling rocks (Rev 6:15-16). The use of violence on the part

of the War Scroll is celebrated when the final victory is portrayed, and so too is the destruction

of Rome/Babylon in Rev 19. Revelation, for its part, puts a greater emphasis on the peaceful

cessation of warfare at its conclusion, and there comes a point at which the carnage and

destruction wrought by the enemies is 'lamented' within the celebration of victory in Rev 18:16-

24. In a somewhat ironic twist, the final destruction of the forces of evil initiates in both texts a

euphoric response that serves to vindicate the massive bloodshed which precipitated it. The

reader/hearer is thus persuaded that such a victory will be so sensational that all the suffering and

warfare that went into it will be worth the pain and agony required. Opposition to Rome, and the

unseen forces that are involved in both text's Holy Wars are thereby presented as potentially

deadly but entirely necessary. The reward for victory at the end of the endeavor coaxes the

reader/hearer to take a positive outlook with regard to requisite violence (either militant or by

way of martyrdom), which serves to cement the commitment demanded by the stark choice

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[229] Cf. Josh 6:20.

between the forces of good and evil. In short, the defeat of evil is presented as a violent defeat, and both documents convey the clear sense that such a response is mandatory.

Finally, the inclination of 1QM to draw from Israel's Conquest including the fall of Jericho is seen here in these early stages, and will be reinforced in the following section wherein the seven-stage format of the Holy War is formally introduced, and the numerological issue(s) of both texts (1QM and Revelation) begin to coincide in this regard. It is to these matters to which we now turn.

2.2.4   1QM 1:13b-17 — Heptadic Structure(s) and Historical Holy War

13b. In three lots the Sons of Light shall stand firm so as to strike a blow at wickedness, and in three the army of Belial shall strengthen themselves so as to force the retreat of the forces
14. [of Light. And when the] banners of the infantry cause their hearts to melt, then the strength of God will strengthen the he[arts of the Sons of Light.] In the seventh lot the great hand of God shall overcome
15. [Belial and al]l the angels of his dominion, and all the men of [his forces shall be destroyed forever].
16. […] the holy ones shall shine forth in support of […] the truth for the annihilation of the Sons of Darkness. Then […]
17. […] a great [r]oar […] they took hold of the implement[s of war…]

To begin this section, it is worth noting briefly that both the scholarly world and the public at large are most fortunate that this passage of the War Scroll has been preserved at all. The damage running along the bottom of the entire scroll makes for a tremendous amount of guess work at the end of each column where the lines have been completely worn away. Had the damage been only slightly higher up on the scroll, the seven-staged format of 1QM's final war may have been lost to us entirely, so it is indeed quite fortuitous that the harm done has left lines 13 and 14 largely intact, as it is this section from which the heptadic structure of 1QM's apocalyptic battle is derived.

The bottom section of column 1 provides an indication of how evenly matched are the opposing forces in the Holy War, a battle which will ultimately be decided by the "great hand of God (1:14)." It deals with the temporal yet symbolic nature of the war, looking forward to its end results, while viewing the unfolding events from within the rubric of a heptadic structure. This heptadic numerological framework seems to anticipate a similar approach as that of the many structures used by Revelation. In this and the following sections, we will consider 1QM's use of numerology as compared with Revelation, and the source(s) of inspiration which lie behind both texts; we will see how these features tie directly to the use of the Holy War theme within both.

2.2.4.1 The Generic Numerology of 1QM and Revelation

Profound modesty is the best policy when it comes to probing the numerological concerns of ancient mankind. There can be little doubt that any given numerical value may have taken on a significantly weightier symbolic meaning in the distant past than it does for today's post-enlightenment rationalist thinker. Thoroughly utilitarian in our approach to numbers and measurement, we, as a rule, do not infuse numbers with the symbolic mysticism that people of antiquity were often inclined to, which leaves us in a position to puzzle over what their intentions were when it comes to the numerology of ancient literature. Bauckham has done clarifying work with regard to 666, the number of the beast as portrayed in Rev 13:18, and this number may be an exception to the rule,[230] but our present concern is to avoid getting bogged down in the details of Jewish gematria and Pythagorean arithmetic. Rather, our immediate focus lies on the use of

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[230] Bauckham has analyzed the nuances of this number to the point of concluding that John of Patmos "was setting his readers thinking." Unlike many numbers in ancient texts, 666 does seem to have a traceable rationale to its associative meaning. See Bauckham, *The Climax of Prophecy,* 384-431.

the number *seven* in particular, as seen so prominently in the Holy Wars of 1QM and Revelation, and to observe how these relate to one another in their respective settings. Consequently, we are not laboring under the pretense of a claim to uncover some encrypted substance heretofore unknown regarding the number seven. Rather, we are drawing out the larger picture, within which both of our documents may be understood to have derived an overlapping understanding of the significance of the number seven as it pertains to Holy War, and which, perhaps, spurred them towards framing their respective Holy War depictions within a formal heptadic literary setting. In essence we are looking at the number seven as a means of expressing the violence of war in both our documents.

In his study on biblical numerology, J.J. Davis draws the semi-controversial conclusion that seven is the only number widely employed in both the Hebrew and Christian Scriptures which unquestionably shows a specific symbolic usage. Davis bolsters his argument by citing a wide range of extra-biblical literature in which seven is similarly invested with symbolic meaning.[231] He further supports this contention with the observation that nowhere in the Hebrew Bible (apart from the prominent and multitudinous use of the number seven), do we see another number being associated with something approaching an overt or explicit theological axiom, nor do we see the Christian Scriptures pointing backwards to any specific number(s) whatsoever, with the intention of providing some symbolically illuminating insight. Moreover, he argues, even the most prolifically employed numbers in the Bible (including seven) may be said, at best, to imply only the most broadly symbolic meanings, such as 'completeness,' or 'perfection;' none of which is theologically specific. He argues cogently that the mystical approach to numerology is of Greek origin, and that it "finds its development primarily among the Gnostics, Neo-

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[231] Among these he cites the Epic of Gilgamesh, the Amarna letters, and Ugaritic mythology. John J. Davis, *Biblical Numerology: A Basic Study of the Use of Numbers in the Bible* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 2002).

Pythagoreans, and Jewish allegorists."[232] Davis concludes by contending the systematic

approach to biblical numerology in particular to be a post-apostolic development, not one the

majority of biblical authors were fixated on. With the exception of John's Apocalypse, he

argues, there is scant interest in numerology in the Christian Scriptures at all. In response, while

not being quite so adamant as Davis' insistence that the number seven represents the one and

only number invested with explicit symbolic meaning in the Hebrew and Christian Scriptures,

we would, in principle, concur with his overall understanding of biblical numerology. As a

consequence, this allows us leeway to avoid the endless speculations and debates regarding

numerology in the ancient world, and frees us to consider the number seven as it appears in 1QM

and Revelation specifically.

To that end, 1QM's general use of numbers is largely restricted to the first two major

sections, comprised of Col 1 (the *Localized War against the Kittim*), and Col 2-9 (the *War of the*

Divisions). In the liturgy of the third section, comprising Col 10-14, the only number to appear

is the number seven, and therein but a single reference describing "…the seven vainglorious

nations."[233] In the fourth and final section of 1QM, the *Universalized War against the Kittim* of

Col 15-19, there is a single reference to the six priests who blow trumpets, followed by a loud

blast of the ram's horn, appearing in 1QM 16:7-8. This lone numerical reference ties the

universalized war back again to the war of divisions, at 8:8-10, of which the second reference is

a near repetition of the first.

Thus, in the first column of 1QM we see simply the mention of 'three' war victories for

each opposing side (Light *vs* Dark, in 1:13; 3+3=6), followed by the predicted *seventh* lot, at

which God strikes the decisive blow. In the second section immediately following, in columns

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[232] Ibid., 124.
[233] 1QM 11:9.

2-9, we see over a hundred references to both cardinal and ordinal numerical values, a far more frequent usage than any other section in the rest of the scroll. The numerical figures in the 'war of divisions' section have to do with the length of the war itself, the qualifying age of its participants, the measurements and sizes of the articles of war (including swords, shields, banners, etc.), as well as the arrangement and head-count of the troops. Subsequent to this section the use of numbers in both the *liturgical* and *universal war* sections drop down to almost none. This may be due to the nature of liturgy, over and against the logistics of war planning, but at the very least we can see from this brief overview the marks of recension in 1QM.

Revelation, in contrast, is not nearly so uneven. The number seven is indeed used more prominently than any other numerical figure in the book, but the broader numerology of Revelation is evenly spread throughout, suggesting a literary cohesion which 1QM does not possess. For example, we see the twenty-four elders appearing at Rev 4:4,10; 5:8, and again 19:4. Likewise, we see the four living creatures appear across the book in Rev 4:6-8; 5:6,8,14; 6:1-7; 7:11; 14:3; and 19:4. This numerical unity runs throughout John's Apocalypse, but the number seven remains our primary concern in both texts; 1QM prescribes a seven-stage Holy War at the outset, while in Revelation the number seven is disbursed more uniformly throughout.

While it is not uncommon to encounter, both in scholarly and popular literature, the assertion that in Hebrew biblical literature *seven* means 'completeness,'[234] this simplification is not helpful to our present concerns. Generally speaking, the way this summarizing description is arrived at is inspired by the Genesis account of creation, and, so the logic goes, if the creation of the universe took place over the course of seven days (or 'periods,' the singular being יוֹם), then any endeavor on the part of mankind may similarly be understood to be 'complete' within the

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[234] See Davis, *Biblical Numerology*, 119. Also see Robert H. Mounce, *The Book of Revelation* (Grand Rapids, Mich: Eerdmans, 1977), 77.

framework of seven periods of time. But this is an oversimplification, because even the Genesis account reflects a *balance* of activity which betrays a complexity within the seven periods of time, seemingly intent on drawing the reader into a deeper contemplation of the profundity of the creation narrative. Be that as it may, it has been widely understood that the first six days depict the creation of what might be described 'containers,' followed immediately by the respective 'filling' of said containers. This sabbatical structure can be readily portrayed in outline form.[235]

Container	Contents
Day 1: Light	Day 4: Stars
Day 2: Sky and Sea	Day 5: Birds and Fish
Day 3: Dry land	Day 6: Animals and Plants

Following these six days, the seventh is said to be the day when God rested.[236] In light of this, we can see how the number seven not only would have represented completeness and totality, but that a sense of balance and internal symmetry was also understood to be inherent within the number seven, there for anyone curiously probing the Genesis creation narrative to see and recognize. Hence, when we arrive at 1QM's description of the final battle as being a repeated clash of forces wherein both sides (Light and Dark), are said to prevail in equal opposition, it is only fitting that the *balance* inherent within the number seven is tipped once and for all in 1:14 by the 'great hand of God.' This neatly mirrors the Genesis account, such that the anticipated eschatological finale reflects the creational origins, and both 1QM and Revelation seem to be keenly attuned to this perspective.

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[235] This is adapted from Sarna, *Genesis*. Sarna uses the terms, "Resource," and "Utilizer."
[236] Gen 2:1.

Yet, while this is a neat fit for 1QM, the controversies begin to arise when attempts are made to discern a structure to Revelation that is based solely on the number seven.[237] Clearly there is no ignoring the frequency with which John of Patmos applies this number to churches/messages, spirits, angels, seals, trumpets, bowls, horns, eyes, thunders, hills, and seven assorted beatitudes.[238] But whereas 1QM simply spells out its seven-fold cycle at the start, Revelation uses symbolic sevens with such regularity that one begins to wonder if this number is indeed the format for the entirety of the book.[239] In the Holy War depicted by Revelation, the central question that is tied directly to the issue of the book's structure, and by proxy to its use of symbolic sevens, is whether or not the visions recorded are intended to unfold in a linear fashion through time, or do they 'recapitulate' one another, so as to repeat or intensify the occurrences within a single eschatological event (or set of events). The recapitulation theory has both adherents and its detractors,[240] but what is fundamentally agreed upon by most, is that the prolific use of symbolic sevens by Revelation points to the significance of *that number* which goes beyond the use of other numerical values in the text.[241] And while we may grant that Revelation does indeed make use of other key symbolic numbers which do provide for varying degrees of accurate (or inaccurate) interpretation, the sheer prominence of the number seven in the context of an apocalyptic Holy War begs the question as to what might have been the

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[237] "In current research on the book of Revelation, there is very little consensus on the overall structure of the work and how that structure should be interpreted." Yarbro Collins, *The Combat Myth in the Book of Revelation*, 8.

[238] C.f. Rev 1:4, 12, 16; 3:1, 4:5; 5:1, 6; 8:2; 10:3; 11:13; 12:3; 13:1; 15:1, 7; 16:1; 17:9, 10.

[239] This notion has been proposed by A. Ferrer and debunked by D. Aune. See Aune, *Revelation*, xciv.

[240] A.Y. Collins for example is an adherent; Aune is a detractor.

[241] The approach to structure recognized by this researcher is essentially in line with that of Korner and Mollett, with the slight exception of the 7th of any series representing a 'summary' of the prior six items in any heptadic sequence. It seems the 7th item in each series of Revelation (whether it be seals, trumpets, or bowls), often represents an *expansion* into the next vision within the literary structure. The visual indicator, "I saw" seems very clearly to be the dominating marker which John of Patmos uses to drive the text forward. See Ralph Korner, "'And I Saw...' An Apocalyptic Literary Convention for Structural Identification in the Apocalpyse," *Novum Testamentum* 42.2 (2000): 160–83. Also Margaret Mollett, "Telescopic Reiteration: How Ralph Korner Left Behind a Linear Reading of the Visionary Content in the Apocalypse," *Religion and Theology* 21.3–4 (2014): 401–20.

inspiration for such a formality. Clearly the authors of both 1QM and Revelation saw fit to frame the final Holy War with a seven-fold structure set in relief against any other form of numerology which could have been used. As it stands, this leaves us with two main issues regarding this aspect of our comparison: 1) Since 1QM and Revelation share heptadic structures, do these structures derive from common origins? And 2), if so, from where does the impetus arise to impose a heptadic structure onto the motif of Holy War? The following sections will attempt to address these and other questions.

2.2.4.2 Heptads and the Question of Danielic Influence on Holy War

The book of Daniel (chapter 11 predominantly) has had an outsized impact on the language of 1QM Col 1. Carmignac, in his analysis of scriptural references found in the War Scroll, recognized no less than five separate passages in this particular column wherein 1QM has incorporated language directly from Dan 11.[242] This column draws so extensively from Daniel that it can be argued the War Scroll may derive the inspiration for its Holy War schema primarily from that biblical book. The list of quotations, per Carmignac, includes five separate instances taken from Dan 11, one from Dan 12:1, plus an additional quote from either Dan 10:6, or Ezra 23:42. Indeed, the high concentration of Danielic quotes has led some to conclude that 1QM 1 represents a midrash on Daniel.[243] It is noteworthy also that Daniel is an influential book over the larger Qumran corpus, with eight copies found among the DSS. The five Danielic references per Carmignac, in 1QM 1, are as follows.

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[242] Jean Carmignac, "Les citations de l'Ancien Testament dans 'La Guerre des Fils de Lumiére contre les Fils de Ténèbres.'" *Revue Biblique* 63.3 (1956): 375–90.
[243] See Frederick F. Bruce, "War Scroll," *Encyclopedia Judaica*, 16:1558-60. Also Beale, *The Use of Daniel in Jewish Apocalyptic Literature and in the Revelation of St. John*, 61.

In Dan 11:11 we are told the king of the South (identified most likely with Ptolemy III) will wage war against the king of the North (Seleucus II). This king will 'go out' (יצא) in a fit of rage, and "wage war against the king of the North," (ונלחם עמו עם־מלך הצפון). Correspondingly, in 1QM 1:4 we are told "[the king of] the Kittim [shall enter] into Egypt," and in his time he too will go out (יצא) "to wage war against the kings (plural), of the North," (להלחם במלכי הצפון).

Dan 11:32 refers to those who "make themselves violate the covenant," an expression which is directly parroted in 1QM 1:2, (מרשיעי ברית). In the case of Daniel these covenant violators are placed in juxtaposition against those "who know their God will display strength and take action." In 1QM 1:2 the violators of the covenant are juxtaposed with, "the sons of Levi, the sons of Judah, and the sons of Benjamin, the exiled to the desert," who together will "wage war against them." In Daniel's case the primary instigator would be understood as Antiochus IV Epiphanes, while 1QM makes reference here to the Kittim, a potential tie-in with the Maccabean revolt in both cases.[244]

The remaining references fall into the more questionable and controversial section from Dan 11:40-12:1, wherein the historical record as it pertains to Antiochus IV is discarded, and the identity or historical veracity of the antagonist becomes questionable. This section is thought to reflect, in part, the rise of the Hasmonean Revolt (with Michael the great prince being a cypher for Judas Maccabeus), or, barring such a possibility, that the redactor has eschatologized the final section of Daniel, in keeping with the explicit reference to resurrection which follows in 12:2. In any case, we see in Dan 11:42-43 a war description indicating the king of the North to attack Egypt and overcome it, taking possessions of its treasures. Assuming this figure to be Antiochus IV, we know without question such an event did not occur, since Rome forbade him from

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[244] Cf., 1 Macc 1:1. For a discussion on the difficulties of identifying the Kittim due to inconsistency and ambiguity in Daniel, 1QM, 1 Maccabees and elsewhere, see Brian Schultz, *Conquering the World: The War Scroll (1QM) Reconsidered*, Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah v. 76 (Leiden ; Boston: Brill, 2009), 138-139.

attacking Egypt. For our present purposes, we note that what is clearly seen here in the language

is a simple assertion that Egypt "will not escape (Dan 11:42)," (לא תהיה לפליטה), a prediction

which 1QM 1:6 applies to the Kittim/Rome using a different word order (ופלטה לוא תהיה).

In Dan 11:44, the author describes a 'distraction' of some sort as coming from East and

North, which disconcerts the antagonist and diverts his attention, leading him to 'destroy'

(להשמיד) a multitude of people. This is an expression used also in 1QM 1:4 to describe,

presumably, the "[king of the] Kittim" coming out of Egypt to attack the kings of the North, and

in a rage of anger attempting also to 'destroy' (להשמיד) the "horn of I[srael]." However, we are

told in Dan 11:45, this figure will come to his end "and there will be no help for him," thus

employing yet another expression which is also quoted exactly in 1QM 1:6, but applied to

Ashur/Syria, (ואין עוזר לו).[245]

In summary, Dan 12:1 describes the culmination of all these events as, "a time of *distress*

(צרה) such as never occurred since there was a nation until that time." In similar wording, 1QM

1:12 says, "Of all their *sufferings* (צרה), none will be like this, from its (hastening to its

completion)[246] until eternal redemption is fulfilled."

It is readily apparent that the language of Dan 11 is evident throughout 1QM Col 1, but

the actors are markedly different. Whereas Daniel refers to the Syrian wars almost explicitly,

1QM has eschatologized these phrases into a cosmic battle between the Sons of Light and the

Sons of Darkness; whereas Daniel traces the wars of the northern Seleucid and southern

Ptolemaic kings quite accurately, 1QM has couched the Holy War in terms directed at the Kittim

(Rome), thereby updating the political circumstances. Similarly, whereas Daniel takes aim at

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[245] For a discussion on the strengths and weaknesses of equating the Kittim with Syria, see Schultz, *Conquering the World*, 129-137.

[246] Per the translation of Wise, Abegg, and Cook.

Antiochus IV, 1QM takes aim at Belial (Nero), an adversary later shared by John of Patmos in Revelation.[247]

As noted, all of this has led some to conclude that 1QM Col 1 is a midrash on Dan 11, and in part this is an apt description. What makes it intriguing is the fact that Dan 11 is considered by scholars to be the most historically accurate section of Daniel, yet 1QM seems to either ignore or be unaware of its historical underpinnings.[248] However, it appears the author(s) of 1QM are indeed eschatologizing Dan 11, in response to the *yaḥad's* own current political situation, rather than being merely ignorant, or simply disregarding this historical background. Consequently, what we see in 1QM 1, is not merely a commentary on the biblical text, but a re-fashioning of the chess pieces on the board (as it were), with the aim of contemporizing the Holy War. In this way, 1QM has a foot firmly planted within the currents of Danielic history, while providing for an updated political situation which John of Patmos also inherits, dealing as he does with Nero and Rome. It is here, we would argue, where 1QM serves as a true nexus between Jewish and Christian apocalyptic. There is no other piece of ancient literature that constitutes such a transitional bridge.

Nevertheless, 1QM's *heptadic* Holy War structure does *not* derive from Daniel. Of this we may be certain, as Daniel uses the number seven on several occasions, none of which pertain to the balanced sabbatical framework of Holy War as per 1QM, and many of which fall within the earlier Aramaic sections. For example, Dan 3:19 makes reference to the furnace into which Daniel and his compatriots were thrown as being heated (symbolically) 'seven' times more than normal. In the saga of Nebuchadnezzar's insanity, it is said repeatedly that the king would be in

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[247] See section *2.2.2 Belial and Nero*.
[248] See Ableman, "The Kittim and the Historical Context of the War Scroll."

a state of mental humiliation for 'seven' periods.[249] It is only in the enigmatic section on the

'Seventy Weeks' (Dan 9:24-27), where we find the use of symbolic sevens tied to something

apart from strict narrative, but even in this case the mention of warfare appears as an auxiliary

feature alongside more dominant themes such as the rebuilding of Jerusalem, the coming of the

Anointed One, etc. And although Daniel's use of symbolic sevens includes Holy War as part

and parcel of far more significant cosmic events, for 1QM the seven-fold Holy War is itself the

main event. Moreover, when we consider that 1QM has drawn so heavily from the language of

Dan 11, it is striking to note that there are no mentions whatsoever of the number seven to be

found anywhere in this most historically mindful chapter of Daniel, as its content is concerned

almost entirely with reframing the Syrian wars between the Seleucid North and the Ptolemaic

South. Thus, while some might consider 1QM to be a midrash on Dan 11, we must look

elsewhere for its heptadic structural inspiration. There are several features which 1QM may

have derived from Daniel,[250] but heptadic structure explicitly within the context of Holy War is

not one of those.

　　　　With regard to the heptadic structure(s) of Revelation, the issue is somewhat more

definitive, despite the greater complexity of this text. In total, Revelation uses the cardinal

number 'seven' (ἑπτά) fifty-four or fifty-five times (depending on the textual evidence of Rev

5:4),[251] with another five instances in the ordinal form of 'seventh' (ἕβδομος). In no instance do

these appear in reference to calendar dates or metrics, and the only tangible quantity of substance

referenced is the seven churches. These seven churches are/were of known geographical

locations, but even here the number seven is used symbolically, as a representation of a wider

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[249] Dan 4:16; 4:23; 4:25; 4:32.

[250] More readily apparent are, "…vocabulary, apocalyptic thought, angelology." Schiffman and
Vanderkam, *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 2000 ed., s.v. "Book of Daniel," by Eugene Ulrich, 170-173.

[251] See Bruce M. Metzger, *A Textual Commentary on the Greek New Testament* (Stuttgart, DE: Deutsche
Bibelgesellschaft; United Bible Societies, 2007).

totality of churches in the region. Hence the number seven is used symbolically throughout the book.[252] Regarding these heptadic structures, Yarbro Collins observes, "Many exegetes have pointed out that the first key to the plan of the visions of the book of Revelation is the fact that they are, to a great extent, organized in a series of seven."[253] Aune likewise states flatly, "The most significant symbolic number in Revelation is the number seven."[254] Indeed, scholars are in wide agreement in this regard, but it would be rare to find those who would assert that these heptadic structures are derived originally from Daniel. This being the case, our present concern is not with the literary structure of Revelation, per se, but with the influence of heptads on its Holy War. Scholars have long struggled with understanding the structural framework of Revelation, and are divided over whether the events therein are seven-fold representations of a single event (i.e., some form of recapitulation),[255] or a series of events chained together in heptadic form.[256] But whatever the case may be, as is with 1QM, Revelation's prolific use of symbolic sevens does not appear to have come from Daniel either.

Daniel's wide-ranging influence on Revelation is perceived most clearly in places quite apart from the heptadic structures. For example, many scholars' initial association of Danielic material with anything appearing in Revelation is the description of the vision of Rev 1:7 as "coming with the clouds," a phrase which appears in Dan 7:13. This clear and direct association is recognized by Aune,[257] Koester,[258] Blount,[259] Fee,[260] and Mounce,[261] to name a few. It is

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[252] This would certainly include the symbolic use of seven as it pertains to the seven hills of Rome, upon which the woman sits in Rev 17:9.

[253] Yarbro Collins, *The Combat Myth in the Book of Revelation*, 13.

[254] Aune, *Revelation*, 115.

[255] Yarbro Collins, *The Combat Myth in the Book of Revelation*, 13-20.

[256] For a full discussion, see Aune, *Revelation*, xci-xcv.

[257] Ibid., 53-54.

[258] Craig R. Koester, *Revelation: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2014), 218.

[259] Brian K. Blount, *Revelation: A Commentary* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 2009), 37.

[260] Gordon D. Fee, *Revelation: A New Covenant Commentary* (Eugene, OR: Cascade Books, 2011), 11.

followed by the introductory, "I, John" of Rev 1:9, which is comparable to the "I, Daniel," of

Dan 7:15; 8:15, 27; 9:2; 10:2, 7; 12:5.[262] The vision which immediately follows in Rev 1:12-15,

depicting "one like a Son of man," as being clothed in linen and wearing a belt of gold, with

snowy white hair, eyes burning like fire, and feet like polished bronze, are all recognized as

visual descriptors driven by language taken from Dan 7:9; 7:13; 10:5-6.[263] Furthermore, Prigent

(among others) points out that the angelic figure raising his hand to make a vow in Rev 10:5 is

based on Dan 12:7, thus we can be "absolutely certain" he says, of the Danielic inspiration at this

point as well.[264] Several more examples could be given, but it is unnecessary. Generally

speaking, we can find overlapping agreement among a wide range of scholars on these and other

points where Daniel and Revelation clearly connect. We may even note that Beale has posited a

Danielic influence on Revelation which is so pervasive, that it forms the prototype text upon

which the book of Revelation itself is based.[265] Yet even the extensive list of parallels he

compiles as supporting argumentation does not include the notion of a Danielic heptadic

structure. To reiterate, it is clear that Daniel exerts a significant amount of influence on both

1QM and Revelation, but the distinctly heptadic structure, associated as it is here with Holy War,

appears not to derive from Daniel in either case.

With regard to Holy War in general, the more cosmic type of warfare found in Daniel, as

exemplified in Dan 7-8, is reflective of the imagistic warfare which appears also in Revelation,

while (as we've already seen) the Holy War language of Dan 11 underpins 1QM 1. Furthermore,

when we set Revelation and 1QM side-by-side together, we see not only the feature of shared

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[261] Mounce, *The Book of Revelation*, 72.

[262] See Aune, *Revelation*, 75. See Buchanan, *The Book of Revelation*, 54.

[263] See, Mounce, *The Book of Revelation*, 72-78. See Fee, *Revelation*, 15-17. See Blount, *Revelation: A Commentary*, 37, 43-44.

[264] See Pierre Prigent, *Commentary on the Apocalypse of St. John*, trans. Wendy Pradels (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2001), 345.

[265] For a refutation of this notion, see Aune, *Revelation*, 73-74.

heptadic structure(s), and a common antagonist in Rome/the Kittim, but also the teleological goal

of these Holy Wars as including the domination of Jerusalem as an essential part of any final

victory. This last point appears in 1QM at 1:3; 3:11; 7:4; 12:13,17; while in John's Apocalypse

the same goal is expressed in 3:12; 14:1, and in the expansive vision of the New Jerusalem in

21:1-27. There can be no doubt that both 1QM and Revelation consider Jerusalem to be a top

prize to be awarded as spoils to the victor of the final Holy War. This (presumably) occurs at the

seventh lot in the case of 1QM, and subsequent to the seventh bowl of wrath in Rev 16:17.[266]

Indeed, the entire impetus of the *yaḥad* community as a whole may be said to rest on the desire

to reclaim Jerusalem.[267]

In contrast, Daniel's interest in Jerusalem is set within the context of its own larger

concerns, namely, the prediction of an Anointed One appearing (and subsequently being cut off),

along with the infamous abomination that causes desolation of Dan 9:25-27, both of which

eclipse the rebuilding of Jerusalem in Daniel's context, which has the effect of relegating the

possibility of reclaiming the holy city to a secondary reference point or indicator of the

impending prophetic seasons. This isn't to say Daniel has zero interest in Jerusalem whatsoever,

as we do see the prophet depicted in exile, praying towards Jerusalem three times daily in Dan

6:10. But in taking all of these points together – i.e., the heptadic structure(s); the focus on

Rome/Kittim as primary antagonists; the overriding aim of re-taking Jerusalem, all of which

Daniel lacks – it can rightly be observed that, whatever Danielic influence may be said to have

been exerted over 1QM and Revelation, the two later documents have more in common with

each other (insofar as these points are concerned) than they do with the book of Daniel. As a

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[266] Here, note the statement of finality, "It is done."

[267] Cf., again, Schiffman's theory of a pre-Essene Sadducean origin of the *yaḥad*, consequently driven by a desire to reclaim its lost position of prominence.

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result, we must look elsewhere for primary sources of influence as it pertains to the institution of Holy War.

2.2.4.3 Conclusions

From what we have seen thus far we may summarize our conclusions as follows. First, while there is significant Danielic influence on both books, neither 1QM nor Revelation appears to derive its heptadic structure from Daniel. Moreover, and conversely, at this point we would suggest (without overstating the case), that it is more plausible that Revelation may derive its heptadic structure from 1QM than it does from Daniel. Second, we must look to other sources for this heptadic framework as it is applied to Holy War, which will be among the aims of the sections to follow.

2.2.4.4 The Question of Persian Influence

The cultural influence of concurrent societies alongside, in the midst of, or surrounding ancient Jewish and Christian people groups presents a substantive historical catalog. Among the influences from others that are readily apparent in both the Hebrew and Christian Scriptures are that of Egyptian, Canaanite (in its many permutations), Assyrian, Babylonian, (Medo-)Persian, and, as the transition into the Christian and rabbinical era dawns, we see abundant Hellenistic and Roman influence within the biblical texts. The Jewish biblical authors, and later (Jewish) Christian, would invariably be influenced by cross-cultural dialog between themselves and the cultures of those populations which surrounded them. Indeed, it is the intermediary Jewish Christian discourse of antiquity that gives rise to the present study. Hence, the question of Persian influence on our topic becomes principally important, and especially so at this juncture,

coming as it does on the heels of a discussion on the question of Danielic influence on the heptadic structure of Holy War within our two texts. As we have seen in the previous section, we have argued against the book of Daniel as a source of either dependence or analogy as it pertains to this particular feature; the heptadic structure of Holy War apparently being derived from elsewhere. But this affords us the opportunity now to consider the possibility of Persian influence on this, and other facets of our two texts, as the origins and development of apocalyptic thought and literature are decidedly incomplete without attention paid to the possibility and degree of contribution(s) on the part of ancient Persian sources to the topic at hand. Thus, immediately following Daniel, a look at the matter of Persian influence is a logical next step.

In moving then from Danielic apocalypticism to Persian, it is helpful to note that Daniel's points of contact with Persian culture are readily apparent in a number of places. Working progressively through the book, the tale of the lion's den in Dan 6, hinges on Darius' obligation to uphold the law "of the Medes and the Persians."[268] Dan 6:28 relays that the prophet, "enjoyed success in the reign of Darius, and in the reign of Cyrus the Persian."[269] The vision of Dan 8 is set at the location of Susa, the Achaemenid capital city whose archaeological remains are located in south-western Iran, and where the traditional Tomb of Daniel is situated today. This same chapter also records the vision of a ram which is described as having a pair of horns, each representing the kings of Media and Persia (Dan 8:20). In Dan 10, the angelic figure who appears and is said to reveal a vision of the future (Dan10:13-14), proceeds to tell Daniel that he has been occupied in some form of contention with (שר מלכות פרס), "the prince of the kingdom of Persia," a reference that is picked up a second time in Dan 10:20, with both references including the mention of assistance from the angelic figure of Michael. Finally, the lengthy vision itself,

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[268] Dan 6:8,12,15.

[269] This Darius "the Mede" is not to be mistaken for Darius I. "The reference is historically impossible and has caused much confusion." Jonas C. Greenfield, "Darius the Mede," *Encyclopedia Judaica,* 5:1303.

which runs through the duration of Dan 11-12, involves the appearance of four kings all arising from within Persia, (Dan 11:2). Indeed, moving from the question of Danielic influence on the heptadic structure of Holy War (or the lack thereof), to the question of Persian influence on the same is a natural progression.

This brings us to a complex question, specifically, from which cultural direction does the larger influence on apocalypticism flow? To restate A. Hultgård's framing of this issue, did Persian thought influence Jewish apocalypticism, and by extension Christian? Or rather, did Jewish, along with Gnostic, and Hellenistic thought influence the later Persian?[270] Moreover, and speaking to our present point, can we determine if the heptadic structure of Holy War, as seen in 1QM and Revelation, derives from Persian sources? We will take these questions in succession and narrow our focus as we progress, but it must be stated at the outset that scholars are not in full agreement with regard to the first question, and we will not attempt to settle that issue fully here. Nevertheless, there is correspondence between the various bodies of literature, so a brief overview of what the Persian documents provide is helpful even as our primary focus will continue to center on the issue of heptadic structure as it pertains to the motif of Holy War.

In brief, the Zoroastrian Pahlavi documents currently in our possession date from the third to sixth century. Hultgård demonstrates, however, that certain strains of thought from within these writings can be traced to much earlier: "There is basic continuity in the Persian expectation of the end, from the time of *Gāthās* (ca. 1000 BCE) down to the early Islamic period (seventh to tenth centuries CE)."[271] Citing *Yašt 19*, of the Younger Avesta, he provides evidence for the existence of a Persian understanding of a final apocalyptic battle during the 6th century BCE, the early Achaemenid period. Moreover, he argues, the major areas in which Persian

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[270] Anders Hultgård, "Persian Apocalypticism," in *The Encyclopedia of Apocalypticism*, 2000, 39–83.
[271] Ibid.

apocalypticism appears to have influenced Jewish thought, are the following: legend cosmology, dualist doctrines, and eschatology.[272] Thus, what we see is a late dating of the documents with respect to the era of 1QM and Revelation, but a far more ancient time frame regarding the ideas contained therein.

J. Barr counters, however, that to attribute Jewish apocalyptic features exclusively to Persian influence is an exaggeration, and he takes issue with the notion that Jewish apocalypticism could not have developed independent of *direct* Persian influence.[273] All that is needed, he contends, is a "reasonable hypothesis that can provide an explanation through internal Jewish development." To that end, Barr puts forth the theory that Jews reacted against Hellenism by training Persian ideas against it. By these means, Persian concepts came into Jewish thought via Greek cultural pressure: "The features that can be most plausibly understood to derive from Iranian religious influence emerge not in the Persian period but in the Greek."[274] In Barr's assessment there is evidence of both interest and disinterest in Persian culture on the part of the biblical authors, and he makes the point that Persian political power was of far more interest to Jews than Persian religion in the biblical texts. He pushes back against the notion of Persian influence on Jewish religion in general, and summarizes his position, saying, "…the Jewish evidence lacks any indication of curiosity about the distinctive character of Persian religion."[275]

Hultgård, for his part, acknowledges "a growing tendency to argue that Hellenistic, Jewish, and Gnostic ideas have influenced anthropological, cosmological, and apocalyptic ideas in the Pahlavi books." Hultgård further acknowledges the Persian influence to be "indirect,"

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[272] Ibid.
[273] Following Kuhn, Hengel, Neusner, Winston, Hinnells, etc. See James Barr, "The Question of Religious Influence: The Case of Zoroastrianism, Judaism, and Christianity," *J Am Acad Relig* 53.2 (1985): 201–235.
[274] Ibid.
[275] Ibid.

based on factors such as local geographic proximity; an analogous relationship between the

Persian Magi and the pre-Essene Zadokite priests; as well as simple oppression, which seems to

account for the apocalyptic impulse in general. He notes that in the case of the Persians outside

pressure came from Alexander the Great: "It seems that in the wake of Alexander's conquest of

the Achaemenian empire apocalypticism received a fresh stimulus."[276]

As mentioned, we are not intent on settling this larger issue, but the framing of the

dynamic of the argument is important to our question at hand. Broadly speaking, it does seem

unlikely, given the overwhelming size and sheer cultural potency of the Persian empire, that it

should exert *less* influence over Judean religion than the Jews might have exerted on the

Persians. But the magnitude of the Jewish literary tradition should not be understated; while

entire empires rise and fall, the written word has a capacity for endurance over time. Hence, the

argumentation of Hultgård is compelling with regard to the *indirectness* of the influence.

Hultgård addresses the question squarely when he asks and answers:

> "How much does the Judeo-Christian tradition owe to Persian apocalypticism?
> There was no direct and general borrowing of the Iranian apocalyptic eschatology
> as such by Judaism and Christianity. Instead, the influence exerted itself in an
> indirect way but was of no less importance. The encounter with Iranian religion
> produced the necessary stimulus for the full development of ideas that were
> slowly underway within Judaism."[277]

Even still, our present concern is yet centered on a more specific aspect of Holy War in

apocalyptic literature. So then, do we find any indication that Persian apocalyptic sensibilities

may have influenced the Jewish author(s) of 1QM, and perhaps by extension, Revelation? More

specifically, could the *heptadic structure* of Holy War that is shared by both 1QM and

Revelation have derived from these related Persian sources? To this end, there are two specific

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[276] Hultgård, "Persian Apocalypticism."
[277] Ibid.

features at the end of 1QM Col. 1 which warrant our attention: 1) a unique Persian loan word, and 2) the possibility of Persian cosmogonic dualism in the War Scroll.

With regard to both, it is worth noting at the outset a comment from Carmignac, who compiled the references listed in the previous section on Daniel, and who was adamant that 1QM contained *no* quotations or references that reflect Persian religion whatsoever. Regarding the possibility of such influence on the War Scroll and the Christian Scriptures as well, he stated:

> "When one considers that all these reminiscences were piled up in a writing of about 280 lines, the subject of which did not lend itself specifically to such borrowings, one does not hesitate to seek the profound inspiration of this work in the Old Testament, more than in Mazdaism. And we also have the explanation of some encounters with Christian thought: the author of the War [Scroll] and those of the New Testament drew from the same common fund, which is the Old Testament."[278]

The first aspect which must be held up against Carmignac's assertions is that of Persian loan words. There appears in 1QM 1:9 the word נחשיר (*nḥšyr*), meaning carnage/destruction. This term is a *hapax legomenon* in the context of the entirety of the DSS corpus, and it is recognized by Qimron, Yadin, and others to be of Persian origin.[279] Barr describes *nḥšyr* as a non-religious, somewhat generic term, and he sounds a note of caution with regard to drawing conclusions based on this word, as terms such as these often have made their way into Hebrew by way of Aramaic. Thus, we cannot know for certain if it implies direct contact between the Persian and Jewish cultures. The fact that it is associated with *warfare* is indeed relevant to the present study, but beyond that we would venture no further than Barr does. There is no

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[278] "Quand on songe que toutes ces réminiscences ont été entassées en un écrit de 280 lignes environ, dont le sujet ne se prêtait pas spéciale- ment à de tels emprunts, on n'hésite pas à chercher l'inspiration profonde de cet ouvrage dans l'Ancien Testament, plus que dans le mazdéisme. Et l'on possède aussi l'explication de certaines rencontres avec la pensée chrétienne : l'auteur de la Guerre et ceux du Nouveau Testament ont puisé dans le même fonds commun, qui est l'Ancien Testament." See "Les citations de l'Ancien Testament dans 'La Guerre des Fils de Lumiére contre les Fils de Ténèbres.'"

[279] Like Barr, Qimron supposes the word to have come into the Persian language by way of Aramaic. See Elisha Qimron, *The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 2008), 116. Also Yadin, *The Scroll of the War*, 260.

compelling reason to conclude direct Persian influence based on this single isolated word, although theories regarding analogy could certainly be proposed. For example, as Aramaic represented the lingua franca of the ancient Mediterranean world, the common colloquial terminology for carnage/destruction might easily have found its way into the Jewish vocabulary. Once a word is adopted from one culture into another (and then a third), it both loses and gains meaning, which could plausibly have happened with *nḥšyr*, as it was adopted by the author of 1QM. Nevertheless, the term on its own, while intriguing, does not lend substantive evidence to the notion of Persian inspiration for heptadic Holy War structure.[280]

Pressing forward then, it might be tempting at this point, given the accurate and thorough nature with which Carmignac extracted the various Danielic phrases and references from 1QM's opening column to simply go along with his reasoning and to concur – there is no direct evidence of Persian influence. Yet, there are indeed similarities between Persian dualism and that of the *yaḥad* community, although it is not of a type which is shared by both 1QM and Revelation. The heptadic structure in 1QM 1:13-14 does, in part, lend itself to a Persian dualistic understanding, as the opposing forces of Light and Darkness are indeed locked in a tie battle, which is settled by God in the end. This balanced equality of power may accurately be described as being nominally 'Persian' in its presentation, even though Jewish monotheism mitigates against any *absolute* form of dualism. Nevertheless, the issue of Persian dualism is difficult to dismiss, as it arises quite neatly within the framework of a heptadic structure.

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[280] In his analysis, Barr notes the appearance of the words דָּת (dt) and דִּין (dyn) in Esth 1:13. These words, he points out, are also Persian loan words. In relation to the questions at hand, these terms are intriguing, as Esther is one of only two biblical books that does not appear among the DSS. The other missing book, Nehemiah, is noted for having several Persian connections as well, also using loan words (such as פַּרְדֵּס). Although such matters fall outside the scope of the present study, it is apparent that the question of Persian loan words in books either included or excluded from the DSS presents a potentially fruitful area of research. See VanderKam and Flint, *The Meaning of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 118-119. Also see Barr, "The Question of Religious Influence."

1QM makes clear the dualistic expectation of three lots of victory to the forces of Light, followed by three lots of victory on the part of the forces of Darkness. When all seems lost, the 'hand' of the God of the Jews intervenes, but the two sides are so evenly matched that it begs comparison with the cosmogonic myth of Ahura Mazdā and Angra Mainyu, wherein two symmetrically equal powers are also at odds.[281] We may counter, of course, that Jewish monotheism does not provide for a power equal to God, but the framing of the contest in poetic terms that are so starkly contrasting while otherwise so perfectly balanced is striking. In the Persian creation myth, we have two forces which are, for all intents and purposes, equal. Likewise, in the Holy War of 1QM we have two opposing sides (Light and Darkness) which, apart from the intervention of God, would fight to a draw. Once again, the *balance* is what we are taking note of here.

However, when we delve deeper into the Persian creation myth, we see springing from it a projection of history within a numerical framework of nine-thousand years. Hultgård notes that some have contended for an historical duration of twelve-thousand years, yet points out that, "…if the twelve-thousand-year scheme is the original one, it is difficult to explain why the Pahlavi texts insist on nine-thousand years as a determined traditional number." Whichever the case may be, this takes us decisively away from a heptadic structure of any sort, even though the factoring in of *conflict* may still be understood to relate to the issue of Holy War, albeit remotely.

Barr, however, uses the creation account of Gen 1 as a test case regarding the notion of a heptadic correspondence between Jewish and Persian creation myths, and his analysis is worth mentioning. He observes that the Persian creation myth depicts Ahura Mazdā as generating six "entities," of which a seventh may (or may not) be implied, namely, the creation of man.[282]

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[281] Hultgård, "Persian Apocalypticism."
[282] Barr, "The Question of Religious Influence."

What this leads to, then, is the possibility that the Jewish creation account is based on this Persian semi-heptadic creation scheme as a source of inspiration. But Barr rightly observes that this need not compel us to conclude Persian influence is at play. In point of fact, if the Jewish author(s) of Genesis 1 were aware of Persian religion at all, it may have been the case that, "Iranian religion acted as a catalyst and caused the Jewish religion to define itself as much by contrast as by imitation."[283]

Moreover, when we look at the bigger picture (as it relates to our more immediate concerns), the attempt to associate Persian (or even Jewish) cosmogony with the motif of Holy War is something G. von Rad flatly denied in his seminal study, and this is something the present study cannot ignore. By delineating Holy War in opposition to other religious phenomena, von Rad advocated a "cautious attitude with regard to the mythological."[284] For von Rad, Holy War represented an even earlier religious experience than that of creation myths. He went so far as to assert, "Nowhere do we see what should theoretically have been a possibility – namely, a link with the myth of combat with the dragon of chaos."[285] For von Rad then, Holy War was a form of historical religious violence which manifested itself in the common world of natural disasters, battlefields, and the tragically hostile state of humanity. And while the present study attempts to build on this paradigm, and to recognize the extension of Holy War into the realm of individual spiritual and psychological struggles,[286] at this point we may say with some confidence that the

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[283] Ibid. A supplemental argument which dates the Genesis account past that of the Persian period and into the Hellenistic era is put forth by Łukasz Niesiołowski-Spanò, which refers to the hypothesis based on the linguistic assumption that παράδεισος in LXX Gen 2:8, standing in conjunction with פרדס (*prds*) and appearing as a possible wordplay in Gen 2:10, indicates a textual composition dating to the Persian period. In defense of his own counter-hypothesis Niesiołowski-Spanò, acknowledging the conventional argument in favor of Persian influence (but discounting it as inconclusive), contends that the Hebrew linguistic argument does not necessarily indicate a composition which dates to the Persian era, but rather to the Hellenistic period. Łukasz Niesiołowski-Spanò, "Primeval History in the Persian Period?," *Scandinavian Journal of the Old Testament* (2007).

[284] Von Rad, *Holy War in Ancient Israel*, 73.

[285] Ibid.

[286] Per Collins, see discussion on dualism above, *2.2.1 1QM 1:1-7 – Major Thematic Issues*.

Persian cosmogonic myth merely hints at a somewhat remote form of dualism that does not seem to have been adopted wholesale by the *yaḥad*, and is therefore not clearly evident in 1QM. As a result, we appear to have taken this question to the limits of which our focus permits.

Before leaving the issue, however, we would be remiss if we failed to note some larger implications of the questions raised by this discussion, as it impacts our unfolding study. When apocalyptic literature is considered in general, it brings to mind certain features which distinguish it with some coherence. These include a heavenly journey on the part of the seer who is guided by an angelic figure through otherworldly realms; also the imparting of formerly secret knowledge which is then brought back down to earth, so that the wisdom gained by interaction with divinity may be recorded. In the case of Daniel, the prophet is personally lead by an angelic figure and shown several visions, some of which he is told to seal up until the end. John of Patmos, too, is taken on a revelatory journey, led by several angelic figures as well as the glorified Christ, then ultimately told not to seal up his vision. In the *Ardā Wirāz Nāmag* the figure of Wirāz drinks a strong concoction and slips into an otherworldly experience that provides him a guided tour into heaven and hell. Moreover, the *Bahman Yašt* records the experience of Zoroaster, who is granted seven days of omniscience, and sees (on the seventh day) a tree comprised of seven different metals – thus conjuring an association with the visionary statue of Dan 7, and giving rise to a multitude of different comparisons which may be addressed elsewhere.

What all these apocalyptic writings have in common, including the Persian texts, is a set of features not shared by 1QM. Lacking any of these aspects at all, we can reiterate with certainty that scholars have been *correct* in categorizing 1QM as a 'Rule' derived from an apocalyptic community, rather than an apocalypse itself. This fact by no means precludes

comparative study such as the present, but it does serve to underscore some of the marked

differences between 1QM and Revelation, which should be kept in mind as we continue to press

ahead with our comparison; among these are the discernable differences between a Rule and an

Apocalypse. At the same time, we would point out that 'Holy War' itself is indeed a concept

which may be defined more broadly or narrowly, based on the given text at hand. In our case the

theological Holy War(s) of Revelation and 1QM may be said to relate in some ways to the

general Holy War conceptions of the Persian texts, but while these Persian comparanda do

indeed provide a helpful widening of the lens through which to view the phenomenon and the

ideologies associated with Holy War, the pursuit of these aspects would take us beyond the scope

of the present study. As such we content ourselves to underscore the larger point, namely, that

Holy War, as such, does not occur in isolation only within our two primary texts, and the

question of Persian influence remains open.[287]

2.2.4.5 Joshua and the Conquest of Jericho as a Dominant Influence on Holy War

Among the biblical writings recovered from the Judean desert, the book of Joshua is

represented by only two fragments among the entirety of the DSS. This should not be seen as

exceptional, since the majority of biblical books are represented by eight or fewer copies,[288] but

we must refrain from overstating the importance of the book of Joshua to the *yaḥad* of Qumran.

Nevertheless, it seems clear that 1QM's framing of the Holy War depends heavily enough on

Joshua's themes to merit more attention than scholarship has previously given. Among the

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[287] We might readily add to this larger range of vision the (later) Holy War(s) of Muslim categories, as well as that of the Crusades of antiquity, or of any contemporary modern cultic formulations, but these too are beyond the scope of the present study.

[288] The top six books in order of the most copies recovered are Psalms (36), Deuteronomy (30), Isaiah (21), Genesis (21), Exodus (17), and Leviticus (15). While Joshua is near the bottom of the list, the books of Ezra and 1&2 Chronicles have only one fragment each to its name, while Esther and Nehemiah do not appear at all. For a full breakdown, see VanderKam and Flint, *The Meaning of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 150.

parallels which may be drawn between 1QM and Joshua's conquest of Jericho are the heptadic

structure, of which we are in the midst of considering, along with several important literary

themes, as well as a number of near contemporary examples of Joshua/Jericho reenactments in

related literature. These features taken collectively, plus the close geographical proximity

between the sites of Qumran and Jericho itself give warrant to the hypothesis that Joshua's

conquest of Jericho was the primary example from which 1QM derived its conceptualization of

Holy War. In this section we will provide support for such a hypothesis by considering each

element point-by-point, followed then by a comparison with what may be said of their

correspondence in Revelation. In subsequent sections we will find more support to bolster this

suggestion as our comparison of 1QM and Revelation further unfolds.

Continuing on with, and ultimately concluding, our analysis of the issue of the heptadic

structure(s) of Holy War, Joshua's conquest of Jericho constitutes the final discursive element of

influence for our consideration. As we approach the conclusion of this aspect of our study it is

worth recalling once again that numerical analysis along these lines is not merely necessary, but

is often penetratingly helpful to our contemporary understanding, since the sensibilities that

ancient mankind brought to bear on the subject of numerology help us to gauge, in a more

concrete manner, the level of sophistication, or lack thereof, within a piece of literature. To that

end, unlike Revelation, in the case of 1QM we do not see a text with prolific or creative use of

numerical symbolism, nor do we see a high degree of mysticism or 'coded' language evident in

its use of numerical values. 1QM shows a generally precise mathematical inclination, as we will

see beginning in columns 2-9, but numbers are never used to specify calendar dates. In all,

1QM's concern with numbers deals almost entirely with measurements, ranks, age qualifications,

and other specificities dealing with military order. Thus, what we see in 1QM's use of *seven* (at

1:14), appears to be a fairly straightforward influence drawn, apparently, from the Judaic sabbatical structure, and, given the broader cultural and literary context, from Joshua's inaugural Holy War victory at Jericho.

Turning our attention to the conquest of Jericho, the saga unfolds in a sacralized manner from start to finish. The narrative begins with Joshua taking the helm of leadership (after the death of Moses), by the command of God in chapter 1. Joshua is instructed to "be strong and courageous" (1:6), in anticipation that the conquest of the Promised Land is about to begin. After securing the support of the Israelites, Joshua's first directive in his new position as commander is to send two spies across the Jordan River into the city of Jericho, where they encounter the figure of Rahab, a female prostitute who provides them shelter for the night (Josh 2). During their stay, Rahab confides to the spies that, indeed, she is certain the city of Jericho will be taken by the Israelite forces, because "terror of you has fallen" on the inhabitants of the city (Josh 2:9). The citizens of Jericho, Rahab relates, have heard of the exploits of the Israelites coming out of Egypt, and as a result "our hearts melted, and no courage remained," (Josh 2:11). When Joshua hears this, he and the Israelites proceed to cross the Jordan River, the waters of which are miraculously parted by the power of God so that the Israelites walk over on dry ground, thus giving rise to comparison with the crossing of the Red Sea per the Exodus narrative. The Israelites make their crossing in order of military and priestly ranks, carrying a prominent display of the regalia associated with the tabernacle sacrificial system. The Ark of the Covenant stands at the front, and in the center, of the advancing Israelite army (Josh 3:14-17).

After the successful crossing the Israelites proceed to construct a monument of stones to commemorate the occasion (Josh 4), which is followed by a circumcision event (Josh 5), which is then followed by a celebration of the Passover (Josh 5:10). All of these constitute affirmations

of Israelite spiritual heritage, as they enter the Promised Land for the Conquest. After these, in

chapter 6, the Israelites embark on an elaborate Holy War ritual which was said to involve the

entire nation marching around Jericho once per day for six consecutive days. Seven priests were

instructed to lead the march around the city, blowing ram's horns, and followed by the Ark of the

Covenant; the Israelites themselves were instructed to remain silent during this ritual (Josh 6:10).

Then on the fateful seventh day, the priests would repeat the exercise and conclude the marching

with seven full laps around the city followed by a loud blast of the ram's horns, whereby the

Israelites finally release a deafening shout accompanied by trumpet blasts, thus causing the walls

of Jericho to supernaturally collapse (by the will of God), at which time the Israelites besieged

the city and put to death every living thing in Jericho, "devoting it to destruction, (חרם)" (Josh

6:21). This then, is the somewhat gruesome but highly sacralized story of Joshua taking Jericho

by means of a classical Israelite Holy War. Ultimately, only Rahab and her family are spared,

and the conquest presses onward from there. The narrative of this miraculous Conquest event

stands on par with the most towering of biblical stories, and would have been a source of

inspiration and imitation for centuries afterwards.[289]

The heptadic structure is readily apparent from this famous narrative, and it is tied

directly to a paradigmatic example of Holy War. It is also the earliest form of this structure in

association with 'earthly' warfare, is in terms of human involvement, which the Jews of Qumran

would have been aware of and influenced by. While we may indeed hearken back still earlier

into biblical historiography to the Combat Myth of Gen 1, and the cosmic struggle represented in

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[289] See for example Josephus' account of 'the Egyptian,' in *Antiquities* 20.6.169-172, which describes a
failed attempt on the part of an unnamed prophetic figure to rally people to himself by claiming he would cause the
walls of Jerusalem to fall. This occurred during the reign of Antonius Felix (52-60 CE), who crushed the rebellion,
and one gets the sense that it was not an isolated occurrence. A similar inspiration may also have been drawn by the
author of 2 Macc 12:15, which relays the destruction of a city (Caspis) at the hand of Judas Maccabeus, whom, we
are told, called on the Lord to destroy the polis in the same manner as the destruction of Jericho, "without rams or
engines of war." We might posit that these imitators of Joshua/Jericho would be analogous to the *yaḥad* acting
and/or thinking similarly.

that narrative for potential sources of inspiration, for both Joshua and 1QM the primary depiction of Holy War concerns actual 'boots on the ground,' marching into war, and taking cities by military force, since for both texts the earthly war stands in the foreground, while the unseen cosmic battle remains in the background. This similarity between the Holy Wars of Joshua and 1QM is immediate and obvious; both depictions frame Holy War in terms of *seven* rounds of military activity, followed by an overwhelming victory, marked by similar dynamics of courage/fear and a triumphant shout. Most importantly, and unlike Revelation, while there are indeed unseen spiritual forces at play in both Joshua and 1QM, the fighting which we see taking place occurs primarily among human soldiers rather than angelic beings.

Beyond the heptadic structure, 1QM and Joshua also share all the markings of a successful Holy War, as the following passages reflect. Josh 6:16 reads, "At the seventh time, when the priests blew the trumpets, Joshua said to the people, "Shout! (רוע) For the LORD has given you the city." 1QM 1:11 similarly predicts, "The Sons of Light and the forces of Darkness shall fight together to show the strength of God with the roar of a great multitude and the shout (רוע) of gods and men." In this case 1QM seems to build on the Joshua/Jericho narrative by including angelic beings in the victory cry.

Thematically speaking, as already noted, in Josh 1:6, God commands and encourages Joshua (as an individual), "*Be strong and courageous* (חזק ואמץ), for you shall give this people possession of the land which I swore to their fathers to give them." Along these same lines, we are told in 1QM 1:14 that, "[…the]banners of the infantry cause their hearts to melt, then the strength of God will strengthen the he[arts of the Sons of Light]." Later, in 1QM section 15:6b-8a, at the start of the *Universal War against the Kittim*, we see the "priest appointed for the time of vengeance," walking among the soldiers and encouraging them by saying, in this case to the

collective, "*Be strong and courageous* (חזקו ואמצו) as warriors. Fear not, nor be a[fraid]," a verbatim echo of the command given by God in Josh 1:6, at the inaugural Holy War event of Joshua's conquest. Hence, despite the backing of God, there is still a component of fear involved in Holy War which must be overcome through faith and courage.

This fear cuts both ways, however, as Rahab, more fearful of the Israelites than she is of the king of Jericho, says to the spies, "terror of you has fallen" (Josh 2:9), and "our hearts melted, and no courage remained," (Josh 2:11). 1QM reflects this same dynamic at 1:5-6, in which we are told, "There shall be g[reat] panic…," in this case breaking out among the sons of Japheth and Ashur, leading to the fall of the Kittim. As noted, this verse appears to form an inclusio with 18:2, wherein the same list of enemies appears in a slightly varied form later in the scroll.[290]   In D. Wenthe's analysis of the Hebrew biblical passages used by 1QM, he makes the observation that 1QM 18:5 refers ("obliquely") to Josh 10:13-14, the account in which the sun stands still, giving victory on the battlefield to the Israelites.[291] Building on his observation, if this is indeed the case then we would argue Joshua's conquest seems, in fact, to frame the entirety of 1QM's Holy War. We see in 1QM 18:1-6a the following climactic description:

> 1. [and in the seven]th [lot], when the great hand of God shall be li[f]ted up against Belial and against all the fo[rc]es of his dominion for an eternal slaughter
> 2. […] and the shout of the holy ones when they pursue Assyria. Then the sons of Japheth shall fall, never to rise again, and the Kittim shall be crushed without
> 3. [remnant and survivor. So] the God of Israel shall raise His hand against the whole multitude of Belial. At that time the priests shall sound a signal
> 4. [on the six trumpet]s of remembrance, and all the battle formations shall be gathered to them and divide against all the [camps of the Ki]ttim
> 5. to completely destroy them. [And] when the sun hastens to set on that day, the Chief Priest and the priests and the [Levites] who are
> 6a. with him, and the chiefs [of the battle lines and the men] of the army shall bless the God of Israel there.

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[290] See f.n. 191 above.

[291] Dean O. Wenthe, "The Use of the Hebrew Scriptures in 1QM," *Dead Sea Discoveries* 5.3 (1998): 290–319.

We note here the mention of the sun hastening to set, the list of enemies which is repeated from 1QM 1:5-6, along with the shout of the holy ones, and the signal trumpets blown by the priests, all of which culminates in the complete and final destruction of the Kittim. These climactic events, tied as they are to the heptadic structure described at 1:14, indicate a Holy War framework which seems largely to have been based on elements from Joshua's conquest. When combined with the close proximity of Qumran to the ruins of Jericho itself (a scant 12km away), it becomes difficult to imagine 1QM's Holy War apart from the Joshua conquest narrative, as local familiarity on the part of the *yaḥad* with both the physical location and the miraculous/historical event itself would have represented a cultural and theological landmark well into the Second Temple period. Moreover, since it is very likely that members of the *yaḥad* also made their way down south from Qumran as far as Masada,[292] it seems beyond question that they would also have traveled north to Jericho, an even closer geographical location with far more prominent ties to Jewish Scripture, historical identity, and theology. Put simply, it is inconceivable that the *yaḥad* was collectively unaware of the significance of the city of Jericho. That the location and the events tied to it would so influence 1QM makes sense.

We may go a step further with our hypothesis to invoke Schiffman's notable theory, which holds that Qumran's sectarians may have found their origins in the pre-Essene Zadokite priesthood, driven off from the Temple by an aversion to Maccabean and Pharisaic influence on the priesthood itself.[293] Positing the accuracy of Schiffman's views, the schismatic sense of alienation from mainstream Jewish society which accompanied the collective memory of the Qumran sect would have easily found within the Conquest historiography the comforting

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[292] Pertinent archaeological ties between the document of 1QM and the location of Masada include the forging of weapons of war at Masada, which indicate the Jewish production of Roman style war instruments, coinciding with similar weapons found also at Qumran. These weapons may have been used by either the *yaḥad* or by occupying Roman soldiers. See Magness, *The Archaeology of Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 85, 184.

[293] See Schiffman, *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 253.

assurance which outsiders would naturally have sought. In short, whatever else we may say about 1QM's Holy War, it appears to be firmly rooted in the sensibilities of the Conquest, being modelled on the fall of Jericho, as was often the case with those imitators who also looked to the fallen city for their inspiration. In the case of the apocalyptic sectarians situated at Qumran, they expected to re-take Jerusalem first, and then the rest of the world.

2.2.4.6 The Influence of Joshua and the Conquest on Revelation

It must be said upfront, that relating certain elements of Joshua directly to Revelation is a very tenuous endeavor in some cases, as much of Joshua's early conquest is based on elements derived from the Exodus, thus representing a continuation of the wilderness narrative which follows, and because John's Apocalypse does not directly quote from any sources. As a result, Joshua comes to represent a second tier of influence on Revelation, but certain clear connections are present nonetheless.[294] The motif of Holy War, as it developed through the biblical narrative, would not be the same without the contributions which come from Joshua, and although the book itself represents a transitional link between the literature of the Pentateuch into Deuteronomistic History, the battle of Jericho looms large enough to stand on its own with respect to its influence on Revelation.

As discussed in the previous section, Joshua's conquest appears to have been a dominating influence on the Holy War of 1QM. What we see in Revelation is the use of elements from Joshua's Holy War(s) that compare and contrast with 1QM's usages in intriguing ways, and while it is often fascinating to find those elements which establish definitive

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[294] References in Revelation to the Book of Joshua are scant in comparison with texts such as Ezekiel, or Daniel. Some commentators do not bother to cite Joshua at all in reference to John's Apocalypse. See ironically, Moyise, *The Old Testament in the Book of Revelation*.

connections between texts such as these, in this case it is equally as thought-provoking to consider certain elements which are conspicuously *absent* from either 1QM or Revelation. In this section we will examine both types, as they pertain to Joshua/Jericho and to the larger Conquest, taking note of the areas where our pair of texts overlap, and where they contrast. Moving sequentially through features of the Jericho narrative, we begin with the figure of Rahab, followed by the crossing of the Jordan. We will then look at the Ark of the Covenant as a focal point for the conquest of Jericho, and conclude with the use of horns/trumpets in Holy War.

Following along with the Jericho narrative as it unfolds throughout Josh 1-6, we start with what is a somewhat tenuous element in the character of Rahab, the prostitute turned heroine, who, being spared from the Holy War, comes to represent the quintessentially faithful Gentile turned Israelite. In Josh 2:12, Rahab requests the Israelite spies provide a 'sign' (אות), thereby protecting her, along with her family, from the coming onslaught which she is certain will befall Jericho. In response, the spies instruct her to tie a red cord in her window – the same cord by which the spies escape the city walls – and to remain inside her house with her family. By these means she is ultimately spared when Jericho falls, and the entirety of the event becomes reminiscent of the protection afforded the Israelites in the Passover from Exod 10-12, including the symbolic coloring of the red cord, conjuring as it does the color of blood on the doorpost of the protected Israelite houses.[295] Rahab thus becomes a rare example of faithfulness to God, rescued from out of the doomed city, as she enacts the sign (אות).

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[295] J.M. Ford notes the different shades of red in Revelation (i.e., fiery, crimson, etc.), and suggests that the more subdued "crimson" color of the beast and the dress worn by the harlot, in Rev 17:3-4, was used to "attract attention," and observes that it "indicates ungodly conduct," as in the depiction of sin found in Is 1:18. Hence, it was "associated with the theme of harlotry." Her further association of this crimson color with the cord used by Rahab in Josh 2:18, and juxtaposed with the more "fiery" shade of the red dragon of Rev 12:2, is an uncommon observation among Revelation scholars. It is probably best not to place too much weight on such perceived similarities, as Ford ultimately draws the opposite association regarding Rahab to our own, but the symbolism invites comparison nonetheless. See Ford, *Revelation: Introduction, Translation and Commentary*, 287.

Aune observes the connective Hebrew term here to be rendered in the LXX as σημεῖον, translated also as 'sign,' and appearing in Rev 12:1, 3, and 15:1. He indicates that the primary meanings of σημεῖον serve various purposes, but that its use in the Jericho account is specifically that of an *indicator*, or "a characteristic mark by which something is known or recognized."[296] Hence the 'sign' hung in the window of Rahab and a 'sign' in the heavens depicted by John of Patmos share a similar utility. Aune references this connection most specifically in relation to Rev 12:1a, wherein John of Patmos announces, "A great sign (σημεῖον) appeared in heaven: a woman clothed with the sun, and the moon under her feet, and on her head a crown of twelve stars." This sign reference of Rev 12:1 is noteworthy, we would contend, in that the imagery provided by John of Patmos at this juncture is that of another female figure in mortal danger, in this case by the murderous (and red) dragon. And although we must again be quick to note the tenuous nature of assigning overly explicit references to John's Apocalypse from books outside of Revelation, in this case we would simply point to the use of the parallel terms used for a 'sign' (אות/σημεῖον) in both places (Josh 2:12 and Rev 12:1), along with the parallel aspect of a luminous female character under the threat of death. As Rahab is in danger of falling victim to oncoming Holy War, so the woman clothed in the sun is in danger of falling prey to the murderous red dragon.[297]

Furthermore, we may contrast these two figures easily enough, as the woman in Rev 12 is, at once, a magnificent symbolic figure, while Rahab is depicted in the most degrading of terms. For Joshua's purposes, Rahab's preservation is left as the final statement on her character.

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[296] Aune, *Revelation*, 679.

[297] One may debate the consistency as to whether the actions of one or both aggressors are best understood to be guided ultimately by God, and perhaps it may be argued that God is 'playing both sides of the table,' in that Jericho represents Holy War, while the red dragon is presented as an adversary, but we begin with this example simply as a means of entering into the Jericho narrative proper. As we progress, the various elements become more obvious and, we would argue, more substantive.

Indeed, the remainder of the Hebrew Scriptures is silent concerning the life of this paradigmatic

figure. But the mythos of the heroine Rahab seems to have been warmly embraced by

Christians, and she appears in the genealogy of Jesus, in Matt 1:5. In this latter context she

becomes the mother of Boaz, the kinsman redeemer who marries Ruth, after whom we derive the

book of her namesake, and providing the birth narrative for King David.[298] This has the effect of

retroactively dovetailing Rahab into Deuteronomistic History in a noble fashion in the aftermath

of the Conquest. Moreover, while speculation about the veracity of this assessment on the part

of Matthew's Gospel is well outside the scope of the present research, in light of the above, it can

safely be stated that Rahab the prostitute takes on a larger, even more significant theological role

in subsequent centuries, down into the Christian era.[299] As such, while we would describe this

possible connection between Joshua and Revelation as remote, we do find some merit to noting

such references, as they are no less remote than many of the mythologies that Revelation seems

to draw from which lay well outside the Jewish Scriptures.[300] Thus, as the glorious woman

clothed with the sun comes to represent Israel, so Rahab does as well. Needless to say, however,

that 1QM is silent on this matter.

Working through the Jericho tale yet further, we come to an example that is far more

evident within our texts, namely, the crossing of the Jordan River itself in Josh 3. Like the

crossing of the Red Sea in the Exodus, this event too is marked by divine intervention which

provides for 'dry ground' over which to tread.[301] The corresponding reference to be found in

John's Apocalypse is located at Rev 16:12, wherein we see among the bowls of God's wrath,

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[298] Ruth 4:13-22.

[299] For other Christian biblical references to Rahab, see Heb 11:31 and Jas 2:25.

[300] For comparisons of the woman in Rev 12 to a range of mythologies including Akkadian, Ugaritic, Egyptian, and Greek, see Yarbro Adela Yarbro Collins, *The Combat Myth in the Book of Revelation* (Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock, 2001).

[301] Cf. Exod 14:29; Josh 3:17

"The sixth angel poured out his bowl on the great river, the Euphrates; and its water was dried up, so that the way would be prepared for the kings from the east." This, Aune describes as "typological antithesis," since the dried waters hearken to both the Exodus crossing and the Jordan crossing, but this time with the location being the Euphrates, with the result that kings from the east[302] would be enabled to cross, presumably to attack the people of God within the Promised Land. The depiction is followed immediately by grotesque descriptions of evil spirits which are frog-like in appearance, as part of the outpouring of the wrath of God.

Unlike the previous example, this reference along with the similarity between the Jordan River crossing and the crossing of the Euphrates is widely observed by scholars, and it appears to be an example of direct dependence on the part of Revelation, rather than analogy.[303] According to Josh 1:4, the Euphrates forms the northern boundary to the allotted Promised Land, which also corresponds with Revelation's usage of the river as an obstacle to be traversed by the invading eastern kings. Aune observes a link with *Syb Or.* 4.119-120, 139, in which we are told, "Then a great king will flee from Italy like a runaway slave, unseen and unheard over the channel of the Euphrates." This king subsequently crosses the Euphrates, "with many myriads."[304] Here it is also important to note that Rev 20:8, which scholars believe refers to this event, describes the vastness of the armies as being, "like the sand of the seashore," a phrasing that Beale notes is used for the same rhetorical purposes in Josh 11:4.[305] Clearly the crossing of these bodies of water (i.e., the Red Sea, Jordan River, and Euphrates), may provide any number of theologically

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[302] Parthians, according to Blount. See Blount, *Revelation: A Commentary*, 302.

[303] See Koester, *Revelation*, 665; Mounce, *The Book of Revelation*, 298; Ian Boxall, *The Revelation of Saint John* (Peabody, MA; London; New York: Hendrickson Publishers ; Continuum, 2006), 231; M. Eugene Boring, *Revelation* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 1989), 175; Prigent, *Commentary on the Apocalypse of St. John*, 470.

[304] This is an association Aune ties to the Nero *redivivus* myth. See Aune, *Revelation*, 891. Also see *2.2.2 Belial and Nero*.

[305] See Gregory K. Beale and Donald A. Carson, eds., *Commentary on the New Testament Use of the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids, MI; Nottingham, UK: Baker Academic; Apollos, 2007), 1149.

significant points, but for our purposes it is most noteworthy that John of Patmos seems clearly to have taken the Jordan River crossing of Josh 3 into an explicitly *military* context in his own vision. This is an element which is not at the foreground of the original Exodus narrative until it is celebrated in its aftermath.[306] Thus Joshua and Revelation share the markings of more developed militaristic Holy War.

To elaborate, when Revelation's eastern kings cross the Euphrates, whomever they may be identified with, it is for the clear purpose of waging war. Aune is correct then, to describe the event in Rev 16:12 as "typological antithesis," since these eastern kings are afforded the same divine assistance which the Israelites are given at the start of the Conquest. But here we see God again playing 'both sides of the table,' as it were, since the Israelites are not the only myriads who receive divine assistance in crossing bodies of water. Nevertheless, the overtly militaristic sense in which both Joshua and Revelation depict these crossings is, again, quite a different emphasis than what we see in the original Exodus crossing. Whereas the Exodus represents a *passive* stance on the part of the Israelites, both the Jericho crossing of the Conquest and the apocalyptic Euphrates crossing depicts an *active* and therefore aggressive footing on the part of the respective warring parties as they traverse the rivers which impede them. And while 1QM does *not* depict the crossing of any bodies of water at all, its substantive dependence on the larger framework of Joshua's Conquest puts it in the same milieu as Revelation in terms of *active* holy warfare.[307]

In sum, it appears that our two primary documents (1QM and Revelation) depend on the Joshua/Jericho narrative to varying degrees, each taking different elements from the tale. Both are representative of certain aspects of active Holy War as depicted in Joshua, albeit in different

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[306] Cf. Exod 15, the *Song of the Sea*.
[307] This is an aspect which Bauckham observed. See Bauckham, "The Book of Revelation as a Christian War Scroll."

methods of execution, but this dynamic, while significant, *does not yet indicate* either dependence or analogy on the part of Revelation with 1QM. What it does, simply, is highlight a shared Holy War tradition derived from within the sphere of the Joshua narrative. To this narrative we shall return.

2.2.4.7 Excursus – The Ark of the Covenant as a Symbol of Holy War

This now affords us the opportunity to take a step back from the details of Joshua's Holy War texts, and to consider one of the starker contrasts between Revelation and 1QM. Here we refer specifically to both the absence and the presence of the Ark of the Covenant in the context of warfare.

Given the influence which the Joshua/Jericho narrative has had on 1QM, but also the strict nature of Qumran halachic observance, it is understandable that elements such as the character of Rahab would not find a place of prominence in the eschatological thinking of the *yaḥad*. We may also grant that a figure such as Rahab may be said only remotely to be affiliated with John of Patmos' vision of the woman clothed in the sun from Rev 12. In this regard, it is not difficult to excuse the author(s) of our texts from including every possible constituent element available from Joshua/Jericho, especially given the limited resources and time required to pen these two literatures, both of which necessarily involved a considerable amount of effort and creativity. Thus, we can readily accept these differences, wherein one document (1QM) uses certain language and words from Joshua/Jericho, while another (Revelation) hearkens to a significant event such as the crossing of the Jordan. These relatively minor differences should not be seen as discrepancies, given the selective nature of authorship and of literature. But a Holy War perspective such as that of the War Scroll, which is built in no small part on Joshua

and the Conquest, yet lacks so much as a reference to the Ark of the Covenant, stands as a striking omission.

In the Joshua/Jericho narrative, the ark is used (for the first time), in relation to an act of Holy War. In Josh 3:2 the Israelites are ordered, "When you see the ark of the covenant of the LORD your God with the Levitical priests carrying it, then you shall set out from your place and go after it." But during the crossing of the Red Sea under Moses the ark was not a factor, as it had not yet been constructed.[308] We see the ark designed and implemented in the immediate aftermath of the Exodus, as part and parcel of the covenant given at Sinai, with specific dimensions and regulations providing for its mobility; along with the rest of the Tabernacle system, the ark is the first item on the construction agenda.[309] It was a simple box structure overlaid with decorative gold, to be carried only by the priests, but as a national symbol it represented the absolute centerpiece of the Israelite shrine and religious life; the very presence of God was said to reside on the ark, holy and unapproachable by the ritually unclean man. When Joshua and subsequent Israelite rulers did approach God, it was often in prayer before the ark,[310] and under the auspices of ritual 'cleanliness' which the presence of *holiness* required. Indeed, the closer one was to the ark, the more danger the object represented to the person in its proximity. For this reason, we see within the catalog of Scripture a range of tales recording the deaths of those who, for reasons of ritual uncleanliness and the threat of holiness, become the victims of Holy War quite apart from the active presence of Israelite armies. When the Ark of the Covenant falls into the hands of the local Philistines, for example, it wages a Holy War all on its own.[311]

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[308] Cf. Exod 13:17-14:31.
[309] Prescribed in full in Exod 25:10-30:38, and constructed in Exod 36:8-40:38
[310] Cf. Josh 7:6; 2 Sam 7:18; 1 Chron 16:4.
[311] Cf. 1 Sam 4:1-7:1.

In light of the importance of this sacral object to the Temple worship system, not to mention its role in classical Israelite Holy War, one might expect the ark to figure prominently in both of the primary texts which we are considering, but that is not the case. Nevertheless, its complete absence from 1QM is in keeping with our broader understanding (per von Rad), of the evolution of Holy War, even as the War Scroll contrasts with that of John's Apocalypse. Within the symbolic world of 1QM the lack of any mention of so iconic an item does lend itself to the notion of a more secularized or novelistic understanding of Holy War, one which is apparently unhindered by the absence of the ark as an indicator of the presence of God.

In contrast, John's Apocalypse, although known for other more surreal imagery, does indeed treat the ark with a sense of centrality, appearing as it does in Rev 11:19, on the heels of the seventh trumpet (thus again conjuring the imagery of Joshua/Jericho), and accompanied by lightning, thunder, an earthquake, and a hailstorm, all of which hearken to the symbolism of Mount Sinai and the Exodus. This appearance of the ark is presented as being within God's temple in heaven, and is featured immediately prior to the woman and the dragon of Rev 12. Beyond this, several other objects from the Temple system are portrayed in Revelation as well.[312] We can say without question then, that John of Patmos understood the Ark of the Covenant in the heavenly temple to be an essential element within the cosmic struggle for the reconciliation of all things to God's holiness. The same cannot be said with certainty of 1QM, although the ark is not absent from the DSS as a corpus.[313] For this reason, the question arises as to whether John of Patmos was aware of the War Scroll with its more 'secularized' approach to Holy War in this regard, and if so, is it possible that he ignored it?

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[312] The lampstand or menorah is portrayed in heptadic and dual fashion in Rev 1:12, 13, 20; 2:1; 11:4. We see the altar referenced in Rev 6:9; 8:3, 5; 9:13; 11:1; 14:18; 16:7. Incense is referenced in Rev 5:8; 8:3, 4; 18:13.
[313] Cf. CD 5:3; 4Q364 17:1, 3, 26b e, 2:4, 6; 4Q365; 4Q375; 4Q522; 11Q19 7:12.

We can only speculate as to the reasons 1QM lacks reference to the symbolism of the ark in contrast to Revelation. The pertinent difference between the two texts in this aspect may simply be due to the more terrestrial Holy War focus of 1QM, as opposed to the otherworldly focus of Revelation. It may also be that Schiffman's theory, namely, that the *yaḥad* was originally comprised of pre-Essene Zadokite priests, provides a hint. If indeed the theory is accurate, then it may be surmised that perhaps the *yaḥad* assumed the ark would be restored to the sect along with the rest of the Temple system once the sect itself was restored to what they understood to be their rightful place, namely, in Jerusalem. Were that to be the case, then it makes sense that the ark does *not* appear in 1QM, as the very purpose of this struggle would have been to regain what was lost, including the ark. In any case, by excluding the ark from its narrative, the War Scroll indeed leans towards a more secular form of Holy War.

We may also reasonably conjecture that the Qumran community's sensibilities of halachic purity no longer held the ark to be clean and holy in their time. Indeed, the *yaḥad* may have considered the sacral object to have become corrupt, or that the ark (or what passed for it in the Temple at the time), had been halachically defiled.[314] If this were the case, then it would have been considered blasphemous or even idolatrous to bring such an object into a Holy War. This seems somewhat unlikely however, as the ark is mentioned in the DSS at other places.[315] One cannot help but conclude that the *yaḥad* would have relished the notion of recapturing the

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[314] To this end, it is also noteworthy that a text such as Jer 3:16 alludes to a marked passivity with regard to the Ark of the Covenant, which, we could conjecture, may have been prescriptive for the attitude being adopted by the *yaḥad*:

> "It shall be in those days when you are multiplied and increased in the land," declares the Lord, "they will no longer say, 'The ark of the covenant of the Lord.' And it will not come to mind, nor will they remember it, nor will they miss *it,* nor will it be made again." (Jer 3:16)

[315] See references in the Damascus Document (CD 5:3), and the Temple Scroll (11Q19 7:12), as well as fragments from 4Q364; 4Q365; 4Q375; 4Q522. It is noteworthy that no mention of the Ark of the Covenant appears in texts extracted from cave 1.

ark, as it were, but that it would only have represented only a small part of larger ambitions on the part of the sect. It seems clear the members of the *yaḥad* wanted more than just the artifact itself, even though it represented God's presence and control of the Temple; 1QM 2:3 and 7:11-12 does, in fact, mention the use of a Temple after all. Nevertheless, one has to wonder how the sect understood terrestrial victory in Holy War to be possible apart from the ark. Its historic presence represented the accompaniment of God, while the absence or loss of the ark often meant loss in holy warfare.[316]

Consequently, the sect may well have understood the true ark to exist in the unseen kingdom of God, quite out of the reach of mankind. Or, correspondingly, that the Ark of the Covenant represents a presence which is too transcendent and sanctified to remain on the earth. This would correspond to John of Patmos' depiction. It might also be suggested that perhaps the author of 1QM merely felt that the temple objects did not fit his creative vision; perhaps he pictured the final war in the way an artist freely chooses his color palate, and his sensibilities dictated that the ark simply did not belong in the final Holy War, even though it was essential to classical Israelite Holy Wars. Yadin contends that the Roman military served as the prime inspiration for the armies arranged in 1QM.[317] If this was indeed the case, then 1QM does present a more 'secularized' (i.e., non-Judaic) understanding of Holy War by comparison to earlier biblical texts and to Revelation, but we would be quick to observe that 1QM references the importance of the covenant repeatedly, so the question of the ongoing development of Holy War remains a viable factor. Perhaps it is the case that 1QM is more analogous to a piece of portrait art: Either the Roman army has been Judaized, or the ancient Israelite army has been reimagined and Romanized (without the ark). Historically speaking, it is entirely possible that

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[316] Cf., 1 Sam 4:1-7:1.
[317] Cavalry arrangement specifically. See Yadin, *The Scroll of the War*, 181.

there was nothing present in the Herodian temple which represented the ark at all. Whatever the case may be, we would seek to conclude with the suggestion that the members of the *yaḥad* also understood themselves as 'temples,'[318] and thus no longer felt the need for God's presence in a central location above the ark.

2.2.4.8 The Influence of Joshua and the Conquest on Revelation (Cont.)

Returning to the Jericho narrative, we come finally to the most direct similarity between 1QM and Revelation as it pertains to Joshua's Holy War, namely, the sounding of horns and/or trumpets in seven blasts. As we are approach the conclusion of our examination of 1QM 1:13b-17, we will give an overview of the connecting points between Joshua's use of these trumpets and that of Revelation, as it pertains to 1QM. We will pick up this issue more comprehensively in the next major section, when we return to it in 1QM 2-9, the *War of Divisions*, specifically in 3:1-11, where the trumpets themselves figure most prominently.   For now, we look at them as they pertain to the heptads of Holy War.

As seen in the Joshua/Jericho narrative, the climactic action of blowing horns/trumpets is found to occur in conjunction with a series of heptadic structures. In the case of the fall of Jericho, we see seven priests blowing seven horns, walking around Jericho for seven successive days, until the seventh day when they make the circuit seven times. The horns themselves are described in Josh 6:4 as (שבעה שופרות היובלים לפני הארון), "seven trumpets of ram's horns before the ark." At the final climactic moment, the horns are blown, and the walls of the city collapse, thereby allowing for the Israelites to put the city to the sword. Thus, we see both the sounding of horns/trumpets and a heptadic structure combined in a Holy War context.

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[318] 1QS 8:5-9; 9:3-6.

In 1QM we see a very elaborate use of trumpets/ram's horns,[319] where the sounding of

these is said to accompany segments of the military that perform their respective duties in

consistent rounds of seven. For example, a line of seven javelins is thrown in 6:1-2; seven

cavalry formations are seen in 7:8; slings are released seven times in 8:1. Often the military

personnel are said to return to their positions after seven attempts. The trumpets of 1QM are

themselves blown in varying and realistic patterns as signals and accompaniment (i.e., staccato,

legato, etc.), depending on the aspect of the military which is needed. 1QM has, in effect,

expanded the use of horn blasts beyond that of Joshua, to coincide with what are concrete actions

on the part of the military during the maneuvers of its Holy War. Even still, there is an aspect of

the divine which 1QM retains, and the final mentioning of trumpet use on the part of the War

Scroll dovetails into a liturgical section.[320] It is important therefore to recognize the direct

linkage between the use of trumpets and the military at this point, as 1QM becomes a liturgical

document in columns 10-14, parts of 15, and 17-19. Thus, while it is tempting to view the

entirety of 1QM through a purely militaristic lens, this is to misread the text. At this juncture,

however, it is necessary to highlight the expanded use of these combinative elements (both

heptads and trumpets together) on the part of 1QM, and to note once more the similarity and

dissimilarity with John's Apocalypse. Hence the Holy War of 1QM incorporates heptads with

trumpet blasts in abundance.

In Revelation, a book rife with heptads, we see seven trumpets comprising the central

heptadic structure of the book, and bracketed as they are by seven *seals* and seven *bowls* on

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[319] Most often rendered as 'trumpets'(חצוצרה), but appearing notably in 7:14 and elsewhere as "trumpets of ram's horns (שופרות היובל)," and accompanied by the verb (תקע).
[320] Starting in 1QM 18:7.

either side.[321] These trumpets, rather than being blown by priests, are blown by seven angels.[322]

Several commentators have recognized an Enochic reference here to the seven named angels

appearing in 1 Enoch 20:2-8, and these angels are also named in 1QM 9:15.[323] Prigent points out

that trumpets in biblical literature, and in the ancient world in general, can connote a call to war,

a festival celebration, a worship ceremony, a theophany, and the representation of eschatological

events.[324] Aune includes along with these the sounding of warnings, attacks, retreats, victories,

and announcements.[325] Blount, noting the primary feature of *judgment* associated with the

trumpets of Revelation, says, "Depending on how one has responded to God through either

witness or accommodation, the sounding of God's trumpets will signal either the dawn of

salvation or the coming of judgment."[326] In light of the many uses for which trumpets may be

employed, we would concur with Aune, who, in comparing John's use of trumpets with that of

the War Scroll, observes that these may induce a range of emotion, including "terror or joy or

reverent expectation."[327] As such, there are many categories in which we may presume to place

these heptadic trumpet blasts.

The question at hand then, is whether or not the seven trumpets in Rev 8:6-21; 11:15-19

may be associated with *warfare* or not, and if so, of what quality are they? To that end, Koester

observes that trumpets are not used in Revelation in a positive sense of gathering together the

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[321] This writer concurs with Blount, who sees these three sets of seven as representing a single eschatological event. See Blount, *Revelation: A Commentary*, 160.

[322] In Rev 8:2, John says, "And I saw the seven angels who stand before God, and seven trumpets were given to them." This is followed in 8:6 by, "the seven angels who had the seven trumpets prepared themselves to sound them."

[323] The names of these being Uriel, Raphael, Raguel, Michael, Sariel, Gabriel, and Remiel. See Mounce, *The Book of Revelation*, 180; Prigent, *Commentary on the Apocalypse of St. John*, 299; Boxall, *The Revelation of Saint John*, 132. We shall return to this issue at the mentioning of these figures in 1QM 9:15.

[324] Prigent, *Commentary on the Apocalypse of St. John*, 299.

[325] Aune, *Revelation*, 510.

[326] Here we would note Blount's understanding of the concept of trumpets being a *signal*. See Blount, *Revelation: A Commentary*,161.

[327] Aune, *Revelation*, 510.

faithful people of God, but rather, to "bring devastating plagues on the earth, sea, and sky."[328]

Mounce concurs, noting these trumpets to signal God's wrath.[329] This is readily apparent, as the

results of the seven trumpet blasts are as follows: 1) Hail, fire and blood, plus the scorching of

the earth; 2) the death of sea creatures, plus the seas turned to blood; 3) a star falling from the

sky causing fresh water to be poisoned and causing death; 4) light blotted out due to celestial

bodies being darkened; 5) the opening of an abyss out of which come locusts which torture

mankind; 6) four angels on horses who bring death through plagues of fire, smoke, and sulfur;

and 7) a seventh (triumphant) trumpet blast which is accompanied by a hymn of praise to God

that the kingdom of earth has come under his reign, while the final Day of Judgment has arrived.

From this brief review, in contrast to 1QM, we see that Revelation's use of heptads with

trumpets is decidedly cosmic by comparison. Whereas 1QM is primarily concerned with

conventional weapons of war, Revelation uses heptadic plagues as weapons.

As to the question of whether or not these may rightly be seen as markers of warfare, G.

Fee argues that, "the most dominant theme throughout the book [of Revelation] is the Holy

War."[330] But his understanding of Holy War reaches beyond the scope of von Rad, and begins in

Gen 3:15, where "enmity" comes between the Satan figure and the woman, then moves through

Exod 15, to the *Song of the Sea*,[331] and ultimately bisects the fall of Jericho in Josh 6. This, Fee

contends, extends the Holy War motif from start to finish, providing a unifying theme which

continues through the Hebrew and Christian scriptural canon. Consequently, Fee extends the

Holy War from the Combat Myth to the very conclusion of the Apocalypse. While this may be

considered an overly broad assertion from a non-canonical perspective, we would concur with

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[328] Koester, *Revelation*, 448.
[329] Mounce, *The Book of Revelation*, 180.
[330] Fee, *Revelation*, xiv.
[331] A text which we would agree with von Rad predates the final redaction of the Genesis account.

both Fee and Blount, specifically concerning the intersection of Holy War via Joshua/Jericho and being directly connected with Revelation as it pertains to heptads together with the blowing of trumpets. Says Blount:

> "Perhaps the most celebrated account of the trumpet call in connection with warfare, particularly warfare in which God is engaged, occurs in Josh 6. In this story, seven priests were assigned seven trumpets and ordered to blow them successively for seven consecutive days. On the seventh day, at the seventh trumpet blast, the walls of Jericho fell. The parallel to John's vision of the seven trumpets is difficult to miss."

Blount then quotes Aune in reference to 1QM 7:14; "seven Levites shall go out with them, with seven ram's horns in their hands." He concludes by saying:

> "Given this background [i.e., the background of combining trumpets with heptads in Josh 6 and 1QM], it is no wonder that both Jewish and New Testament writers associated the sounding of the trumpet with the engagement of God's final eschatological battle." [332]

What we are left with, then, is a marked distinction between the Holy Wars of 1QM and that of Revelation, and some very clear similarities. The shared aspect of horns sounding in association with militaristic action in the form of a heptad is found, most obviously and earliest, in the Joshua/Jericho narrative, which would have been the most accessible corresponding tale to both John of Patmos and to the *yaḥad*. Tracing the combination of trumpets in groupings of seven back to its earliest explicit military reference, we are left with no other source of inspiration from which John of Patmos would have drawn from, other than that of Joshua/Jericho, and 1QM has done the same. This becomes even more compelling when we consider the Ark of the Covenant being symbolically prominent in Rev 11:19, in direct conjunction also with Revelation's seven trumpets. What we are compelled to deduce then, is that Joshua's class of Holy War had a tremendous amount of influence on both 1QM and

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[332] Blount, *Revelation: A Commentary*, 160.

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Revelation, even as 1QM focuses on what we would call conventional warfare, while Revelation deals primarily with cosmic apocalyptic warfare. On this note we bring our examination of the influence of Joshua/Jericho on our texts to a conclusion.

2.2.4.9 Conclusions

We have seen that Daniel represents a primary literary influence on Revelation, whereas 1QM used Daniel only as a secondary influence. Revelation amplifies and enhances Danielic imagery with great creative energy, while 1QM by contrast merely borrows a small number of Danielic phrases, using them as key introductory markers. Moreover, we have seen that Joshua/Jericho represents a primary influence on 1QM, whereas Revelation used Joshua/Jericho as a secondary influence. With regard to Joshua in particular, it is accurate to say the influence of the book on 1QM is hard to overstate, but its influence on Revelation is often overlooked. From the Joshua/Jericho narrative itself we see that both 1QM and Revelation have drawn on a shared Holy War tradition.

The question of Persian influence on our two primary texts is precluded by the fact that there is, at present, no clear evidence that the *yaḥad* adopted Persian cosmogony. To that end, while Persian loanwords are present, if there is an overt Persian influence on the Holy War of 1QM, it is undetectable to this researcher.

The question(s) which remains before us deal with whether or not John of Patmos was aware of, or influenced by, 1QM. Given the nature of the two texts, and their differences in focus we have seen thus far – i.e., 1QM concentrates largely on the imagery of conventional warfare, while Revelation is preoccupied with the imagery of otherworldly events – it is not possible at this juncture to determine that Revelation has been directly dependent on elements

derived from 1QM Col 1. Yet it may be the case that analogy between the two is at play, given the many points of contact between the texts. Consequently, while we may posit at this juncture that Revelation has *not* drawn direct influence by way of imitation from elements found in 1QM Col 1, it is entirely plausible that Revelation was written, at least in part, *against* certain ideas which appear in 1QM. We have seen enough contrasts by way of inclusion, exclusion, and the handling of certain Holy War elements to give rise to this possibility. John's martyrological stance is clearly set in opposition to the overtly militaristic approach found in 1QM.

From a rhetorical standpoint it is difficult to extract elements of persuasion out of numerical symbolism. People of antiquity understood numbers in mystical ways that can leave modern minds bewildered. We can, however derive some sense of purpose from our text's uses of Joshua, Daniel, Enochic literature, and other evident sources of inspiration. As much as these earlier inspirational sources would come to the attention of the readers/hearers of 1QM and Revelation, they serve to underscore the continuity with past Holy War events. The apparent disconnect by exclusion of certain elements such as the Ark of the Covenant notwithstanding, 1QM attempts to align itself with the tradition of the Conquest period. In the same way, Revelation seeks to include these same elements in depictions of the heavenly temple in order to promote a similar sense of historical continuity. Identification with past victories and a heritage of greatness bolsters morale, which is part of the intention of both documents. Hearkening to a glorious past frees the imagination to envision an even more glorious future.

2.2.5   1QM 1:14-17 – The Hand of God and the Influence of Exodus on Holy War

14. [of Light. And when the] banners of the infantry cause their hearts to melt,
then the strength of God will strengthen the he[arts of the Sons of Light.] In the
seventh lot the great hand of God shall overcome
15. [Belial and al]l the angels of his dominion, and all the men of [his forces shall

be destroyed forever].

16. […] the holy ones shall shine forth in support of […] the truth for the annihilation of the Sons of Darkness. Then […]

17. […] a great [r]oar […] they took hold of the implement[s of war…]

The element of God's hand ("the great hand of God" in 1QM 1:14 above), as the decisive factor in the outcome of the Holy War becomes our final focus in the first column of the War Scroll. Coming as it does at the seventh lot, this depiction of divine intervention is in keeping with what we know of Joshua/Jericho, but it is derived from the earlier inspirational setting of the Exodus. With this imagery in mind, we will triangulate two aspects of the Exodus narrative with 1QM and Revelation as we have done with other literatures, seeking to extract the features which would highlight the similarities and dissimilarities between our two texts. As with prior analysis, the present examination is certain to yield issues that will be germane to our considerations in forthcoming sections, so we begin with an overview of the relationship of the Exodus and its literature to the general theme of Holy War. Since the book of Exodus, as with the previous books we have considered, exerts a significant influence over large portions of 1QM beyond that of column 1, we will merely touch on the elements which are most applicable to the present section (1QM 1:14-17), leaving ample room for more comparison(s) to arise in subsequent sections of the War Scroll that speak more directly to the Exodus and to the other sources.[333]

Exod 15:3 announces (יהוה איש מלחמה יהוה שמו), *"The Lord is a warrior; The Lord is His name."* This first association of the God of the Hebrew Bible with *warfare* is considered the earliest in biblical literature, and places us within the origins of the phenomenon.[334] The context

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[333] As 1QM Col. 1 quotes repeatedly from Daniel, while simultaneously making unavoidable reference to Joshua, we have taken the time to address these influences substantively at the outset. As we move into the larger portion of the War Scroll we will be forced to broaden our scope of comparison, while being more selective in the elements we focus on as we move forward.

[334] We might otherwise want to begin further back in the historiography of biblical literature, and trace Holy War from the earliest chapters of Genesis, as Fee does, taking into account the Combat Myth, along with the

of the verse is the *Song of the Sea* from Exod 15:1-18, in the immediate aftermath of the parting

and crossing of the Red Sea, after which Moses and Miriam sing hymns of victory in warfare.

There is no question that the defeat of the Egyptian army at the 'hand of God,' as described by

these poetic verses, communicated to the early Israelites, and by extension the author(s) of

Revelation and 1QM, that their God was capable of acts of war. In the Exodus then, we see the

paradigmatic event by which every subsequent Holy War was to be measured; in terms of scale,

the Exodus stands unmatched. Handed down as a shared historical memory to subsequent

generations, the story left an indelible mark on the national identity of the Jewish people, such

that its significance would always be materialized, with future hopes and expectations being

framed by the assurance that God had already won a great monumental victory in the past.

The melees within the larger Holy War narrative of the Exodus range from the divine

calling of a human mediator (i.e., Moses at the Burning Bush in Exod 3), to a series of threats

and demonstrations which are tied to an ultimatum directed at Pharaoh (Exod 10:25). These

markers in the story line are punctuated with divine attacks via plagues used as weapons of

coercion (Exod 7-11), cumulating in a final and decisive blow at the hand of God, which crushes

his enemies (Exod 14:26-31). The end result is an account which depicts an all-powerful God

urgently concerned with the safety and wellbeing of his children who are held hostage and

suffering. Conversely, it portrays the willingness of God to destroy the children and the nation

of those who hold his own captive, should his offspring fail to be released by the Egyptian

Pharaoh. The full course of this drama sets the stage then, for the triumphant *Song of the Sea*,

the earliest of Holy War texts, which proclaims God to be a warrior in Exod 15:3.

'enmity' placed between the serpent and the woman in the Garden of Eden, but the *Song of the Sea* is where God is first depicted conspicuously as a *warrior*, with the final redaction of the Genesis account(s) being understood by most scholars to have been completed after the Exodus section was authored. Thus, for now, we place our focus on the *Song of the Sea* in Exod 15, rather than the *chaos vs order* dualism of the Genesis Creation account. See Fee, *Revelation*, 11. See Stuart, *Exodus, NAC*, 346.

The wider corpus of DSS material contains at least sixteen fragmentary copies of Exodus, indicating a clear affinity for the book among the *yaḥad* adherents. Specific mention of Egypt as a classic enemy occurs twice in 1QM, at 1:4, and 14:1. In the first instance we saw a reference to the Kittim occupying Egypt, while the second is a reference to the fire of God's wrath against Egyptian idols. In 1QM these references are aimed at the destruction of the Sons of Darkness during a final eschatological Holy War.[335] Moses is quoted twice in 1QM, at 10:2-4 and 10:6-8, citing Deut 20:2-5, and Num 10:9, respectively, with the second instance being attributed to Moses specifically. Both quotes are presented in the context of Holy War preparation. Moses' brother Aaron is mentioned four times in 1QM with reference to the priesthood, and associated with the need for halachic purity in the context of Holy War.[336] From these cursory references alone we can see that a number of major elements from the Exodus permeate the theology and language of the *War Scroll*.

The 'hand of God' (יד אל) occurs twice in the War Scroll, at 1:14, and 18:13. Both of these refer to the anthropomorphic imagery representing the power of God, which, in this context, refers to the ability of God to conquer his enemies (enemies which 1QM assumes are shared by the *yaḥad*), and hearkens back again to the Exodus. The first, in 1:14, announces, "In the seventh lot the great *hand of God* (יד אל) shall overcome," (emphasis added). By the time of this seventh lot, the writer informs us, the *hand of God* will intervene and break what amounts to a hostile stalemate between the Sons of Light and the Sons of Darkness.

The second instance appears later in the document, during the celebration liturgy, and reads, "Yours is the might, and the battle is in Your hand, and there is no […]" (1QM 18:13). Even with the lacuna in the scroll, this line plainly attests to the unilateral nature of 1QM's Holy

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[335] See Schiffman and Vanderkam, *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 2000 ed., s.v. "Egypt," by Gideon Bohak, 233-234.
[336] See 1QM 3:14; 5:1; 7:10; 17:2.

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War, as being solely determined by the will and volition of God, and again within an overtly militaristic setting. Thus, although the warring parties appear to fight to a draw in six rounds of battle,[337] at the point when God intervenes (i.e., at the seventh lot), there can be no question as to what will be the final outcome. The assurance of victory is depicted as evident.

The language accompanying the *hand of God*, as seen in 1QM 1:14, has the connotation of overcoming, conquering, or striking (כנע) in battle, and is nearly ubiquitous in biblical literature, associated as it is with the initial calling of Moses at the Burning Bush,[338] as well as the subsequent miracles, signs, and wonders narrated in the Exodus account.[339] Thus, in anticipation of a decisive victory somewhere on the horizon, when Qumran's would-be celebrants anticipated that God would restore their fortunes, they too used similar praise language which reaffirmed the prior miraculous accomplishments (i.e., of the Exodus), while taking into account those Exodus-like wonders which they assumed would occur again sometime in their future. In other words, the Exodus modelled a past which they hoped would be repeated. As the author of 1QM writes, "But we, your holy people, shall praise Your name for Your works of truth. Because of your mighty deeds we shall exalt [...]" (1QM 14:12-13). Similar language is used repeatedly in Revelation, where *conquering* and/or *overcoming* is a widely recognized motif, and is similarly tied to the struggles of Holy War as understood by John of Patmos.[340] Thus there is clear overlap between our texts in this regard.

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[337] "In the war, the sons of light will be strongest during three lots, in order to strike down wickedness; and in three (others), the army of Belial will gird themselves in order to force the lot of [...] to retreat. There will be infantry battalions to melt the heart, but God's might will strengthen the hea[rt of the sons of light.] And in the seventh lot, God's great hand will subdue..." (1QM 1:13-14).

[338] "So I will stretch out My hand and *strike* (כנע) Egypt with all My miracles which I shall do in the midst of it; and after that he will let you go" (Exod 3:20, NASB; emphasis added).

[339] The various plagues are described as a 'strike' against Egypt, wherein God strikes Egypt and Moses strikes with his staff. See Exod 7:17, 20, 25; 8:20, 13; 9:15, 25, 31; 12:12-13, 29; etc.

[340] See uses of νικάω – to conquer – in Rev 2:7, 11, 17, 26; 3:5, 12, 21; 5:5; 6:2; 12:11; 15:2; 17:14; 21:7.

Due to the foundational nature of the Exodus as a rescuing event, its dramatic narrative and tradition did not provide for the *yaḥad* the same practical and, more importantly, preparatory warfare instructions which would be communicated in due course at Mount Sinai, and later by Moses prior to the crossing of the Red Sea in Deut 20, i.e., during the wilderness period. What we see then, in 1QM, is a document that makes somewhat restricted use of Exodus material as compared to Joshua/Jericho material, since the wartime role of the Israelites is depicted as largely *passive* during the Exodus flight, but highly *active* during the era of the Conquest. This is, again, likely related to the fact that the *yaḥad* saw themselves as being (at least temporarily) consigned to a form of exile in the wilderness, much like the Israelites prior to the Conquest. In contrast, Revelation draws very heavily from the Exodus throughout, even making mention of another *Song of Moses*, which becomes the *Song of the Lamb* in Rev 15:3-4, a composition which, ironically, bears no relation whatsoever to the original composition in Exod 15.[341] Revelation reflects a consistent reconfiguring of Exodus elements, although scholars are often divided over which elements are evident and how they are used.

What we see then is a sampling of essential Exodus-like references which became so prominent among Jewish and Christian writers as to almost seem perennial. These do not constitute unique or bold usages on the part of 1QM, nor do they stand out as unexpected, but rather seem quite ordinary within the language of Holy War. We cannot derive any theories of direct influence between 1QM and Revelation based on the common use of such elements, but we can group them together under a category of Holy War texts which employ these near compulsory Exodus references. No ancient Holy War text of a Jewish or Christian milieu could

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[341] The lyrical content has no direct connection with the earlier lyric of Exod 15, or, as Aune puts it (citing Fiorenza), there is "no literary relationship," between the Song of Moses (and the Lamb) in Revelation with this earlier *Song of the Sea* from Exod 15. Therefore, although Moses is directly referenced in Revelation 15:3, and although the apocalyptic song of Moses shares common thematic elements such as 'fear,' it does not appear to intersect directly with the Holy War motif. See Aune, *Revelation*, 872.

afford to neglect such a chapter as Exod 15, and the *Song of the Sea* serves as a gateway into the topic unlike any other text. In the *Song of the Sea*, we see the origination of various motifs of holy warfare which endured for millennia, and were predictably reincorporated into the pictures sketched by both 1QM and Revelation. It is therefore both appropriate and helpful to our study that 1QM's initial column concludes with such references.

As we consider the rhetorical use of elements that are overtly tied to the Exodus, it is apparent that the readers/hearers of 1QM and Revelation were intended to recognize the monumental nature of the calling they are being summoned to answer. Both texts are insistent as to the tremendous importance of engaging in the conflict to come, and a hearkening to the Exodus constituted a rallying cry to battle. With such references the authors of these texts indicated a willingness to trust God as the faithful Israelites did in the past, in order to encourage a similar faith response in the present. Recalling the original Exodus in the anticipation of a second Exodus would embolden those who harbored fears of failure; if the hand of God was on their side, they could not lose.

3.   The World of 1QM and Revelation: A Systematic Comparative Reading Part 2

3.1   1QM Column 2-9 Part 1: Geopolitical and Cosmological Perceptions

Moving forward into 1QM col. 2, the immediate introduction of the priesthood at lines 1-6 opens up a series of topics which broaden the contours of the Holy War considerably. Materially speaking, there are three major subjects emerging from this column which we are confronted with: 1) Some operational aspects of the priesthood in a wartime eschatological setting; 2) a projected yearly timeframe for the Holy War itself; and 3) a second listing of enemies which may be considered geographically. Of these three, the aspect of the *priesthood* continues to be felt throughout the duration of the scroll, while the other two elements are dealt with only here in Col. 2. These latter two elements are intertwined, forming a natural transition out of the priestly concern. The timeframe given for the Holy War leaves the clear implication that the war itself will last forty years, while the geographical list of enemies is parceled out in direct accordance with this same timeframe. This section also presents a conundrum with regard to the development of the document itself. If, as early scholars believed,[342] the War Scroll is indeed a unified literary work, then Col. 2 must necessarily flow quite easily from the context of Col. 1. On the other hand, if the scroll represents some literary development, as most scholars are now inclined to recognize,[343] then our understanding of the present content as it relates to the previous column may be directly affected, since Col. 2 begins with a continuation out of a lacuna (due to significant scroll damage) from the bottom of Col. 1. With this in mind, in the sections

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[342] Among these are Y. Yadin, J. Carmignac, and the present researcher. For a summary, see introduction in Schultz, *Conquering the World*.

[343] Ibid. Among these are B. Schultz, J. Duhaime, and most notably P. Davies. See discussion in Duhaime, *The War Texts*, 45-61. Also *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 2000 ed., s.v. "War of the Sons of Light Against The Sons of Darkness," by Philip R. Davies, 965-968.

that follow we will look at the three principal topics of Col. 2 as they relate to and compare with

John Apocalypse, triangulating them with other texts as necessary.

3.1.1   1QM 2:1-15 – Shifting to a War Footing

1. the congregation's clans, fifty-two. They shall rank the chiefs of the priests after the Chief Priest and his deputy; twelve to serve
2. in the regular offering before God. The chiefs of the courses, twenty-six, shall serve in their courses. After them the chiefs of the Levites serve continually, twelve in all, one to a
3. tribe. The chiefs of their courses shall serve each man in his office. The chiefs of the tribes and fathers of the congregation after them, taking their stand continually at the gates of the sanctuary.
4. The chiefs of their courses, from the age of fifty upwards, shall take their stand with their commissioners on their festivals, new moons and Sabbaths, and on every day of the year.
5. These shall take their stand at the burnt offerings and sacrifices, to arrange the sweet smelling incense according to the will of God, to atone for all His congregation, and to satisfy themselves before Him continually
6. at the table of glory. All of these they shall arrange at the time of the year of remission. During the remaining thirty-three years of the war the men of renown,
7. those called of the Congregation, and all the heads of the father's households of the congregation shall choose for themselves men of war for all the lands of the nations. From all tribes of Israel they shall prepare
8. capable men for themselves to go out for battle according to the summons of the war, year by year. But during the years of remission they shall not ready men to go out for battle, for it is a Sabbath
9. of rest for Israel. During the thirty-five years of service the war shall be waged. For six years the whole congregation shall wage it together,
10. and a war of divisions shall be waged during the twenty-nine remaining years. In the first year they shall fight against Mesopotamia, in the second against the sons of Lud, in the third
11. they shall fight against the rest of the sons of Aram: Uz, Hul, Togar, and Mesha, who are beyond the Euphrates. In the fourth and fifth they shall fight against the sons of Arpachshad,
12. in the sixth and seventh they shall fight against all the sons of Asshur and Persia and the easterners up to the Great Desert. In the eighth year they shall fight against the sons of
13. Elam, in the ninth year they shall fight against the sons of Ishmael and Keturah, and during the following ten years the war shall be divided against all the sons of Ham
14. according to [their] c[lans and] their [terri]tories. During the remaining ten years

the war shall be divided against all [sons of Japhe]th according to their territories.

15. *vacat*

3.1.2 The Priesthood in Holy War

Starting in 1QM 2:1, the introduction of the Chief Priest (כוהן הראש) into the text is significant, and this pivotal figure appears again in 15:4; 16:13; and 18:5; these later instances fall within the *Global War against Kittim* and all nations, which is the climactic section of 1QM, in Cols. 15-19. The institution (or re-institution) of the sacrificial system at this point has led scholars to reasonably deduce the anticipated recovery of Jerusalem along with the Temple on the part of the Qumran sectarians to occur at some early juncture, even at the outset of the eschatological war.[344] From this centralized and hallowed location the Holy War would, presumably, spread out into the surrounding territories, eventually consuming the entire earth. The template for this expansion is based largely on the Table of Nations, from Gen 10. Such a scenario seems to reflect the ever-widening and advancing momentum depicted in the narrative of the scroll, and presents us with a theologically significant and religiously strategic footing from which to survey the more immediate and proximate war targets listed in 1QM 2:10-14. Consequently, the recovery of the sacrificial system, at Jerusalem specifically, stood as a primary eschatological wartime goal of the *yaḥad*,[345] which is clearly reflected here. It also serves the practical utility of providing a staging point from which to wage Holy War against the surrounding enemies.

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[344] See for example the citations of Schultz, *Conquering the World*, 169.

[345] According to R.A. Kugler, "The evidence indicates that the priests of Qumran filled all these roles except that of performing sacrifices, and they looked forward to fulfilling that function, too, in the eschatological age, an age that one of their own would inaugurate." Furthermore, 1QS 9:4-5 provides clear evidence that sacrifices of prayer served as surrogate sacrifices within the *yaḥad* community: "They shall atone for the guilt of transgression and the rebellion of sin, becoming an acceptable sacrifice for the land through the flesh of burnt offerings, the fat of sacrificial portions and prayer, becoming—as it were—justice itself, a sweet savour of righteousness and blameless behaviour, a pleasing freewill offering." See *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 2000 ed., s.v. "Priests," by Robert A. Kugler, 688-693.

This whole scenario is bolstered by the suggestion that Jerusalem is indeed the central location from which the remainder of the war is to be waged, having its beginning earlier in 1QM 1:3.

> "Sons of Light return from the *Wilderness of the Peoples* to camp in the *Wilderness of Jerusalem*. Then after the battle they shall go up from that place." (1QM 1:3; emphasis added)

This move from one *Wilderness* to another appears to represent the first account of advancing momentum in the Holy War, and it is underscored once again in 1QM 3:11, where the list of war trumpets includes those designated for the return from battle to the congregation situated at Jerusalem. In this case, these particular trumpets are inscribed with, "Exultations of God in a peaceful return," indicating a rallying point for the people of the *yaḥad* back at Jerusalem. Col. 7, likewise, gives a clear indication that Jerusalem serves as the central location from which the wars are to be waged (at 7:4), while stating that only the most fit volunteers are to be sent into Holy War.

What we see then, is a clear sense in which the sacred location of the Temple, along with its recovery, and the reinstitution of the sacrificial system under a group of priests, who, apparently, would have been recognized by the *yaḥad* as the legitimate and rightful priests, represents a foundational event to occur at the launching of 1QM's Holy War. Accordingly, the *yaḥad* also understood "burnt offerings and sacrifices" (per 2:5), to be the exclusive purview of the legitimate priests serving in the Temple setting, while stationed "at the gates" (per 1:3),[346] and apart from this particularly ordained location they would not have been able to serve the sacrificial function of the priesthood to its capacity. Thus, the full operation of a legitimate priesthood was predicated on the recapture (and probable cleansing) of Jerusalem, and priestly

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[346] Cf. Ezel 44:1. See Yadin, *The Scroll of the War*, 264.

roles were seen as limited and hindered until this could be accomplished. However, it is readily

apparent that the role of the priests with regard to waging of the eschatological Holy War was

indeed pivotal, and their wartime activities eventually come to the forefront in the scroll.

Moreover, the issue of *legitimacy* is a concern that flows directly into the subsequent sections, as

we will see, since the priesthood leads the war against certain enemies in a particular order and

fashion.

Historically, there existed a line of Zadokite priests (c.350-174 BCE), followed by those

appointed by Seleucids (174-140 BCE), leading to those of the Hasmonean dynasty (140-37

BCE). Whatever the actual origins of the *yaḥad* might have been – either as Zadokite priests

themselves, or as laymen with related political and/or religious concerns – the Qumran sectarians

seem to have desired a return to the Zadokite line, which they perceived as having been the most

authentic.[347] Consequently, the priesthood during wartime would necessarily have conformed to

the Levitical prescriptions as understood by the *yaḥad*, with the Chief Priest playing a key role,

as indeed he does in 1QM. Moreover, the actions expected of the priestly class in the Holy War

would have mirrored those of the Conquest period, with the likelihood that influence from the

Maccabean wars had shaped the sensibilities of the *yaḥad*, despite their aversions to the

Hasmonean priesthood itself.[348]

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[347] According to Davies, "It appears from the instances cited that the authors of the Dead Sea Scrolls recognized only the Zadokite priests as legitimate and usually accord them with authority, though there is no warrant for taking the term to apply to any community as a whole," yet at the same time, "Recognizing the Dead Sea Scrolls are not ideologically homogeneous and have in some cases been edited, we have to conclude that the Zadokite perspective of some passages cannot be applied universally across the scrolls." *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 2000 ed., s.v. "Sons of Zadok," by Philip R. Davies, 1005-1007.

[348] This would be due to several factors, including the corruption of the office over a lengthy period of time, as seen in the bribery on the part of Jason for the office in 2 Macc 4:7-8, followed by another bribery on the part of Menelaus in 2 Macc 4:23-24. The Hasmonean takeover would have been welcomed initially by the general Jewish population, but a gradual return to Hellenization, accompanied by the conflation of the kingship with the high priesthood and the ejection of the Zadokite influence would have driven the Qumran sectarians to split from the mainstream of Jewish society. See Schiffman, *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 68-73.

Be that as it may, there is nothing unconventional about the operations of the priesthood as presented in 1QM Col. 2, which simply reflects the common duties of priests in the functioning Israelite sacrificial system. These duties include regular sacrifices and the burning of incense at the customary festivals, new moons, and sabbaths, all of which may be found elaborated in Lev 1-9; 21:1-22:33. 1QM draws from this rather lengthy section of Leviticus, which is immediately followed by the calendrical outline of said feasts and sacred seasons, as well as the fifty-year jubilee cycle marked by the national forgiveness of debt. Instead of novelty, the emphasis in 1QM Col. 2 is on the consistent stability of these sacrifices, as seen by a repetition of the term for *regularity* or *continuity* (תמיד) used three times within the first five lines.[349] This operational normality of the priestly office is in sharp juxtaposition with the responsibilities of the priests in the *Rules for the War of Divisions* (Col. 3-9), where they are seen actively directing the events of the Holy War via prayers of exhortation and coordinated trumpet blasts. While these wartime activities are not, strictly speaking, outside the realm of the traditionally assigned priestly responsibilities as prescribed in the Hebrew Scriptures, they have been greatly expanded and embellished in 1QM.

Although the trumpets blown by the priests were typically to be used for rallying the tribes for the purpose of national gatherings,[350] their function in 1QM is as signaling instruments associated with warfare, per Num 10:9.

> "And when you go to war in your land against the adversary who oppresses you, then you shall sound an alarm with the trumpets (*pl.* חצוצרות),[351] that you may be remembered before the Lord your God, and you shall be saved from your enemies." (Num 10:9)

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[349] Cf. 1QM 2:2; 2:5.

[350] Cf. Num 10:2ff. "Make yourself two trumpets of silver, of hammered work you shall make them; and you shall use them for summoning the congregation and for having the camps set out."

[351] See Harris, Archer, and Waltke, *Theological Wordbook of The Old Testament*. The Greek term used by Revelation is σάλπιγξ (*salpinx*) and appears as a catch-all term throughout the LXX.

By the time of the *yaḥad* the number of trumpets employed had increased from two (Num 10:2), to seven (1 Chr 15:24), to 120 (2 Chr 5:12). We may assume the *yaḥad* to have envisioned a heptadic configuration of seven trumpets, in accord with 1 Chr 15:24, as the reference to seven priests in 1QM 7:9-13 makes clear.[352] This also corresponds yet again with the Jericho conquest narrative, wherein Joshua is told, "Also seven priests shall carry seven trumpets of rams' horns before the ark; then on the seventh day you shall march around the city seven times, and the priests shall blow the trumpets," (Josh 6:4). Thus, the seven priests play a prominent and markedly active role in 1QM, but with a somewhat modified functionality geared towards wartime. Beginning with the initial recapturing of Jerusalem wherein the typical sacrificial duties are to be resumed, followed by an outward expansion of the Holy War into the surrounding nations, the seven priests of 1QM are charged with the strategic responsibility of signaling specific maneuvers and events in the larger conflict.

By comparison, whereas 1QM seeks to reinvigorate the priesthood, in Revelation the priesthood represents a basic reconceptualization, and John of Patmos has fundamentally reimagined the institution. To begin with, there is no mention of a Chief Priest anywhere in Revelation, which reflects the theological elevation of Jesus to a transcendent category of that pinnacle position.[353] Secondly, when 'priests' (ἱερόθυτος) are mentioned in John's Apocalypse it is in the context of an otherworldly 'kingdom' (βασιλεία), with no mention of the normal sacrificial duties, or any concern for the legitimacy of the Levitical lineage requirements.[354] Unlike the *yaḥad*, John is entirely unconcerned with which political faction prevails within the Jewish sphere of priests, being far more preoccupied with the centrality of the figure of Christ, and all that entails. It is the universalization of the priesthood which John depicts, under the

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[352] Cf. 1QM 16:7, which also mentions seven priests.
[353] As in the conceptualization found in the book of Hebrews. Cf. Heb 3:1.
[354] Cf. Rev 1:6; 5:10; 20:6.

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rubric of those who conquer/overcome by way of maintaining a faithful witness to Christ. In effect, this is a decisive move which serves to essentially *internalize* the Holy War in Revelation, making the priesthood into a company of martyr-witnesses (μάρτυς) who remain faithful to the name of Christ by not capitulating to the cult of the Roman Empire, and the powers of darkness which rule the cosmos invisibly. Hence, the priests are no longer seen as offering sacrifices. Such a functional transformation must be underscored: Because the tangible city of Jerusalem was at least theoretically available to the *yaḥad*, 1QM sees the reorganization of the city and its Temple under the 'legitimate' priesthood as an eschatological ideal to be attained via a more classical form of Israelite Holy War. In marked contrast, the Book of Revelation, having been finalized in all likelihood after the fall of Jerusalem at the hands of Rome, has largely abandoned the notion of a classical conquest-type of Holy War in favor of resistance to the Roman Empire (and the powers behind it), by way of witness/martyrdom. In short, the single most impacting *historical* factor which shapes the Holy War sensibilities of 1QM over and against that of Revelation, becomes the fall of Jerusalem, which requires the apparatus of the priesthood to be recast in its aftermath.

What we see from a rhetorical standpoint is a stark contrast in the motivations of both texts in response to a common enemy, but a continued valuing of the concept of the priesthood. The War Scroll has as its end goal the establishment of a priesthood which affirms and adheres to the perspectives of the *yaḥad*. It may also be the case that the depiction of Jerusalem in 1QM is that of a glorified city, but this is not at all made evident in the text at hand.[355] What we see in 1QM is a war agenda geared towards overt territorial dominance; Revelation simply reimagines the priesthood and Jerusalem itself – both are in response to Rome. The rhetorical goals of 1QM

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[355] The possibility has been suggested by García Martínez. Florentino García Martínez, *Qumran and Apocalyptic: Studies on the Aramaic Texts from Qumran*, STDJ 9. (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1994).

in this case appear to be the persuasion of the reader/hearer to enlist in support of an effort to restore what, to the thinking of the *yaḥad*, would have been the rightful and correctly observant priesthood. If the perception of 1QM is that of a renewed Jerusalem, then this would change the picture considerably. But as it stands, taking the text at face value leaves one to conclude that the perception of the War Scroll on the priesthood carries with it a theo-political bent, but is not transformational. There is certainly a concern in 1QM for ritual purity and Levitical stringency, but the defeat and removal of the enemies of the sect is paramount to these concerns, although the premise of its Holy War is indeed a restored priesthood.

Revelation's rhetorical goals are, rather, to enlist the reader/hearer as a new form of priest. Presuming the Temple to have been destroyed, and the priesthood in non-operation, John re-envisions the institution along Christian lines, which remains a subversively political stance towards Rome, but releases his reader/hearers from obligation to the Temple location and from the regimented order of a formalized priesthood. Ultimately both documents are indicating to the reader/hearers that the priesthood is essential to victory in the future Holy War; 1QM aims to enlist support for a restoration, and Revelation directly enlists a new form of priest.

3.1.3 Levites in Holy War

It is noteworthy to observe that despite the distinctly differing notions of the functionality and even the concept of the priesthood itself, 1QM and Revelation do share the rather unique inclusion of the tribal Levites in the context of active military service.[356] This feature intersects with Bauckham's notion of Revelation as functioning like a 'Christian War Scroll,' in certain aspects, and to this we now turn.

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[356] In 1QM the Levites appear in 1:2, and 2:2. 1QM 1:2 explicitly states that "The sons of Levi…will wage war."

The element of the priesthood as it participates in Holy War stands out uniquely in Rev 7:5-8 with the inclusion of the Levites appearing in a tribal census which has apparent military connotations. Bauckham argues as much, and marshals to the defense of this understanding the fact that the appearance of the sealed 144,000 in Rev 7:5-8 is most likely to be identified as the same group of 144,000 individuals who appear in 14:1-4, standing with the Lamb on Mount Zion. Coupled with the obvious numerical correspondence, Bauckham's reasons for understanding them as military, are essentially twofold: 1) They appear in 14:1 on Mount Zion, itself a symbol of Israelite victory and conquest; and 2) they are said to have maintained purity in 14:4, a marker of eligible males in preparation for classical Israelite Holy War.[357] Thus, Bauckham reasons, the 144,000 listed in Rev 7:5-8 must correspond to the other 144,000 in 14:1-5, and therefore the initial listing constitutes a military census, in accord with earlier such examples, like that of Num 1:49; 2:33; 26:1-51.[358] With this assessment we would concur.

Aune does not fully agree with this evaluation, however, arguing that the association of the census in Rev 7:5-8 with the military is "doubtful," since there is no indication of Holy War language or imagery mentioned in those particular verses, hence, it is an argument from silence, and he suggest this census is better understood in association with the eschatological restoration of the twelve tribes of Israel.[359] With this second point, (i.e., that the raw census may reflect the eschatological restoration of the twelve tribes), we would also concur, as it is entirely possible for both aspects to be true at once. The census given for the 144,000 sealed tribes may indeed be a military roster, and it may also have symbolic aspects of eschatological restoration attached.

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[357] Cf. Deut 23:9-10; 1 Sam 21:5; 2 Sam 11:11.

[358] Here we would exclude 1 Chr 21:6, as this passage gives the explanation for excluding the Levites (along with the tribe of Benjamin) as being due to the resistance on the part of Joab to the taking of a military census, as opposed to the normative Levitical exclusion based on Tabernacle duties.

[359] Aune does concede that the list of tribes in Rev 7:4-8 may have the markings of a military census, but remains unconvinced. Aune, *Revelation*, 436, 463.

There seems to be no reason to exclude either possibility, and they are not contradictory to one another.

Bauckham's line of argumentation continues, and he detects a correspondence between the Lion of Judah in Rev 5:5 and the 144,000 in 7:5-8, and also between the Lamb in Rev 5:6 and the innumerable multitude of 7:9. He does so based on the modes of auditory vs. visual language in the passages where these appear in alternation. Thus, as John *hears* of the Lion of Judah, so he *hears* of the sealing of the 144,000; as John *sees* the Lamb, likewise he *sees* the innumerable multitude. This indeed strikes a clear balance in terms of the modes of apprehension on the part of John. However, Bauckham deduces that the 144,000 are to be identified as the "Israelite army of the military Messiah of David, while the international multitude are the followers of the slaughtered Lamb."[360] In so doing, Bauckham brings to bear a perspective on Revelation in light of 1QM that sees the reconceptualization of Holy War as becoming that of active resistance to the point of martyrdom.[361] This, according to Bauckham, stands in contrast to the model found in 1QM, which reflects a classic Israelite understanding of militarily driven Holy War, wherein victory is achieved through sheer force of power with the support of divine assistance. In line with this thinking, he posits that John's depiction of the 144,000 in Rev 7:2-14, is comprised of two pictures – one, being the 144,000 sealed, the second being an innumerable multitude – and that these together are reflective of the same group having been transformed from Jewish military hopes and expectations, to an expanded population of heavenly victors through their witness/martyrdom. Their transformation from an earthly Israelite

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[360] Bauckham, *The Climax of Prophecy*, 216.

[361] Cf. Rev 2:10. "Be faithful until death, and I will give you the crown of life." To that same end, says Mounce, "Further, there seems to be no place in Revelation for any believer who will not face martyrdom in the last days (cf 13:15, 'as many as should not worship the image of the beast should be killed')." Mounce, *The Book of Revelation*, 169. Blount clarifies helpfully, "It is witness, not dying that is ethically preeminent." Blount, *Revelation: A Commentary*, 155.

military into a heavenly multitude of internationals hinges on the shift from auditory to visual imagery on the part of John. This shift is seen in John's *hearing* about the Lion of Judah in Rev 5:5, and the subsequent *seeing* of the Lamb in Rev 5:6. Such a shift, contends Bauckham, reflects a corresponding reconfiguration on the part of the 144,000 into the innumerable multitude, hence, as the Lion is the Lamb, so the earthly military becomes the heavenly multitude. In other words, according to Bauckham, the Lion-like 144,000 changes into a Lamb-like innumerable multitude.

Most commentators do not entirely concur with this point of view, and nor do we.[362] For one, there is no clear indication that such a reconfiguration has indeed occurred, and on balance nothing warrants the notion that the total abrogation of military is what John has in mind. In point of fact, the difference between these two groups seems to be further emphasized by the contrast in audition over and against the visual, which demarks the 144,000 as being associated

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[362] The notion of a reconfiguration of the 144,000 into the innumerable multitude based on the non-militaristic stance of those who have been martyred, is not convincing to most commentators, as Bauckham acknowledges:

"However, the ascription of victory not only to God but also to the Lamb (7:10) prepares for the revelation that it is a victory of the same kind as the Lamb's (cf 5:6): those whom the Lamb's sacrificial death has ransomed from all nations (5:9) share in his victory through martyrdom. Against most of the commentators, this must be the meaning of 7:14, but it is a meaning which emerges only gradually in the course of a verse which at first sight seems simply to continue the theme of holy war." Bauckham, *The Climax of Prophecy*, 226.

Contra Bauckham, most see the two images as being merely complimentary of one another, and reflecting the totality of the people of God 1) on earth prior to the tribulation, and 2) in heaven after the victory has been achieved. This is not in great variance from the view of Bauckham, apart from the *military* aspect which he sees as being subsumed within the aspect of martyrdom. We would contend the issue here pertains to one's definition of *martyrdom* over and against that of *witness*. The theology of Revelation, we would argue, allows for a witness that does not necessitate martyrdom, but that all martyrs are by definition those who bear witness.

Among those who hold such a view are Gordon Fee, who emphasizes the sealing of the 144,000 as being protective against God's own coming wrath as expressed in the tribulation, which is an aspect that seems often overlooked. According to Fee, the 144,000 are listed in census form, "because they are going to be involved in the Holy War themselves." Hence, they will experience the tribulation but ultimately they will prevail (per Rev 7:14). Fee elaborates, "they are also sealed, and thus will not experience God's wrath." Fee, *Revelation*, 109.

In short, Rev 7:14 does not appear to necessitate a non-militaristic death on the part of any that come out of the tribulation. It does, however, require faithful witness to Christ.

with the tribulation (θλῖψις) said to occur on the earth, while the innumerable multitude clearly

appear visually in heaven, even as they have come out of the tribulation. This may indicate a

delineation rather than a transformation. Indeed, with the corresponding audio and visual

presentation of the Lion and the Lamb in Rev 5:5-6, John does not provide a depiction of a Lamb

who *replaces* the Lion, he provides a Lamb who *is* (and in some way remains) the Lion.

Second, Bauckham assumes the 144,000 are sealed as martyrs, as indicated by Rev 7:14,

wherein they wash their clothing and make them white (λευκός) with the blood of the Lamb.

This feature, Bauckham argues, is a reconfiguring of the post-war cleansing ritual depicted in

1QM 14:2-3,[363] and is both paradoxically and reflexively applied to the 144,000 as martyrs, who

have followed the example of Christ in his death. Thus, he concludes:

> "The messianic army is an army of martyrs who triumph though their martyrdom,
> because they are followers of the Lamb who participate in his victory by
> following his path to death."[364]

Against this point of view Aune states:

> "In my view, the 144,000 of Rev 7:4-8 represent that particular group of
> Christians (including all ages and both genders) who have been specially
> protected by God from both divine plagues and human persecution just before the
> final eschatological tribulation begins and who consequently survive that
> tribulation and the great eschatological battle that is the culmination of that
> tribulation."[365]

Thus, to Bauckham the 144,000 are viewed as *martyrs*, but to Aune they are *survivors*.

In Bauckham's scenario they die as Christ died; in Aune's scenario they are preserved by Christ

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[363] Bauckham, *The Climax of Prophecy*, 226.

[364] Ibid., 229

[365] Aune, *Revelation*, 443. Here, Aune's represents a minority view, if only because he specifies that the 144,000 do in fact survive the tribulation and the final eschatological battle. Commentators are again in disagreement over this. Fee, articulating the mainstream view, holds that, "…John reassures his readers that they have been 'sealed' by God so as to stand firm during the coming hour of trial, and that *even if they should die in the coming Holy War*, they will indeed receive the final eschatological reward. All of this is quite in keeping with the overall theology of the book…" With this view we would also concur. Fee, *Revelation*, 117, emphasis added.

through the tribulation (θλῖψις). While we do recognize, with Bauckham, the likely connection

in the washing of garments on the part of both 1QM 14:2-3 and Rev 7:14, we would suggest it is

impossible to know for certain if the wearers of those garments are best identified as either

martyrs, survivors, or a mix of both. On one hand they may be associated with the martyrs

depicted under the altar in Rev 6:9-11, but their number ties them clearly to the 144,000 who

appear on Mount Zion in 14:1. Narrative consistency would seem to dictate that they do indeed

represent martyrs, but the symbolism of conquest in the second case implies zealotry. For our

purposes it is more important to note that they are depicted as *military*, and that the inclusion of

the Levites among them is an unusual feature in any military census.[366]

The census itself has its own peculiarities, as do most all tribal listings, and among those

which appear in the Rev 7:4-8 roster is the prominence of the tribe of Judah in the first position.

This is unusual, as Judah is the fourth son of Jacob, hence the fourth tribe of Israel. However, as

both Bauckham and Aune observe,[367] the reference to the Lion of Judah in Rev 5:5 is likely the

inspiration for this aspect. Moreover, Judah also appears at the start of the military census in

Num 2:3, which indicates the leading position among the tribal encampment. Furthermore, the

imagery of the Lion of Judah itself denotes conquest in warfare. All of this provides yet another

indication that the census of Rev 7:4-8 is of a military nature.

The exclusion of the tribe of Dan in this census is unusual and difficult to explain, apart

from the possibility that this tribe had assimilated itself completely into Canaanite culture upon

entry into the Promised Land,[368] and John of Patmos may have picked up on this. Also, the

appearance of Joseph, though rare, is somewhat unusual as well. But the appearance of the

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[366] On this last point both Bauckham and Aune agree: If this census is a military roster, the inclusion of the Levites is indeed unusual. Bauckham, *The Climax of Prophecy*, 222. Aune, *Revelation*, 463.

[367] Ibid., 220-221. Ibid., 462.

[368] Cf. Judg 18.

Levites (in 7:7), is markedly peculiar, because they are usually singled out and excluded from any military census, as is the case in Num 1:47-54. Aune attributes this normative exclusion to the fact that this particular tribe simply received no allotment of land,[369] but we would offer the further observation that in the prominent military census of Num 1:1-54, we see the Levites charged with the weighty responsibility of the supervision of the Tabernacle system which was situated at the center of the Israelite societal and military encampment. As Bauckham observes regarding the Levites, "Without them the war could not be a *holy* war."[370] Thus, this system of worship represented the focal point of Israelite society, in both its Tabernacle and Temple forms. Hence, whereas one might be tempted to conclude that ancient Israel *had* an army of able-bodied men of a certain age, it is perhaps more accurate to say that Israel itself *was* an army, marked by the theological characteristic of holiness which was represented in its societal worship system. In essence, were it not for the impulse to establish holiness on the earth, there would have been no theological purpose to the Israelite institution of Holy War, or for the worship system that supported it.[371]

Returning then to Bauckham, his main argument states that, "John reinterprets the holy war traditions and makes the warfare metaphorical rather than literal," thus, "there is not the

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[369] Aune, *Revelation*, 463.

[370] Bauckham, *The Climax of Prophecy*, 222.

[371] Von Rad implies as much, noting that, "Once the army had gathered in the camp it was called 'the people of Yahweh.' The term generally means, of course, the amphyctionic mustering of all men, but especially when such a gathering is done for the purpose of war." Von Rad, *Holy War in Ancient Israel*, 41.

We find the same association with the use of terms and phrases within the semantic domain of 'encampment,' or the action of laying siege, (for example, מחנה) which has the connotation of warfare attached. In effect, where the camp was, so too was the sacrificial system, and the army that marched along with it. This was also the perspective of Wellhausen: "Zu sichtbarer Darstellung gelangt die Gegenwart Jahves im Heere durch die Lade; sie war das Feldzeichen Israels, ein kriegerisches Wanderheiligtum," trans: "The presence of Yahweh in the army passes through the ark to a visible representation; it was the field sign of Israel, a shrine to war." Julius Wellhausen, *Israelitische und jüdische Geschichte* (De Gruyter, 1895), 27.

Put succinctly by Koester, "Ancient Israel was considered a fighting force (Deut 2:14; John 1:11), and the Qumran community called its members 'camps of the saints' who would take part in the final battle with evil (1QM 3:5)." Koester, *Revelation*, 779.

concern with practical military matters which we find in 1QM."[372] But this seems to stand in

tension with his later statement that, "It is misleading to describe this [resistance through

witness/martyrdom] as 'passive resistance': for John it is as active as any physical warfare and

his use of holy war imagery conveys this need for active engagement in the Lamb's war.[373]

Bauckham's larger aim here is to "draw attention to the emphasis on human participation in the

eschatological holy war as the Book of Revelation presents it."[374] For this reason, Aune has

responded by delineating between passive and active participation in Holy War.[375] Both scholars

agree that 1QM represents an almost uniquely *active* approach to Holy War, on the part of its

human participants. But Aune points out the complexity in John's Apocalypse, such that it

cannot be accurately described as a passive text in every regard. Noting that Bauckham, as seen

above, stridently objects to the characterization of martyrdom/witness as 'passivity,' yet, Aune

provides examples wherein Revelation provides a mixed and even contradictory picture. Giving

three of each such examples, Aune suggests that the tribal military census of Rev 7:5-8 combined

with the introduction of the great multitude in Rev 7:9 represent depictions of *active* participation

in the coming tribulation, although he doubts the census itself is military. The corresponding

imagery of the 144,000 in Rev 14:1-5 also represents active participation, according to Aune, as

does Rev 17:14, an oblique reference to a certain group who are described as called (κλητοὶ),

elect (ἐκλεκτοὶ), and faithful (πιστοί), as they accompany the Lamb in his victory. All of these,

according to Aune, represent *active* involvement in the struggle we would call a Holy War

against Rome. In contrast, instances of *passivity* are reflected in Rev 16:12-16, where a beatitude

warns and encourages God's people to remain awake and to keep their clothing nearby, because

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[372] Bauckham, *The Climax of Prophecy*, 213.
[373] Ibid., 234.
[374] Ibid., 212.
[375] Aune, *Revelation*, 956.

God is about to arrive unexpectedly, "like a thief."[376] Also, Rev 19:11-21 provides a singular

depiction of a conquering rider on the white horse, clearly reflecting Christ, and in this

appearance the figure is followed by the armies of heaven with no mention made of human

participation whatsoever. Finally, Rev 20:8-9 describes a military invasion on the part of the

nations of the earth, launched against the city (most likely earthly Jerusalem), which has been

surrounded on all sides. These invading forces are said to be destroyed by fire from heaven, and

Aune comments that, although an active military posture may be found in 1QM,[377] "in

Revelation there is never a hint that human beings and angels fight together in any eschatological

battle."[378] In each of these latter cases the wars, rescues, and impending judgements are all

executed by God alone, apart from human participation. Thus, we would concur with Aune's

response to Bauckham: Regardless of one's definition of active vs passivity, Revelation presents

a decidedly mixed text, with room to see both active participation of some sort, alongside

martyr/witness participation. Moreover, we would contend that any active engagement in

warfare is simply that: *active* engagement, despite the war being physical, mental, internally

spiritual, or as a metaphor for resisting political forces. We may grant that Jesus, as an example,

did not engage in any sort of physical warfare, per se, and did indeed go passively to his death as

a model for his followers to emulate, and that John of Patmos does indeed pick up on this

essential theological element. But to extend the principle unilaterally is an overstatement with

regard to what the text of Revelation indicates, and it fails to consider death to be the potent

enemy that John portrays it to be.[379] Hence, what Bauckham describes as being a "decisive

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[376] Cf. Matt 24:43; Luke 12:39.
[377] Cf. 1QM 7:6; 19:1.
[378] Aune, *Revelation*, 1097.
[379] John universally portrays death as an enemy to be conquered, not embraced. Cf. Rev 1:18; 2:10; 2:11; 6:8; 9:6; 12:11; 20:6, 13, 14; 21:4, 8.

reinterpretation of the holy war motif,"[380] is in fact a pivot towards a semi-pacifistic reading of

Revelation, which sees in Revelation, "no place for real armed violence, but there is ample space

[for] the imagery of armed violence."[381] This, in fact, serves to make Revelation into a polemic

against any form of violence including that of the military, yet, alongside Aune's list of active

participation examples, there are reasons to infer an active posture on the part of Christians even

in the punishment of Babylon/Rome.[382]

On this note, while there is obvious virtue to be found in the peaceful resolution of

violent conflict, this does not seem to be John's primary motivation. By depicting the reference

to the Lion of Judah in Rev 5:5 as representing, "Jewish hopes for messianic conquest by

military violence," and "narrowly nationalistic expectations of Jewish triumph," Bauckham

implies that general Jewish sensibilities of the time would have been pro-war, and pro-

violence.[383] Granted, that some number of Jewish people would certainly have held those

sentiments (i.e., Zealot party adherents, or the Sicarii), but the general Jewish population would

not likely have been spoiling for a war against Rome, or blood-thirsty in temperament. Granted

also, that imperial Rome was nearly universally hated by the Jewish people, yet to characterize

the hopes and expectations of Second Temple Jews as nationalistic or overtly violent would be

an oversimplification. As we have seen, the most impacting event which transpired between the

production of our two documents is the destruction of Jerusalem itself. This undoubtedly would

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[380] Bauckham, *The Climax of Prophecy*, 227.

[381] Ibid., 233.

[382] Rev 18:4-7 specifically seems to prompt the participation of the people of God in the punishment of Babylon/Rome. After addressing the believers ("Come out of her my people," in vs.4), the speaker instructs, "Pay her back even as she has paid, and give back to her double according to her deeds; in the cup which she has mixed, mix twice as much for her," (Rev 18:6-7a). While the questions regarding who or whom would be responsible for *giving* and *mixing* the cup of wrath are debated, the most likely inference is that "my people" (i.e., the people of God) are the ones most directly referred to. For a more dovish but somewhat less convincing view on this passage, see Blount, *Revelation: A Commentary*, 329-330.

[383] As has been demonstrated, it is equally likely if not more so, that John is not actively rejecting nationalistic militarism, he is, rather, illustrating the difference between those on the earth (i.e, the 144,000), vs. those in heaven (the innumerable multitude) who will rejoice at the point of victory in the future.

have engendered a deep hatred of Rome, and John of Patmos clearly exhibits that hatred. But there is no compelling reason to conclude that warfare was the normative state of mind for Second Temple Jews, or that all Jews embraced zealotry and violence. Nevertheless, Bauckham is correct in that John of Patmos clearly illustrates how any such yearnings have been fulfilled in Jesus.[384]

Be that as it may, the fact that Bauckham and others[385] have recognized the 144,000 in both the census and in the appearance on Mount Zion as having *military* connotations is a highly significant observation in itself as it pertains to the present study. As noted, Aune is hesitant to agree on this point, [386] but both agree and are correct in noticing that the Levites would seem out of place in a military census. The Levites are regularly singled out and excluded from military service, as in Num 1-2. Thus, we would suggest, this peculiarity stands as a point of evidence that John of Patmos may have been directly influenced by the wartime sensibilities of 1QM, wherein a pure priesthood (i.e., the 'right' priesthood as 1QM would understand it), is paramount for victory in any Holy War. To elaborate, one of the basic aspects of 1QM which Bauckham points out, and is unique and helpful to our analysis, is the fact that the War Scroll was not preserved by the Christian community, but rather by Jews. Thus, it represents antiquated Jewish ideas about the execution of eschatological Holy War in a way no other document does. What we see then, with regard to this aspect (i.e., the inclusion of the Levites in warfare), is the seedbed for the priestly roll and by extension the apocalyptic sensibility inherited by John of Patmos, as he forged an understanding of Holy War based on the centrality of Christ. Moreover,

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[384] Bauckham, *The Climax of Prophecy*, 215.
[385] Boring, *Revelation*, 131. Blount, *Revelation: A Commentary*, 145. Fee, *Revelation*, 108-109. Prigent, *Commentary on the Apocalypse of St. John*, 286. Beale, *The Book of Revelation*, 422-423.
[386] In this case it is Aune who holds the minority view, as the majority of commentators do recognize a military characteristic of the 144,000. Says Blount, who ties the census in 7:5-8 to 14:1-5 for many of the same reasons listed above, "The 144,000 are the human wing to God's cosmic army." Blount, *Revelation: A Commentary*, 145.

if the 144,000 are not sealed as martyrs (per Bauckham), or as survivors (per Aune), but rather

are marked as *warriors*, a possibility which Aune's excursus on seals and markings in the Roman

empire provides for,[387] then the unusual presence of the Levites in active warfare in both of our

primary documents seems to imply a direct influence on the part of 1QM on Revelation.

What we see then, is Bauckham suggesting that Holy War has been changed by a moving

away from military action towards becoming 'passive,' although we must acknowledge he

rejects the term. We would suggest, rather, that Holy War changed and adapted under the weight

of history, as the destruction of Jerusalem required a major revision in the thinking of both Jews

and Christians under Rome. In fact, given the joy expressed at the destruction of Babylon/Rome

in Rev 18-19, it might be reasonable to speculate that, had Jerusalem *not* been destroyed during

the lifetime of John of Patmos, the more militarily driven Holy War sensibilities portrayed by

1QM may have seemed more attractive to the author of Revelation.

From a rhetorical standpoint both texts indicate an active role for the priesthood in Holy

War, but the nature of the wars are different in each case. 1QM assumes a classical Holy War

stance, per the Conquest model, which sees the priests participating in active military duty.

Yadin notes that the military garb of the priests is described as tailored for the specific purposes

of war, similar to those worn in Temple service.[388] But Revelation, again, steers clear of priestly

formality, focusing instead on the universal nature of the resistance on the part of Christians

against Rome. In John's Apocalypse, every follower of the Lamb is called to combat Rome via

witness/martyrdom, which becomes the active engagement in Holy War on the part of a

universal priesthood. As a result, in Revelation the angels blow the trumpets, not the priests.

1QM's priests blow trumpets in a manner related to that of the angels in Revelation, but the

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[387] Aune, *Revelation*, 457. Also, Ford, *Revelation: Introduction, Translation and Commentary*, 117.
[388] The term used in 1QM 7:11 is, "garments for battle," which is a unique expression in 1QM. See Yadin, *The Scroll of the War*, 217-220.

nature of the war is such that John places the trumpets in the hands of heavenly beings, while the War Scroll keeps them on the ground with the military. What this all spells out, rhetorically, is the fact that priests represent servants of God in the truest sense in both literatures, so their role remains pivotal in 1QM, and essential in Revelation. For the original reader/hearers of both texts, this would have served to highlight the dignity and nobility of the priesthood.

3.1.4   The Yearly Timeframe for the Holy War in 1QM 2:1-10a

Yigael Yadin accurately described the contours of the calendrical issues in 1QM Col. 2, which we relate here as follows.[389] First, it is evident that 1QM corresponds to the priestly rotation schedule as laid out in Jubilees. Accordingly, in 1QM 2:1-3 we see a *fifty-two* week year, which is divided in half to comprise *twenty-six* weekly rotations or 'courses,' (משמרת). Although this schedule conflicts with the one prescribed in 1 Chron 24-25, it does comport with Jub 6:29-30, which also prescribes a calendar of precisely fifty-two weeks, comprised of quarterly divisions of thirteen, thus 13+13=26 courses, and 26+26=52 weeks in the Qumran calendrical year. This reckoning, Yadin notes, would have become a source of conflict with other Jews who brought sacrifices to the Temple on a different calendar schedule, one based on the prescription of 1 Chron 24-25.[390]

The somewhat vague indication that the war in its entirety lasts for *forty* years is calculated as follows: For seven years, per 1QM 1:13-14, there is to be a localized war against the Kittim, marked as it is by three wins and three losses on the part of the Sons of Light, over and against the Sons of Darkness. It is this heptadic battle that, presumably, returns Jerusalem to the hands of the *yaḥad*. As noted previously, the 'hand of God' decisively concludes this

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[389] Ibid., 26-28; 262-266..
[390] Ibid.

battle.[391] Following the seven-year period (and the lacuna at the bottom of Col. 1), we are told in

2:6-7:

> "During the remaining *thirty-three years* of the war the men of renown, those
> called of the Congregation, and all the heads of the father's households of the
> congregation shall choose for themselves men of war for all the lands of the
> nations."

These 'remaining' thirty-three years, taken together with the initial seven from Col.1, add

up to a total of forty years (7+33=40).

The forty-year war is then divided up by sabbatical years of 'remission' (שמטה), during

which time the war would *not* be waged; these are considered the sabbatical years. Hence 1QM

2:8-9a states, "But during the years of remission they shall not ready men to go out for battle, for

it is a Sabbath of rest for Israel." The total number of these sabbath years of remission we

deduce to be five years, as 2:9b says, conversely, "During the *thirty-five* years of service the war

shall be waged," (40–35=5 sabbatical years of remission), emphasis added. Moreover, and

somewhat awkwardly, the total number of fighting years from Col.1 is made clear by 2:9c stated

in retrospect, saying, "For *six* years the whole congregation shall wage it together…"

We are then told, at 1QM 2:10a, "a *war of divisions* shall be waged during the twenty-

nine remaining years." This *war of divisions* represents the content to follow in columns 2-9,

which assumes the forty-year total to preclude 1) fighting for five sabbatical years, along with 2)

the six years of fighting on the part of the whole congregation, from Col. 1. Thus, forty years

total, minus five years of remission, minus the six years already fought to regain Jerusalem,

equals twenty-nine total years of fighting in all (40–5–6=29). It is these twenty-nine years which

are described as a "war of divisions" in 1QM 2:10 which we will consider forthwith. Finally,

taking the *war of divisions* to be twenty-nine active fighting years (out of the forty), we are

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[391] See *2.2.5 1QM 1:14-17 – The Hand of God and the Influence of Exodus on Holy War.*

provided with a list of enemies (in 1QM 2:10b-14), which sets out a war plan for the defeat of

each enemy within that twenty-nine year timeframe, year-by-year:

> In the *first year* they shall fight against Mesopotamia (ארם נהרים),
>
> in the *second* against the sons of Lud,
>
> in the *third* they shall fight against the rest of the sons of Aram: Uz, Hul, Togar, and Mesha, who are beyond the Euphrates.
>
> In the *fourth and fifth* they shall fight against the sons of Arpachshad,
>
> in the *sixth and seventh* they shall fight against all the sons of Assyria and Persia and the easterners (והקדמוני) up to the Great Desert.
>
> In the *eighth year* they shall fight against the sons of Elam,
>
> in the *ninth year* they shall fight against the sons of Ishmael and Keturah,
>
> and during the following *ten years* the war shall be divided against all the sons of Ham according to [their] c[lans and] their [terri]tories.
>
> During the remaining *ten years* the war shall be divided against all [sons of Japhe]th according to their territories.
>
> (1QM 2:10b-14; emphasis added)

From this vantage point we are now poised to properly consider 1QM's enemies list and

the accompanying geography of the Holy War, but it should be noted once again that we are

most fortunate that the damage at the bottom of Col. 2 did not completely destroy this section of

the text, depriving scholars of the opportunity to examine the list. It should also be readily

apparent that John's Apocalypse contains nothing whatsoever that resembles such a timeline as

the one provided by 1QM.[392]

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[392] We may further observe that Rev 6:10 depicts those "under the altar," i.e., residing in heaven, as asking how long they must wait until their martyrdom will be avenged. The answer forthcoming is to wait/rest (ἀναπαύομαι) a while longer. The strong implication being that no timeline will be provided.

3.1.5   The Geography and Cosmology of Holy War

3.1.5.1 Introduction

It would be accurate to say that 1QM places its geography in the foreground and

cosmology in the background, while Revelation places cosmology in the foreground, and its

geography in the background. For this reason, in the following sections we will first explore the

geographical sensibilities of 1QM, the more ancient of the two texts. We will extract a list of

geographical points of contact between the comparison texts for this purpose. We will also

compile listings of those geographical references that are included by 1QM but not found in

Revelation, and vice versa, those included by Revelation but not appearing in 1QM. Following

this we will overview the cosmological outlook of Revelation, and consider the geographical

references provided by John of Patmos in relation to his own larger picture. As we progress, we

will analyze each of the geographical entities, systematically comparing and contrasting their

appearance (or non-appearance) in both cases. Finally, we will comment on the cosmology of

1QM as it relates to that of John's Apocalypse, as seen in light of the geographical sensibilities

and perceptions provided by both.

3.1.5.2 The Geographical List of Enemies of 1QM 2:10b-14

The list of enemies mapped out by 1QM Col.2 is based on the so-described Table of

Nations from Gen 10, and its accompanying tradition. The opening incursion begins in 2:10,

with one year of war waged against Mesopotamia, the connotation being that the general region

of the fertile crescent is to be attacked. Yadin suggests this arrangement may be due to the

association that particular land has with Abraham, which would seem to imply a measure of

patriotic or nationalistic importance associated with securing the area,[393] but since the full name

and/or region is not listed in Gen 10, or in any other version of the Table of Nations tradition for

that matter, B. Schultz suggests that the words ארם נהרים (ʾrm nhrym) may have been a

contemporary indicator of the adjacent region known as Coele-Syria, in modern Syria and

Lebanon.[394] The central debate in this case surrounds the issue as to whether ʾrm nhrym indeed

represents the geographic locale of Mesopotamia, or rather the clan name of *Aram*, as seen at the

end of the Table of Nations listed in Gen 10:22. What is most relevant at present, however, is

not the toponymic and eponymic questions associated with the shifting of populations, the

founding of new cities, the destruction of old ones, or the naming and renaming of regions as

they have exchanged hands under new rulership. Rather, we are concerned with the wider

geographical and cosmological scope of our two documents as these entities are expressed under

the influence of the Holy War motif. So, for our purposes, the absolute certainty of identification

of this first-year enemy and its association with an individual descendant from antiquity or a

pinpoint location on a map is of secondary importance, and this is indeed the general issue with

the entirety of the 1QM enemies list in Col 2: Although a local population in a given territory

lends the location its name, our distance from antiquity makes high levels of precision difficult.

Accordingly, our focus remains on the comparison between our two primary documents,

centered now on the way in which each one perceives the matter of geography in relation to

eschatological Holy War. It must be noted here that the biblical Table of Nations, from Gen 10,

does not provide the details which 1QM assumes to be evident throughout.[395] This is a result of

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[393] Cf. Gen 24:10.
[394] Schultz, *Conquering the World*, 191-192.
[395] Ibid., 189-190.

the development of the tradition surrounding the Table of Nations itself, and the influence

exerted on 1QM from outside sources.[396]

By way of explanation, the Table of Nations tradition is based on the Gen 10 eponymous

list of Noah's descendants (Shem, Ham, and Japheth),[397] which would later be reinterpreted by

the subsequent traditions found in Jubilees and the Genesis Apocryphon (1QapGen ar),[398] with

supporting data from Josephus' Antiquities.[399] Both Jubilees and 1QapGen were used and

preserved by the *yaḥad*,[400] and it is the Jubilees perspective on the Table of Nations which seems

to hold the most sway over 1QM. Thus, following the initial attack on the more general area of

ʾrm nhrym (or Mesopotamia), the second year of 1QM's war agenda begins at Asia Minor and

follows the Table of Nations, with the specific targeting of *Lud*, a clan name derived from Gen

10:22, and the first clear reference to an eponym from the family line of Shem.[401]

Lud, appearing as it does in the second year of 1QM's war, is believed to be a reference

to the western Lydian region of Asia Minor on the coast of the Aegean.[402] It is apparent that

while 1QM indeed hearkens back to the Table of Nations for its geographic inspiration, it is quite

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[396] Says J.M. Scott regarding Gen 10 and its use in Jubilees, "Because the exact boundaries of these territories are not specified, they invited geographical speculation and allowed revision in the course of time." Furthermore, "Whereas the original Table of Nations in Genesis 10 contains merely a list of Noah's descendants in which his grandsons appear directly after listing of each son...Jubilees 8-9 contains separate sections for the sons and grandsons and provides explicit geographical boundaries between them." We see here that Jubilees has read into the text of Gen 10 more than is provided, and 1QM follows suit. James M. Scott, *Geography in Early Judaism and Christianity: The Book of Jubilees*, Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series 113 (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

[397] Cf. Gen 10:18-19.

[398] Cf. Jub 8-10, and 1QapGen 12:10-12.

[399] Josephus, *Ant*. 1.4-6. William Whiston, trans., *The Works of Josephus: Complete and Unabridged* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 1987).

[400] There are fifteen copies of Jubilees among the DSS, and the book is considered authoritative by the Damascus Document at CD 16:2-4. See Schiffman and VanderKam, *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls.,* 2000 ed., s.v. "Jubilees, Book of," by James C. VanderKam, 434-438.

[401] Cf. Gen 10:22. "The sons of Shem *were* Elam and Asshur and Arpachshad and Lud and Aram."

[402] The Lud of Asia Minor is not to be confused with the North African location of a similar name. Beitzel claims, "…it is highly unlikely that the Hamite 'Ludim' should be confused with the Shemite 'Lud,' the latter being situated in North Africa. The name Lud(u) occurs in Akkadian literature where it unambiguously references a region in Asia Minor and there is no compelling reason to reject that viewpoint." Barry J. Beitzel, *The New Moody Atlas of the Bible* (Chicago, IL: Moody Publishers, 2009), 96.

likely that the document also harbors its own contemporary political concerns, due to external

pressures from the Anatolian areas which had come formally under the control of the Seleucids

in 312 CE at the capture of Babylon, prior to the Roman acquisition of the region in 133 CE.[403]

These foreign powers may have influenced the outlook of 1QM, such that Lud appears early in

the list rather than near the end, in contrast to the ordering of Gen 10, because threats coming

from the region itself were cause for alarm. Moreover, Lud, apart from being the first

unambiguously specified Shemite clan on the list, it also stands as the first geographical point of

contact from Col. 2 which may be drawn between our two primary texts. Strikingly, while 1QM

sees Lud as an early military target to be reclaimed as part and parcel of the rightful allotment of

Shem, Revelation in its turn, sees the 'Lydian' region as the locus wherein the seven

paradigmatic churches reside, among which the Son of Man is said to stand invisibly.[404] Here

we can see very starkly an aspect of the difference in theological and political sensibilities

between our two texts: 1QM views Lud as a military objective to be acquired by force since it is

understood to be a rightful part of the inheritance of Shem; John of Patmos sees Lydia as a hub

of the seven churches which will be required to endure persecution and suffering, and he advises

the seven churches of this same region of conquer (νικάω) and hold the territory by way of

resistance to the point of martyrdom.[405]

One implication of this difference is that even though 1QM displays a somewhat more

restrained awareness of otherworldly warfare among angels and men than does the more

expansive apocalyptic scope of Revelation, by way of contrast John of Patmos has retreated from

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[403] See R. Gmirkin's theory which ties 1QM to the historical war efforts of the Hasmoneans as outlined and refuted by Duhaime, *The War Texts*, 72-76.

[404] Cf. Rev. 1:13, 20.

[405] Cf. Rev 2:10. "Do not be afraid of what you are about to suffer. I tell you, the devil will put some of you in prison to test you, and you will suffer persecution for ten days. Be faithful, even to the point of death, and I will give you the crown of life."

the more militaristic form of classical Israelite Holy War almost completely, in favor of a form

of resistance and defiance which he fully expects will mean the loss of life for many residing in

the Lydian region. This ideological divergence reflects the contrast which Bauckham recognized

in his description of Revelation as being a kind of 'Christian War Scroll,' in that 1QM depicts

active military warfare, but Revelation (at least in this regard) advocates *passivity* and even

martyrdom.[406] Even still, 1QM itself may yet reflect a more subtle (i.e., less decisive) shift away

from direct aggression, and such a shift may be evident in the suggested redaction of the

document in its latter sections wherein *liturgical* warfare becomes a primary focus.[407]

      This brings us to the third and subsequent years in 1QM 2:10b-11, where we are told the

fighting will be waged against, "the rest of the sons of *Aram*: Uz, Hul, Togar, and Mesha, who

are beyond the Euphrates." While none of these tribal descendants are of direct relevance to the

Apocalypse of John, the Euphrates River stands out as another geographic feature of both 1QM

and Revelation with which the Holy Wars of both texts interact.[408]

      The Euphrates appears to be referenced as a simple boundary marker to be overcome in

order to wage war against the descendants of Aram in 1QM 2:11, while Rev 9:14 and 16:12

point to the Euphrates as a location where 1) four angelic figures have been bound, and 2) the

river itself represents a symbolic obstacle to be crossed by invading kings from the East in a

similar supernatural manner to that of the Israelites crossing the Sea of Reeds. Thus, once again

we see in comparing our two texts the change in sensibilities with regard to Holy War, probably

in response to political realities. 1QM appears to imbue the Euphrates with zero theological

weight other than the practicality of a tactical war plan, and so the river earns no overt

eschatological significance in the War Scroll. Revelation, in contrast, moving away from

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[406] Bauckham, "The Book of Revelation as a Christian War Scroll."
[407] Schultz, *Conquering the World*, 385-390.
[408] Cf. Rev 9:14; 16:12. See *2.2.4.6 and 2.2.4.8 The Influence of Joshua and the Conquest on Revelation*.

conventional warfare, clearly transforms the Euphrates into a threatening anti-Exodus image,

which the forces of evil are said to traverse in a counter-war against God over those who live 'on

the earth.' In Revelation the Euphrates is referred to as "the great river," in both 9:14 and

16:12.[409]

But the picture may be more complex than it first appears, as the observations of Shayna

Sheinfeld are brought into consideration. Sheinfeld has noted that, in 4 Ezra, and 2 Baruch, the

Euphrates has undergone a symbolic transformation. In the Hebrew Scriptures, the Euphrates

originally represented a particular northern marker for the promised land given to Abram in Gen

15:18. Over time, it became a clear geographical boundary between the land of Israel and the

disbursed tribes taken away by the Assyrian exile of 722 BCE. In this way, Sheinfeld argues

that, looking forward to a return from exile, the Euphrates became an "eschatological landmark"

between an "idealized past," and an imagined "utopian future."[410] In other words, what

originated as a geographical border, became also a border beyond which chaos existed, and from

beyond which God would bring back the exiled tribes.[411] Sheinfeld argues cogently that this sort

of application is designed to emphasize the need to observe Torah law in the aftermath of the

destruction of the Second Temple in 70 CE.[412]

Clearly our primary documents, 1QM and Revelation, pay differing degrees of attention

to the Euphrates. Whereas Revelation assigns recognizable eschatological significance to the

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[409] This description hearkens back to Gen 15:18, and the covenant with Abram (הנהר הגדל נהר פרת), "the
great river, the Euphrates River." In the second instance (Rev 16:12), the invading kings are referenced immediately
prior to the appearance of three frog-like demons (Rev 16:13-16), who are said to rally the kings of the earth for war,
at the place called Megiddo. It is possible these kings are a reference to Parthians, who were seen as threatening and
volatile. See Aune, *Revelation*, 891-894.
[410] Shayna Sheinfeld, "The Euphrates as Temporal Marker in 4 Ezra and 2 Baruch," *J Study Jud* 47.1
(2016): 104–18.
[411] Ibid. "In *4 Ezra* the tribes are beyond the reach of humans until the time of the messiah, when they
would return from their distant land beyond the Euphrates only with the assistance of God. In *2 Baruch* the sage has
access to the tribes through the travels of the eagle."
[412] Ibid. F.n.37.

great river, 1QM seems to incorporate the Euphrates into a land battle that views the river as a

military path for armies to follow. But in the War Scroll the Euphrates is the only named *natural*

feature to be referenced in conjunction with its geographical list of enemies.[413] Since the

enemies list of 1QM is centered on the Table of Nations and not on natural geographic features,

the explicit inclusion of the Euphrates stands out. This gives rise to the possibility that 1QM

may also recognize the Euphrates as having some eschatological significance, in a prototypical

fashion analogous to the observations provided by Sheinfeld. If this is indeed the case, then both

Revelation and 1QM would appear to recognize the Euphrates as a geographical and an

eschatological border, beyond which certain forces of darkness are said to reside. Such a

perspective on the part of both documents would not be surprising, as each drew on a shared

tradition. Sheinfeld cites Isaiah 27:12-13 as an example to bolster this understanding on the part

of 4 Ezra and 2 Baruch, and we now reference the same passage in support of the notion on the

part of 1QM and Revelation.

> In that day the Lord will start *His* threshing from the flowing stream of the
> Euphrates to the brook of Egypt, and you will be gathered up one by one, O sons
> of Israel. It will come about also in that day that a great trumpet will be blown,
> and those who were perishing in the land of Assyria and who were scattered in the
> land of Egypt will come and worship the Lord in the holy mountain at Jerusalem.
> (Is 27:12-13, NASB)

If indeed this hypothesis is correct and can be applied to our primary texts as well, then

once again we can assign to the historical destruction of Jerusalem in 70 CE the most significant

impact on both of our documents in terms of theological development from one to the other,

since 1QM envisions a land battle, and Revelation envisions a cosmic war over the same

topographical region. Moreover, as with 4 Ezra and 2 Baruch, both John of Patmos and the

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[413] The "Great Desert" (המדבר הגדול) is mentioned in 1QM 2:12, but here we are in agreement with Schultz: "Since the expression is otherwise unattested, its geographical identification remains a mystery." Schultz, *Conquering the World*, 163.

yaḥad had the Assyrian and Babylonian invasions in their historical memory, as well as the original connotation of the Euphrates associated with Gen 15. Also, in accordance with the passage noted above, both of our documents reference trumpets in the context of eschatological warfare,[414] and it is certain that they also shared an eye towards the Euphrates as a geographical demarcation between the Promised Land and more treacherous regions unknown. Thus, in 1QM the Euphrates marks off the regional inheritance which the *yaḥad* would have wanted to recapture; in Revelation it represents a boundary which would be crossed by invading armies coming from distant lands.[415] Furthermore, if our hypothesis is correct and both texts do see the Euphrates as holding eschatological significance, then it follows that both texts may also share an understanding that Gog (1QM 11:16) corresponds with Gog and Magog (Rev20:8), and represents in each case those forces which lay beyond the eschatological Euphrates. Ultimately, with regard to this constituent Holy War element, Revelation sees the forces coming from across the Euphrates as instruments of judgment against those who live on the earth; 1QM's armies are *themselves* the instruments of judgment against those same enemies, fighting up to the Euphrates boundary.

In the next reference, 1QM 2:11b-12 continues progressively down the lineage of Shem, to wage war on *Arpachshad* during the fourth and fifth years of fighting, then to *Asshur* along with "Persia and the easterners/Kadmonites (והקדמוני)," in the sixth and seventh years.[416] Noting that Persia and the Kadmonites have not even a tenuous connection with John's Apocalypse, we will consider both Arpachshad and Asshur, each in their turn.[417]

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[414] A tradition understood as far back as the Joshua conquest of Jericho. See Josh 6:2-20.

[415] Both texts may share an understanding that Gog/Gog and Magog represent forces far beyond the eschatological Euphrates.

[416] Jubilees understands Arpachshad to refer to the Chaldeans, and this is likely also the case with 1QM. The reference in question reads, "And for Arpachshad came forth the third portion, all the land of the region of the Chaldees to the east of the Euphrates," (Jub 9:4).

[417] Both Persia and the Kadmonites, are entirely removed from the view of Revelation.

Yadin associates Arpachshad with the land of the Chaldeans, citing Jub 10:4, and

Josephus *Ant*. 1.6.4.[418] In agreement, Schultz points out that the perspective of 1QapGen on the

Table of Nations portrays Abraham as walking throughout the land to survey his inheritance,

distinctly apart from the land of the Chaldeans.[419] This, he surmises, may reasonably be due to

the fact that Gen 15:7 depicts Abraham as having been called out of that land specifically, thus

making it taboo, hence Arpachshad in 1QM is not accompanied by a list of familial successors as

a result. While these arguments are not unsound, there is no ground to make a Chaldean

connection to the geographical world of John's Apocalypse.[420] The possibility of such a

connection may provide a link, however it is highly remote, as such a connection is only able to

be established by considering Arpachshad as equivalent to Babylon. As there does not seem to

be enough strong evidence to support a clear connection with Arpachshad to the Chaldeans,

positing a further connection to Babylon seems unwarranted.

Next, a significant discrepancy then presents itself with the re-appearance of אשור

(*Asshur*) in the sixth and seven years, per 1QM 2:12. Translators have rendered this term

variously, depending on their interpretation of its appearance. The word itself is found in 1QM

1:2, 6; 2:12; 11:11; 18:2; 19:10, and Yadin opted for the uniform transliterated rendering of

Asshur in all six cases.[421] Vermes is uniform in his translational approach as well, but he

rendered the word as *Assyria* in every case.[422] García Martínez employed a decidedly

inconsistent rendering, using the transliterated *Ashur* twice in the first column (at 1:2, 6), then

switching to *Assyria* in 2:12, then back to *Ashur* in 11:11, and ending finally with *Assyria* in the

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[418] Yadin, *The Scroll of the War*, 31.
[419] See Schultz, *Conquering the World*, 193-196.
[420] Cf. Rev 14:8; 16:9; 17:5; 18:2, 10, 21.
[421] Yadin, *The Scroll of the War*.
[422] Vermes, *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English: Revised Edition*.

last two instances at 18:2 and 19:10.[423] But the most obvious example of the struggle towards an optimal rendering of this term is illustrated vividly by comparing the two publications provided by the team of Wise, Abegg, and Cook, as they transitioned from the *Dead Sea Scrolls Electronic Reference Library* (1997), to their later volume *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A New Translation* (1999). The *DSS Electronic Reference Library* renders the first three instances as *Asshur* (in 1:2, 6, and 2:12), then switches to *Assyria* for the last three (in 11:11; 18:2; 19:10). But in the print edition Wise, Abegg, and Cook opted to transliterate only the first appearance at 1QM 1:2 as *Asshur*, while rendering all other appearances in the document as *Assyria*. This may be due to the fact that the 'Kittim of Assur' (כתיי אשור) in 1:2 are recognized by some scholars as being the Seleucids.[424] But apart from the uniform consistency of Yadin and Vermes, there seems to be no clear consensus on this term as it is distributed throughout the scroll, and its translation seems nearly random in some cases. Be that as it may, while it is not our present concern to weigh the strengths and weaknesses of each individual rendering, it may suffice to say that the uniform approaches of Yadin and Vermes are the least interpretive. Thus, in line with this approach, and setting aside whatever assumptions have been made by the others regarding the development of the document along these lines, it serves us to focus on the way in which the term is used in relation to other key words surrounding it.

To that end, questions of the dating and recension history of the document seem to be at play in most translator's renderings of *Asshur*, but it is instructive to note what Schultz draws attention to, namely, that in 1QM 1:6, its appearance is tied directly to the Kittim, and to the lineage of Japheth, but in col. 2 the name appears as a son of Shem, which more accurately

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[423] García Martínez, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Translated*.
[424] See Schultz, *Conquering the World*, 202. Also see Russell Gmirkin, "Historical Allusions in the War Scroll," *Dead Sea Discov* 5.2 (1998): 172–214.

aligns with the biblical Table of Nations in Gen 10:22.[425] This clear discrepancy which

associates *Asshur* with Japheth in one column, but with Shem in the next, does not seem to have

been entirely lost on the various translations listed above, and it has lead commentators, at least

in part, to theorize aspects of unity versus disunity of the entire document. Nevertheless, the

term is clearly tied to larger entities within the scroll itself, and therefore must necessarily be

understood in conjunction with those entities. As such, the Kittim are once again presented as

the War Scroll's primary foes, and they are nearly consistently associated with the appearances

of Asshur throughout, with the sole exception being 1QM 2:12, pointing as it does to an

association between Asshur and the lineage of Shem. This feature appears alongside that of

Japheth, also in conjunction with Asshur, in two out of three instances, including 1:6 and 18:2.

Moreover, as we have already observed, these lines appear to form an *inclusio* with 1:5-6 and

18:2, and point clearly to the association between Asshur in direct conjunction with the Kittim,

and with Japheth in both cases. Several remarks may be made in this regard.

First, as Duhaime observes, the primary enemy of 1QM, the Kittim, appear a total of

eighteen times in the document.[426] Pitting the arguments of Carmignac against Davies, Duhaime

records that the Kittim (in association with Asshur) may either be 1) a term used to designate a

generic and unnamed people group which the *yaḥad* understood could be applied to any foreign

power (following Carmignac); or 2) per Davies, the term may be a designation for either Greek

or Roman powers as the historical-political situation shifted over time in the eyes of the *yaḥad*.

Duhaime follows the latter school of thought regarding the Kittim, and so does the present

research.[427]

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[425] Schultz, *Conquering the World*, 196.
[426] Duhaime, *The War Texts*, 77.
[427] Ibid. 77-81.

Second, but perhaps only slightly more tenuously, the first and last instances of Japheth, forming an *inclusio* and associated as they are with both the Kittim and Asshur, indicates a strong appeal to Japheth as an eschatological enemy drawn from the Table of Nations.[428] This further suggests an oblique tie to Magog, also a descendant of Japheth via the Table of Nations at Gen 10:2, even as the name remains unmentioned by 1QM. The reason this tenuous connection may be inferred or suggested, is because of a lone appearance of 'Gog' which is explicitly mentioned at 1QM 11:16 in a liturgical setting.[429] The two, Gog and Magog together, appear prominently in Ezek 38-39, and in Rev 20:8, and thus constitute another common element which must be considered in a later section. For now, what we see is a shared tradition surrounding these entities in the Holy Wars of both our primary texts, stemming in all likelihood from Ezekiel, despite the approach to this enemy (Gog/Gog and Magog) being decidedly indirect in 1QM.

What this leaves us with in regard to *Asshur* is an unsurprising difficulty in precise identification, although the consensus is that we are dealing with Assyria. Once again this need not hinder our analysis as most of the enemies in the 1QM list are problematic in similar ways. But *Asshur*, being directly tied to the prominent Kittim, and tenuously tied to the eschatological Gog and Magog (via Japheth), sits in a position of some leverage on the enemies list. Moreover, the designations applied to the enemies of 1QM are such that they draw from authoritative records of the past (i.e., Gen 10, 1QapGen, and Jubilees), but their applications are subject to the shifting political currents at the time. Schultz, aware of this dynamic, suggests that the Asshur/Kittim/Japheth appearance of 1:5-6 indicates an optimism with regard to the outcome of what were then current wars, as the early sections of the document may reflect a composition

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[428] Japheth appears three times in 1QM, at 1:6; 2:14; and 18:2.
[429] Yadin noted this as well. See Yadin, *The Scroll of the War*, 215.

during the time of Hasmonean dominance against the Seleucids. But as the tables turned, and the formidable reality of the Roman Empire came to the forefront, the latter part of the document (18:2 being an example), represents a shift away from active aggression and overconfidence in warfare, towards a reliance on God through liturgical means on the part of 1QM. This may have meant a reinterpretation such that the Kittim originally connoted the Seleucid Greeks, only later to become associated with Rome.[430]

Turning then to the eighth year of warfare, *Elam* (in 1QM 2:13) is known to be geographically situated at the northern end of the Persian Gulf, and while the entire Table of Nations tradition lists Elam *first* among Shem's descendants, 1QM places it *last* on its own list of Shem's descendants. It is noteworthy that, among the various documents of the Table of Nations tradition, only 1QM reverses the order of the Shemite lineage in this way. In 1QM the Shemite families are listed as being Lud, Aram, Arpachshad, Assur, and Elam, in that order. The biblical passage from which these names are culled places the families of Shem in the following order:

> "The sons of Shem *were* Elam and Asshur and Arpachshad and Lud and Aram.
> The sons of Aram *were* Uz and Hul and Gether and Mash."

(Gen 10:22-23)[431]

Yadin argued this feature to be a matter of pragmatic military and strategic necessity on the part of 1QM, based on a logical geographic sweep in relation to Jerusalem as a central staging area.[432] What he sees in the reordered 1QM enemies list is a movement from the far north-eastern region of Asia Minor, headed downward in a south-western arch into the Tigris and Euphrates, waging war along the way. Geographically speaking the movement's trajectory is a

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[430] See Schultz, *Conquering the World*, 385-390.

[431] The ordering in Gen 10 also aligns with that of 1 Chron 1:1-27.

[432] Yadin contends that 1QM, "adopted the reverse order from that of the Bible: a line from the nearer to the farther and from the north-west to the south-east. Moreover he did not copy the list mechanically from the Bible but tried to adapt it to a military and geographic logic." Yadin, *The Scroll of the War*, 26-33.

slice from the Aegean Sea down to the Persian Gulf, where the region of Elam was centered on the city of Susa, now in modern day Iran.

The remaining names on 1QM's list, found in 2:13-14, let the reader know that among the wider descendants of Shem there are certain categories of even more closely related Shemites who are expected to be excluded from the victorious lineage. And so, during the ninth year, the warfare is to be aimed at the sons of Ishmael and Keturah together, making it (painfully) clear that the line of Jacob (through Sarah) is to be considered the only legitimate Shemite lineage which will survive the Holy War of 1QM. Finally, during the subsequent two decades to follow, the war is to be waged against the other remaining nations, Ham and Japheth respectively, both of whom exist outside what is perceived to be the legitimate lineage of Shem, and thus together seem to merit little more than an afterthought, although they are allotted considerably more lengthy periods of time for battle than the others listed prior. These last two combined are said to receive ten years of attention each, concluding the twenty-nine years of prescribed fighting.

In summary, we may recognize three possible geographic points of contact between Revelation and the enemies list of 1QM col. 2, some being more direct than others, some more tenuous than others:

1) Lud appears in 1QM 2:10, and the churches of the corresponding Lydian region are addressed in Rev 2-3.
2) The Euphrates River appears as a geographical feature in both 1QM 2:11 and in Rev 9:14; 6:12.
3) The coordinated relationship between Asshur, the Kittim, and Japheth together in 1QM provides legitimate reason to tie the unlisted descendant Magog to the appearance of Gog at 1QM 11:15, via Ezekiel 38-39, which corresponds to both names appearing together in Rev 20:8.

Among the other locations and/or people also appearing in 1QM which are specified apart from Col. 2, and which serve variously as enemies and/or geographical fields of war, are

the following: King David's classic nemesis *Goliath the Gittite* appears in 1QM 11:2; *Moab* and the *sons of Seth* appear together as foes at 1QM 11:6;[433] Egypt appears for a second time at 1QM 14:1, while *Pharaoh* and the *Red Sea* as a geographic feature are mentioned together by way of comparison to the exodus in 1QM 11:10. The enigmatic figure of *Gog*, as noted above, appears at 1QM 11:16, presenting a direct point of contact with Revelation, although the imprecise identity and location of both Gog and accompanying Magog, as seen inconsistently represented in the biblical records of Gen 10, Ezek 38-39, and Rev 20:8, renders any hope of exactitude next to impossible. Finally, the *Table of Nations* itself is alluded to poetically in 1QM 10:14-15, which, in the context of a victory hymn, recalls the Genesis creation narrative and subsequent events leading up to what is described as, "the division of tongues, the separation of peoples, the dwelling of clans, the legacy of the nations."[434]

All of these enemies and their respective locations function as secondary foes to that of the Kittim, itself a possible linguistic reference to the island of Cyprus,[435] and the predominant antagonists in 1QM. Taken all together they comprise the "hordes of Belial."[436]

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[433] Moab and the sons of Seth appear in a direct quote from Num 24:17, which further reenforces the legitimacy of the Jacob as true Israel. The passages states that a "star will depart from Jacob, a scepter will be raised in Israel," which will smash and destroy both Moab and Seth.

[434] This element was well noted by J.M. Scott, who encapsulated the use of the Table of Nations by 1QM as follows:

> "According to Dan. 12:1 (NRSV), 'There shall be a time of anguish, such as has never occurred since nations first came into existence. But at that time your people shall be delivered, everyone who is found written in the book.' This reference to the beginning of the nations can be compared to 1QM 10.14-15, which, alluding to Genesis 10-11, refers to the 'confusion of language (בלת לשון), and the separation of peoples (ומפרד עמים), the dwelling place of clans (מושב משפחות), (15) and the inheritance of lands (ונחלת ארצות).' After thus alluding to the Table of Nations and the Tower of Babel, cols. 11-12 proceed to list the nations by name that will be defeated in battle. Hence, like Dan. 12:1, the War Rule juxtaposes *Urzeit* and *Endzeit*, the beginning of the nations and their cataclysmic end." See Scott, *Geography in Early Judaism and Christianity*, 38.

[435] Cf. Jer 2:10; Ezek 27:6. *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls,* 2000 ed., s.v. "Kittim," by Timothy H. Lim, 470.

[436] Alternatively seen as "army" (חיל) or "forces" (גורל), in 1QM 1:1; 1:5; 1:13; 4:2; 11:8; 13:2, 4; 15:2-3; 18:1, 3.

3.1.5.3 The Geographical Perception of John's Apocalypse

The geographic concerns in Revelation coincide with John's cosmological understanding, and together they have an inbuilt spatial and temporal tension with relation to contested lands and territories which are part and parcel of the spoils of Holy War, and which, in the case of John's Apocalypse, is overwhelmingly focused on 'the earth,' γῆ (gē), as it is viewed from heaven.[437] This is seen plainly in the fact that Revelation quite clearly portrays two Jerusalems, one being associated with and representing the present temporal earth, followed by a New Jerusalem representing a future and permanent earth and heaven. For this reason, the category of *geography* is applicable only insofar as John describes symbolic actions which are earth-bound, yet presented within the dualities of the larger vision which John casts, and within the cosmology the book depicts. Thus, as we turn to Revelation's perspective on these matters, we must first take into account John's perception of geography as it relates to his cosmological point of view.

To begin with, it may be readily understood by a cursory reading of Revelation that John's orientation begins at the island of Patmos, in the Aegean Sea. There is also reason to believe John had indeed been exiled there, and that his efforts at writing were, in no small part, the product of a lifetime of experience in and around the environs of the wider Mediterranean world. Moreover, John clearly aims his primary political focus at the antagonism of the Roman Empire, which, in his Apocalypse, is driven by otherworldly and unseen monstrosities. Ultimately in John's view the current cosmos will be allowed to cease retaining its order, and as a result it will return to chaos. Consequently, John's primary *geographic* concerns are split between the earthly cities of Jerusalem and Rome, which become symbolic of Heaven and the Abyss, and these in turn become realms of holiness and order *vs* unholiness and chaos, which

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[437] The term for earth, γῆς (gēs), appears 250 times in Revelation.

will require re-creation. Moreover, the earth itself is seen to be caught in the middle of his Holy

War, in between the dimensions of Heaven and the Abyss, which encompasses the universal

aspect of John's eschatological Holy War, which we see similarly in 1QM col 15-19, insofar as

the War Scroll, too, expands its Holy War to involve the entire world. Thus, within his

cosmological perception of the earth's political empire(s) over and against that of the unseen

realm, John traverses the earth-bound locations of Patmos and Rome, which are his most

immediate terrestrial contexts, traveling out to the external kingdom of God, into a 'place' (or

more properly, a *dimension*), which regards the entirety of the earth (*gē*) as a single contested

entity. The earth thus becomes the axis of the Holy War, its main focal point, and the ultimate

prize awarded to the victor. By these means, John's 'geographic' perceptions overlap with his

otherworldly concerns in a particularized way. In John's mind, both the seen and unseen worlds

do exist. But the perspective he provides while standing before the throne of God in the outer

realm,[438] is one that necessarily *unifies* the earthly one by essentially relativizing its political

boundaries, and looking instead to a division between "those who live on the earth,"[439] and those

whose citizenship is in the external kingdom of God. In this way, John's geographical concerns

are relegated to a secondary status under his primary theological concerns, but the two are

interwoven, since the rulership of the earth (*gē*) is clearly at stake in his apocalypse.

Although there are key and important locations referenced by John, in point of fact, these

few are only specified insofar as they merit the attention of the outer (heavenly) world, and as

they lend support to the eschatological aims of the book as a whole. Because of this, such

geographic entities, both large and small, which appear as primary features in 1QM receive no

mention whatsoever in Revelation. Persia, for example, sees no direct recognition in Revelation,

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[438] See for example Rev 4-5.
[439] This phrase appears in Rev 3:10; 6:10; 8:13; 11:10; 13:14; 17:8; with similar references elsewhere, indicating that those who dwell "on the earth" are subject to judgment, woe, and condemnation.

nor does Assyria, although many texts which John draws from and incorporates do refer to these

and other geopolitical entities in their original contexts.[440] Again, this is because the handful of

geographical locations which John references, and the political powers that accompany them,

are, to a degree, all symbolic of larger theological concepts with intended meanings supporting

them. In other words, they are not presented as pinpoints on a map to be conquered militarily as

in 1QM.

In this regard John's approach to *geography* stands more in line with the sensibilities of

such apocalyptic works as 1 Enoch than with 1QM, and at this point it is helpful to triangulate

these three. In the Enochic mythology, as with Revelation, it is otherworldly depictions which

dominate, while terrestrial geography remains secondary, as seen in the case of a passing

mention of Mt. Hermon, in 1 En 6:6. This atypical reference appears for apparently theological

reasons, as the writer of 1 Enoch provides the meaning of the location name as being related to a

binding oath on the part of the rebellious angels, which is irrevocable.[441] Revelation references

certain locations for their theological import as well, and similarly so with regard to the dynamic

of its cosmology as it relates to its angelic activity. Furthermore, in John's Apocalypse we see

several elements of the Mosaic Tabernacle system depicted in perfect form in heaven, but these

do not appear in 1QM, or in 1 Enoch. The Enochic writings do portray a subdued sense of the

Temple as residing in an Edenic setting,[442] but no specifics are ever given with regard to the

individual articles, while Revelation makes it a distinct point to highlight certain Temple items

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[440] Zechariah's four chariots (Zech 6:1-3), for example, speak to the political reality of the Persian empire during the reign of Darius (c.521-486 BCE), providing symbolism from which John borrows for his four horsemen in Rev 6:3-8.

[441] The term used for Hermon is based on the root חָרַם (*ḥrm*), which indicates a thing exclusively dedicated to a king or deity. It is related to both Arabic and Ethiopian terms with similar meanings. See entry under Harris, Archer, and Waltke, *Theological Wordbook of The Old Testament*.

[442] As in 1 En 25:5, speaking of the tree of life in proximity with the Temple (i.e., house of the Lord). "This is for the righteous and pious. And the elect will be presented with its fruit for life. He will plant it in the direction of the northeast, upon the holy place – in the direction of the house of the Lord, the Eternal King." Translation by E. Issac, in Charlesworth, *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha. Vol. 1*.

existing in heaven. This sort of Second Temple discourse reveals the writer of Enoch to be less

concerned with the Mosaic system than Revelation is. In correlation, DSS scholars have

observed that over time the *yaḥad* may have, in its earliest stages, been drawn more towards an

Enochic perception than during its later stages, when the community seems to have favored

Mosaic literature.[443] This would be in keeping with the trajectory we see in regard to the motif

of Holy War in 1QM, as it compares with Revelation; both 1QM and Revelation reflect a greater

sense of the Mosiac system than does 1 Enoch, albeit with differing emphasis. As mentioned,

Revelation makes direct reference to several key items found in the earthly Temple/Tabernacle

system, including the ark, the altar, and the menorah.[444] Neither 1QM nor 1 Enoch make

mention of any of these, although all three works do mention *incense*, a shorthand reference

under which the duties of the priesthood may be categorized. The War Scroll also mentions a

"table of glory" (שולחן כבוד),[445] a probable reference to the throne of glory per Jer 17:12 and

elsewhere.[446] In sum, what we see in Revelation is a heavenly temple depiction on fully display,

while the writer of Enoch (being somewhat averse to Mosaic references) seeks to avoid this, and

1QM (fixated primarily on a ground war) apparently understands such elements in direct service

to armed conquest. Moreover, 1QM does not betray an extensive or developed cosmology (as

does Revelation and 1 Enoch), but the more muted angelology of the War Scroll is related to that

of both. Furthermore, like 1 Enoch,[447] Revelation combines its cosmology with its angelology,

while 1QM combines its angelology most overtly with its Holy War. As these features are

interrelated, they will become relevant in the subsequent sections.

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[443] See VanderKam and Flint, *The Meaning of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 196. Also, George W.E. Nickelsburg, "Enoch, Books of," in Schiffman and VanderKam, *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 249-253.

[444] The menorah(s) appear in Rev 1:12, 13, 20 twice; 2:1; 11:14; the Ark appears in Rev 11:19; the altar appears in Rev 6:9; 8:3 twice; 8:5; 9:13; 11:1; 14:18; 16:7.

[445] 1QM 2:6.

[446] Yadin, *The Scroll of the War*, 264.

[447] Annette Evans, "Enoch Book of Watchers and Astronomical Book: Theodicy in the Context of a Proto-Scientific Cosmology," *JSEM* 26.1 (2017): 177–93.

In the sections that follow we will focus first on the outlying secondary geographic locations before turning our attention to the primary entities of Rome, Jerusalem, and the Earth itself. This will allow us to move from geographical concerns, to cosmological concerns, then into the angelology of both texts.

3.1.5.4 Lud/Lydia; The Euphrates River; Gog and Magog; Megiddo

We have already seen that the geographical points of contact between Revelation and 1QM are rather limited, and, more importantly, that the sensibilities of the two documents are evident of differing approaches to eschatological Holy War. Even so, those specific locations and enemies which both documents do share are significant, and representative of theological concerns. Common to both documents are references to Lud/Lydia;[448] the Euphrates River;[449] and Gog in 1QM over and against the Gog and Magog together in Revelation.[450] Of primary importance are the Kittim (in 1QM), as well as Babylon (in Revelation) both appearing as cyphers for the Roman Empire, seated at the city of Rome.[451] The centrality of the city of Jerusalem, which, in John's case includes the New Jerusalem,[452] is to be expected, as the city is associated by both documents with the presence of God and with theological holiness. Also, Egypt appears referentially in 1QM, and metaphorically together with Sodom in John's case,[453] making clear reference to the paradigmatic Holy War event of the Exodus, which both of our

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[448] Lud appears in 1QM 2:10; and seven cities throughout the Lydian region are address Rev 1:11; 2-3.
[449] The Euphrates River appears in 1QM 2:11; and Rev 9:14; 16:12.
[450] Gog appears in 1QM 11:16; Gog and Magog appear in Rev 20:8.
[451] The Kittim appear as a cypher for Rome in 1QM 1:2, 4, 6, 9, 12; 11:11; 15:2; 16:3, 6, 8, 9; 17:12, 14, 15; 18:2, 4; 19:10, 13. Babylon appears as a cypher for Rome in Rev 14:8; 16:19; 17:5; 18:2, 10, 21.
[452] Jerusalem appears in 1QM 1:3; 3:11; 7:4; 12:13, 17; and New Jerusalem appears in Rev 3:12; 21:1-22:5.
[453] Sodom is mentioned (with Egypt) "figuratively" or "mystically" in reference to Jerusalem in Rev 11:8. "Their bodies will lie in the street of the great city, which is figuratively called Sodom and Egypt, where also their Lord was crucified." (Rev 11:8)

primary texts hearken to.[454] Secondary geographic locations mentioned in Revelation but not

found in 1QM are Patmos, and Megiddo.[455] We will look at each of these in succession.

3.1.5.5 Lud/Lydia

As noted, the geographical region of Asia Minor which encompasses the seven church

cities of Rev 2-3 is also identified with the Lydian coastal archipelago on the Aegean Sea. The

corresponding city of Lud, which 1QM 2:10 derives from Gen 10:22, is located within the

northwestern area of this same region, and the etymological similarity is clearly evident. John of

Patmos, in close proximity to the locations he writes to, refers to the addressees of the seven

churches as being directly associated with the cities after which they are named. Aune points out

that, after the fall of Jerusalem in 70 CE, this Anatolian region became "perhaps the most

important geographical center of Christianity in the ancient world," and that "Ephesus was the

administrative center of the province."[456] This fact supports the hypothesis that the destruction

of the Temple was indeed the nexus for massive cultural transformation, including the

transformation of those sensibilities which formed the underpinnings of support for Holy War.

Since the central axis of Jewish life had been destroyed by Rome, it would have forced many

resident Jews, as well as the Christian movement itself, to seek safer environs, which, from a

sociological standpoint only makes sense: When people have been subjected to violence and

persecution, they naturally flee. As a result, John of Patmos writes to the churches on the

mainland, where Ephesus represented the hub of the larger community which had spread

throughout in the Lydian region of Asia Minor.

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[454] Egypt appears in 1QM 1:4; 14:1; and is figurative alongside Sodom to represent Jerusalem Rev 11:8.
[455] Megiddo appears in Rev 16:16.
[456] Aune, *Revelation*, 131.

This sensibility, which sees John placing great stock in the current events of the region, contrasts with 1QM's single mentioning of Lud, and the fact that the DSS do not call much attention to the city beyond a small handful of references which all refer back to the Table of Nations.[457] Clearly, the Lydian region and even Lud itself was far less important to 1QM than it was to John of Patmos, it being a center for early Christianity and the Roman imperial cult. This being the case, however, the proximity of the seven churches to one another, including the center at Ephesus, and their close proximity to the neighboring cities in Macedonia and Achaia which were frequented by the apostle Paul, has given rise to the larger question of influence over the exchange of ideas throughout the Mediterranean world, moving out from places like Ephesus or Qumran into the outlying regions. This now affords us the opportunity to cautiously speculate as to the nature of ideological exchange among those living in the ancient near east during the Second Temple period. We will consider this dynamic as it relates to Lud and Lydia below.

As mentioned, the question of how, and whether or not, the disbursal of information occurred between the *yaḥad* and other Jewish and Jewish Christian communities is a matter of curiosity to scholars. We have noted the case of 2 Cor 6:14-7:1 as being recognized by many as having Qumranic influence. Joseph Fitzmeyer has summarized five common categories which seem to indicate that the passage is indeed an interpolation into the Corinthian correspondence, and that this interpolation has the clear markings of *yaḥad* sensibilities. These characteristics are as follows: 1) The triple dualism of righteousness *vs* iniquity, light *vs* darkness, Christ *vs* Beliar; 2) the opposition to idols; 3) the concept of the community as being the Temple of God; 4) separation from impurity; and 5) the concatenation of Old Testament texts.[458] If this

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[457] Lud appears only in 1QM 2:10; 1QapGen 12:11; 17:17; and a fragment from 4Q426.
[458] Fitzmyer, "Qumrân and the Interpolated Paragraph in 2 Cor 6."

understanding is correct, and the interpolation does indeed find its roots in Qumranic thought,[459] then it becomes difficult to contend that the *yaḥad* was largely isolated from interaction with Hellenistic Jews, and the wider Mediterranean world. It is thought that Paul wrote at least part of the Corinthian correspondence from Ephesus, the hub of John's seven churches. While some have suggested 2 Corinthians may have been written from as remote a location as Berea, in Macedonia, the point still stands that these are not locations which are removed from each other by insurmountable distances. In the case of communications between such locations as Caesarea, Ephesus, Berea, and Corinth, the only obstacle was the Mediterranean Sea itself. Granting that travel in antiquity was far more arduous than it would become in later centuries, nevertheless such journeys were already common at the time. Not only does Paul's own example illustrate as much, but the known existence of ancient Phoenician shipping lines throughout the Mediterranean also supports this. In contrast is travel *outside* the region. Within the natural geographic boundaries of the Roman Empire the possibility of trade and commerce, the exchange of ideas, and thus the possibility of intercultural influence across wide distances was as feasible as the same in relation to Qumran, Jericho, and Masada, albeit on a larger scale. It is not surprising then, that Qumranic influence appears to have found its way into the Pauline correspondence; it would have been surprising if no such influence were ever to be found. Indeed, while Lud does not represent a major city in any of the documents we are discussing, including our two primary texts (1QM and Revelation), it is nevertheless certain that Paul would have passed near the area on both his second and third missionary journeys, when he went through Troas.[460] Paul remarks in 2 Cor 2:12 that, in passing through Troas, he had an "open

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[459] Alan J. Avery-Peck considers the passage to portray a "stark dualism" which is "uncharacteristic" of Paul, and cites 1QM's handling of light *vs* darkness to be more in line with the content of the interpolation. See Avery-Peck commentary in Levine and Zvi Brettler, *The Jewish Annotated New Testament*, 323.

[460] Acts 16:8,11; 20:5-6.

door" but did not stay in the city since his fellow traveler Titus was not there. Instead, he moved on to Macedonia, which provided for the opportunity to interact with the Christians at Corinth, eventually giving rise to the Corinthian correspondence. In short, either Paul, a Pharisaic Jew with ties to Sanhedrin authority and a willingness to travel abroad, made his way from the region of Judea into Asia Minor, and brought with him ideas absorbed from encounters with members of the *yaḥad,* or, a later scribe inserted into 2 Corinthians a Qumranic conception which, while interrupting the natural flow of the text, indicates the ease with which thoughts and ideas can traverse great distances. Along these lines, Frankfurter observes, "What evidence we have of Jewish life in first-century Asia Minor shows much intermingling with Greco-Roman culture, even as the communities for which we have evidence seem to have maintained basic Jewish institutions like Sabbath, prayer and some meal-purity practices."[461] To that end, the appearance of these features in a New Testament text lessens the degree to which geographical distance may be said to impede the transmission of thought from one community to another.[462]

It seems evident, by now, that the Qumran sectarians were not so isolated and idiosyncratic as was once believed. This dynamic, wherein distinctive ideas travel outside the literary confines of tightly knit social groups is made all the more probable by the close proximity of Qumran to such locations as Jericho, itself at the foot of the main thoroughfare leading up to Jerusalem, and to Masada only 55 KM to the south. This cross-pollination of ideas is seen also in the presence of several apocryphal and pseudepigraphic works among the DSS, as well as texts like the Damascus Document (CD) which was originally found only in the Cairo Genizah, all testifying to the fluidity with which documents and their ideas may travel. Indeed, it

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[461] See D. Frankfurter commentary in Levine and Zvi Brettler, *The Jewish Annotated New Testament*, 468.
[462] Here we would once again refer to the catalogue of hypotheses above regarding the Essenes and Christian origins, in particular the theories listed by this researcher and those of S. Joseph which support such connections. See Joseph, *Jesus, the Essenes, and Christian Origins*.

is a mistake to over isolate the communities which trafficked in Second Temple literature from one another to the point where mutual influence is seen as an impossibility.

3.1.5.6 The Euphrates River

Subsequent to the seven seals of Rev 6:1-17, the seventh of which is delayed until 8:1, John relates that he has seen four angels, "standing at the four corners of the earth, holding back the four winds of the earth, so that no wind would blow on the earth or on the sea or on any tree," (Rev 7:1). These angels are not identified, but it is reasonable to assume they represent the four directions of the compass.[463] The sixth trumpet appears later, at Rev 9:13, and has thus been prefigured by the prior reference to these four angels who are said to hold back the winds. When the sixth trumpet is sounded, a voice coming from the altar in heaven announces, "Release the four angels who are bound at the great river *Euphrates*," (Rev 9:14). The reader is then told, "And the four angels, who had been prepared for the hour and day and month and year, were released, so that they would kill a third of mankind," (Rev 9:15). Hence, they are released at a key moment which has been predestined by God,[464] for the expressed purpose of wreaking destruction and inflicting death. What follows, in Rev 9:17-19, is a nightmarish vision of 200 million chimera-like creatures, who are said to kill a third of mankind.[465]

Later in the vision, at Rev 16:1-21, John relays the seven bowls of wrath where, once again, the Euphrates River appears as part of the judgement on humanity. In this case it is the sixth bowl which is poured out, causing an anti-Exodus event to occur: "The sixth angel poured out his bowl on the great river Euphrates, and its water was dried up to prepare the way for the

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[463] Aune, *Revelation*, 450.
[464] Predestination is a prominent aspect of 1QM as well. Cf. 1QM 11:11; 13:9, 11;
[465] For a description and explanation of the mythological chimera, see Aune, *Revelation*, 539.

kings from the East." What follows is in fact *not* a group of kings from the East, but demonic

frog-like figures, who are reminiscent of the second plague inflicted on Egypt, in Exod 8:3-14.

The frog-demons are called, "unclean" (ἀκάθαρτα) in Rev 16:13, and "spirits of demons"

(πνεύματα δαιμονίων), in Rev 16:14, but there is no indication that they have crossed the

Euphrates even though the river has been dried up by the sixth bowl of wrath, and there is no

reason to identify them with the kings of the East. They are, in fact, demonic figures, whereas

the kings of the East strongly imply national figures. The reader is told that the frog-demons

perform signs, and, most importantly, that they "go out *to the kings* of the whole world, to gather

them together for the war of the great day of God, the Almighty," (Rev 16:14; emphasis added).

Thus, there is every reason to believe the kings of the East, and the crossing of the dried

Euphrates has been delayed until a later point in the narrative. The section is followed

immediately by a beatitude in Rev 16:15, after which we are told (in 16:16), that, "…they (i.e.,

the frog-demons) gathered them (i.e., the kings of the earth) together to the place which in

Hebrew is called Har-Magedon."

Granting that the images we are considering are nothing like ordinary soldiers at war, we

see later, in Rev 19:11-21, the outbreak of a battle in which, "the kings of the earth with their

armies gathered to make war against him who was sitting on the horse and against his army."

This war is won by Christ, who is represented as a rider on a white horse in Rev 19:11, and

whose sword protrudes from his mouth. The purpose of the sword in this context is to strike

down "the nations," (τὰ ἔθνη, in Rev 19:15). Ultimately the primary antagonizing figures of the

beast (θηρίον) and the false prophet (ψευδοπροφήτης) are captured in this context, and thrown

into the lake of fire (Rev 19:20). Then, however, the reader is told, "*the rest* were slain by the

sword that came from the mouth of him who was sitting on the horse, and all the birds were

gorged with their flesh," (Rev 19:21; emphasis added). *The rest* (i.e., those remaining: οἱ

λοιποὶ), are to be identified, most presumably, with the kings of the earth mentioned in 19:19,

and referenced earlier as having been gathered by the frog-demons at Har-Magedon at Rev

16:13-14, and 16. But with this summary description, wherein the kings of the earth are said to

be killed by the sword (i.e., words) of Christ – an instrument of death wielded against "the

nations" – and subsequently eaten by birds, one is left to conclude that the final battle has indeed

been won, and that the evil forces which formerly ruled the earth have been vanquished once and

for all. However, Rev 20:1-10 indicates a resurgence on the part of Satan, who, after being

thrown into a pit for a thousand years, is released. Satan proceeds to, "deceive *the nations* (τὰ

ἔθνη) which are in the four corners of the earth, Gog and Magog, to gather them together for the

war; the number of them is like the sand of the seashore," (Rev 20:8). What we see, then, is a

highly phantasmagoric description of a supernatural battle between otherworldly powers, amidst

which the Euphrates River becomes one of the few elements which ties the vision to the concrete

world.[466]

Having said that, it is important once again to recall that 1QM recognizes the Euphrates

as a naturally occurring battle line which provides a strategic military path to follow in an effort

to re-conquer distant lands which are beyond the control of the *yaḥad*, or any other Jewish sect

for that matter. So, while the War Scroll sees the Euphrates largely (but not entirely) in terms of

natural geography, Revelation co-opts the river into its narrative in order to ground its

apocalyptic vision in earthly familiarity, and it uses the river as a prop to represent an anti-

Exodus occurrence.[467] Moreover, the interplay between demons and angels seen here lifts John's

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[466] This feature occurs in much the same way 1 Enoch makes mention of Mt. Hermon in 1 En 6:6.
[467] The crossing of the Euphrates by the kings of the East is best understood to be a parody of the crossing of the Sea of Reeds in Exod 13:17-14:31. In effect, the Euphrates becomes the Sea of Reeds. Aune quite logically

geographic concerns up to the level of cosmological and angelic concerns. This is fitting, since the Euphrates also represented a boundary beyond which were unknown lands, and a wilderness of chaos and foreign nations; it represents the frontline of the Holy War. As a result, we see that the Euphrates in Revelation takes on overt theological import, representing a parodied imitation of the Exodus miracle as the river dries up, allowing for invading armies to cross and attack what (presumably) would be earthly Jerusalem. The hordes which pour into the region are associated with the four angels who hold back the wind in Rev 7:1, and are tied to the unleashing of certain demonic armies in Rev 9:13-19, which would have played on Roman fears.[468] We can infer but not assume that "the nations" of Revelation too are understood to be under demonic influence in some fashion, although it is never explicitly stated. Clearly, they have been "deceived" (πλανάω in Rev 20:8) as seen in their last antagonistic iteration at the resurgence of Satan. But it is also apparent that a shared demise is inflicted on these nations and on the demons, since the beast itself is sent into the lake of fire – the devil is sent to the Abyss in Rev 20:3 – and since the sword of Christ inflicts capital punishment on "the rest," in Rev 19:21, i.e., on the collective demonic forces, which would also include the national forces.[469]

But victory is assured in both cases. In 1QM the Euphrates provides a helpful directional marker to follow in a conventional Holy War waged from a recaptured Jerusalem. In Revelation the Euphrates is traversed by both demonic and national armies in a bid to destroy Jerusalem ("the beloved city," in Rev 20:9), but they end up being destroyed by fire from heaven. One might say that Jerusalem in 1QM plays an active role, while Jerusalem in Revelation plays a

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associates the phrase, "kings of the east," with Parthian kings residing east of the Euphrates in modern day Iran. Aune, *Revelation*, 891-894.

[468] In this instance it is not a hearkening back to the ten plagues of the Exodus that John has in mind, but the fearful possibility an army of 200 million chimera-like creatures from Greek and Roman mythology. Aune, *Revelation*, 539.

[469] The demise of the nations as well as the kings of the earth in Revelation is implied in these passages, but this does not tell the whole story. By the end of the narrative, they have been conformed to the rulership of Christ, and are depicted as purified and healed in Rev 19:24-22:2.

passive role.[470] Yet in both cases the Euphrates is shown to be a proximate boundary location

where Holy War will be won decisively, despite the contrasting approaches. Might it have been

the case, then, that the *yaḥad* anticipated some comparative measure of cosmic events would

have occurred akin to what John describes, had their own eschatological Holy War been

launched in actuality? It would be reasonable to conclude the answer is yes, since we are told in

1QM 11:16-17, that God will, "carry out judgements on Gog and on all his company that are

as[semb]led [abou]t [us…] […], for You will do battle against them *from the heave[ns…]*,

(emphasis added)."

This brings us closer to considering Gog/Gog and Magog in both 1QM and Revelation,

but before we do, it should be noted that general Enochic sensibilities evident in both texts do

become readily apparent here, and we can triangulate these with a brief example which illustrates

some overlap in the broader apocalyptic worldview which occurs between all three texts. We

note the following.

> "Behold, he will arrive with ten million of his holy ones in order to execute
> judgment upon all. He will destroy the wicked ones and censure all flesh on
> account of everything they have done, that which the sinners and the wicked ones
> committed against him." (1 En 1:9)

While we might cite several other passages which could be brought to bear on the general

apocalyptic outlook of Revelation, this example suffices to illustrate the common eschatological

aim to *destroy the wicked*, which is readily apparent in both of our primary texts. This aim,

combined with an Enochic sense of angelology appearing in 1QM and Revelation as well, serves

to highlight the more *public* nature of these rather fundamental ideas, as they were so clearly

shared by a wide range of Jewish and Christian people across great distances. And since the

Euphrates River is seen by both of our primary texts as a significant component of the

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[470] This again may indicate the pre and post destruction of the city on the part of our two texts.

eschatological battle field, wherein the ultimate war between good and evil (Light and Darkness in 1QM's case) will ultimately be decided, it makes sense to recognize our texts as being more closely related to one another than previously assumed. Granted once again that 1QM is indeed a *rule*, and Revelation is an *apocalypse*, but the cloud of ideas which surrounds them both are very much in accord with broader Second Temple sensibilities as they pertained to eschatological Holy War.

3.1.5.7 Gog and Magog

Some scholars of John's Apocalypse see significance in the mention of Gog in 1QM.[471] Gog appears as a proper noun in 1QM 11:16, as the prayer of the Chief Priest entreats God to bring victory, asking him to "carry out judgements on Gog, and all his company." The only other appearance of Gog in the DSS is in 4Q523, an unclassified fragment which couples Gog with Magog.[472] Beyond this, Magog appears three times in 1QApGen without accompanying Gog in any instance.[473]

John's Apocalypse mentions Gog and Magog together, both as proper nouns, at the resurgence of Satan, in the context of his leading the nations astray, and as they launch a doomed counter-assault on the city of Jerusalem.[474] At this point we are told, Satan will be released from prison and, "come out to deceive the nations which are in the four corners of the earth, Gog and Magog, to gather them together for the war; the number of them is like the sand of the seashore,

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[471] Among these are Beale, and Koester. Beal's hypothesis of *universalization* will be looked at in this section. See Beale, *The Book of Revelation*, 1022-1023. Koester, for his part, observes that, by placing Gog and Magog under the influence of Satan in Rev 20:7-8, the parallel of Gog being under the influence of Belial in 1QM 11:8, 16 may have set a precedent. With this possibility we would concur. Koester, *Revelation*, 778.

[472] This fragment alludes to troops stealing forks, or "flesh-hooks," as Wise, Abegg, and Cook rendered the term in the DSS Electronic Library.

[473] Magog appears in 1QApGen at 12:12; 17:10, 16. In each case the context is the Table of Nations, and the division of lands.

[474] Rev 20:7-8.

(Rev 20:8)." In the case of Revelation, as we have seen, this appearance is quite possibly tied to the anti-Exodus miracle occurrence wherein the kings of the earth cross the dried Euphrates River, only to be destroyed by the appearance of Christ, whose sword is wielded to "strike down the nations," (πατάξῃ τὰ ἔθνη), in Rev 19:15. This presents an interesting problem which should be addressed in any analysis of Gog/Gog and Magog in 1QM and Revelation.

Specifically, if *the nations* are understood to be destroyed in Rev 19:11-21, how do they reappear within the context of Gog and Magog in Rev 20:8? Aune gathers together several possible explanations: 1) Gog and Magog are not actually the nations of the earth, but demonic armies; 2) Gog and Magog are indeed dead but are being depicted as resurrected prior to judgement; 3) the previous destruction is not in fact total, hence there still remain nations on the earth to wage a final battle; 4) the narrative is steeped in metaphoric language, such that John is not beholden to a logical progression in relating his vision.[475] While this researcher would tend to lean in the direction of the fourth position, it seems possible that 1QM may lend support to option number three. The structure of 1QM is such that the war against the Kittim (Rome), begins in a localized fashion, and, subsequent to the re-capture of Jerusalem, expands to become a universal Holy War against a globalized Kittim.[476] This would point to an ever-widening Holy

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[475] Aune, *Revelation*, 1095. Schüssler Fiorenza argues that Gog and Magog is a universal army of the living dead, and observes that all humanity has been destroyed. Elisabeth Schüssler Fiorenza, *Revelation: Vision of a Just World* (Minneapolis: Augsburg Fortress, 1991), 107. Blount holds that the destruction of the nations was not total, thus a remnant remained. Blount, *Revelation: A Commentary*, 369. Prigent seems to lean towards the first school of thought, separating the kings of the earth from Gog and Magog, but making them comparable to one another. Prigent, *Commentary on the Apocalypse of St. John*, 575. Mounce does not commit to any of the above, but stresses the symbolic in tension with the historical, suggesting that the Gog and Magog battle may be modelled on the Scythian invasion of Asia in 630 BC, while making a distinction between this battle and the ones depicted prior to the thousand year reign. Mounce, *The Book of Revelation*, 362.

[476] Schultz explains, "It would seem, therefore, that while both col. 1 and cols. 15–19 describe the same stage in the eschatological war, they are actually based on different traditions: col. 1 upon the prophecy of Dan 11:40–45, and cols. 15–19 on the war against Gog in Ezek 38–39." This serves to delineate between the first (localized) war against the Kittim, over and against the second (universalized) war against the same. Schultz, "Compositional Layers in The War Scroll (1QM)," in Daniel K. Falk et al., eds., *Qumran Cave 1 Revisited: Texts from Cave 1 Sixty Years after Their Discovery: Proceedings of the Sixth Meeting of the IOQS in Ljubljana* (Leiden etc.: Brill, 2010), 160-161.

War, in which the scope would expand gradually outward in concentric circles. Beale picks up on this possibility, suggesting that in using Gog and Magog together in Revelation, John has *universalized* the prophecy of Ezek 38-39.[477]

In the Ezekiel setting, Gog is depicted as an otherwise non-descript warlord over several named lands, of which Magog is the primary one – Meshech, Tubal, Persia, Cush, Put, Gomer, and Beth Togarmah are all listed as nations under the headship of Gog.[478] Vividly, in Ezek 38:4, God threatens to put hooks in the mouths of them all, and overpower them, along with Gog himself who stands as the primary provocateur of God's wrath. The accusation leveled against Gog is that he routinely preys on unwalled cities, and otherwise peaceful and unsuspecting people. Consequently, Ezekiel is told to prophesy against Gog, that he will be baited out of the far northern regions, with his army appearing on horseback and described metaphorically as being, "like a cloud to cover the land," (Ezek 38:16).[479] Gog will thus be lured to attack Israel. The ensuing wrath of God is brought down on Gog and takes the form of earthquakes, plagues, and supernatural destruction, all of which are echoed clearly in several passages in Revelation: Gog will be fed to the birds and wild animals in Ezek 39:4,[480] and the land of Magog will be scorched with fire in Ezek 39:6.[481] We are told also that Israel will know their God, and the nations will know the reason for their punishment and discipline.[482] In a summarizing statement, Ezek 39:27 says of Israel, "When I bring them back from the peoples and gather them from the lands of their enemies, then I shall be sanctified (i.e., made holy; קדשׁ) through them in the sight of the many nations." This last verse provides the crux of the matter: The nations will be forced

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[477] Beale, *The Book of Revelation*, 1022-1023.
[478] Cf. Ezek 38:3, 5, 6.
[479] This language and imagery is picked up also by 1QM 12:9, and applied to its own armies in the context of defeating Gog, and saying, "Our horsemen are [as] the clouds and as the mist covering the earth."
[480] Cf. Rev 19:21.
[481] Cf. Rev 20:9.
[482] Cf. Ezek 39:22-23

to recognize *holiness*. For both of our primary documents this is the purpose of Holy War. In

addressing these nations, 1QM repeatedly uses the phrase גוי הבל, "vainglorious nations,"[483] to

characterize those distant rulers, such as Gog, along with those populations who would be on the

receiving end of God's wrath.

Beale sees John's Apocalypse as clearly equating Gog and Magog with "the nations" in

Rev 20:8, and 1QM doing the same in 11:15-16, although he fails to note the absence of Magog

in 1QM. When Ezekiel presents Gog (king of Magog), he indeed comes out from the north.[484]

But when Revelation presents Gog and Magog they appear from "the four corners of the earth,"

in Rev 20:8. The *expansion* from a region in the north, to lands from the four corners of the

earth is a widening in the scope of John's Holy War, which Beale describes as becoming

universal. The War Scroll does something similar, in that the re-conquest of Jerusalem which

appears in 1QM 1:3, becomes a universal war against the Kittim in later sections. For the War

Scroll, the widening in scope (universalization) occurs clearly in 11:13, which says, "For into the

hand of the oppressed You will deliver the [ene]mies of all the lands." It is in this same context

in which Gog is referenced as the sole and primary example of such an effort, (1QM 11:16). In

other words, the prayer expressed by 1QM's Chief Priest which asks for the deliverance of *all

the lands* into the hands of the poor/oppressed pertains directly to the defeat of Gog.

In this way, both 1QM and Revelation universalize and reinscribe the Gog and Magog

tradition of Ezek 38-39, which is the antecedent to both. 1QM's war is expanded from the

localized Kittim to a universal war against the Kittim. Similarly, Revelation expands the Gog

and Magog tradition to a universal war as well. What this would imply, then, is that the

conventions of Holy War became such that the fighting was expected to expand and envelope an

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[483] 1QM 4:12; 6:6; 11:8.
[484] As seen in Ezek 38:6, 15; 39:2.

entire region, eventually encompassing the whole world, which is the clear expectation of both of our primary texts.[485] This is a significant step beyond classical Holy War as seen in the Conquest period and beyond that of the Monarchy, which was strictly limited to the land of Israel.[486] By the time of 1QM, Revelation, and the Second Temple period in general, the integration of a global eschatological expectation into classical Holy War sensibilities dictated and necessitated such a dynamic.

3.1.5.8 Megiddo

The material in Revelation 16:12-16 describes the pouring out of the sixth bowl of wrath. As discussed already, this plague event involves the drying of the Euphrates River as an anti-Exodus event, followed by the appearance of three frog-like demons who come from the mouths of the dragon, the beast, and the false prophet. These demonic figures are said to perform miraculous signs, "which go out to the kings of the whole world, to gather them together for the war of the great day of God."[487] A beatitude is then interjected into the narrative, after which the reader is told, in Rev 16:16, "Then they gathered them together to the place which in Hebrew is called Har-Magedon."

This imagery affords us the opportunity to address the tension that exists between symbolic and literal interpretations within the discourse of Holy War that appears between our two texts. There is no point in speculating too deeply as to the precise meaning intended behind the name Har-Magedon (Ἀρμαγεδών), nor is there any inkling of a direct point of contact

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[485] 1QM 1:8 expects, "Then [the Sons of Rig]hteousness shall shine to all ends of the world, continuing to shine forth until the end of the appointed seasons of darkness."

[486] The development also runs against the grain of prior Holy War expectations, as delineated by D. Stuart's fourth point above, "Holy War could only be fought for the conquest or defense of the Promised Land." Either this principle underwent changes, as so often is the case, or, based on Stuart's understanding of Deut 20, the notion was never the case to begin with. See section above, *1.5.3 The Nature of Holy War*.

[487] Rev 16:14.

between Revelation and 1QM in regard to this element. The term is a hapax legomenon, and clearly its use on the part of Revelation represents a point of contrast. A brief overview of the opinions of scholars is beneficial here, since the larger question as to whether or not the Holy Wars of both texts are intended to be *symbolic* or *literal* is germane to our study.

The schools of thought regarding the term, Ἁρμαγεδών, are many, but scholars are in agreement that there is no satisfactory interpretation of this proper noun, nor is there a singularly precise explanation as to why it appears as it does in Rev 16:16. But the suggestion which garners the most support among scholars, is the reading which interprets Ἁρμαγεδών as Mount Megiddo (הר־מגדו), associated with Tel Megiddo in the central Jezreel Valley. This interpretation is dismissed by some, but seen as plausible by others, and the archaeological identification for this location is not insubstantial. Tel Megiddo is a UNESCO World Heritage site located in the Jezreel Valley of Israel, which is historically significant in that it has a lengthy record of ancient warfare and military activity attached.[488] The Jezreel Valley is a northwest to southeast gouge in the landscape, which runs from the ancient port city of Akko on the Mediterranean, down to the ruins of Beit She'an near the Jordan River. In antiquity, as with today, to exert control over this section of land enabled a ruling power to dominate land travel to and from the greater continents of Europe, Asia, and Africa. It is therefore not surprising that so many wars have been fought in this location.

But geography is not John's main concern, as many scholars are quick to point out, and most would argue the entire battle is symbolic. Fee argues that the final battle appears later in

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[488] It is unnecessary to rehearse the full catalog here, but suffice it to say there have been no less than 28 recorded battles in the vicinity of the location of Megiddo, including the biblical accounts and those of modernity. Eric H. Cline, *The Battles of Armageddon: Megiddo and the Jezreel Valley from the Bronze Age to the Nuclear Age* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2002).

the narrative, at 19:11-21, where the location is unmentioned and therefore irrelevant.[489] Blount,

noting that the armies of Gog and Magog have been unwittingly lured to their own destruction,

recognizes the strategic value of Tel Megiddo on the plain of the Jezreel Valley, but points out

(along with several others) that the topography of a *plain* does not correspond to the description

of Megiddo as being a *mountain*. In any case, says Blount, John "does not intend a literal but a

symbolic battle."[490] Similarly, Boxall, while also acknowledging Mount Megiddo to be the best

reading of the term Ἀρμαγεδών, nevertheless argues that the place is, "not to be located at any

particular spot on the earth's surface." Making reference to several other geographical locations

within the text – i.e., the temple in Rev 11:2; the great city referred to euphemistically as Sodom

and Egypt in 11:8; Mount Zion in 14:1; and Babylon in 14:8 – Boxall opts to see all of these as

"symbolic geography."[491] Boring, possibly the most dismissive of Ἀρμαγεδών being an actual

geographical location, sets aside the discussion about Tel Megiddo with the argument that, "John

uses the traditional military imagery, but in his own theology the decisive victory was already

won on the cross." For his part, Boring denies that a legitimate geographical Mount Megiddo

exists, and considers the suggestion itself to be uncritical. He concludes, flatly, that "Revelation

thus contains no descriptions of eschatological battles."[492]

This brief overview will suffice to allow us to make a couple of observations. First,

despite a general reluctance to admit a literal battle on the part of nearly all scholars, some are

willing to posit the name Ἀρμαγεδών as plausibly tied to the geographic location of Tel

Megiddo. Second, and more pointedly, if the battle of Revelation is indeed symbolic and not

literal, does it necessarily follow that the battle of 1QM falls into the same category of

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[489] Fee, *Revelation*, 224-225.
[490] Blount, *Revelation: A Commentary*, 306-307.
[491] Boxall, *The Revelation of Saint John*, 232-233.
[492] Boring, *Revelation*, 176-178.

symbolism and imagination as well? Here we have the tension between symbolic violence, and

real violence, with no simple solution.[493] Every student and reader of these texts must make

judicious selections with regard to symbolism and literalism, and some aspects are more

apparently symbolic than others. Granted that people of antiquity did not have the benefits and

precision of modern technology at their disposal, but the extremes of both ends of the

literal/symbolic spectrum should certainly be avoided. If Ἀρμαγεδών represents, as some would

assert, a completely mythological location that does not exist anywhere on the earth, yet Tel

Megiddo not only bears the name but also the bloody reputation to accompany it, and if all other

locations in Revelation are to be treated in the same way, why would one be compelled to

assume John is referring to a literal island of Patmos, if indeed that is the case? Is seems more

consistent to treat both Patmos and Megiddo as actual geographic locations which John was

aware of, since they are both identifiable points on the map, and both are hapax legomena in the

text. Taking Patmos seriously, as well as the location of the seven churches, seems to require

taking John seriously with regard to geography, even as it is steeped in symbolic imagery.

In addition, it is an historically established fact that the Qumran location itself was

violently destroyed by the Roman army in 63 CE, at the First Jewish Revolt.[494] In light of the

harsh realities of life under oppressive rulership, it seems very difficult, to this researcher, when

taking into consideration the transparent nomenclature associated with Ἀρμαγεδών/Tel Megiddo,

that such a location nested so prominently in a highly strategic location, and having witnessed

century upon century of warfare, should *not* be understood literally. Megiddo is referenced as a

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[493] Alex P. Jassen suggests that, "By delaying all punishment until the eschaton, the [Qumran] community simultaneously defused its own violent worldview." This, according to Jassen allowed them to alleviate the need for real world violence, unlike the Zealot party which had no such outlet. Alex Jassen, "The Dead Sea Scrolls and Violence: Sectarian Formation and Eschatological Imagination," *Biblical Interpretation* 17.1–2 (2009): 12–44.

[494] Magness, *The Archaeology of Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 47-68.

proper name location repeatedly in the Bible.[495] Moreover, as the Roman army proved to be

such a destructive force over Jerusalem in 70 A.D., so the Jezreel Valley was subject to the same

subjugation.[496] It would therefore appear that John has done with Megiddo the same thing he has

done with the Euphrates River, i.e., he has used it to ground his vision in the real world, despite

its fantastical tenor. One may indeed wish there were no such place as Tel Megiddo in the

Jezreel Valley, with its terrible history, and painful politics even in the present day. Moreover, it

is not at all problematic to see the imagery of John's Apocalypse as mythical and symbolic. John

is, after all, describing a war of such massive scale as to be overwhelming, and it is cloaked in

such language. But since works such as 1 Enoch are comparable, along with reference to Mt.

Hermon as an actual geographic location set within a wildly apocalyptic context,[497] then it is not

out of the realm of possibility that John, who relies so heavily on 1 Enoch would be capable of

the same. Again, while we cannot claim to entirely resolve this sort of tension, there are reasons

to believe both Revelation and 1QM take seriously the locations they depict. The issue that

remains is which locations are to be taken as literal, and which may be merely symbolic or

entirely mythical. This researcher would contend that John is not inclined towards mythological

locations, and that even a well-known point on the map such as Patmos is laden with symbolism

under the influence of John's pen.

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[495] Josh 12:21; 17:11; Judg 1:27; 5:19; 1 Kgs 4:12; 9:15; 2 Kgs 9:27; 23:29, 30; 1 Chr 7:29; 35:22; Zech 12:11.

[496] Josephus records the Macedonian defeat of the Persians by Alexander in 332 B.C., and the Ptolemaic and Seleucid wars from 320 to 200, including Antiochus IV Epiphanes coming to power. Beyond this he records Vespasian and Titus taking Jerusalem as well. The collective memory of those people who lived in the vicinity of the Jezreel Valley would have corroborated these events as well. Josephus, *Antiquities*, 12.1.1-4; *Wars*, 12.5.237-241.

[497] The reference to Mt. Hermon in 1 En 6:6 is recognized as a mountain because it fits the stereotypical image of what a mountain should appear to be in comparison to modern sensibilities. But size being relative, Megiddo may readily be characterized as a mountain (הר), though not a towering one, because the location represents so many notable political and military powers. Hence, the site can be understood as a politically formidable 'mountain' analogous to the way in which the 'lake' which is Galilee may be characterized also as a 'sea.'

Prigent, for his part, approaches this issue with the caveat that Megiddo represents the "least unsatisfactory explanation" for the term Ἁρμαγεδών in Rev 16:16. Like others, he too ties this location to the armies of Gog and Magog in Rev 20:8, and, looking back to Ezekiel (38:8; 39:2, 4, 17), he notes that Gog and Magog are depicted in conjunction with the "*mountains* of Israel," which he finds to be the best interpretative lens to apply to this problem. But given the dots which need to be connected to make the case, he says, "I find this parallel more enlightening than all the others, and will conclude, as is proper, by confessing my awareness of not having shed light on the mystery of Armageddon!"[498] In this assessment we find Prigent's evaluation both sensible and prudent.

3.1.5.9 Jerusalem; Rome; The Earth

The cosmology of our two documents is intrinsically tied to geography, theology, and politics, and there are no more significant entities in this regard than Jerusalem and Rome. In the blurred lines between the concrete and the symbolic, earthly realities clash with the heavenly ideals, which in turn spark the fires of Holy War. The question then arises as to what role the cities themselves play, as these solid entities are subject to the apocalyptic imagination. Moreover, how effective is a symbolic Holy War compared to a genuinely violent expression of Holy War, as these cities play their roles in both worlds? There is a lengthy historical record to draw from, starting with the Exodus and leading into the Conquest period, where victories were attributed to direct divine intervention. Beyond this, the Monarchic era saw its share of wars, but a decidedly non-miraculous aspect, or perhaps a *secretly* (unseen) miraculous aspect became more prevalent, as seen in the story of David who slays Goliath with a sling, an action seen as

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[498] Prigent, *Commentary on the Apocalypse of St. John*, 475.

both common and miraculous. In this example there are no plague or disruptive acts of nature to

express the wrath or judgment of God. As von Rad points out, "the decisive 'event' is far more

the confessing word of David."[499] We see by this example that Holy War did develop and

change over time, yet the earliest roots were never entirely forgotten. By the time our two

documents were written, the Maccabean wars had taken place, followed again by the loss of

Jewish sovereignty. This gave rise to the tantalizing possibility that a classical form of

miraculous Israelite Holy War was once again a live option, giving rise to Zealot movements

during the Second Temple period. This, of course, carried with it its own set of risks, as the

Zealot party harbored violent impulses, and held to strictly theocratic ideals which were non-

compromising. It is within the realm of such ideals where hostile plans are concocted, and

violent reactions may be given the leeway to lash out. Whether just or unjust, both the writers

and readers of our two texts – and other texts which express similar ideals – must be understood

in terms of theological hopes *vs* historical realities.

We will see in the sections below that both Jerusalem and Rome were understood in

terms of earthly realities conflicting with idealistic hopes. The two cities embody diametrically

opposing forces, with different destinies, but our texts depict them as both realities and as

symbols. It is the political realities that stir the impulses towards theologically driven Holy War,

which was seen as absolutely essential to arriving at the heavenly ideals.

3.1.5.10   Jerusalem

Most prominent in both texts is Jerusalem, which appears in 1QM 1:3; 3:11; 7:4;

12:13,17; and is seen renewed and heavenly in Rev 3:12; 21:2; 21;10. The location is unnamed

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[499] Von Rad, *Holy War in Ancient Israel*, 91.

but implied by the use of the phrase "holy city," in Rev 11:2; the "great city," in Rev 11:8; then simply "the city" in Rev 11:13. Jerusalem is pejoratively referred to as "Sodom and Egypt" in Rev 11:8,[500] and the militant epithet "Mount Zion" appears in Rev 14:1. In Rev 20:9, at the invasion of Gog and Magog, Jerusalem is called, "the camp of the holy ones, and the city he loved," (Rev 20:9).[501] In Revelation, Jerusalem has clearly been spiritualized, and the appearance of a new Jerusalem begs the question as to whether or not the brick and mortar Jerusalem built by "human hands,"[502] has indeed been destroyed by the time of John's writing. This is questionable, as the 70 CE dating for the destruction would require John of Patmos to have been well advanced in years, if indeed he is also to be identified with John the Beloved in the Gospel account. Nonetheless, the issue is potentially solved if one posits a Johannine school, or small group of disciples, who took the responsibility of maintaining and codifying the text of Revelation. Such a group would have been in a position to introduce an awareness of the destruction of Jerusalem at a later date.

In either case, John's vision of Jerusalem is highly symbolic and/or spiritual, as John himself characterizes it so in Rev 11:8,[503] and his grand depiction depends largely on the Temple vision of Ezek 40-48. Whether or not the author was aware of the destruction of Jerusalem – and it seems to this researcher highly likely that either he or his redactors were – the depictions of Jerusalem in Revelation indicate not only a high degree of innate symbolism, but a relationship to the city which may be characterized as 'love/hate,' a mixed perspective that is more

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[500] Scholars are divided on whether the reference to "the great city," in Rev 11:8 with the comparison to Sodom and Egypt is referring to Jerusalem, or to Rome. For the present purposes it is not an issue that demands settling. For arguments against, see Mounce, *The Book of Revelation*, 226-227. For arguments in agreement with this researcher, see Aune, *Revelation*, 620.

[501] Translation mine. Rev 20:9, "…παρεμβολὴν τῶν ἁγίων καὶ τὴν πόλιν τὴν ἠγαπημένην." Barbara Aland et al., eds., *The Greek New Testament* (Stuttgart, DE: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft; United Bible Societies, 2019).

[502] Cf. 1 Cor 5:1; Heb 11:10.

[503] "…ἥτις καλεῖται πνευματικῶς Σόδομα καὶ Αἴγυπτος," trans. "which is called *spiritually* Sodom and Egypt," (Rev 11:8). Aland et al., *The Greek New Testament*.

complicated than the simply *hateful* outlook he directs towards Rome. As already noted,

Jerusalem is alternatively called both "Sodom and Egypt," and "the city he (God) loves." No

other geographical location exhibits such a mixed appraisal, and this can stem only from the

tension between the earthly reality and the heavenly ideal.

With regard to Jerusalem in 1QM, J. Murphy-O'Connor offers that 1QM holds to a more

neutral view of Jerusalem, although a more polarized Qumranic textual background reflecting an

indictment against Jerusalem, which, set in relief against a strong espousal of Jerusalem as the

Holy City, may both be culled from several other DSS texts.[504] With Murphy-O'Connor's

general assessment of the moral and/or spiritual neutrality on the part of 1QM we would concur

to a great extent, since 1QM does not take the pains to rehearse either an indictment or an

espousal of the virtues and/or vices of the city.[505] Rather, for the purposes of the War Scroll,

Jerusalem simply serves as the logical location from which a final Holy War would be conducted

and launched. Regarding the lack of either condemnation or praise for the city itself, says

Murphy-O'Connor:

> "Such value-free references to Jerusalem are relatively rare in the scrolls. The
> majority of texts reflect either an idealistic vision of the holiness of the city or a
> harshly condemnatory assessment of its real situation. The latter, of course, was
> conditioned by the former."[506]

But this neutrality does not entirely preclude 1QM from the more ideological

understanding of Jerusalem which is found elsewhere in the DSS. 1QM 1:3 depicts a triumphant

move into the "Wilderness of Jerusalem," to which the Sons of Light are said to return from

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[504] Nearly any text that argues for a correct application of Levitical laws will necessarily address issues pertaining to Jerusalem, the site where the Temple was situated. Among the more notable examples are the Temple Scroll (11Q19), 4QMMT, and CD, all of which deal with activity associated with the Temple system. Such texts also invest a great deal of interest in the sanctity of Jerusalem. Jerome Murphy-O'Connor, "Jerusalem," in Schiffman and VanderKam, *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 402-404.

[505] Ibid.

[506] Ibid. 403.

exile, leaving behind the "Wilderness of the People." This indicates a clear centrality and a

primacy of Jerusalem apart from other cities. Murphy-O'Connor indicates as much with

reference to prohibitions in the Temple Scroll, which mandate against the use of clean animal

skins brought into Jerusalem from other cities.[507] As he observes, in that case, "The standard of

other cities was not adequate for Jerusalem."[508] A similar partiality seems to be indicated in

1QM as well. To that end, the section dealing with the trumpets used in 1QM's battle(s) is

progressively described as moving from assembly, to testimony, to the campaign (which

involved infantry), followed by slaughter, ambush, and pursuit. Finally, in the aftermath of

victory, the inscription on the last set of trumpets applies to the "way of return from battle with

the enemy to enter the congregation in Jerusalem."[509] This final inscription is to read,

"Rejoicings of God in a peaceful return." It represents the crowning effort of victory, and the

reference is to a joyful return to Jerusalem, which further distinguishes the city.

Moreover, the same Levitical requirements mandated by other scrolls are also required in

and around Jerusalem by 1QM. With regard to women and children (those not suited for

warfare), and those with physical limitations that would preclude both fighting and an approach

to the Temple, we are told:

> "No youth nor woman shall enter their encampments from the time they leave
> Jerusalem to go to battle until their return. No one crippled, blind or lame, nor a
> man who has a permanent blemish on his skin, or a man affected with ritual
> uncleanness of his flesh; none of these shall go with them to battle. All of them
> shall be volunteers for battle, pure of spirit and flesh, and prepared for the day of
> vengeance. Any man who is not ritually clean in respect to his genitals on the day
> of battle shall not go down with them into battle, for holy angels are present with
> their army. There shall be a distance between all their camps and the latrine of

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[507] "All skin of clean animals that will be slaughtered within their cities, they shall not bring into it; but in
their cities they may do with them their work for all their needs; and into the city of my temple they shall not bring
(them)…" Temple Scroll, 11Q19 47:7-9.

[508] Jerome Murphy-O'Connor, "Jerusalem," in Schiffman and VanderKam, *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea
Scrolls*, 403.

[509] See 1QM 2:16-3:11.

about two thousand cubits, and no shameful nakedness shall be seen in the environs of all their camps." (1QM 7:3b-7)

In the above section we see several of 1QM's Holy War requirements tied together mostly with respect to conduct in and around Jerusalem and the Temple. The exclusion of women and children reflects the convention of Num 1:44-45, in which men who were twenty years old and above were included in the military census; in 1QM only these men are permitted to enter Jerusalem. The prohibition against physical deformity in the priesthood (Lev 21:18-20), is applied here to military service, as is a restriction on those with infectious skin diseases who are not permitted to enter the Israelite camp (Lev 13:1-46). All those who serve are required to be "volunteer men" (אנשי נדבת), per the guidelines of Deut 20:5-8, wherein several reasons are given for legitimate pardon from normal military duties. The theological reason given for the application of these stringent regulations is the unseen presence of holy angels in the camp. All of this pertains to competing understandings among the various scrolls with regard to boundary lines that encompassed Jerusalem, and the degrees of holiness with regard to acceptable proximity in and around the Temple. We see, for example, the regulation in 1QM 14:2-3, stating that, in the aftermath of victory wherein the armies are to return to Jerusalem to cleanse their garments:

> "In the morning they shall wash their clothes, cleanse themselves of the blood of the sinful bodies, and return to the place where they had stood, where they had formed the battle line before the slain of the enemy fell."

This represents just one of several examples which could be given, of a number of regulations mandated with regard to bodily fluids, in which 1QM, like the other scrolls, struggled to delineate what exactly was permissible, and where.[510]

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[510] Generally speaking, the category of *bodily functions* falls under the heading of *angelic presence*, in the DSS. J. Magness has taken on this issue in several studies. See Magness, *The Archaeology of Qumran and the*

But a mixed *vs* a neutral perspective on Jerusalem is not the primary aspect as it pertains to the depictions found in 1QM and Revelation. While we may contend that John of Patmos harbors a mixed view of Jerusalem, and so do the wider range of DSS scrolls, both of our primary documents display an overt *militancy* with regard to the city being virtually synonymous with Mount Zion. In this sense 1QM is far from neutral, and we would argue, so too is Revelation. Any reference to Jerusalem as Mount Zion cannot be construed as neutral, since the earliest biblical reference to the location by this title is the singularly monumental Davidic conquest of the Canaanite city of Jebuse, an action which follows immediately on the heels of David becoming King of Israel. Whatever mixed feelings about Jerusalem that later individuals may have or have had, the connotation of 'Mount Zion' is tied rhetorically to Jerusalem in a manner that holds echoes up until today. Thus, there is no sense in which a reference to Mount Zion (or Zion alone) may stand as a descriptor of Jerusalem in a context apart from that of military. Both of our primary documents bear this aspect out. Referencing Isa 60:11, 1QM 12:13-14 places Jerusalem and Mount Zion in poetic parallel to each other, while Rev 21:24-25 echoes the same passage from Isaiah with an eye towards the idealized New Jerusalem. For the sake of a clear comparison, we now reproduce these verses alongside one another.

Isaiah 60:11	1QM 12:13-14	Revelation 21:24-26
Your *gates* will be open continually; they will not be closed day or night, so that men may bring to you the wealth of *the nations*, with their *kings* led in procession.	O Zion, rejoice greatly, and shine with joyful songs, O Jerusalem. Rejoice, all you cities of Judah, open your *gate[s]* forever that the wealth of *the nations* might be brought to you, and their *kings* shall serve you.	The nations will walk by its light, and the *kings* of the earth will bring their glory into it. In the daytime (for there will be no night there) its *gates* will never be closed; and they will bring the glory and the honor of *the nations* into it.

Dead Sea Scrolls, 105-113. Also, Jodi Magness, "What's the Poop on Ancient Toilets and Toilet Habits?," *NEA* 75.2 (2012): 80–87.

We can see from the three texts above the common elements of 1) city gates permanently opened; 2) the bounty of the nations brought to Jerusalem/Zion; and 3) the Gentile kings coming to the service and sanctuary of an idealized Jerusalem. It is important to recognize that the parallelization in 1QM of Zion corresponding with Jerusalem, while using the same motifs as Isaiah and which is picked up also by Revelation, clearly indicates the interchangeability between the two names of the city. Zion is Jerusalem. This correspondence is widely recognized by scholars including Murphy-O'Connor.[511] The upshot is that 1QM and Revelation share not only the common idealized motif from Isaiah of the nations and kings bringing their wealth to a permanently opened Jerusalem, but that Revelation, with its single mention of Mount Zion in 14:1, does not shy away from this traditionally militarist reference, even though the endorsement of military activity on the part of John's Apocalypse is debated. Thus, while Revelation presents a Jerusalem both corrupt and then renewed, and 1QM presents a more "neutral" Jerusalem – despite the decidedly polarized love/hate view found among the DSS – both of our primary documents present a *militaristic* and *victorious* Jerusalem by way of reference to Zion, and this particular symbolism does not depend on whether the city was still standing at the time these documents were written. 1QM, clearly penned when the Second Temple was still intact, conceived of Jerusalem as a city invested with the symbolism of Davidic kingship, despite the political and spiritual corruption from which the adherents of the *yaḥad* distanced themselves.[512] Moreover, the instilling of a transcendent and heavenly quality into the

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[511] "A number of texts already quoted suggest that, as in the Bible, Zion, or the daughter of Zion, is a fully interchangeable synonym for Jerusalem." Jerome Murphy-O'Connor, "Jerusalem," in Schiffman and VanderKam, *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 403.

[512] 1QM, it goes without saying, is Davidic, referencing the slaying of Goliath in 11:1-2, which hearkens to 1 Sam 17:45 and Ps 44:6. We see this example of David's own dedication to the ritualistic aspects of Holy War and the required preparatory consecration in the statement that, "Surely women have been kept from us as previously when I set out, and the vessels (i.e. weapons) of the young men were holy, though it was an ordinary journey; how much more then today will their vessels *be holy?*" (1 Sam 21:5). John's Apocalypse is Davidic too, indicating that

city of Jerusalem on the part of Revelation is partly predicated on the above illustrated Isaian influence, which 1QM incorporated centuries prior and applied to its own victorious and militant perception of Jerusalem as well. Thus, as John's Jerusalem (= Mount Zion) is seen transformed into an image of heaven, so 1QM stands as a precedent to this transformation which only occurs in the aftermath of a victorious Holy War.

The focal point of Jerusalem is rhetorically set against the antithesis of Rome in both books. A cleansed or renewed Jerusalem represents the aim of holiness as a result of Holy War, of which Rome is the opposite. If there is any sense in which a geographic dualism may be evident, it is between the poles of these two cities, which are in fact theological entities. Since both of our texts hold to an assurance of final victory, it is significant that 1QM seeks a ground war with Rome, while Revelation depicts an otherworldly war, wherein John's readers/hearers are not called to violence but to witness. This does not mean that Revelation is a non-violent book, but where the approach to Holy War is concerned, Revelation takes a decidedly different tack from the War Scroll.

3.1.5.11   Rome

Rome (Ῥώμη) receives no explicit mention in John's Apocalypse, but it looms extremely large throughout his visionary narrative, [513] and there is no doubt that with regard to the primary antagonists presented in Revelation, no other earthly city or empire receives the same vitriol.[514]

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the various kingly titles ascribed to the Messiah reference the *key*, the *root*, and his *descendancy* from the lineage of David. (Rev 3:7; 5:5; 22:16). As such, David represents both royalty and Holy War in an idealized manner.

[513] Apart from the question of Rev 11:8 noted above, scholars in agreement that the majority of occasions where "the great city" is referenced, it is a referral to Rome. See Rev 16:19; 17:18; 18:10, 16, 18, 19, 21.

[514] Rev 17:9-10 references the seven hills of Rome and seven kings, including an eighth which is described as a beast who will be destroyed.

John veils his invectives in a cypher, as Rome becomes 'Babylon' in Revelation.[515] His use of

Babylon is intended to conjure in the minds of his readers the historical memories of Israelite

humiliation and suffering in exile, as well as the destruction of Jerusalem at the hands of the

Babylonians. The extreme spite leveled at Rome by John is further intensified by the use of

'Babylon,' because it ties Rome to the collective historical memory associated with the

destruction of Jerusalem.[516]

Similarly, the 'Kittim,' is used in place of Rome in the War Scroll.[517] But the Kittim of

1QM is merely a socio-geographical reference to Rome, and hardly more. Granted that the

Kittim and the hordes of Belial are said to be aligned together in battle (1QM 15:2-3), but there

is no explicit indication on the part of the War Scroll that either demonic or otherworldly forces

are said to fight alongside the very ranks of the Kittim military. The Kittim themselves are

represented as a beatable and thoroughly human army, and as 1QM presents it, the end result of

the war effort against them is simply such that "the supremacy of the Kittim shall cease."[518] The

final goal then is the defeat of Rome, and the War Scroll expects this to happen as a natural

consequence of a righteous Holy War. To this end, some scholars, such as M.H. Williams, see

Rome lurking behind nearly every facet of 1QM's political agenda:

> "There seems little doubt that in the War Scroll (1QM), for instance the king of
> the Kittim is the Roman emperor, the Kingdom of Darkness the Roman empire,
> and the host of Belial, which will get its comeuppance in the final battle against
> the sons of light, the legions of Rome."[519]

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[515] Rev 14:8; 16:19; 17:5; 18:2, 10, 21.
[516] Babylon destroyed Jerusalem in 587/6 BCE.
[517] Acknowledging again the possibility that the Kittim may also include the Seleucids, we stay with Rome, since it represents the majority view among scholars, and the comparison is most useful for our purposes. See Timothy H. Lim, "Kittim," in Schiffman and VanderKam, *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 469-471.
[518] 1QM 16:8-9.
[519] See Margaret H. William, "Rome," in Schiffman and VanderKam, *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 787-790.

By these means both of our texts take aim at Rome as the primary focus of their political

hostilities. The question at present then becomes, in light of John's furious depictions of Rome's

destruction at the hands of otherworldly forces, and the subsequent recreation of the world as a

result of that same destruction, how much does *cosmology* play into John's view of Rome over

and against his understanding of its concrete historical background? Moreover, what, if

anything, can be said about this cosmological/historical overlap as it pertains to the War Scroll?

We turn now to these questions.

Unlike some other examples of apocalyptic writing,[520] the cosmological outlook of

Revelation is essentially dualistic. John recognizes the Earth as a battlefield caught between the

dual powers of Heaven and the Abyss. The view of Heaven which John presents is singular and

unified, centered around the Lamb of God, and surrounded by the angelic host.   The Abyss, in

turn, is depicted as a lake of fire, and an "infinite void."[521]   Caught in between these two realms

is the Earth itself, with political concerns that are expressed geographically, but which are

secondary when compared with the larger invisible Holy War being waged between spiritual

forces, and which are further subject to the general fluidity of Revelation's symbolism. We see

through John's cosmology an understanding of Heaven (οὐρανός) as accessible through a door

above,[522] and the Abyss (ἄβυσσος) being located via a shaft into the underworld.[523]   The earthly

political counterparts for these two unseen realms are clearly expressed as Jerusalem and Rome:

Jerusalem corresponds to Heaven as it is ultimately seen recreated, as Rome corresponds to the

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[520] There are a number of related texts which indicate a cosmology encompassing up to as many as seven heavens. Among these are T. Levi 2:6-10, which suggests three heavens; 2 Cor 12:2 in which Paul asserts that an individual was "caught up to the third heaven;" in Apoc. Ab. 19:4 a reference is made to the "seventh firmament;" 2 Enoch references seven heavens (2 En 3:1; 7:1; 8:1; 11:1; 18:1; 19:1; 20:1). For a full discussion see Adela Yarbro Collins, *Cosmology and Eschatology in Jewish and Christian Apocalypticism* (Leiden; Boston; Köln: Brill, 2000), 21-53.
[521] Aune, *Revelation*, 525.
[522] Rev 4:1.
[523] Rev 9:1.

Abyss in Revelation, as it is utterly destroyed.[524] As mentioned, the Earth stands at the center of

this warfare, and consequently the two geographical entities of Jerusalem and Rome provide

support to the metanarrative of God vs Satan.

Complicating the issue considerably is the geographical perspective which John and

many others in antiquity understood, which was often limited in scope with regard to the totality

of what the Earth consists of. Granted that the notion of a spherical earth was not completely

unheard of,[525] nor was ancient mankind nearly so unsophisticated as to be limited only to those

conceptualizations which are associated with the simple vertical directions of Heaven 'above'

and the Abyss 'below.'[526] For we see, as an example, in Rev 7:1 a set of four angels holding

back four winds, which are said to be situated at the four corners of the Earth. This reference to

the four directions of the compass supplements the vertical and horizontal directionality within

the earthly realm, and is made evident in John's Apocalypse.

Even still, the ideas about the Earth in antiquity tended to be limited to one's own

individual experience and to the stories which were told to explain the natural world. And while

many who lived in the vicinity of the Mediterranean would have travelled throughout the region,

the orientation of most people would have been such that the Roman Empire was indeed

understood as dominating the whole world. Indeed, the geographically hemmed-in region

around the Mediterranean Sea was understood by almost all people living within it at the time to

comprise the totality of the known world. This was a result of Rome having achieved something

which no prior empire had, specifically, uniting the entirety of the lands surrounding the

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[524] Rev 18:1-24. With the majority of commentators, this research presumes the destruction of Babylon to refer to Rome. It is difficult to argue convincingly that a second option is more viable. For an overview see Aune, *Revelation*, 958.

[525] The conceptualization of a spherical Earth goes back at least to Pythagoras, in the 6th century BCE, but as the historical record shows, full acceptance of this perspective has taken centuries to establish.

[526] See J.J. Collins, "Is There Mysticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls?" in John J. Collins, Pieter G. R. Villiers, and Adela Yarbro Collins, eds., *Apocalypticism and Mysticism in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity* (Berlin; Boston: Walter de Gruyter GmbH, 2018).

Mediterranean into a single administrative entity. Moreover, due to technological limitations, it

was exceedingly difficult at the time to travel outside of the natural boundaries set by the

Arabian Desert, the Sahara Desert, the Alps, the Zagros Mountains, or any of the other terrains

which formed a natural boundary to contain within it that which we would call the

Mediterranean World. In that sense, the entirety of the known world was construed as being

Roman. Granted also that some shadowy forces were understood to lay beyond the distant

boundaries of Rome's ultimate reach, but those were thought of as vaguely remote lands on the

outer fringes between primal order and chaos.[527] It is from these regions, on the edges of the

seas and deserts, where creatures like the Leviathan and Behemoth were understood to lurk,[528]

and from where the invading demonic armies of the Abyss would come. The enormity of the

outer wilderness represented a psychologically threatening power at a time when there were no

streetlights, or electricity. It is no wonder the Abyss is pictured as a bottomless shaft into

unknown darkness, and that light was associated with goodness and safety.

In effect, John depicts the order of the universe as turning back into chaos, starting with

references to celestial disruption. The opening of sixth seal of Rev 6:12-17 results in the

following imagery:

> "There was a great earthquake; and the sun became black as sackcloth made of
> hair, and the whole moon became like blood; and the stars of the sky fell to the
> earth, as a fig tree casts its unripe figs when shaken by a great wind." (Rev 6:12-
> 17)

The sounding of the fourth trumpet, in Rev 8:12, likewise strikes the sun, moon, and

stars. And while the stars may be associated with angelic and/or demonic beings in

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[527] World maps as late as the Middle Ages depicted apocalyptic iconography on the outer edges between land and sea, and between salvation and condemnation. For a full discussion see Alessandro Scafi, "Mapping the End: The Apocalypse in Medieval Cartography," *Literature and Theology* 26.4 (2012): 400–416.

[528] Behemoth, a creature of the land, appears in Job 40:15-24; Leviathan, a creature of the sea, appears in Job 41:1-34.

Revelation,[529] by the time the chaos has finally been routed from existence, we are told regarding the New Jerusalem (i.e., Heaven), in 21:23, "And the city has no need of the sun or of the moon to shine on it, for the glory of God has illumined it, and its lamp is the Lamb." The process John describes is one of allowing the present created order to be subsumed with the forces of chaos and evil, as a necessary step in the re-ordering of the cosmos towards a state of heavenly perfection. And so that this can take place, it seems, God is shown to *allow* the present order of the cosmos to fall apart by initiating its dissolution and thereby letting the chaos and the evil break into the physical world. Thus, setting aside for the moment questions of literal historical events *vs* the symbolic and mythological, in John's Apocalypse the *dynamic* of Holy War takes places within this releasing of chaos on creation, and in between the blurred geographic boundaries of the known world and the invisible outer realms. The theological assumption behind this is that God sustains all things starting from Gen 1:1, but that once he no longer supports the created order the primordial elements begin to seep back in. It is these unseen hellish forces which are represented by the visible Roman Empire of John's day, and this is indeed the political power that Revelation condemns.

1QM holds to much the same paradigm, but it does not paint nearly so stark a picture of the unseen realm, nor does it reintroduce chaos back into the ordered realm of creation. One has to look more closely for the cosmological sensibilities of the War Scroll, but both Heaven and the Abyss are clearly referenced.[530] And while Jerusalem and Rome are not explicitly held up as models of order and encroaching chaos by the War Scroll, both cities are representative of these

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[529] In Rev 8:11 there is a star which is named Wormwood, which accompanies a plague from the third trumpet, which poisons a third of the Earth's water. In Rev 9:1 an unnamed star is given a key to the shaft of the Abyss, and the star (presumably an angel) opens the shaft to unleash locust-like demonic creatures. In both cases the star acts as an angelic figure.

[530] 1QM 10:8-9 asks rhetorically, "Who is like You, O God of Israel, in he[av]en and on earth, that he can perform in accordance with Your great works, and Your great strength?" Also, Belial is said in 1QM 13:11 to be made for the "pit," (שחת).

forces, as seen in the centrality of Jerusalem in 1QM's Holy War, and in the consignment of

Belial to the pit.[531] As Belial is condemned, so are his hordes, i.e., the Kittim/Rome.

Based on the geopolitical realities just reviewed and the interaction between our texts

with geography, it can be stated with relative certainty that the same grasp on the Mediterranean

World as constituting the totality of the *known* world underpins both of our documents. Positing

as much, one would have to assume that both John and the *yaḥad* also retained some awareness

of the major events which preceded their own writings by over a century prior. Given also the

lengthy historical memory of the Jewish people as it was sustained by a written culture handed

down for centuries, the formation of the Roman Empire may have been as familiar to our writers

as the earlier Hasmonean revolution most certainly was. While the recovery of Jerusalem had

been memorialized in the Maccabean literature, the loss of the same at the hands of Rome would

have served as an antitype in the minds of many Second Temple Jews, including our writers.

This explains the rhetorical hostility towards Rome, and while the concerns of both John and

1QM are ultimately fixed on divine help from outside the physical world the Holy Wars of each

must necessarily be waged in the context of the actual geopolitical Roman Empire. For this

reason, the chaos of the netherworld is useful and necessary to illustrate John's eschatological

Holy War, just as a more muted version of the same is needed by 1QM. Both texts deal with a

Holy War that is waged against unseen demonic forces which animate earthly political powers,

although the War Scroll indicates a proxy battle against those forces by way of earthly military

action.

Moreover, Rome had become the most indomitable power in recorded history, with no

real rival.[532] This makes John's chosen cypher, Babylon, all the more appropriate, as the earliest

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[531] 1QM 13:11.
[532] Apart, perhaps from the Parthians. See excursus in Aune, *Revelation*, 891-894.

biblical reference to Babylon is associated with the famous postdiluvian wisdom narrative which deals with the human impulse to rule and control the world from a single location.[533] From John's perspective, and perhaps from 1QM's as well, Rome had accomplished what Babylon had failed to in the Tower of Babel narrative, and the later destruction of the First Temple by the Babylonians (587/6 BCE) readily conjured similar images of the destruction of the Second Temple by Rome (70 CE). In other words, where the would-be kings of the earth had failed in the Genesis story of the Tower of Babel, Rome had succeeded;[534] and where Jerusalem had rebuilt and survived the Babylonian destruction of the First Temple, the new 'Babylon' (i.e., Rome) had succeeded in destroying the Second.

Furthermore, if John, or the *yaḥad*, had even an inkling of the history of Rome – for example, an awareness of the Battle of Actium in 31 BCE, which not long prior had cemented the final annexation of Egypt into the Roman Empire – then it reinforces the notion that our documents are contending with what they both perceive to be a political power that has literally conquered the entire earth.[535] As a result of the limits to their geographic knowledge, combined with their overlapping cosmological perspectives, and some grasp on the monolithic nature of the Roman Empire, these factors would have been sufficient to place Rome in the crosshairs of any theological Holy War which might be waged. Moreover, the aspect of utter dominance on the part of Rome over the known world would have been instrumental in seeing any Holy War

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[533] The first biblical reference to Babylon is Gen 10:10, among the descendants of Ham. Following this, Gen 11:1-9 relays the Tower of Babel story. Regarding the initial mention of the city, Sarna comments, "The famous city on the River Euphrates, about 50 miles (80 km.) south of modern Baghdad, Iraq. The oldest Sumerian name for the city was ka-dingir-ra, which was understood to mean 'the gate of God.' It was translated into Akkadian as bab-il. According to Enuma Elish, the Mesopotamian creation epic, the gods themselves built the temple there for the god Marduk at the beginning of time. The choice of Babylon to head the list of cities here is most likely determined by the next episode, in chapter 11." Sarna, *Genesis*.

[534] As Revelation uses Babylon in 14:8; 16:19; 17:5; 18:2, 10, 21; 1QM references the distinction of languages in 10:14.

[535] Even the fall of the Roman Republic in 27 BCE, if it had been known to either John or the *yaḥad*, might have signaled an ominous sense of political threat to any dissenters of the time. Such an awareness is entirely feasible, as the Maccabean revolt saw an alliance between the Hasmonean rulers and Rome as early as 161 BCE, which indicates an awareness of Rome at the very least on the part of most Jews.

against such a power as having eschatological implications. After all, when a single powerful entity is perceived as ruling the entire Earth, there is no place left to run away from it.

We have already set Rome against the backdrop of Jerusalem, rhetorically speaking, but it serves us to underscore the way in which Rome's dominance throughout the Mediterranean world would have lent a sense of urgency to their defeat, in the eyes of both 1QM and Revelation. By pointing to Rome as the primary political force ruling the earth which poses a threat to the people of God, both our texts make the case that the empire, and the powers animating it, must necessarily be defeated.

3.1.5.12   The Earth

While the Roman Empire was understood to encompass the known Mediterranean World, the Earth in Revelation does not correspond entirely with Rome. John makes reference to the Earth or 'earth' (γῆ) eighty-two times in his narrative, and the Earth plays an active role in the drama. There is no question that the cosmic battlefield where the forces of God and Satan wage their war is located on the Earth. As a result, those people who are identified as ultimately being "of the earth," are doomed to destruction, since the Earth itself is undergoing judgment as well as transformation by way of God's wrath, which unleashes chaos into the created order. In contrast, those who are depicted in Heaven are preserved and protected. So, the Earth and the created order suffer destruction, as does Rome, but Babylon/Rome is depicted as being utterly ruined, while the Earth is ultimately rescued and recreated. Thus, there is some overlap between Rome (i.e., the known world), and the Earth, because Rome is understood to rule the Earth, but the relationship is not mutually dependent. In the end, the Earth is capable of existence quite apart from Rome.

Furthermore, in Revelation the Earth is constantly seen as the locale of God's wrath, and the subject of his ruling authority. In Rev 3:10, the church at Philadelphia is promised that they will be kept from the hour of testing, "which is about to come upon the whole world, to test *those who dwell on the earth*," (emphasis added). In Rev 8:13 an eagle is depicted flying through mid-heaven, and crying out condemnation and woe to those who dwell *on the earth*. In Rev 11:10 there is a depiction of two witnesses who are said to prophesy in the streets of the city where the Lord was killed. These two are conquered by the beast and themselves killed, and as they lie dead in the street, we are told those who "dwell on the earth," will gloat, rejoice, celebrate, and give gifts to one another. However, the same crowd are seen struck with terror in Rev 11:11, when the two witnesses come back to life again. In the same vein, Rev 13:8 tells us directly that all the inhabitants *of the earth* will worship the beast. And in Rev 17:8, all the inhabitants of the earth whose names are not written in the Book of Life are said to stand amazed and astounded at the beast. Beyond this, Jesus is called in Rev 1:5, "the ruler of the kings *of the earth*," (emphasis added). And in Rev 6:10 the plea on the part of those who are under the altar is for vengeance, asking, "How long, O Lord, holy and true, will You refrain from judging and avenging our blood on those who dwell *on the earth*?" (emphasis added).

At the same time, the Earth itself is seen as a victim of corruption and violence, as the twenty-four elders recite praise to God for his impending judgment on those who destroy the Earth:

> "And the nations were enraged, and your wrath came, and the time came for the dead to be judged, and the time to reward your bond-servants the prophets and the saints and those who fear your name, the small and the great, and to destroy those who destroy the earth." (Rev 11:18)

As mentioned, the Earth is also an active participant in the drama, as seen in Rev 12, where the dragon is cast down from Heaven to Earth (by Michael), and in a fit of rage gives

pursuit to the woman with her newborn child (the Christ). We are told in Rev 12:12 that Heaven

rejoiced, but "Woe to the earth and the sea, because the devil has come down to you, having

great wrath, knowing that he has only a short time." Moreover, we are told in Rev 12:13, that

the dragon/devil then took notice of his predicament, and, "when the dragon saw that he was

thrown down to the earth, he persecuted the woman who gave birth to the male child." Rev

12:16 then relates, "But the earth *helped the woman*, and the earth opened its mouth and drank

up the river which the dragon poured out of his mouth," (emphasis added). In this way the

anthropomorphized Earth plays a role in the Holy War of Revelation.

All of this underscores the more complex perception John applies to the Earth when

compared to that of Rome. Rome's role in the Apocalypse is singularly antagonistic with no

possibility of redemption; Rome becomes the earthly extension of the object of God's wrath.

The Earth, in contrast, is a victim suffering under the rule of the dragon and under the abuse of

Rome, and so it may be redeemed through a transformative recreation that is analogous to the

same as it pertains to Jerusalem over and against the New Jerusalem. In the end, Heaven wins

out over the Abyss in the same way that Jerusalem wins out over Rome; and the Earth, once

ruled by Rome, is subsumed by the New (Edenic) Jerusalem.

As the cosmology of Revelation is such that Rome is intrinsically tied to the Abyss and to

the judgment of the Earth, while Jerusalem is associated with Heaven, the War Scroll reflects the

same two-tiered cosmology. This can be seen in references directed at the Earth and to Heaven.

The sense that the Earth will be fully subdued as a result of the Holy War is reflected in 1QM

1:8, "Then [the Sons of Rig]hteousness shall shine to *all ends of the world* (תבל), continuing to

shine forth until the end of the appointed seasons of darkness," (emphasis added). More

restrictively, in terms of a global understanding, preparation for the war of 1QM involves the

selection of leaders comprised of all the heads of the father's households of the congregation, who are instructed to, "choose for themselves men of war for all the lands *of the nations*," (1QM 2:7; emphasis added).

More expansively, to include both Heaven and the Earth, 1QM 10:8, echoing Exod 15:11, the earliest known biblical war text, asks rhetorically, "Who is like You, O God of Israel, *in h[eave]n and on earth*," (emphasis added). Another fragmented section of 1QM 12:5 alludes to, "…the earthly adversaries by trial with Your judgements. With the elect of heaven [they] shall prev[ail]." Finally, there is a petition directed towards a figure described as the Hero of War (גבור המלהמה), whose presence allows for the cavalry of the Sons of Light to be like, "the clouds and as the mist *covering the earth*," (1QM 12:9; emphasis added).

Beyond these references to Heaven and Earth, an equivalent to the Abyss is referenced in 1QM 13:10-11, which declares, "You made Belial for the pit (שחת), an angel of malevolence."[536] Another possible example is found in an unfortunately very fragmented section at the bottom of Col. 14. The scholarly suggestion on the part of Abegg, Wise, and Cook, renders the filled-in text as follows:

> Rise up, rise up, O God of gods, and raise Yourself in power, [O King of Kings…] let all the Sons of Darkness [scatter from before You.] Let the light of Your majesty sh[ine forever upon gods and men, as a fire burning in the dark places of the damned]. Let it burn [the damned of Sh]eol, as an [eternal] burning [among the transgressors…in all the appointed times of eternity]
>
> (1QM 14:16-18)

The lacunae in this text being as extensive as it is, the suppositions on the part of the translators represent a noble attempt at a near impossible task. Nevertheless, the possible (but

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[536] The term שחת implies destruction and corruption, not a bottomless shaft, as in the ἄβυσσος of Rev 10:7; 9:11; 11:7; 17:8; 20:1, 3.

questionable) combination of burning (שרפ) with Sheol is intriguing as it pertains to a cosmological understanding of the underworld.

Far more conclusively, in the War Scroll the encouragement at the final battle is offered by the High Priest to the armies on the basis that, with regard to the enemy, "their end is emptiness and their desire is for the void (בהו)," (1QM 17:4). This example directly references the primordial chaos (*bhw*) of Gen 1:2, over which God imposed the created order, as the term appears there, and likewise appears in Is 34:11 and Jer 4:23, always with reference to primordial chaos, wastelands, and the void. In this instance in particular we see the enemies of God in 1QM as directly associated with the same conception of the underworld that appears in Revelation. But even still, resurrection is held out as a hope in 1QM 14:14, "Your wondrous mysteries are in [Your] high heavens, to [raise u]p those for Yourself from the dust."

Thus, the cosmology of 1QM corresponds with that of Revelation, in that it is two-tiered, with the Earth as the battlefield. Unlike Revelation there is no indication of overlap between specific cities and the otherworldly realms.[537] The geographical symbolism of 1QM stops at the Euphrates River, which seems to represent in both texts the outer boundaries, beyond which chaos threatens to break in. The global view of both documents holds to a sense in which the outer world is untamed and menacing, requiring a Holy War to subdue those dangerous far off regions.

Rhetorically speaking, what John's Apocalypse seems to argue is that its cosmology constitutes the correct understanding of the universe, and that the ruling party on the Earth does not represent what will become the final victor of the war. Knowledge of which physical location represents its corresponding unseen realm coupled with an insight as to what powers lie

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[537] In point of fact, John uses an implied Jerusalem ("the beloved city") in Rev 20:9, as the staging point for the final earth-bound activity, which he depicts as being the last Holy War. This concluding depiction is described immediately prior to the total re-creation of the heavens and earth (cf. Rev 20:11; 21:1).

behind the animation of those political forces contending for the Earth is key to aligning one's self with the side that will ultimately be victorious in the Holy War. In the case of 1QM, the argument is essentially the same: The Sons of Light will inevitably win the contested territory, and the Sons of Darkness will be destroyed. Knowing which powers will represent the prevailing side would enable one to choose wisely once the future war has begun.

3.1.6 Angelology

The understanding of ancient mankind was that the heavens were filled with angels. Being more acquainted with the features of the starry skies than moderns are under the brightness of city lights, people of antiquity had the time and the curiosity to gaze into the skies and envision the angelic host. For this reason, angels and stars naturally became associated with one another.[538]

The Hebrew concept of the heavenly 'host,' comes from the term (צבא). When the term appears in the Bible it is applied to both stars and angels. Deut 4:17 and 17:3 warn against bowing down to the heavenly host, which are specifically referred to as the sun, moon, and stars. But when the otherwise unnamed captain of the Lord's host appears to Joshua prior to his entry into the Promised Land, he tells Joshua (in a scene reminiscent of the burning bush of Exod 3), to remove his sandals, because the ground in the presence of this angelic figure is considered to be holy.[539] In a dialog between Ahab and Micaiah found in 1 Kgs 22:19 is a reference to a heavenly council in the presence of God, with the implication that the figures described as the host of heaven "standing by Him on His right and on His left," are intended to be understood as angelic

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[538] Cf. Rev 1:20; 8:11; 9:1; 12:4;
[539] Josh 5:14-15.

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figures.[540] Thus, the concept of the *host* of heaven clearly ties the stars to angelic figures.

Moreover, time and again the charge of idolatry is leveled against the Israelites for worshipping

the heavenly host, which implies an adoration of the stars, and the angelic figures associated with

them.[541]

The term *host* also carries with it a military connotation. Not only were the angels

understood to be multitudinous, but they are seen in ranks. In a narrative in 2 Kgs 6:17, a servant

of Elisha recognizes the city Dothan as being surrounded by horses and chariots. In fear he

informs Elisha, who prays that the servant would have his 'eyes opened' (a metaphor for spiritual

eyesight). When the miracle occurs, the servant is said to have seen armies of fiery chariots and

horsemen, the implication being that invisible angelic forces had surrounded the earthly armies.

This convention is also referred to in Matt 26:52-53, when prior to his arrest Jesus tells Peter,

"Put your sword back into its place; for all those who take up the sword shall perish by the

sword. Or do you think that I cannot appeal to My Father, and He will at once put at My

disposal more than twelve legions of angels?" The implication being, that heavenly armies (in

the form of angels) are vastly superior to earthly military. Quite often God is referred to as the

"Lord of hosts" or the "Lord God of hosts" (יהוה צבאות),[542] with the connotation that the God of

the Bible is powerful in a conquering way. For this reason, יהוה צבאות is often rendered by

translators as Lord Almighty.

As the angelology of the Israelites developed, so too did the roles of angels themselves.

From being present in the heavenly council, to guiding the children of Israel through the

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[540] Cf. 2 Chron 18:18.
[541] Cf. 2 Kgs 17:16; 21:3, 5; 2 Chron 33:3, 5; Jer 8:2; 19:13.
[542] Cf. 1 Sam 1:3, 11; 2 Sam 5:10; 1 Chr. 11:9; Ps 24:10; Isa 1:9; Jer 8:3; Hos 12:5; Amos 3:13; Mic 4:4; Nah 2:13; Hab 2:13; Zeph 2:9; Hag 1:2; Zech 1:3; Mal 1:4.

wilderness,[543] eventually they are seen as assigned to superintend specific territories. This appears first in Daniel 10:13, where an angelic figure (possibly Gabriel), almost apologetically describes having been detained for the reason that, "the prince of the kingdom of Persia was withstanding me for twenty-one days; then behold, Michael, one of the chief princes, came to help me, for I had been left there with the kings of Persia." This is followed by an assertion on the part of the angel that he will return to the fight against the prince of Persia, and the prince of Greece will be a participant in that fight. The implication here is that certain angelic figures who are not aligned with the armies of God preside over specific localities, such as Persia and Greece. This convention appears also in Rev 2-3, with the addresses to the seven churches being directed at the, "angels of…" each respective church. In Rev 8:2, John references, "the seven angels who stand before God," which seems to imply a specific heavenly council which his readers would have been familiar with.[544]

Angels are named for the first time in Daniel, and so the angelic figures of Gabriel (Dan 8:16; 9:21), and Michael (Dan 10:13, 21: 12:1) represent a development beyond the unnamed heavenly council. Daniel is the only book in the Hebrew Scripture that names angels, and the convention is picked up by both of our primary texts. Its origins may be traced to Babylonian influence on Enochic literature,[545] but there is also evidence of angelic development in the Hebrew Scriptures, as seen in the character of Satan. The figure of Satan appears impersonally as "*the* satan/accuser/adversary" (השטן) in Job, and is given dialog in the narrative.[546] We then find in 1 Chron 21:1 the removal of the articular, so that Satan (שטן) appears as a named figure. In this instance David takes a military census of the Israelites and is said to have been incited by

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[543] Cf. Exod 23:20.
[544] Aune, *Revelation*, 509.
[545] See article by Joshua Gutmann, "Angels and Angelology," in *Encyclopedia Judaica*, 962-966.
[546] Job 1:6, 7, 8, 9, 12; 2:1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7.

the figure of Satan. Then again, in Zech 3:1-2, "the Satan" appears to accuse Joshua the High

Priest. In this instance Joshua is pictured as standing before the angel of the Lord, who is

presumably playing the role of an advocate, while the Satan figure is shown "standing at his right

hand to accuse him." One must assume that the accuser/adversary character is pictured here at

the right hand of God, or that he is standing at the right hand of Joshua. The former is more

likely, which indicates a prominent position in the angelic hierarchy. This comports with our

analogous understanding of Belial in 1QM, who is shown to be a created being, who leads

rebellious armies, but is destined for destruction.[547]

What we see in the angelology of 1QM is an Enochic influence and a Danielic influence.

The angelic names listed in the War Scroll are Michael, Gabriel, Sariel, and Raphael.[548] Each of

these names identify the angels with God: Michael (מיכאל) means *Who is like God*; Gabriel

(גבריאל) means *Warrior of God*, Sariel (שריאל) means *Prince of God*, and Raphael (רפאל) means

God heals. Among these, we can see that Michael and Gabriel appear in both Daniel and 1QM.

As Daniel is the only biblical book to name certain angels, one can surmise that 1QM has lifted

these names from the Danielic narrative. The others, Sariel and Raphael, appear in 1 Enoch as

well, but in Enoch there are seven named angels which aligns with John's heptadic imagery in

Rev 2-3, and 8:2.[549] The figure of Sariel appears in 1 En 6:8, among the list of rebellious angels,

and in 8:3 he appears leading humanity astray by teaching the lunar cycles. This sets the

character against type as he appears in 1QM since the angels of the War Scroll are apparently

aligned with God by dint of having their names adorn the shields of the towers, and this brings

up the question as to where the inspiration came from on the part of 1QM to use the name Sariel,

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[547] Cf. 1QM 1:1, 5, 13, 4:2; 11:8; 13:2, 4, 10, 11; 14:9; 15:3; 18:1, 3.
[548] 1QM 9:15-16.
[549] In 1 En 20:1-8, the names of the seven holy angels are given as Uriel, Raphael, Raguel, Michael, Saraquel, Gabriel, and Remiel. These may be the characters John refers to in Rev 8:2.

as it does not appear in the Bible, and in 1 Enoch it appears attached to a villain. Granted that

Sariel, meaning *Prince of God*, lends itself to an alignment with God, and it may be the case that,

perhaps, in its zeal to account for the many fallen angels in the universe the over-use of names on

the part of 1 Enoch has gone against type in this case.

The figure of Raphael appears in 1 Enoch frequently.[550] In the first instance (1 En 9:1),

he appears in a set of four angels (Michael, Uriel, Raphael, and Gabriel), which may correspond

to the convention of 1QM, although the name Sariel is in the place of Uriel in the War Scroll.

Raphael has a speaking role in 1 Enoch, and is presumed to have the power to overcome Azazel,

who is the angel that leads the rebellion. Azazel corresponds with Satan and Belial. In 1 En

10:4-9, God tells Raphael to bind Azazel, dig a pit in the desert, and throw the rebellious angel

into it.[551] The reason for the punishment being that Azazel and his Watchers (the rebellious

angels), have corrupted humanity by mating with human women, and by disclosing knowledge

which is forbidden. In light of this verdict, it is perhaps understandable that the *yaḥad* eventually

lost interest in Enochic literature, since the sensibility of 1QM is that technology is a means to an

end, and without it a Holy War could not be waged appropriately.[552]

What we see, then, is a progression on the part of the angels from anonymity, to

prominence in heavenly councils, to having specific names and character traits. In time people

became more familiar with the angels, as 1QM 10:5-6 alludes to those who "see the holy

angels." Ultimately the angels are at war with one another, and the ones aligned with God will

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[550] Cf. 1 En 9:1; 10:4; 20:3; 22:3, 5; 32:6.

[551] This punishment may reflect an ancient form of torture, isolation, execution, or quarantine in the most barren deserts, wherein the victim would be flung into a natural geological hole in the ground, or into a hollowed-out dungeon dug in the earth. Such chambers of punishment would continue to be developed over the course of history and be found in palace oubliettes, as well as prison camps.

[552] We see in 1 En 8:1 the angelic character Azazel teaching the people among other things, "(the art) of making swords and knives, and shields, and breastplates." All of these would have been necessary to wage the war envisioned by 1QM. Clearly the 'forbidden knowledge' of the Watchers lead to the arrogance of humanity, but the constituent elements of such hubris included weaponry, alchemy, jewelry, and facial make-up, all combined with incantations, astrology, and adultery.

prevail, while the rebellious angels will be consigned to the Abyss. This is in fact the fate of

Belial in 1QM, and of Satan in Revelation. But while Belial never appears as an active character

with a role to play in the War Scroll, Satan plays a key role in John's Apocalypse, in that

Michael – the only named angel in Revelation, who appears also in Daniel and 1QM – fights

against Satan, and wins. In Rev 12:7-9 we are told in a direct reference to warfare:

> "And there was war in heaven. Michael and his angels fought against the dragon,
> and the dragon and his angels fought back. But he was not strong enough, and
> they lost their place in heaven. The great dragon was hurled down—that ancient
> serpent called the devil, or Satan, who leads the whole world astray. He was
> hurled to the earth, and his angels with him." (Rev 12:7-9)

The parallel between Raphael binding Azazel, and Michael fighting Satan is quite clear.

In both cases, the angelic schism which occurs in heaven sets up the primary antagonistic

character to deceive the world, and thereby induce his own condemnation and destruction at the

hands of his former peers.

By these references we can see that the angelology of Enoch and Daniel is related to that

of 1QM and Revelation. The character of Michael, again the only named angel appearing in

Revelation, also comes with a background story that makes his overpowering of Satan appear to

be credible. As mentioned, Michael appears in Daniel as a character who fights against the kings

of Persia and Greece. Michael is also mentioned in Dan 12:1, in an eschatological reference to

his return during a final, "*time of distress* (עת צרה) such as has not happened from the beginning

of nations until then," (emphasis added). This concept of a *time of distress* becomes thematic in

Revelation as the tribulation (θλῖψις), and the same Hebrew phraseology is echoed directly by

1QM 1:11-12, "It is a *time of distress* fo[r al]l the people who are redeemed by God. In all their

afflictions none exists that is like it, hastening to its completion as an eternal redemption."[553]

Michael also appears in the cryptic passage of Jude 1:9, which references the archangel disputing with the devil over the body of Moses. What we see then, in Michael, is a figure which John of Patmos viewed to be a primary warring angel, and hence worth naming. There is no reason to conclude other angels could not also have been named in John's Apocalypse, as he doubtlessly would have had awareness of several others, but as Michael appears in so many such contexts, the character seems like the logical choice to represent warfare. The other Danielic figure, Gabriel, appears once again in Luke 1:19, 26, to announce the birth of Christ. It appears the angelic figures filled certain roles which were fitting to their individual character traits.

In both of our texts the angels are emblematic of the final eschatological Holy War. The most significant difference between the angelology of 1QM and Revelation is seen in the way the two texts incorporate their angels. As noted, John shows Michael at the head of an army in direct combat with Satan. 1QM's angels are inscribed on the weaponry. But that doesn't mean the War Scroll assumes the war is to be fought apart from angelic support. 1QM 12:8 says, "The heroes of the army of his angels are enlisted with us."[554] Human affairs in both texts are understood to be extensions of otherworldly events, including wars.

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[553] This same phrasing and the vocabulary used by Revelation is also incorporated into Matthew's Gospel, in an apocalyptic section. "For then there will be a great tribulation (θλῖψις), such as has not occurred since the beginning of the world until now, nor ever will." (Matt 24:21).

[554] García Martínez translation.

4.   Descriptions of the Holy War: A Systematic Comparative Reading Part 3

4.1   1QM 2-9 Part 2: Rules for the War of Divisions

If we compare the military depictions of 1QM to John's Apocalypse we can recognize a similar approach to Holy War that renders the motif in an artistic literary manner. In John's case the war is both political and otherworldly. His commentary on the evils of the Roman Empire is cloaked in fantastic imagery which is a combination of Hebrew Scriptural references and aspects of life under Rome at the turn of the era. John artfully blends these together in a way that intensifies the constituent elements he draws from, but he does not describe the marshaling of troops the way 1QM does. Rather, his militaristic references are always overtly symbolic, whether they refer to the 144,000 standing with the Lamb on Mount Zion (Rev 14:1), or to demonic figures riding up like cavalry out of the Abyss (Rev 9:7). As this is the case, John's referents are normally to be found either in the Hebrew Scriptures, or in cultural aspects of the wider Greco-Roman world. Conversely, it has been clearly demonstrated by Yadin that the military descriptions in 1QM were in large part based on the presence and the movements of the Roman army in the Jordan river valley.[555]

In the following section we shift our focus towards the roll-out of the military in 1QM, and its movements in battle. While the dominant school of thought holds that the author of the War Scroll drew inspiration from the actual presence and movements of the Roman military, the present study seeks to compare the ideology, the literary motif, and the institution of Holy War as it presents itself in our two primary documents. Consequently, the historical underpinnings of

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[555] Nearly every facet of the military descriptions in 1QM can be shown to have direct correspondence to aspects of the contemporary Roman military. Yadin, *The Scroll of the War*.

columns 2 through 9 will be distinguished from the artistic descriptions used by the author of

1QM, which will be followed by a comparison with those war references found in Revelation.[556]

4.1.1   Ekphrasis in 1QM

Given the comparative rhetorical approach we are presently employing, this section will

depend more heavily on the analysis of literary artistry than on artifactual descriptions, as found

in the case of Yadin's seminal commentary. This is appropriate and helpful to our comparison,

since John of Patmos describes otherworldly powers at war, while 1QM describes an idealized

portrait of a victorious Judean army – both are highly imaginative in nature. Moreover, both

texts are extensive in their descriptions, and, as is most apparent, they each employ the motif of

Holy War. Thus, while the two texts fall into dissimilar categories in terms of literary genre, we

would suggest that the descriptive and artistic rhetorical tool of *ekphrasis* is employed by both in

a complimentary manner, and serves as a bridge for the ultimate comparison of their respective

theologies.

Ekphrasis, a cognate from the Greek ἔκφρασις, literally means to *speak forth*. In the

classical literary sense this entails a description, which is intended to paint a mental picture in the

mind of the reader/hearer. Harmon and Holman define *ekphrasis* in literature as, "reference to

the representation of an artwork of any kind in a literary work, such as a poem or string quartet

inside a novel, but usually restricted to the representation of the visual or graphic work inside a

literary work." Such an *ekphrasis*, "may be a painting, statue, tapestry, window, shield, urn, or

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[556] Among the explicit battle descriptions are Rev 11:7; 12:7-8; 17:14; 19:19-20; 20:9. But our scope will include the mention of items of war, as well as plagues as weapons. The motif of Holy War is not limited simply to conventional warfare references but these must be set at the forefront of our comparison.

other such potentially representational artifact."[557] This definition of *ekphrasis* is helpfully

simplified to its bare essentials, in particular because both Aune and Whitaker have identified

instances of *ekphrasis* in John's Apocalypse, but with slightly different yet overlapping

definitions.

In essence, Aune defines *ekphrasis* as a literary genre intended to describe an artifact for

rhetorical purposes. He suggests that a limitation to describing only works of art is overly

restrictive, since wider definitions do include a range of other subjects.[558] He characterizes

ekphrasis as usually constituting a digression within literature, which may be either lengthy or

abbreviated, and has as its aim the vividness of the description. One prime example he focuses

on is Rev 17:1-18. In this example a static image of a woman on a scarlet beast is described,

with no action accompanying the description apart from the explanation of its meaning on the

part of the interpreting angel who explains to John what he is seeing. Aune cites this as a

particularly iconic example of *ekphrasis* because the imagery described seems clearly referential

to certain coinage depicting Dea Roma seated on the seven hills of Rome. This imagery, Aune

suggests, was likely based on a larger piece of artwork which served as propaganda for

Vespasian.[559] The salient point for our purposes is that Aune's definition of *ekphrasis* depends

very heavily on static imagery. The depiction of the woman sitting on the beast is described in

Revelation almost as if it were a still photograph.

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[557] William Harmon and C. Hugh Holman, *A Handbook to Literature: Seventh Edition* (Upper Saddle River, NH: Prentice Hall, 1996).

[558] Here Aune lists, "persons, circumstances, places, periods of time, customs, festivals, and assemblies, as well as statues and paintings." David E. Aune, *The Westminster Dictionary of New Testament and Early Christian Literature and Rhetoric* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 2010), 144.

[559] Aune, *Revelation*, 919-928.

Whitaker, taking issue with this narrower definition, notes that Aune's characterization of the imagery in Rev 17 as an *ekphrasis* is indeed based on the static nature of the subject.[560] But, she counters, this is a "confusion between subject and effect."[561] *Ekphrasis*, she argues at length, is defined by several categories including ἐνάργεια (vividness), σαφήνεια (clarity), λέξις (style), and verisimilitude. In short, the ekphrastic composition must conjure up clear imagery in the mind of the reader/hearer, using a technique or style that is well suited to the subject, and is conveyed in ways that are believable and accessible to the hearer/reader. The full scope of *ekphrasis*, therefore, goes beyond static imagery.[562]

Noting that vividness is the common element in the definitions employed by Aune and Whitaker, our approach necessarily aligns with that of Whitaker, but we would also cite the support from Aune's own definition, which, we would argue, coincides directly with the material we are now considering. Says Aune:

> "Despite the fact that ekphraseis occur less frequently in the OT than in early or nearly contemporaneous Greek literature, the OT does contain detailed descriptions of the temple at Jerusalem (1 Kgs. 6:14-36; 7:15-50) and Solomon's palace (1 Kgs. 7:2-12)."[563]

As we will see, the descriptions of the military formations in 1QM are indeed derived from the Roman military (per Yadin), but they are described in terms that materialize the Temple. The author of 1QM is indeed familiar with the details of military substance, but he couches these in ways that are intended to be engaging. We begin by looking at the trumpets and then banners of 1QM, followed by the weaponry.

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[560] Ibid. Says Aune, "It does not consist of any movement or action but rather has the character of a *tableau*."

[561] Robyn J. Whitaker, *Ekphrasis, Vision, and Persuasion in the Book of Revelation* (Tübingen, Germany: Mohr Siebeck, 2015), 165.

[562] Ibid. Whitaker gives several supporting examples of this, one such being the classic example of the Shield of Achilles (*Il.* 18.478-615), which is not described in static terms.

[563] Aune, *The Westminster Dictionary of New Testament and Early Christian Literature and Rhetoric*, 144.

Yadin notes that the use of trumpets in 1QM is twofold: 1) as a means for signaling military movements during battle; 2) for emphasizing the religious aspect of the war.[564] In the War Scroll it is the second use which is most important. This is borne out by the inscriptions on the trumpets themselves. The special use of the trumpets as an alarm or signal (תרועה), is indicated by the heading at 1QM 2:16, which is rendered by translators as, "[The Rule of the Trumpets; the trumpets] of alarm (תרועה) for their service…" Although there are a total of thirteen different types of trumpets listed, these are all, practically speaking, trumpets used for signaling.

We must also note the tones described, which is an expansion from the instructions of Num 10:1-10, wherein a distinction is made between assembly and alarm, but beyond this there is no nuance given to these variations. In response, 1QM takes this up and provides a litany of tones recognizable by their musicality. The mere fact that there are so many specific trumpets in the War Scroll intended to direct assembly, pursuit, revenge, ambush, retreat, and return (to name only a few), indicates a variety of sounds which a supposed army on a battlefield would be able to differentiate. Beyond this, the actual engagement itself is conducted – in the musical sense – by the tonality of the trumpet blasts. We see in 1QM 8:1-9:1, that upon *assembly*, a continual droning is said to accompany the duration of the initial light attacks (8:1), launched by those using slings; this is followed by the trumpets of *return* which signal the movement of the slingmen to the rear (8:2). The trumpets of *assembly* are then blown a second time (8:3), signaling the infantry, who are to position themselves on either side of the cavalry. The next round of battle is signaled by a "level note," (קול מרודד ידי) which indicates a more subdued sound (8:5). After these have moved into position, we are told, the sounding of the trumpets for the *advance* is to be a low sustained or legato note, (קול נוח וסמוך ידי), followed by a "sharp staccato

[564] Yadin, *The Scroll of the War*, 113.

note" on the trumpets of the *slain* to direct the battle (8:7-9). At this point all the Levites and people with ram's horns are instructed to blow as well. The result is a sharp staccato blast accompanied by the alarm signal of the ram's horns intended to strike fear and melt the hearts of the enemies (8:10).

At this point we must interject with the observation of Yadin, who makes a differentiation between the ram's horns and the silver trumpets. He suggests that the trumpets had become the sole responsibility of the priests, whereas the Levites and others made use of traditional ram's horns. This allowed for the coordination of both together, to the effect that the priests could send signals while those holding the ram's horns remained quiet at certain points (as in 1QM 8:11-12), ultimately to unite in a sudden "great battle alarm together in order to melt the heart of the enemy," (8:10). This use of *silence*, Yadin notes, followed by a startling blast was intended to achieve the "psychological effect as described in the conquest of Jericho."[565] In concurrence with this observation, once again, we can see the conquest of Jericho as the primary historical influence which shapes the Holy War sensibilities of the War Scroll. Classical Israelite Holy War found no more paradigmatic example to draw from than the fall of Jericho, and the *yaḥad*, situated so closely to the historical location of Jericho, as well as being in 'exile' awaiting their return to Jerusalem, could not have helped but draw from this source above nearly all others.

During the silence of the ram's horns, the priests are directed to blow continual staccato notes (8:12), which direct the progress of the battle. There are to be seven rounds of attack with various weapons, in keeping with the heptadic thematic structure of the war, and, when each round is complete the priests are ordered to signal the *retreat* with another low, level, legato note (8:13). The pattern repeats as different rounds of attack are launched: The low droning is

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[565] Ibid. 108.

continual while the action builds in rounds of seven; the ram's horns remain quiet in anticipation of the climactic moment of the attack when the very loudest blast is sounded; once the alarm blares it is meant to be startling; it is accompanied by a series of high-pitched staccato notes from the silver trumpets, all of which sets the appropriate background to a highly orchestrated Holy War.[566] While all of this may be tied to historical battle field signals and to the prescription of Num 10:1-10, the effect here is to paint a vivid picture of the sights and sounds which would accompany an exhilarating victory, complete with dramatic musical accompaniment. To that end, Whitaker argues that in ekphrasis the depiction of *sound* is an entirely appropriate subject matter, noting that the Shield of Achilles in the Iliad is "full of movement and sound."[567] Keeping this in mind we turn now to the banners of 1QM.

Yadin connects 1QM's use of banners also to the Book of Numbers, noting that these uses are the only references to banners in the Hebrew Scripture where they are employed to indicate the organization of the assembly.[568] In this context they have a military connotation, with each tribe mustered under its respective banner. The terms used are דגל (*dgl*), which indicates the object of the flag itself, and אות (*ʾôt*), which indicates the design or marking which distinguishes one flag from another. Both terms are used frequently in 1QM,[569] with *ʾôt*, insignia, being used as the primary marker for the object in the War Scroll. As there are eight groupings listed in 1QM, there are eight corresponding banners. The largest banner, which is

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[566] The trumpets of the slain are ordered to be blown until the enemy is destroyed, which is described as "total annihilation" (1QM 9:5), calling to mind the ban (חרם) which marked the complete destruction of every individual in a given city, as seen put into practice initially at the conquest of Jericho. Josh 6:16 describes this saying, "The city shall be under the ban, it and all that is in it belongs to the LORD; only Rahab the harlot and all who are with her in the house shall live, because she hid the messengers whom we sent."

[567] Whitaker, *Ekphrasis, Vision, and Persuasion in the Book of Revelation*, 126.

[568] Num 1:52; 2:2, 3, 10, 18, 25; 10:14, 18, 22, 25. Num 21:8, 9, also use the word נֵס (*nēs*), which appears frequently in Isaiah to indicate a banner.

[569] We see *dgl* is used in 1QM 1:4; 3:6; 4:10; 5:3; 6:1; 7:1, 4, 5; 8:4, 14; 9:4, 10; 17:10. It is alternatively rendered by translators as banner, standard, formation, or division. The corresponding term indicating the insignia or sign, *ʾôt*, is used in 1QM 3:13, 14, 15, 17; 4:1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 13, 15, 16, 17; 5:22; 7:20.

described in grand terms (האות הגדולה), situated at the head of the army is inscribed with "people of God," (עם אל), as well as the names of Aaron and Israel, along with the twelve tribes listed in birth order (1QM 3:13-14). The size of this banner (fourteen cubits), indicates its highest prominence in the military formation. The other seven banners indicate a subordination of the groupings into camps of three tribes each, followed by tens of thousands, then thousands, hundreds, fifties, and tens. This same numerical grouping is seen in 1QS 2:21. Yadin notes that the arrangement itself is based on the configuration of Num 2:1-33, which divides the twelve tribes into four groups of three, each under its own banner, and surrounding the Tent of Meeting on each side.[570] The Levites are not listed in this configuration since they are occupied with the central duties of the tabernacle, which stood at the center. However, 1QM 4:1 indicates a partial listing of the Levitical families according to the three names which were charged with the packing, movement, and assembly of the Tabernacle as the people moved across the land.[571] The mention of Merari twice in 1QM at the top of this column indicates that the damage at the bottom of the previous column would likely have included the other two names, Gershon and Kohath.[572] As it stands, there is no mention of Merari anywhere else in the DSS, nor is Gershon listed anywhere other than the deduction that the lacuna of 1QM Col. 3 would have listed this family. Kohath, being the family charged with the care and transportation of the sacred objects inside the Tabernacle, including the Ark of the Covenant, is mentioned elsewhere in the DSS occasionally.[573]

What this indicates, clearly, is the creative reimagining and the combination of elements from the Israelite tabernacle system, together with aspects of the Roman military, both blended

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[570] Yadin, *The Scroll of the War*, 46.
[571] These were Gershon, Kohath, and Merari, per Num 3:17.
[572] Ibid. 56.
[573] The Kohathites are mentioned in 1Q365, which is a fragment from the Book of Numbers; the Testament of Qohath in Aramaic (4Q542); Visions of Amram (4Q543); and the Temple Scroll (11Q19).

together to envision a Judean army that never existed. Yadin notes that, in the entirety of the

Hebrew Scriptures, only in Num 2 are banners used in conjunction with the Israelite military.[574]

The Romans (i.e., the Kittim), however, were distinct in the use of their banners as objects of

worship, as indicated in 1QHab 6:2. The effect of this creativity is to produce a parody of the

Roman army, and a political statement with regard to the Tabernacle/Temple. This army would

be characterized by the markings of the ideal Tabernacle/Temple, which, in the days of the

yaḥad, had become defiled in their eyes, and a source of bitter rivalry and conflict with their

fellow priests. Most interestingly, the descriptions of the banners are shown to be re-inscribed as

the war progresses. In several descriptions of the insignia, 1QM rotates the catchphrases as they

assemble, proceed to battle, draw near, return, and then repeat the entire process.[575] This, it may

be argued, is accounted for by redaction, as evidenced by the repetition of the cycles of setting

out, drawing near, and then returning for battle. On the other hand, there is no strategic realism

to the notion that an army would inscribe a catchphrase on a banner while actively approaching

an opposing army, then re-inscribe the insignia as the war was just about to erupt, only to re-

inscribe once again immediately after defeating the enemy on the return to the camp. We would

suggest that this sort of repetition, and the numerous phrases which are said to be written and re-

written on the banners, would not only have been for the purpose of calling to mind the contrast

between the pagan army of Rome and the devout (but imagined) Judean army, but that these

inscriptions are in fact performative, such that the reader of 1QM could list the various banners

with the expectation of a call-and-response participation on the part of his audience. Thus, while

there is indeed an influence from the Israelite heritage drawn from Num 2:1-33, and there is also

a parody of the Roman military involved, the point in listing several iterations of the inscriptions

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[574] They are absent among the Hasmonean military, or by Alexander the Great. Yadin, *The Scroll of the War*, 62-63.

[575] 1QM 3:13-4:14.

onto the banners is to paint the picture of the imagined army with great vividness. This, we would argue, is a use of ekphrasis in the War Scroll.

The same holds true for the weaponry. As noted in Aune's definition of ekphrasis above, detailed descriptions of the Temple (and Solomon's palace) appear in 1 Kgs 6-7, and these are vivid and artistic. The use of weaponry in 1QM is depicted in similar terms. We see in 1 Kgs 7:13 the recruitment of a worker named Huram, who is described as an artisan in bronze. Huram is employed by Solomon to conduct the design and fabrication of the entirety of the Temple furnishings; the description is elaborate and ornate, and Huram is repeatedly given full credit for the creativity of the project. Similarly, the design and fabrication of the weaponry of the War Scroll is described in certain terms, although no individual is given credit for their forging since the army is merely envisioned. 1QM approaches its descriptions in a similar manner to the pattern given for the Tabernacle and all of its furnishings in Exodus. The key phrase that appears repeatedly in the instructions for building the Tabernacle is, "work of a skilled craftsman."[576] In 1QM the same phraseology appears in the description of the weaponry, and in the garments warn by the seven priests during battle.

Like the description of Solomon's temple, the weaponry in 1QM normally begins with measurements. This allowed for Yadin to sketch the various items to scale, and to determine the era and level of advancement in each weapon. The catalog of armor and weaponry includes shields, spears, swords, slings, darts, helmets, greaves, bows and arrows, and towers.[577] Yadin, with the sensibility of an archaeologist, makes the effort to consider each item, with its measurements, and to suggest an historical parallel to the description provided by 1QM as if each item were an artifact before him. Almost without exception he identifies those items which are

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[576] Cf. Exod 26:1, 31; 28:6, 15; 36:8, 35; 38:23; 39:3, 8.
[577] Not all items are provided with a description and some are mentioned more than once. We would include here horses as well.

accompanied by a description with their counterparts in the Roman army. For our purposes, however, we are looking for indications of artistry.

The shields (מגנ) in 1QM 5:4, are given specific measurements (as in the Temple construction of 1Kgs 6-7), and described as made from bronze, polished and reflective like the face of a mirror. A plaited border decorated with coils and wreathes outlines a tapestry design that is woven in gold, silver, bronze, and jewels. The finished image is a rectangular, glittering, multi-colored shield with a convex shape, and is described (in 5:5, 6) as, "work of a skillful workman, artistically done," (מעשה חרש מחשבת) or, in the translation of Yadin, "cunningly wrought."[578] With this description the borrowed language and precision of the Temple construction is readily apparent.

The spear (רמח) is listed in 1QM 5:6, including measurements by the cubit, along with a socket and blade that are described in a manner similar to that of the shield, with engraving, a plaited border, spiral design work, and a patina of gold, silver, copper, and jewels (5:8). In this case the detail of "an ear of grain" is included in the engraving (5:9), and this weapon too is described as, "work of a skillful workman, artistically done." The socket which holds the spear is prescribed to have grooved bands (or "fluted" in Yadin's translation), to make handling the weapon easier, and likewise is to be "artistically done," (5:10a). Also, the blade of the weapon is described as having been forged from shining white iron, once again described as, "work of a skillful workman, artistically done," (5:10b). The blade is also etched with an ear of grain of "pure gold," and the shape is described as "tapered towards the point," (5:11).[579] The precision and clarity here are such that a person with the skill to forge such weaponry could do so, based on the vividness of the description.

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[578] Yadin notes that this design agrees with that of the Italian *scutum* used by the Roman army. Yadin, *The Scroll of the War*, 116.

[579] Ibid. 139. Yadin identifies this weapon with the Roman *hasta*, used for thrusting.

The sword (כידון) which accompanies the spear is, much like the shield, polished to reflect

like a mirror, and, like the other items, is described as being the "work of a skillful workman,

artistically done," (5:11). It has ears of grain embossed on both sides, in pure gold. After giving

the measurements of the sword and the scabbard, the handle is described as a "varicolored

design," with gold, silver, and precious stones. It too is the "work of a skillful workman,

artistically done," (5:14).[580]

The darts (זרק) of 1QM 6:2-3 are not described but all have inscriptions, as in the case of

the banners. Their inscriptions are all clearly theological and hostile (6:2-3), reading as follows:

1) Flash of a spear for the strength of God; 2) Missiles of blood to fell the slain by the wrath of

God; 3) The blade of a sword devours the slain of wickedness by the judgement of God.[581]

The horses (סוסים) of the cavalry are described as "swift, responsive, unrelenting, mature,

trained for battle, and accustomed to hearing noises and seeing all kinds of scenes," (1QM 6:12-

13). The description brings to mind healthy and focused war horses. Their riders are to be men

capable in battle, and the configuration, according to Yadin, can only be based on that of the

Roman army.[582] The auxiliary armor worn by the cavalry and infantry goes undescribed, but

includes helmets, greaves, secondary shields, bows and arrows, and slings (6:15-16). The

descriptions move more or less from head to toe, in ekphrastic fashion. The helmet and the

greaves, both, Yadin ties to the Roman army.[583] The secondary skirmishing or "round" shield is

unidentifiable. The bow and arrows, as well as the slings are left undescribed. And the shields

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[580] Ibid. 129. Based on this description Yadin identifies this as the Roman *gladius* sword used by foot soldiers.
[581] Ibid. 133. The darts Yadin associated with the Roman *iaculum*, which is a javelin-like weapon for throwing.
[582] Ibid. 181.
[583] Ibid. 123-124.

which equip the four tactical towers (9:10-16), are clearly specified in their measurements, and inscribed with the Enochic angelic names of Michael, Gabriel, Sariel, and Raphael.[584]

Lastly, clothing of the seven priests of Aaron are described as follows:

> "…dressed in fine white linen garments: a linen tunic and linen breeches, and girded with a linen sash of twined fine linen, violet, purple and crimson, and a varicoloured design, *the work of a skillful workman*, and decorated caps on their heads; the garments for battle, and they shall not take them into the sanctuary."

(1QM 7:10-11, emphasis added)

Here we would only note the similarity to the clothing worn by the Son of Man appearing in Rev 1:13, which is described as being "clothed in a robe reaching to the feet, and girded across his chest with a golden sash." The priestly garments in both cases are Levitical in origin.

All of this descriptive artistry has the effect of making the eschatological army visible to the mind's eye. It is armed with weaponry that is adorned like the Temple, and the descriptions are precise and vivid, bringing the images to life. They are also clearly portrayed, including specific measurements as well as craftsmanship. The language, or style of the descriptions frequently repeats the phrasing which emphasizes the diligent care put into the refined work of a master artisan. Finally, the verisimilitude or correctness of the elements blended together creates a portrait of an eschatological army that looks, sounds, and moves like a refashioning of the Israelite army which crossed the Jordan and conquered Jericho. The only missing element is the Ark of the Covenant, but the priestly burning of incense in 1QM 2:5 lends even the olfactory sense to the overall representation. While these elements are indeed tied to their corresponding real-world elements of both the Roman army and the Temple, the final presentation is performative and ekphrastic, reflecting the theological mindset of the *yaḥad*. As Alex Jassen

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[584] Ibid. 188. Yadin associates the tactical tower structures with the Roman *testudo*, a defensive construction made for advancing across a battlefield.

describes it, "The ritual service of the physical temple is transformed into military service of the community, which itself is now conceptualized as the holy sanctuary."[585]

The overall rhetorical force of these descriptions was probably meant to instill a sense of righteousness and perhaps optimism to the cause of the *yaḥad*. Not all of the text appears to be in the form of call and response, but repetitive patterns in the inscriptions of the banners does indicate as much. The artistry involved in the descriptions shows a devout author who has become exasperated with the corrupting power of the 'Kittim,' and yearns for divine intervention and a strong liberating response to oppression. This intense frustration would have been layered onto the alienation already felt from the loss of influence at the Temple on the part of the *yaḥad*, such that the War Scroll demands a militant response. The impetus to Holy War is thus expressed literarily in a lashing out against these other entities in the hopes of some means by which the idealized and glorified conquest of the past could be relived, and brought into the present. These aspirations were doomed to fail, however, as Vespasian brought the Roman army to occupy Jericho in 68 CE, and subsequently burned the Qumran settlement out completely, putting an end to the *yaḥad* community and its visions of victorious holy warfare.[586]

4.1.2   The Polemics of Revelation

From start to finish, the Holy War motif in John's Apocalypse is thoroughgoing. Like the War Scroll, at issue is the overwhelming dominance of a foreign power in the world. Also like the War Scroll, the political reality which is the backdrop to the text is that Rome has no equal. In the case of 1QM, the prescribed solution is a ground war, aided by unseen divinity, and a militarist stance that matches and defeats the Roman army at the source of its greatest strength.

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[585] Jassen, "The Dead Sea Scrolls and Violence."
[586] Magness, *The Archaeology of Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 61.

This approach would seem to be strategically practical, if indeed the *yaḥad* had been privy to the enormous resources that would have been required to defeat Rome, since, after all, to inflict so heavy a loss on an enemy at the point of its greatest strength is to disable the threat it represents. This is precisely the 'head on' militarist approach 1QM advocates. But John's Apocalypse does not propose launching an all-out frontal attack against Rome on that basis. The prescription of Revelation is Christological, and as a result, so too are the polemics and the execution of its Holy War.

The theological divergence between our two texts is no more apparent anywhere than it is here. While both hold to an ideology of holiness, and an uncompromising stance against non-holiness, the means of realizing holiness in the world are contrasting. Granted that there is much overlap, in particular with regard to the common enemy, and to loyalty to the God of the Hebrew Scriptures, plus the heritage of the Exodus, the Conquest, and the Monarchy. But by the turn of the era the reverberations from the Hasmonean period were still strongly felt, and among the Jewish people there was no unity with regard to solving to the Roman problem. John's answer was to look beyond Rome itself, to the *unseen powers* that were understood among early Christians to animate the empire and its idols, and in response he proscribed an uncompromising witness/martyrdom. In John's world Roman might stands in opposition against the backdrop of Jewish and Christian monotheism, as expressed through the Lamb, who is also seen also as the lion, and the conquering rider on the white horse. Consequently, Revelation is saturated with polemics against Rome, the devil, and their followers. Some pictures John presents are overtly militarist, others more subtle, and his Holy War, as noted, is Christological. We will now consider this imagery.

Almost from the moment the book opens, after the prologue and the doxology, John describes a vision of the Messiah that is warlike and intimidating. Using Danielic imagery[587] he depicts a figure with fiery eyes and a sword protruding from his mouth (Rev 1:12-16). The imagery of the sword in the mouth appears again at Rev 19:15 with the Parousia of the Messiah, and is used to strike down the nations. This imagery clearly refers to the words of the conquering Messiah, with which he destroys his enemies. This, in effect, is John's statement that the Messiah is the true ruler of the cosmos, and the sword is also coupled with a rod of iron.[588] The War Scroll also makes reference to the sword of God as a weapon of wrath and justice,[589] but the imagery of a sword protruding *from the mouth* is original to John's creativity.[590]

This Son of Man figure is said to hold power ("the keys") over death and hades (Rev 1:18), and there is no indication of equality with Rome, or a dualism which recognizes the devil behind Rome as being commensurate with the Son of Man. Each of the seven addressees of the prophetic letter John writes are themselves encouraged to conquer (νικάω),[591] with Christ referring to his own conquering (and subsequent rulership) as the prescribed example to follow (3:21). This sense of the universally dominating power of the Messiah is underscored throughout the book in terms that hearken back to the Sinaitic theophany, an aspect that John describes using earthquakes,[592] smoke,[593] thunder and lightning,[594] as well as plagues.[595] These

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[587] Cf. Dan 7:9, 13; 10:5-6.

[588] Rev 2:27; 12:5; 19:15.

[589] On the blade of a dart in 1QM 6:3 the inscription reads, "The blade of a sword devours the slain of wickedness by the judgement of God." 1QM 12:11-12 entreats, "Crush the nations, Your adversaries, and may Your sword devour guilty flesh." 1QM 15:2-3 make clear that the king of the Kittim and forces Belial together will be subject to the "sword of God." At the end of battle in 19:11, 1QM indicates that those who have been left unburied are victims of the "sword of God."

[590] Says Aune, "Since the precise metaphor of a sword projecting from the mouth of the Messiah occurs nowhere in early Jewish literature, it is likely that it was coined by John himself." Aune, *Revelation*, 1060.

[591] Rev 2:7, 11, 17, 26; 3:5, 12, 21 two times.

[592] Rev 6:12; 8:5; 11:13, 19; 16:18.

[593] Rev 8:4; 9:2, 17, 18; 14:11; 15:8; 18:9, 18; 19:3.

[594] Thunder appears in Rev 4:5; 6:1; 8:5; 10:3, 4; 11:19; 14:2; 16:18; 19:6. Less frequent is lightning, appearing in Rev 4:5; 8:5; 11:19; 16:18.

are all 'weapons' in a sense, in that God's wrath is expressed through or in conjunction with cataclysm, and depicted as crashing down from heaven to destroy all that which is non-holy on the earth.

The initial act of the Lamb in exercising judgment is the breaking of seven seals (Rev 6:1-17; 8:1), which bind a scroll reminiscent of the one in Dan 12:4. This is the first unleashing of hostility against the powers of the earth, and it begins with the fabled Four Horsemen, recapitulated from Zech 6:1-8, and the first one rides out "conquering in order that he might conquer" (νικῶν καὶ ἵνα νικήσῃ), in Rev 6:2. While there are questions as to whether this leading figure symbolizes the positive appearance of an emissary of Christ, or perhaps a negative representation of Parthian invaders,[596] there is no question that the characterization is depicted as one who *conquers* (νικάω), and this is in keeping with the tenor of the whole book. This personage appears at the outset of the action in Revelation to indicate a Holy War has begun.

Among the seven seals are two (the fifth and sixth), in which the hearer/reader is permitted to see the juxtaposition between heaven and earth. The fifth seal portrays the souls of those who have been killed as a result of their testimony (μαρτυρία). These individuals are shown in heaven, crying out to God, asking, "How long?" Their cry is for vengeance to take place (Rev 6:9-10). These *martyrs* are subsequently alluded to throughout the book to be a motivating factor behind the wrath of God, and by extension their cry for revenge becomes a driving force for the Holy War.[597] Conversely, the sixth seal (6:15-17) shows the totality of those who live on the earth as asking, "Who is able to stand?" In this case, the wrath of God and

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[595] The plagues of Revelation echo those of the ten plagues against Egypt (Exod 7:14-11:10). Plague-like phenomena are described especially in the blowing of the seven trumpets, and the pouring out of the seven bowls of wrath. See Rev 8:7, 8, 11, 12; 9:3, 15 for the trumpets. Also see Rev 16:2, 3, 4, 10. Among these are plagues of hail, blood, contaminated water, darkness, locusts, sores, and mass death.

[596] See Aune, *Revelation*, 393-394.

[597] Cf. Rev 11:3-12; 12:11; 13:10; 17:6; 20:4.

of the Lamb is shown thundering down from heaven, and those on the receiving end – i.e., those

on the earth – are depicted as hiding in caves and under rocks. From this perspective the Holy

War of Revelation is clearly drawn between the cosmological dimensions of heaven and earth,

with spiritual and corporeal factions being divided on opposite sides. Here it must be stressed

that neither John's Apocalypse nor 1QM gives any indication that a grey area exists, in between

which one might survive if he/she happens to take the non-existent middle ground. In other

words, those who are destined to receive God's wrath will see no escape in either text. Yet John

does indicate repentance to occur in one instance (Rev 11:13), but equally as evident (and more

typical) is the sense of stubbornness which he conveys on the part of those who ultimately

receive the wrath of God.[598] This may be in keeping with John's thematic recapitulation of the

Exodus, in which the Egyptian Pharaoh refused to acknowledge the God of the Hebrews, and as

a result had his nation destroyed and lost his own firstborn son.[599] What John seems to be

portraying is an entire world of proverbial Pharaohs, all at war against God. In this case,

however, it is the authority and kingship of the Messiah which prevails over the world, and

which John contends for.[600]

The appearance of 144,000, "sealed from every tribe of the sons of Israel" (Rev 7:4), has

been discussed above as a possible point of direct connection between Revelation and 1QM,

which we would suggest may rise to the level of metatextual dependence.[601] The strength of this

argument lies in the unique listing of Levites among those involved as warriors in the

eschatological Holy War, as this is not the precedent found in earlier texts from which such

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[598] See Rev 2:21; 9:20-21; 16:9-11, 21;
[599] Exod 12:29-30.
[600] Cf. Rev 1:1, 2, 5: 11:15; 12:10; 20:4, 6.
[601] See *3.1.3 Levites in Holy War*.

listings are drawn.[602] In John's Apocalypse these Levites appear as sealed (Rev 7:2-8), and

standing with the Lamb on Mount Zion (14:1-5). Their depiction in the second instance is one of

ritual and moral purity, and John describes them as follows:

> "These are the ones who have not been defiled with women, for they have kept themselves chaste. These are the ones who follow the Lamb wherever He goes. These have been purchased from among men as first fruits to God and to the Lamb. And no lie was found in their mouth; they are blameless."
> (Rev 14:4-5)

Apart from the distinct Christology, this description is also in accordance with 1QM's

qualifications (and disqualifications) for participation in Holy War, which are ritual and moral as

well, and are drawn from Levitical guidelines that outline the consecration of the servants of

God.[603] Hence, whereas both Revelation and 1QM emphasize a sacral Levitical purity, John's

Apocalypse makes Christology the essential factor in qualification for participation in the Holy

War. Furthermore, by placing the 144,000 on Mount Zion (Rev 14:1), John associates them with

Davidic kingship, further underscoring the divine authority of the Lamb with whom they stand.

It might also be noted that the Temple in which the priests served, already having been destroyed

either just prior to the writing of John's Apocalypse or during its completion, would place this

ritual observance in a different category in Revelation than that of 1QM. Moreover, the

Christological sensibility adopted by John would have also taken into account the sayings of

Jesus, such as in Luke 14:13-14, wherein he advises, "But when you give a reception, invite the

poor, the crippled, the lame, the blind, and you will be blessed, since they do not have the means

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[602] Most especially Num 1:1-3:39, where the Levites are singled out from the rest of the encampment for the purpose of Tabernacle duties.

[603] "No one crippled, blind or lame, nor a man who has a permanent blemish on his skin, or a man affected with ritual uncleanness of his flesh; none of these shall go with them to battle. All of them shall be volunteers for battle, pure of spirit and flesh, and prepared for the day of vengeance. Any man who is not ritually clean in respect to his genitals on the day of battle shall not go down with them into battle, for holy angels are present with their army." (1QM 7:4-6) Also, c.f. Lev 13:1-45; 15:16; 21:18.

to repay you; for you will be repaid at the resurrection of the righteous." Noting the use of equivalent phraseology with those excluded from 1QM's Holy War, the inclusion of those who would be physically excluded from Temple worship did indeed mark out the Christian understanding of 'qualification' over and against that of the authorities in the Temple system, including those of the *yaḥad*. Nevertheless, John does exclude anything unclean (κοινός) from entry into the New Jerusalem.[604]

As the seven-fold judgements of God are initiated (as seals, trumpets, and bowls), the true enemy behind the power of Rome is exposed as being Satan, or the dragon in Rev 12:9.[605] This is made explicit in the appearance of the dragon in the vision of the woman clothed with the sun, but prior to that, and among the descriptions of the plagues, John provides military images. For example, the fifth trumpet (9:1) reveals the Abyss, a bottomless shaft into an endless void, out of which comes smoke and locusts, which are described as, "like horses prepared for battle (πόλεμος)." The imagery is hyper-symbolic, and John reiterates in his description that, "the sound of their wings was like the sound of chariots, of many horses rushing to battle," (9:9). It is here where John begins a gradual exposure of the evil forces animating the Roman empire. At the sixth trumpet (9:17-19), John describes the demonic "horses and riders" in chimera-like terms.[606] This is key, because 1QM does not take the pains to describe the armies of Belial or the Sons of Darkness.[607] But by doing so, John heightens the sense of foreboding, and the rhetorical effect is one of intentionally inciting fear. Painting a portrait of the enemies in such a threatening fashion serves to push the reader/hearer into more complete allegiance to the stronger power, namely the Lamb.

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[604] Rev 11:27.
[605] Here we would suggest John's approach is to 'reveal' Christ, but to 'expose' the dragon.
[606] Aune, *Revelation*, 539.
[607] Although it does describe the steeds of the Sons of Light in 1QM 6:8-13.

As John's exposure of the enemies continues, his emphasis and re-emphasis of the martyrological component to victory in the Holy War comes to the fore. We have already noted the martyrs appearing beneath the altar in Rev 6:9-11. The two witnesses who are murdered by the beast from the Abyss in Rev 11:7, are said to be have been "conquered," (νικάω), but ultimately they are resurrected. Similarly, when the beast re-appears after murdering the witnesses, we are told in 13:7 that it was also granted power to, "make war (πολεμέω) with the saints and to overcome (νικάω) them." This reflects a sense in which the earthly death of the witness/martyrs appears as if it were a victory for the powers of evil, and by extension a loss for the those who are faithful to the Lamb. But John clearly counters this notion with the assertion that, ultimately, "they overcame (νικάω) him because of the blood of the Lamb and because of the word of their testimony, and they did not love their life even when faced with death," (12:11). John's understanding of this life/death dynamic is expressed not in a fatalism or resignation, but in a theological practicality which looks through his Christological lens and beyond the death of the physical body. As a result of this perspective, he is able to encourage his readers/hearers along the following lines: "If anyone is destined for captivity, to captivity he goes; if anyone kills with the sword, with the sword he must be killed. Here is the perseverance and the faith of the saints," (Rev 13:10). Thus, quite the opposite of 1QM, John depicts the *inevitable death* of those engaged in the Holy War.

Pulling back the curtain on the heavenly perspective, John allows his reader/hearers to see the events that transpired in heaven in the undatable (timeless?) past which led to the eschatological Holy War in the first place. Specifically, in Rev 12 the dragon is expelled from the courtroom of heaven, and those remaining in heaven rejoice (12:12). At the same time, since the dragon has been cast down to earth, a disembodied voice in heaven pronounces, "Woe to the

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earth and sea." This accounts for the reasoning behind the Holy War as it is revealed to be, in fact, a heavenly conflict which has spilt down to the earth.

John's depiction of the dragon attempting to devour the infant child of the woman (Rev 12:4), is intended in part to invoke the account of "enmity" or "hostility" mentioned in Gen 3:15, wherein God curses the serpent in the garden. Thus, the conflict is framed as having had ancient and otherworldly roots, while yet connected to creational events which have taken place on the earth in the realm of humanity. However, since the woman escapes into the desert (by the aid of eagle's wings in 12:14), and the child is taken up to the throne of heaven where he is described as having taken full authority in the universe (12:5), the dragon is therefore relegated to a temporary existence on the earth. The process by which this happens in described in Rev 12:7-8, where the readers/hearers are told:

> "And there was war in heaven, Michael and his angels waging war with the dragon. The dragon and his angels waged war, and they were not strong enough, and there was no longer a place found for them in heaven." (Rev 12:7-8)

With the expulsion and banishment of the dragon from the heavenly court, both he and his army are flung down to earth. In this way John paints the portrait of a Holy War having been won in heaven, while its full consequences on earth are yet to be felt. Quite the opposite of heaven where the expulsion causes rejoicing, the earth has become a nightmarish place to live, as John depicts it. So, with the further exposure of the enemies of God, the two beasts which come from the sea and the land respectively, both under the supervision of the dragon who is shown standing by the sea in Rev 13:1, together become the dominating world force(s). These are now recognized by many if not most scholars to represent Rome, and the cult of the Roman

Empire.[608] The beast from the earth is depicted as serving at the behest of the beast from the sea,

and is portrayed as a monster which compels people to worship the beast by force.[609] In a

parody of Exod 15:11, the rhetorical question is posed in response to the beast from the sea

paradoxically being worshipped for the reason that it appears to be invincible in warfare: "Who

is like the beast, and who is able to wage war (πολεμέω) with him?"[610] 1QM also quotes from

this same passage, the Song of the Sea of Exod 15:11, in the context of its Holy War.[611]

The ekphrastic description of the woman riding the beast in Rev 17 involves an

explanation given by the *angelus interpres* which in 17:12-14 asserts that ten kings whose sole

purpose is to give their power and authority to the beast, will rule for one hour. The interpreter

explains that, "These will wage war (πολεμέω) against the Lamb, and the Lamb will overcome

(νικάω) them, because He is Lord of lords and King of kings, and those who are with Him are

the called and chosen and faithful," (17:14). Here again we see the Christology of John's

Apocalypse, and the assurance of victory for the Lamb. It must also be noted that the

sovereignty of God is indicated in 17:17, in which the *angelus interpres* explains to John, "God

has put it in their hearts to execute His purpose by having a common purpose, and by giving their

kingdom to the beast, until the words of God will be fulfilled." Hence there is no sense in which

the Holy War events as John describes them are outside of God's purview. Like 1QM, the

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[608] Yarbro Collins sums up as follows: "Perhaps the hardest won and most dearly held result of historical-critical scholarship on the Revelation to John is the theory that the work must be interpreted in terms of the historical context in which it was composed. Such an approach refers the images of Revelation to contemporary historical events and to eschatological images current at the time. Probably the most widely accepted conclusions of this approach are that the beast from the sea of chap. 13 and the woman of chap. 17 represent the Roman empire in some way." See Adela Yarbro Collins, "Political Perspective of the Revelation to John," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 96.2 (1977): 241–56.

[609] Rev 13:12, 16.

[610] Rev 13:4.

[611] 1QM 10:8, "Who is like You, O God of Israel, in h[eave]n and on earth, that he can perform in accordance with Your great works and Your great strength."

author has supreme confidence of the outcome, but unlike 1QM, the Holy War itself is waged principally by God through divine action.

Prior to apex of the Holy War, the plagues of God are used as heavenly weapons against an array of spiritual powers. The dragon, beast, and false prophet are presented as ruling the earth, and in response to the drying up the Euphrates at the sixth bowl (Rev 16:12), the three antagonists are depicted as breathing out frog-like demons, which proceed to deceive and gather the nations together, "for the war (πολεμέω) of the great day of God, the Almighty," (16:14). John picks up this thread of the narration after the appearance of the Messiah, when the victory has been won.

In the ultimate vanquishing of the powers of evil, John depicts the Parousia of the Messiah in Rev 19:11-21. The figure who appears is shown with a sword again protruding from his mouth, tying directly back to Rev 1:16. John describes the Messiah as a rider on a white horse, saying in 19:11, "in righteousness he judges and makes war." The Messiah figure is depicted as royalty wearing "many" crowns (19:12), in contrast to the limited number of crowns on the heads and horns of the dragon and the beast from the sea (Rev 12:3, and 13:1 respectively). He is described as wearing a robe dipped in blood (19:13), echoing the connotations of Isaiah 63:1-3, wherein the messianic figure is shown trampling the grapes/blood in the winepress of God's wrath, imagery which becomes Christological in John's hands.[612] We are told the armies (στρατόπεδον) of heaven were following the rider (19:14). The robe of the rider has the inscription, "King of Kings and Lord of Lords," (19:16), indicating the preeminence of this figure over the powers of evil.

The depiction is then interrupted by the announcement of an angel, who calls out to the birds, summoning them to a feast whose main course becomes, "the flesh of kings and the flesh

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[612] Aune, *Revelation*, 1057.

of commanders and the flesh of mighty men and the flesh of horses and of those who sit on them

and the flesh of all men, both free men and slaves, and small and great," (Rev 19:18). This motif

is a reference from Ezek 39:17,[613] and seems to clearly indicate the disgrace exerted in an

honor/shame culture, which leaves corpses unburied as a means of humiliation after death in the

course of battle.[614] It is reiterated by the statement in Rev 19:21, that those on the losing end

were killed with the sword protruding out of the mouth of the Messiah, and that the birds

devoured their flesh. The same concept of humiliation appears in 1QM 11:1, which, in the

context of a comparison to David's defeat of Goliath reads, "Truly the battle is Yours, and by the

strength of Your hand their corpses have been broken to pieces, without anyone to bury them."

Rhetorically speaking, this again points to an absolute assurance on the part of both our primary

texts that the outcome will be a crushing and total victory.

When the actual battle takes place, Revelation is very minimal in its description.

Apparently in response to the appearance of the rider, the beast and the kings of the earth are

shown to gather for war (Rev 19:19), which aligns readily with 1QM, and the gathering of the

Kittim and the hordes of Belial.[615] But the only description given by John is that the beast of the

sea, (i.e., Rome) was captured, along with the false prophet (a.k.a., the beast from the earth), and

both were thrown into the lake of fire and burning sulfur. Aune notes that sulfur itself was used

as a horrendous weapon in antiquity, as it has the propensity to stick to the skin when it

ignites.[616] In this manner, John encapsulates the penultimate battle of the Holy War in a tidy

way. The absolutely final conflict is described in Rev 20:7-10, in which the dragon, having been

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[613] In Ezek 39:17, the prophet is commanded, "Speak to every kind of bird and to every beast of the field, 'Assemble and come, gather from every side to My sacrifice which I am going to sacrifice for you, as a great sacrifice on the mountains of Israel, that you may eat flesh and drink blood.'"

[614] Aune, *Revelation*, 1068.

[615] "All those […] for battle shall set out and camp opposite the king of the Kittim and all the forces of Belial that are assembled with him for a day […] by the sword of God," (1QM 15:2-3).

[616] Aune, *Revelation*, 835.

consigned to the Abyss, is released. The prisoner, once freed, gathers together the nations (Gog and Magog) for a final effort to conquer the earth, and together they surround the military camp at what is most likely understood to be the earthly city of Jerusalem (20:9). The effort, however, is doomed to failure, as fire comes down from heaven and destroys the armies, leaving the dragon to be thrown also into the lake of fire by an unnamed angel.

The minimalist approach[617] of John to the avoidance of any graphic description of the Holy War beyond the final result of the bodies left unburied for the birds to consume aligns with 1QM, in that the War Scroll is not descriptive, but rather *prescriptive* of the events of the Holy War. As it says in 1QM 16:3, "They shall carry out all this Rule [on] that [day] at the place where they stand opposite the camps of the Kittim." The entirety of the War Scroll is a depiction as to what *should* happen at the eschatological Holy War. But along with this quiescent approach in 1QM and Revelation we have seen a number of marked similarities and fascinating contrasts between them. Both texts indicate an unbalance of powers, wherein the dominant Roman army is truly outmatched by the armies of God. This is accompanied by a confident assurance of victory in both texts. Furthermore, both uniquely employ Levites in active warfare. Both texts make use of the common imagery of swords as symbolic weapons of God's wrath and justice, although John is singularly creative in this regard. Ritual and moral purity is emphasized in both texts as prerequisite to victory in Holy War, although the existence of the Temple in the case of 1QM, and its non-existence in the case of Revelation seems to force differing sensibilities regarding to the enacting of ritual purity. The Holy Wars of both texts are also heptadic, but in

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[617] It may be suggested that one reason John provides no lengthy description of the Holy War or any explanation for the apparent non-involvement of the soldiers in his wake, is that Isa 63:1-6, the passage on which the imagery of the bloody grape harvest is based, records the messianic figure expressing frustration that he alone is left to tread out the 'grapes of wrath.' This is indeed the theme of the passage, as he says, "I looked, and there was no one to help, And I was astonished and there was no one to uphold; So My own arm brought salvation to Me, And My wrath upheld Me," (Isa 63:5).

the case of 1QM there is no indication of death on the part of the Sons of Light, while Revelation essentially guarantees there will be mass death among the faithful martyr/witnesses. Furthermore, John shows the invisible otherworld behind the Holy War, and provides the narrative reasoning behind the conflict; 1QM avoids this. Both hearken to the rhetorical question in the *Song of the Sea* of Exod 15:11 – "Who is like You among the gods, O LORD?" – but in John it is turned into parody in the mouth of those who follow the beast. In the end, the enemy armies of both texts are shown to gather for war, are summarily defeated, and their bodies are left unburied in humiliation.

4.2   The Rhetoric of Holy War Liturgy

A similar dynamic to that of the weaponry is at play when comparing the liturgical components of 1QM to that of Revelation. Again, we see John's Apocalypse is made distinct from the War Scroll by dint of its Christology, which indicates there to be no metatextual relationship between the two with regard to liturgical content. The similarities between them are derived, rather, from the common Holy War tradition(s), and in point of fact neither liturgical catalog is thoroughly preoccupied with Holy War itself. The concerns of both are overlapping in essential aspects, but their tonality and their rhetorical approaches are also unalike. Granted that a shared tradition lies behind them both, but the liturgical tradition itself is so vast that such a small sampling from either text yields no noteworthy point of contact or contrast. As such, it is unnecessary to delve with great depth into the content of each liturgical section, but the key

points at which the common tradition does make contact, and the important questions that now arise will be recounted below.[618]

Most particularly importantly for the present research is the emphasis on *holiness* on the part of both liturgies. This theological concept, we would argue, is the driving force behind the rationale for Holy War, even as political concerns, fears of oppression, and efforts at resistance are displayed alongside this primary religious principle. We have seen that texts do adapt to the presence and absence of the (holy) Temple, and the adjustments made for ritual in light of their circumstances. 1QM, after all, reflects the longings of a sect that sought a return to the Temple, while Revelation is apparently adaptive to the absence of one. But the theological notion of holiness is present in both cases. For example, the tenor of 1QM is such that it generally hearkens back to the great deeds of God in the past, and, based on those past deeds, pleads with God to again do great works. This device is seen in the Psalms,[619] and depends on the reputation of God for a future hope. Among these recountings, 1QM 11:15-16 calls on God to show himself, "great and *holy* before the remnant of the nations, so that [they] may know [that] [You are God…when You] carry out judgements on Gog and on all his company that are as[semb]led, (emphasis added)." 1QM 12:7-8 says, "We [shall direc]t our contempt at kings, derision and disdain at mighty men. For the Lord is *holy*, and the King of Glory is with us together with the holy ones, (emphasis added)." On the same token, the liturgy of Rev 4:8 pronounces, "Holy, holy, holy is the Lord God Almighty, who was, and is, and is to come." This conviction of holiness, while being nearly ubiquitous in both Hebrew and Christian Scripture, is no small point, since, we would again contend, the grounds for the institution and ideology of Holy War

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[618] Here we are referring to 'liturgy' in the respect that the category of literature we are considering retains the more overtly distinct markings of public ceremonial performance. Such texts may be poetic in form, well suited to a religious service, and provide for call and response on the part of the liturgist and the participants.

[619] For example, Ps 71:19 reiterates the rhetorical question of Exod 15:11, the *Song of the Sea*, "For Your righteousness, O God, reaches to the heavens, You who have done great things; O God, who is like You?"

remained theological holiness. Here we would also concede the multitude of ulterior motives for the waging of war, religious or otherwise, which can be considered causal towards acts of violence, both large and small. And we would not be so simplistic as to ascribe moral purity to the impulses which drive actions that are perceived to be 'holy' and yet are overtly violent. But the abstract and remote concept of holiness stands as an ideal outside the realm of human experience as it pertains to both our texts. One might hope for theological holiness to simply become readily apparent, but in the rubric of Holy War it must be fought for and in the course of such battles people die. In this sense both of our texts share the same theological rationale. The issue this brings up, however, is one which we will address in the next section, namely, the relationship between written (rhetorical) violence, and actual physical violence.

Along these lines, both texts reference a *crushing of the nations*. 1QM 12:11-12 says, "Crush the nations, Your adversaries, and may Your sword devour guilty flesh." Similarly, Rev 1:18 says, "The nations were enraged, and your wrath came." Moreover, Rev 15:4 relates that, "You alone are holy; for all the nations will come and worship before you, for your righteous acts have been revealed." Similarly, 1QM 12:13-14 reads, "Rejoice, all you cities of Judah, open your gate[s] forever that the wealth of the nations might be brought to you, and their kings shall serve you." This last sentiment, that the gates will remain forever so that the nations and their kings may come and serve the God of the Hebrews is echoed in the non-liturgical section of Rev 21:24-27, which indicates a similar outcome:

> The nations will walk by its light, and the kings of the earth will bring their glory into it. In the daytime (for there will be no night there) its gates will never be closed; and they will bring the glory and the honor of the nations into it; and nothing unclean, and no one who practices abomination and lying, shall ever come into it, but only those whose names are written in the Lamb's book of life. (Rev 21:24-27)

But here again we run into the clearest contrast between our two texts, in that Christology is John's obvious focus, over and against any political, economic, or even hegemonic concerns. In John's liturgical expressions the Lamb is presented as ruler of all creation.[620] 1QM also praises God for his creative acts,[621] but the tone, again, is nearly consistently that of calling attention to God's past victories in the anticipation of a future victory. John's liturgy only looks back to the past in reference to the fall of Babylon, which he portrays as a future prophetic, in the sense that such an event has already happened in the ultimate sense, but has not yet occurred as a political reality.[622] Apart from this, his reference to the successful conquest on the part of the martyrs is also depicted as a past tense event, but it is also clearly an ongoing concern of the present.[623]

Accordingly, 1QM praises the attributes of God and makes reference to great feats of the past, such as the defeat of Goliath at the hand of David (11:1-2). It uses phrases such as, "In time past you foretold…" (1QM 11:11). 1QM calls on God to remember his past kindness (13:8), in the hopes of that he will again "raise" himself up in power, (14:16).[624] In this vein, the author of 1QM also reminds God that, "You told us in time past, saying: "There shall come forth a star out of Jacob, a scepter shall rise out of Israel," (11:5-6). The messianic theology and vocabulary of this verse along with the Davidic reference may be understood as echoed or reconfigured in Rev 22:16, which reads, "I, Jesus, have sent My angel to testify to you these things for the churches. I am the root and the descendant of David, the bright morning star." But here again we have a distinct Christology at play in John's Apocalypse which did not, nor could not, have existed in the liturgy of 1QM. As a result, we are left with questions of the fecundity

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[620] Cf., Rev 4:11.
[621] Cf., 1QM 10:12; 13:9.
[622] Cf., Rev 18:2-8, 10, 16, 19-24.
[623] Cf., Rev 7:15-17; 12:11; 13:10.
[624] This reference may hint at the possibility of resurrection, but it stands inconclusive.

of liturgical warfare *vs* that of actual violence, which in turn brings us to the larger issue regarding the main theological positions presented in both documents. Here we are dealing with each text's chosen symbolism *vs* Second Temple era historical reality, and to what extent these two Holy War texts represent similar or contrasting ideologies. It is this final matter to which we now turn our attention.

5. **Concluding Perspectives**

5.1 Theologies of Holy War

War of any stripe involves some form of violence, whether it be physical, psychological, economic, or otherwise. In light of our investigation of 1QM and Revelation up to this point, we have covered sufficient territory to draw conclusions regarding the theology of Holy War in each text. In order to get at these, we must contend with the way in which each deals with the issue of violence as it pertains to Holy War. What is the philosophy of violence espoused by our two primary texts? What did the authors believe God was requiring of them with regard to violence in the context of Holy War? Finally, how did these understandings shape the Holy War ideology of each text, and ultimately the institution of Holy War itself? We turn now to address these matters.

5.2 The Impulse to Violence

Clearly both works were intended to be read, and, in all likelihood to be read aloud. This was the common practice in antiquity, where literacy was not widespread, and scribal activity required a great deal of time and effort. Nor was the practice of reading silently widespread in the ancient world.[625] What this means, then, is that our two literary subjects were performative, and never intended to be kept entirely secret. Nor were they encoded to a degree that either one would be seen as overly cryptic to the initiated individual who happened to read or hear either of them. We do grant that both texts have their intended audiences – Revelation is addressed to the

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[625] As Pieter J.J. Botha explains regarding orality in antiquity, "Writing never completely broke away from the sound of the human voice. Greeks and Romans seldom read written words without speaking them aloud. Silent reading was practiced, but the ancients never considered it necessary or desirable to separate compositions completely from their spoken form. Writing was the sign for the spoken word, not its replacement." Pieter J. J. Botha, *Orality and Literacy in Early Christianity* (Eugene, Oregon: Cascade Books, 2012), 24.

seven churches of Asia Minor; 1QM is an internal document produced by and for the *yaḥad* –

but even those elements which are generally understood to be enigmatic in each text, such as the

assignment of cyphers to Rome, or the numerology of either work, are intended to be somewhat

recognizable to the informed reader/hearer. What this means is, the artistic flourishes found in

these writings are intentional, and must be taken seriously. Redaction criticism has much to say

regarding the development and compilation of both 1QM and Revelation, such that the creative

seams in both texts are evident, and consequently we can recognize the final forms of each as

being the result of editing at the hands of unknown scribes. Accordingly, the artistic vision of

either one is perhaps less than unified or singular in its respective approach.[626] This is not

unsurprising, due to the fact that, when an individual carries to completion a work of art, the

fingerprints of the artist are normally consistent and evident throughout, but the result of an

abundance of hands in the craftsmanship is often a disordered patchwork. Yet, with both 1QM

and Revelation, the core artistic visions remain intact in either case, even with the redactional

stitches being fairly evident, such that the Holy War motif remains clearly recognizable in both.

Moreover, despite the diversity between our texts, the sum total of each allows for larger

theological comparisons above that of analogy *vs* direct dependence with regard to the various

constituent elements. These categories (analogy and direct dependence) are and continue to be

helpful categories, and we do not set them aside. But our specimens are dissimilar enough that

they fall into different literary genres, and are separated also by time, space, and language. To be

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[626] We might cautiously suggest that 1QM's redactional seams are somewhat more detectable than that of Revelation. This may be partially due to our having direct access to the scroll itself, which betrays various thematic movements as clearly distinctive by way of the hand-written separation between columns. Aune (following Prigent), recognizes two "editions" of Revelation, penned over the course of years, quite possibly generated from a school or guild of prophets among which John of Patmos may have been a leader. He notes that the second revision would have been so thorough as to make elements of the first version nearly undetectable. Beyond these generalities we would stop short of speculation. See Aune, *Revelation*, liv, xci, cxx-cxxxiv.

sure, they remain comparable, but we must place them alongside one other artistically as well as

historically, in order to recognize their larger theological perspectives.

To this end, as we have already suggested, the matter of symbolic war over and against

actual violence now comes to the fore, as does the notion that both works are revenge fantasies.

If we consider the *yaḥad* living in their desert outpost on the Jordan River, and John in exile on

Patmos – both under the rulership of Rome – what is it that spurs them both to respond in *written*

form, rather than with militaristic violence? On the one hand, we may attribute John's writing to

an ecstatic experience, in which he came away convinced of the need to pen his apocalypse. But,

as some scholars have suggested, he would have had ample opportunity to fine-tune his

workmanship, as is evident by the results, and despite his linguistic limitations.[627] 1QM, on the

other hand, seems to have arisen from a sense of ancient patriotic Torah-righteousness, as there

is indeed an indication that the armies described therein would depend on the power of the God

of Israel, but this aspect is almost secondary to the triumphalist presentation of the troops arrayed

in all their regalia. This brings us then, to the central question as to how our documents

ultimately respond to Roman oppression, and in what manner do they use the medium of the

written word to convey a sense of responsive Holy War, which stops short of committing

physical violence.

J. Collins remarked that, despite all the dangerous rhetoric in the world, "books don't kill

people"[628] This is a helpful axiom to keep in mind, as the incitement of actual violence does not

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[627] Bauckham in particular describes John's Apocalypse as a book of "immense learning, astonishingly meticulous literary artistry, remarkable creative imagination, radical political critique, and profound theology." He argues that John would have taken a great amount of time and care to author Revelation. With this assessment we would concur. See Bauckham, *The Climax of Prophecy*, ix.

[628] John J. Collins, "The Zeal of Phinehas: The Bible and the Legitimation of Violence," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 122.1 (2003): 3–21. We would contend that, although "books don't kill people," violence can indeed be fomented and even exerted in written form, in particular at the hands of seemingly passive but powerful bureaucracies such as were known to issue written agendas and orders in Nazi Germany. Such individuals have been referred to as "desk murderers," (*Schreibtischtäter)*, a term coined by Hannah Arendt to describe government

appear to be the underlying motive driving either one of our texts. In the case of 1QM, the entire

eschatological army is *imagined*, and never existed apart from the creativity within the mind of

the author. In Revelation we see a text that espouses martyrdom, a distinctly non-violent form of

resistance. The act of writing itself may become an outlet by which violent impulses are able to

be relieved, but we would be quick to suggest and underscore, once again, that the primary

cultural motivation towards Holy War as it was understood by both documents is the

establishment of theological and religious *holiness*, a byproduct of which would have been the

eradication of Rome, a power perceived as both oppressive and ungodly in both texts.

Consequently, the authors of these works sought to establish the parameters by which a true Holy

War should be fought and won. Granted, they have conflicting understandings as to what

constitutes a righteous Holy War, and yet, while their approaches are different, *the act of writing*

unites them in a common non-violent response, even though a *violent* climax to the final

eschatological Holy War is precisely what both texts very fervently sanction. In 1QM's case, the

orchestrated depiction of the armies of the Sons of Light at war allows for a slaughtering of the

enemy which was intended to be rhetorically cathartic; in Revelation's case, the martyrdom of

the elect allows for the triumph of resurrection, accompanied by the destruction and recreation of

the cosmos. In both cases active violence is restricted by artistically composed expressions of

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employees such as Adolf Eichmann, who wielded the power of life and death from behind a desk. With the stoke of
a pen such anonymous bureaucrats would inflict enormous amounts of violence without ever looking into the eyes
of their victims. See Hannah Arendt, *Eichmann in Jerusalem: A Report on the Banality of Evil* (London: Penguin
Books, 2007). Also see the account Simon Wiesenthal by Alan Levy, *The Wiesenthal File*, ed. Mazal Holocaust
Collection (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1994), 87-138.

victory, but the defeated enemies are uniformly cursed and destroyed,[629] with celebrations

following their imprecation.[630]

This does not satisfy all, however, as scholars have wrestled with the issue of written

apocalyptic violence from a variety of angles. Susan Hylan, for example, argues that John leans

heavily on the metaphor, "argument is war," which, she contends, can serve to disguise the

violence of Revelation, making the book appear to be non-violent, when in actuality its final

conclusions remain very much so. To this end she argues that "Revelation does not provide the

reader with a purely nonviolent message."[631] With this notion we would concur; while there are

readings of Revelation that do indeed envision a non-violent response to imperial Rome,[632] the

ultimate picture of the destruction of the dragon and its followers is depicted as an extremely

violent event, and it is intended to be so. Richard Spencer, writing on violence and vengeance in

Revelation, acknowledges the fact that the written word seems to mitigate 'actual' violence to

some extent, in that God appears above it all, rectifying the cosmic and human situation, such

that the ultimate solution, though dire and harrowing, may be suited to the problem. Yet

Spencer's characterizations of the vengeance and violence of God in Revelation are such that in

his mind the book, "exudes an almost brutal atmosphere," while elsewhere he describes the tone

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[629] 1QM curses Belial and his rule at 13:1-2, 4, 5. The enemies of 1QM (including the Kittim specifically) are depicted as being destroyed in 1:4, 6, 9; 9:5; 11:7, 11; 13:15, 16; 15:2; 16:8, 9; 17:14, 15; 18:2, 4-5; 19:13. Corresponding to this, Revelation curses Babylon (Rome) in 18:1-24, whereafter the dragon, the beast, and the false prophet are all hurled into the lake of fire (19:20; 20:10).

[630] "Songs of joy for God" is written on a banner in1QM 4:4-5. 1QM 12:13-14 invokes the lyric of victory, "Your pal[a]ces. O Zion, rejoice greatly, and shine with joyful songs, O Jerusalem. Rejoice, all you cities of Judah, open your gate[s] forever." 1QM 19:7 calls for rejoicing, "O daughters of my people, burst out with a voice of joy." After the final battle the warriors of the Sons of Light are called to sing praise to God before the slain of the Kittim (19:13).

Corresponding to this, Rev 19:1-8 gives a four-fold Hallelujah, in praise to God for destroying Rome (the woman on the beast). It should be noted that this phrase appears in the Christian Scriptures only in this section of John's Apocalypse.

[631] Susan Hylen, "Metaphor Matters: Violence and Ethics in Revelation," *The Catholic Biblical Quarterly* 73.4 (2011): 777–96.

[632] See for example, Blount, *Revelation: A Commentary*.

of the book as "ominous," and its Christology as "shocking."[633] These characterizations align

with the assessments of many, including Skaggs and Doyle, who conclude that, "Much of the

material in Revelation appears to be violent, vengeful and hateful."[634]

Still others have approached Revelation from a range of perspectives, attempting to come

to terms with the violence of Revelation through such fields as sociology, as Steve Bruce has

attempted.[635] Others, such as Tomas Martin, have seen in Revelation a mandate to ecological

stewardship conveyed through its depictions of violence, and thereby a call to align one's self

with the Lamb, rather than the environment destroying Beast.[636]

Kimberly Stratton notes the Roman tenor to the triumphal figure of Christ (Rev 19:11-

16), and suggests the use of such militant imagery ironically serves to commandeer the very

same oppressive tactics used by Rome to begin with. In this way, John's Apocalypse "mimics

strategies of intimidation used by Rome."[637]   With this point we would also concur, but Stratton

goes yet a step further, suggesting that the resultant condemnation on the part of God in

Revelation is akin to the voyeuristic spectacle presented in Roman blood sport, which, according

to Stratton, implies a perverse enjoyment derived from the final eschatological violence on the

part of God. Further, Stratton suggests the knowledge exhibited by Christ in the circular letters

to the churches indicates a "voyeuristic Christ," which, she contends, is also a feature derived

from Roman culture, and exerts power through the act of seeing and surveilling others.

Ultimately, Stratton suggests the philosophical (and entirely conventional) problem of ongoing

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[633] Richard A. Spencer, "Violence and Vengeance in Revelation," *Review & Expositor* 98.1 (2001): 59–75.
[634] Rebecca Skaggs and Thomas Doyle, "Violence in the Apocalypse of John," *Currents in Biblical Research* 5.2 (2007): 220–234.
[635] Steve Bruce, "Religion and Violence: What Can Sociology Offer?," *Numen* 52.1 (2005): 5–28.
[636] Cf. Rev 11:18 for a liturgical reference to destroying those who destroy the earth. Thomas W. Martin, "Angels Run Amok: A Literary-Theological Reassessment of the Violence against Creation in the Book of Revelation," *Canadian-American Theological Review* 5.1 (2016): 25–42.
[637] Kimberly Stratton, "The Eschatological Arena: Reinscribing Roman Violence in Fantasies of the End Times," *Biblical Interpretation* 17.1–2 (2009): 45–76.

evil, undermines Jewish and Christian theology both. We would stop short of agreeing with these last points.

Needless to say, the problem of violence itself remains. Equally as axiomatic as the statement above by Collins, is the assessment of G. van den Heever that, "An apocalyptic worldview is essentially a violent worldview."[638] The violence of Revelation and 1QM cannot be escaped, nor should it be downplayed. Yet our present focus is not to attempt to reconcile the many unresolved ethical threads of argumentation either for, or against, the eschatological violence depicted in our two texts. We must, however, compare their theological underpinnings. To that end, Alex Jassen has proposed an explanation for the development and motivation behind the *yaḥad's* perspective on violence, as based on a theory of "scarcity of resources,"[639] which is an economic theory derived from H. Avalos.[640] The remainder of this section will focus on Jassen's application of this hypothesis, as it is useful for our purposes.

Scarcity of resources theory, Jassen argues, explains why the views of the *yaḥad* became instilled with violence. He contends that the Qumran community adhered to a "violent worldview," and gives the characterization that violence was "a central preoccupation" of the *yaḥad*. Jassen carefully outlines the progression of the sect as it moved from conciliatory to condemnatory, ultimately to a position of eschatological hostility towards all outsiders. He

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[638] To that end, the term 'millennialism' has often been used broadly to describe that violent impetus which characterizes religious movements from a wide range of historical backgrounds which find a forward-thinking trajectory towards the final destruction of the present world. This compulsion (in both thought and action) appears in different variations, but the driving factor is always a religious fervor. Often the purveyors of such religious violence are minority groups which understand themselves as socially marginalized outsiders seeking a global vindication for their dissatisfaction. A characteristic of such movements is an aversion against the impure (unholy) world of the present, in conjunction with a pursuit of the pure (holy) world of the future. The impulse is thus one of both a forward and a backward looking perspective, seeking as it does after an idealized past while looking towards a perfected future. The two texts at the center of this study would most certainly fit into these categories alongside many other examples. See Gerhardus A. van den Heever, "The Usefulness of Violent Ends: Apocalyptic Imaginaries in the Reconstruction of Society," in *Reconceiving Religious Conflict: New Views from the Formative Centuries of Christianity*, ed. Wendy Mayer and Chris L. de Wet, 1st ed. (London; New York: Routledge, 2018).

[639] Jassen, "The Dead Sea Scrolls and Violence."

[640] Hector Avalos, *Fighting Words: The Origins of Religious Violence* (Amherst, NY: Prometheus Books, 2005).

applies to this progression Avalos' theory, which holds that a lack of food, land, energy, or other precious resources can spur violent impulses. In the case of the *yaḥad*, Jassen applies the paradigm to four categories of suggested scarcity: 1) Inscripturation; 2) sacred space; 3) group privileging; and 4) salvation. After outlining of the development of the sect, we will interact with each component.

The major historical premise Jassen adheres to, much like the present research, relies on Schiffman's theory that the *yaḥad* began with a schism among the Sadducean ruling class of Jerusalem. This division was apparently caused by a number of disagreements regarding the ideal and correct application of Levitical procedures in the Temple, as outlined in 4QMMT. This particular text represents an early stage in the development of the *yaḥad* community, and its tone is relatively conciliatory, such that the problems and disagreements expressed by 4QMMT might possibly have been rectified, provided that the authorities at the Temple would have adhered to the halachic understanding prescribed by the *yaḥad*. This did not occur, and a semi-amicable separation seems to have taken place. Thus, it seems the origins of the group were contentious, but not necessarily hostile. Subsequent to this, however, the Community Rule (1QS) provides the far more harsh assessment, that, as it pertains to those who fail to properly adhere to the prescribed laws:

> "They 'have not sought Him nor inquired of His statutes' (Zeph 1:6) so as to discover the hidden laws in which they err to their shame. Even the revealed laws they knowingly transgress, thus stirring God's judgmental wrath and full vengeance: the curses of the Mosaic covenant."

(1QS 5:11-12).

This statement of open condemnation represents the codified views of the sect, and draws the line between those who understand and obey the laws of the covenant, over and against those who do not. One may assume that the items delineated by 4QMMT are summarized in the above

statement from 1QS. As is clearly apparent, those on the outside (i.e., fellow Jews) are indicted

for failing to search the deeper truths of God, and to grasp them as they were understood by the

Qumran sectarians, and even those plainly revealed points which are most evident are understood

as having been ignored. This step away from the conciliatory tone of 4QMMT represents a

hardening of the position of the *yaḥad*, wherein former peers were subsequently considered to be

'outsiders,' and, following this, the inward focus of the sect began to build on its own

understanding of halachic purity, which excluded non-members. This isolationist impulse Jassen

characterizes as "introversionist," a category he derives from E. Regev.[641] Most importantly,

Jassen observes, the division seen here is key to the initial development of the *yaḥad's* impulse

towards violence, due to the fact that what began as an ideological disagreement among fellow

priests turned into a sharp distinction between competing social groups. It is important also to

point out that the condemnation on the part of the *yaḥad* was drawn directly from its

understanding of Scripture – note the above passage includes a reference to Zeph 1:6 – and from

a certain point forward their position was further reinforced as the sect became a recognizable

social group of its own.

Still more evidence of the solidifying of the cultic identity of the group is found in its

interpretive (pesher) approach to Scripture, which allowed for an exclusivity that barred even the

authoritative prophets themselves. This can be seen for example in 1QpHab, in which the sect

founder alone (the Teacher of Righteousness) is said to have had the authority and insight to

correctly interpret Scripture. The reference in Hab 2:1 which instructs, "Record the vision and

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[641] Eyal Regev, *Sectarianism in Qumran: A Cross-Cultural Perspective* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2018).
Although the term "introversionist" does capture a sense of the inward focus of the sect in this regard, we would
prefer to use the term "isolationist," even though there is no indication that the *yaḥad* was able to isolate itself from
society. The connotation of an internal focus of a social group seems better captured by this term.

inscribe it on tablets, that *the one who reads it* may run" (emphasis added), is said to refer

specifically to Qumran's Teacher of Righteousness in 1QpHab 7:3-5. Thus, observes Jassen:

> "Like the Rule of the Community, the pesher texts are generally dated to the fully
> sectarian phase of the community's history. Most importantly, they represent the
> 'revolutionist' sectarianism of the community by giving full expression to its
> longing for collective salvation in an imminent eschatological age. As such, they
> are uniquely positioned to provide insight into the community's rhetoric of
> eschatological violence."[642]

Note here that a distinctly *eschatological* aspect has been infused into the mindset of the

yaḥad, which Jassen characterizes as "revolutionist."[643] Also given in support of this notion is

the pesher interpretation of Isaiah (4Q161), which includes the Kittim in its picture of final

destruction, thus expanding the scope of condemnation on the part of the *yaḥad* beyond the lesser

local disagreements with the Jerusalem authorities, to include foreign nations as well. This, then,

marks the final step in the transition from conciliation (4QMMT), to condemnation (1QS), then

from condemnation to eschatological hostility (the pesher texts), and ultimately to an essentially

warlike stance against the world at large, of which the violent expression(s) of Holy War found

in 1QM represent the end result. But Jassen is also quick to point out that the violent impulse on

the part of the *yaḥad* stops short of becoming actual violence.

Inscripturation is a term used by Avalos to describe the elitism of the literate class in a

society where literacy is extremely rare. The above description of the transitions which the sect

experienced over time turns on sharp disagreements over the interpretation of sacred literature in

each case. At the very outset 4QMMT lays out the differences of opinion as they pertain

specifically to Torah law, and it deals point-by-point with questions of purity and proper

administration of the Temple. Following this, 1QS directly condemns those who fail to

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[642] Jassen, "The Dead Sea Scrolls and Violence."
[643] Again that of E. Regev, *Sectarianism in Qumran: A Cross-Cultural Perspective*.

comprehend and obey the stipulations of the Mosaic covenant. At that point it is not a giant step from condemnation to the rigid exclusivity of the pesher texts, and to the wider scope of anticipated eschatological destruction depicted in 4Q161 and 1QM. What this breeds, according to Jassen, is a sense in which proper interpretation (as understood exclusively by the *yaḥad*) becomes nearly as scarce as literacy itself, and this perception is also perpetuated by the literate *yaḥad*. According to the scarcity of resources theory as Jassen applies it, this dynamic serves to hold the 'introversionist' (isolationist) impulse together in tension with the *revolutionist*, since the exclusive readings of the Scriptures on the part of the sect are understood to "advocate the absolute destruction of all those outside of the community – Romans and non-sectarian Jews."[644] And with this point we would concur; the sect did indeed advocate the violent destruction of outsiders, and 1QM reflects this as an enthusiastic sentiment.

Yet alongside this we would observe the irony of an elite class of literate sectarians viewing themselves as the victims of scarcity of resources, in particular when it comes to access to written culture. It may indeed have been the case that the *yaḥad* was forced to leave behind a treasury of written material in the wake of their departure from the Temple, and therefore felt itself deprived, but we have no direct evidence of this. Jassen suggests that the sectarians generated their own scarcity by way of their founding, which created a sense of exclusivity and therefore a scarcity of resources. But it is hard to believe such a tack would have been a conscious effort on the part of the *yaḥad*. The intentional creation of scarcity in any domain of life can be construed as a violent act in itself, but the *yaḥad* betrays no clear indication of such an intent. We may recognize the evolution of the thought-life of the *yaḥad* within these documents, and trace the growing resentment and even loathing towards outsiders, but as these developments stop short of active violence on the part of the sect itself, they may merely be characterized as

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[644] Jassen, "The Dead Sea Scrolls and Violence."

obscurantist, and obscurity alone does not necessarily trigger violence. For this reason, it seems

appropriate to separate out the communal attitudes of the *yaḥad* over and against the persona of

the Teacher of Righteousness, who founded the sect. It may have been the case that the Teacher

of Righteousness foisted a violent and separatist worldview onto the sect at its founding, in

which case it makes sense that the *yaḥad* would continue along this trajectory. But if the sect

collectively lionized the Teacher of Righteousness, it may also be the case that the pesher texts

reflect a consensus which grew out of the initial schism into a more extreme opposition to the

Jerusalem authorities and against the world. The distinction here is important, because if violent

impulses lay at the heart of the founding of the group, then it serves us to determine if the

Teacher of Righteousness was a megalomaniac, or if the sect followed him slavishly, or perhaps

both. Whatever may have been the case, it is not certain that the *intent* of either one was to

induce a scarcity of written resources, although scarcity may have been perceived vis-à-vis

exclusivity.

   If we compare this dynamic to that of John of Patmos, we are left with the tension

between group and/or individual forces attempting to impose their will. Unlike the Teacher of

Righteousness, John did not (that we know of) establish a community of followers living

together in close proximity to one another and to himself. Rather, John appears in lonely exile.

In comparison, the Teacher of Righteousness seems more akin to a cult leader, or a local clergy

member, in that he found his place among like-minded or compliant individuals on the margins,

and was at home there. For John's part, he does write to seven specific churches, but there is no

indication that he was at all lionized by any of them, or that he recognized himself personally

within the Scriptures. In John's case, we see him remodeling passages from works such as

Ezekiel, Daniel, and Zechariah, which in turn cast John as a type of these earlier figures, but in

no way a replacement for them. In John's writing there is no sense in which the earlier prophets failed to grasp the insights which he alone was privy to. As a result, the exclusivity of interpretation which Jassen recognizes as evident among the *yaḥad* does not seem to apply to John. There is no explicit interpretive statement in John's Apocalypse which lays claim to him having the only correct understanding of sacred texts.

Sacred space constitutes another point of scarcity, according to Jassen, and this pertains to the Temple in Jerusalem, which 1QM depicts as being recaptured and, one would assume, cleansed at the outset of the Holy War. With only one Temple location in existence, and no real recourse to join alternative groups such as the Samaritans at Mount Gerizim, the *yaḥad* was forced to withdraw from the primary sacred location and to content itself with crumbs from the Jerusalem authorities. As noted, the *yaḥad* is depicted in 1QM as transferring itself from the Wilderness of the Nations, to the Wilderness of Jerusalem. Jassen describes the isolationist rationale of the group as developing along the following lines:

> "While in self-imposed exile from the sacred space of the temple, the community developed a rhetoric regarding the temple that served to outline its conflict with its enemies and, of course, affirm its own position as correct. In doing so, the community argued that only it knew how to administer the sacred space properly. Therefore, all others—that is, the current priests in the temple—had profaned it. While the others had de-sacralized the temple, only the community could re-sacralize it."[645]

This is an extremely important point, and we will return to it in the section below. In support of this Jassen references 4QFlorilegium (4Q174), which serves to eschatologize the Temple. Referencing Exod 15:17-18 (the *Song of the Sea*), 4Q174 depicts the current temple as defiled and corrupt, soon to be replaced by a Temple made by God. In explaining the motivation behind this sentiment, Jassen observes, "The sectarian community is powerless against the

[645] Ibid.

present illegitimate stewards of the temple and therefore establishes the spiritualized temple."[646] However, the means for accomplishing this feat are eschatologically violent, and since the *yaḥad* lacked the military power to impose their will on the Temple during their own time, Jassen reasons, "The violent removal of the priests is delayed until the eschaton."[647] As a result of this delay, an *eventual* act of violence is anticipated by the sect, but open violence is avoided. It must be acknowledged here that a scarcity of (sacred) space is indeed evident when it comes to the Temple location, and this would boil over into actual violence in due course. The nearly universal understanding among Jews held that the most sacred space in the entirety of its cultural history was in fact Jerusalem where the Temple was built, and of which there was no tolerance for a secondary location.[648]

Yet, along with the militarization of eschatological beliefs comes an interim process wherein a *refinement* of sorts occurs which was understood to be preparational to the engagement in Holy War. Jassen finds this stage evident in 4QFlorilegium, which refers to the cleansing of the Temple from the presence of Belial and the Sons of Belial (4Q174 1:8-9). It is at this juncture where the intense conflict between the *yaḥad* and the Temple authorities has become authentically eschatological; the mention of Belial brings the dispute into the spiritual realm, and labels the opposition as 'demonic.' The transition now having been complete, 1QM's reflection on the same transitional stage of refinement is described poetically in reference to those tested by the "crucible" (מצרף).[649] But here Jassen's application of the theory runs into an obstacle, since there is no space given in 1QM to the description of the re-taking of the Temple, or of the final fate of the Jerusalem authorities who have so plagued the *yaḥad* from the outset:

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[646] Ibid.

[647] Ibid.

[648] Deut 12:5-14 emphasizes as much. This prohibition effectively relegated the Samaritan affirmation of Mount Gerizim along with any other secondary locale as being an aberration.

[649] 1QM 16:15; 17:1, 9.

"Based on my interpretation of 4QFlorilegium and its vision for the eschatological temple, one would imagine that the War Scroll or related documents would describe in greater detail the future violence surrounding control of the temple. Sectarian eschatological documents, however, are curiously lacking in any such description."[650]

This absence of evidence does not necessarily imply the evidence of absence, but Jassen is correct in noting the silence in this regard. Ultimately, he concludes, "Rather, this time is devoted to temple service (1QM 2:6)."[651] As the line of his argumentation continues, the internalization of the Temple becomes key to the sect's self-understanding; since they cannot immediately control the Jerusalem Temple, they will consider themselves to be *living temples* until the day when things are set aright. But such a position does not appear, at least to this researcher, to be the outlook of a sect "preoccupied with violence," nor does it necessarily constitute a thoroughly violent worldview. Rather, what is represented in 1QM appears more like the theological adaptations of a marginalized group that has suffered significant loss, yet continued to maintain its own form of integrity according to its core convictions. We see this also in the shift of focus from the Temple to the worldwide Kittim. Moreover, the entire middle section of the scroll which covers the *Rules for the War of Divisions* (Col 2-9) is spent describing the troops and their movements, making no mention of divine justice poured out on the errant Temple authorities. It is therefore highly likely that the sympathies of the sect simply resonated more with the anti-Roman sentiments of the Pharisees than they did with the Sadducean inclination to accommodate Rome. This being the case, it is no wonder that the *yaḥad* would have understood the Temple authorities to have been a somewhat less pressing matter than the threatening and powerful Kittim who occupied and dominated their land through violence and

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[650] Jassen, "The Dead Sea Scrolls and Violence."
[651] Ibid.

oppression. Consequently, it is not surprising that the War Scroll provides no graphic

description of the re-conquest of Jerusalem; the *yaḥad* apparently understood it to be a given.

The final two sections of Jassen's application of the scarcity of resources theory hang on

group privileging and *salvation*. These two go together, as a distinction is drawn between the

Haves and the Have Nots with regard to earthly resources and heavenly rewards. Based again on

the economic theory of Avalos, Jassen suggests that the presence of a sharp and/or arbitrary

distinction in these areas is enough on its own to incite violence. And while this may indeed be

the case under certain circumstances – after all, the invasive presence of the Roman military in

the Jordan river valley, which is unbearably hot during much of the year and lacking in fresh

water, would most certainly have induced a scarcity of resources – it is nevertheless

reductionistic to place too much weight on the mere existence of these 'distinctions.' We would

concur with Jassen that divinely preordained advantages which are perceived to have been

granted from God are overwhelmingly insurmountable if indeed they are understood to exist and

are seen as unjust, but if the lesser advantaged individual(s) retain an internal understanding of

intrinsic (i.e., personal) value, then even the most vaunted world power may, in theory, be

brought down to earth and neutralized. This is certainly the case with the example of John of

Patmos proclaiming against all odds, "Fallen, fallen, is Babylon the Great," from the small island

of Patmos in the Aegean. Moreover, the traditional Israelite culture did not, generally speaking,

harbor the perception of resource depravity, but rather of economic abundance. This perception

would have collided with extreme forces beyond the control of any human being, such as famine,

but there is no indication the Jews of the Second Temple period saw themselves largely as the

inferiors to the Romans. Quite the opposite, in fact, many sought to overthrow what they

understood to be the degraded culture of Roman paganism. Additionally, within the Jewish

structure of the Temple system there was also embedded a significant distinction between the Levitical priesthood and those tribes which were simply excluded from service. One would think this distinction, if indeed Avalos is correct, should have led to a civil war between the Levites and the other tribes. But the balance which offset the privilege, in this case, was the prohibition from owning land, which the priestly class was forbidden from doing.[652] This put the Levites in the position of depending on charity, which is predicated on an abundance, rather than on scarcity.

If we apply the same line of thinking to Revelation similar questions do arise. Like 1QM, John's Apocalypse postpones the eschatological violence until the end, and, according to the paradigm described above, this would serve to avert a real-world conflict with a bloody outcome. But John's motivation is not the avoidance of conflict, rather it is the overcoming of opposing forces by pressing into the violence inflicted by Rome, and by maintaining a faithful witness despite that violence. John doesn't call his readers/hearers to acts of violence, but he does call them to be prepared to *suffer* violence, which is one of the key differences in the development of Holy War as seen moving from 1QM to Revelation. The Roman empire is put on notice by John's writing. In effect, his perspective on 'postponement' is one that allows for time to repent, although he is not optimistic on that front. The impending annihilation of the enemies of God, which he places in the future, serves as a warning to those earthly forces which he is indicting and condemning. 1QM does not provide for any such opportunity to repent, but one could argue that 4QMMT does so, on behalf of the *yaḥad*. Yet there is no sense in either of our primary texts that the authors were in any way pleased that the conflict existed, although there remains a violent depiction in their final resolutions. Thus, the expressions of elation at the defeat and

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[652] Cf. Deut 10:9.

destruction of their enemies appears, in both cases, not to be a mere celebration over a bloodbath, but an expression of great relief at having shrugged off oppression.

At this juncture then, it serves to ask the question, who wrote 1QM? This researcher would suggest it was penned by a war veteran, as it has all the markings one would expect from such an individual. But the idealized *yaḥad* army pictured by 1QM is still very much a work of fiction, except as it pertains to the inspiration drawn from the occupying Roman army. The only interaction the *yaḥad* seems to have had with actual warfare appears to be its own destruction at the hands of Rome. One does not read of an organized Jewish military in the supporting literature so much as there are accounts of various rebels and extremists, such as the Sicarii, or the Zealot party located in different Judean towns. But the author of 1QM is sufficiently familiar with military tactics and arms as to suggest he may have had attained the status of a veteran of war.

The next question which demands our attention then becomes, how could aspects of *yaḥad* theology have gotten over to Patmos, if indeed such a cross pollination occurred? In answer to that, and to our other questions, we will consider the actions of the Zealot party as the likely key to retroactively unlocking the theology of 1QM.

5.3   The Zealotry of 1QM

The Zealot party is predominantly identified by Josephus (*War* 4.161),[653] where he blames them for provoking the Roman destruction of Jerusalem in 70 CE. Josephus is not to be credited with coining the term "Zealot," as the group apparently assigned it to themselves, and he

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[653] Of the Zealots, Josephus writes, "for that was the name they went by, as if they were zealous in good undertakings, and were not rather zealous in the worst actions, and extravagant in them beyond the example of others," (*War* 4:161). Whiston, *The Works of Josephus*.

shunned their claims to such devout enthusiasm.[654] The terminology of zealotry is associated

biblically with the account of Num 25:1-18, in which Phinehas, the son of Aaron the high priest,

ran a spear through an errant Israelite and a Midianite woman with whom the man was having

intercourse, thus putting an end to an unspecified plague at Baal-Peor. Not only did this violent

action put an end to the plague, but Phinehas was honored by God for his zeal (קנא), hence both

the trait and the moniker of *zealotry*. It has been noted that the actions of Phinehas were in

keeping with the role of a military guard at the Tabernacle,[655] and despite the graphic description

of the slaying, God makes a covenant with Phinehas in the narrative (Num 25:12-13). It is also

the case that the DSS do not exhibit an overt admiration for Phinehas, but in fact he is not cursed

or unmentionable. Although he is decidedly a minor figure he nevertheless appears in a few

fragments.[656]

It is this *militant* character trait which embodied the ideal of zealotry for which the

Maccabees were also known, and from which the Zealot party, in turn, drew its inspiration.[657]

Moreover, the original Hasmonean legacy (prior to the installation of a non-Zadokite priest), was

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[654] Ibid. On the Zealot party taking the name associated with zeal or extreme devotion, Josephus says, "they imitated every wicked work; nor, if their memory suggested any evil thing that had formerly been done, did they avoid zealously to pursue the same; and although they gave themselves that name from their zeal for what was good, yet did it agree to them only by way of irony, on account of those they had unjustly treated by their wild and brutish disposition, or as thinking the greatest mischiefs to be the greatest good," (*War* 7.269-70).

[655] Cf. 1 Chron 9:20, which asserts, "Phinehas the son of Eleazar was ruler over them previously, *and* the LORD was with him." See excursus 61 in Jacob Milgrom, *JPS Torah Commentary: Numbers* (Philadelphia, PA: JPS, 1990).

[656] Cf. 4Q243; 4Q522; 6Q13.

[657] Richard Horsley contends that the Zealots were, in large part, victims of circumstance with no real option but to respond militarily to their Herodian rulers and by extension to Rome. See Richard A. Horsley, "The Zealots: Their Origin, Relationships and Importance in the Jewish Revolt," *Novum Testamentum* 28.2 (1986): 159–192.

William Farmer, in his volume on Jewish nationalism, sees in 1QM possible evidence of a more genuine expression of Maccabean theology than is reflected in the formalized writings of 1 and 2 Maccabees. Moreover, he argues for direct historical continuity from the type of Jewish nationalism (i.e., zealotry) of the Maccabees subsequently feeding into the Roman period as evidenced, among other things, by certain liturgical sections found in 1QM's expression of Holy War. Noting that some portions of 1QM may date back to the Hasmonean period, Farmer sets the liturgical material of 1 Macc 4:30-33 alongside 1QM 11:2-5 (both of which make appeals to David's victory over the Philistines), and in doing so he links the Zealot theology of the *yaḥad* (1QM) back to the Maccabees. William R. Farmer, *Maccabees, Zealots, and Josephus: An Inquiry into Jewish Nationalism in the Greco-Roman Period* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1973), 159-204.

one of militant resistance itself, giving the Zealots another model for imitation. This can be seen, for example, in 1 Macc 2:31-41, which indicates a willingness to fight on the Sabbath, a principle the Zealots would have followed. Apart from the Maccabean willingness to make treaties with Rome (1 Macc 8:17-21), the Zealots were aligned with them as to the means by which the Temple should be secured. What the Zealot party of the Second Temple era represented, then, was a group of individuals adhering to a violent ethic akin to that of Phinehas and the Maccabees prior, all loosely associated and spread throughout Judea during the post-Hasmonean period, and committed to the accomplishment of their goals through the use of force. These people did not necessarily constitute an official or formal military, as such, but they did have both training and leadership, and at times were able to withstand attacks from Rome to a remarkable degree.

At this point, we would propose that the written theology embodied in 1QM would have served as a direct pretext to the real-world military actions taken by the Zealots when they took the Temple in Jerusalem. Ideologically speaking, the Zealots apparently believed that, should a Holy War be triggered (either by a sign or an event which was divinely indicated), a militarily violent response would successfully put the Temple in their rightful hands, and enable them to expel Rome from the Holy Land, along with their compromising Jewish opponents. 1QM expresses this same ideology. The Zealots adhered to the popular anti-Roman sentiment of the time, and their political sense was that, if the Jews had simply committed more fully to outright warfare against Rome to begin with, then Jerusalem would never have fallen in the first place. As a consequence, they represented the only armed and coordinated Jewish response against the Roman Empire during the Second Temple Period.

To be certain, we are not attempting to identify the *yaḥad* in any way with the Zealot party. This has been attempted in the past, but since no mention of the Zealots appears in antiquity prior to the military coup they executed at the Temple in 66 CE, it is inaccurate to identify the *yaḥad* as being 'Zealots.'[658] Having said that, however, the actions taken by the Zealots are clearly prescribed in the War Scroll, at least insofar as taking Jerusalem by force is concerned. Early DSS scholars were correct in categorizing 1QM as a 'War Rule,' but not in the sense that it reflects a set of monastic guidelines. Rather, the War Scroll is comprised of realistic marching orders set within an imagined eschatological battle of the future. Thus, when the Zealots moved on Jerusalem (roughly 45km away from Qumran), it would most certainly have been an act of faith attempting to put into practice the very ideology expressed by the War Scroll. It is here, we would argue, where symbolic violence in the written text becomes transferred into actual violence out in the real world.

We must be careful also to distinguish between the various parties, and not to confuse the Zealots with the Sicarii, although we would contend that it is an overstatement to divide them one from another too starkly.[659] Broadly speaking, as per Josephus, the Zealots took and held

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[658] Oppenheimer points out that the Zealots are not mentioned prior to the Roman war of 66-74 CE, and so it is not possible to identify them with the *yaḥad*. He mentions the attempts on the part of G.R. Driver and R.H. Eisenman to identify the Essenes with the Zealots, but these have been unconvincing. See A. Oppenheimer, "Zealots," in Schiffman and VanderKam, *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 1007-1010.

[659] Oppenheimer observes that the concept of *zeal* is not a self-designation anywhere in the Qumran sectarian writings. At the same time, he acknowledges the possibility that some from the Qumran community or the wider *yaḥad* movement may have fought against the Romans at either Jerusalem, Masada or both, but these are never called "Zealots" by Josephus. Furthermore, he asserts accurately that Josephus says Masada was occupied by "Sicarii," rather than "Zealots." However, J. Magness, in her review of the archaeological findings of Masada, opts for the terms "rebels," and "refugees." This blurs the distinction between those who may have come down to Masada from Qumran, and those who would have been perceived as militant rebels (whether Sicarii, or Zealots). The close proximity of Jerusalem to Qumran, and to Masada, plus the violence associated with the Zealots and the Sicarii, makes for an easy blurring of the lines between these two contemporary groups. Moreover, Josephus calls them all 'murderers.' For this reason, the categories of Magness are appropriate since Josephus himself confuses the issue. Because of the overlap in violent ideologies, it is very difficult in the mind of this researcher to draw a hard distinction between the Zealots and the group which took Masada, known as the Sicarii. See A. Oppenheimer, "Zealots," in Schiffman and VanderKam, *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 1007-1010. See Abraham Schalit, "Josephus Flavius," in *Encyclopedia Judaica*, 10:251-265. See Jodi Magness, *Masada: From Jewish Revolt to Modern Myth* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2019), 165.

Jerusalem (66-70 CE), while the Sicarii took Masada (67/68 CE). The reason 1QM so readily

embodies the Zealot ideology is because they took Jerusalem itself, which the War Scroll

mandates at the outset in a move from the '*Wilderness of the People*' to the '*Wilderness of

Jerusalem*,' (1:3). This would have been a far more highly prized location than the fortress of

Masada. Moreover, the application of *scarcity of resources* theory, by Jassen, to the

development of a violent ideology most certainly applies here, and it touches on the clash

between materialism and spirituality. As per Jassen's quote above, the internal perception of the

yaḥad had defined itself over and against the Jewish authorities in the Temple, which lead to the

conclusion that only the *yaḥad* themselves were capable of following the Levitical guidelines

properly, and applying them to the limited sacred space. As a result, since the ruling priestly

authority was seen as corrupt, the *yaḥad* alone could "re-sacralize" the Temple.[660] Hence, we

would argue, with the elimination of their enemies, the Zealots put into action the written

militancy of the *yaḥad*. What the War Scroll entertains as an eschatological revenge fantasy, the

Zealots sought to bring into reality. As they proceeded to 'cleanse' the Temple and annihilate

their enemies, no doubt they trusted that God was with them in the effort.

Putting a finer point on it, Aharon Oppenheimer points out that the Zealot party also had

a priestly component, and that this affected their approach to managing the Temple when they

held it briefly (67-70 C.E). He notes that they abolished the oligarchical authority of the ruling

priesthood, and instituted the election of the new high priest by casting lots.[661] Oppenheimer

observes that, had this lasted, it would have been a highly significant and democratizing

accomplishment on the part of the Zealot party, but it also involved the execution of two former

high priests. As a result of this overthrow, we would contend, the Zealots brought about exactly

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[660] Jassen, "The Dead Sea Scrolls and Violence."
[661] Aharon Oppenheimer, "Zealots," in Schiffman and VanderKam, *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 1007-1010.

the bloody program of revenge which 1QM advocates and describes. The next strategic step, according to the War Scroll, would have been a sweeping campaign staged from the centralized location of Jerusalem, running from Asia down into Mesopotamia along the Euphrates River.

The Zealots, however, were unscrupulous and dangerous towards people under their authority, and once they took the Temple it quickly became apparent that Holy War ideology and the realities of waging an actual Holy War are two different matters entirely. Josephus relates the Zealots penchant for looting and murder (*War* 4.162); their fomenting of civil war (*War* 4.131, 441); their irrational burning of the city's abundant food storages (*War* 5.25), and the account of a woman who resorted to cannibalism because the food stores of Jerusalem had been ransacked by the armed men who controlled the city, causing starvation (*War* 3.201-213). Josephus describes these people as being 'zealous' only in the worst possible ways, calling them traitors, and accusing them of casting aside any pretense of a concern for the purity regulations of the Temple, turning it instead into a fortress and a receptacle. The regulations regarding the impurity of blood, in particular, which 1QM envisions to be necessarily cleansed in the aftermath of a successful Holy War, show a striking difference between the ideals depicted in 1QM, and the realities of an attempted Holy War on the part of the Zealots. 1QM relates the following scruples with regard to spilled blood in the context of Holy War.

As it pertains to the priests:

"When the slain have fallen, the pri[est]s shall continue blowing from afar and shall not enter into the midst of the slain so as to be defiled by their unclean blood, for they are holy. They shall [no]t allow the oil of their priestly anointment to be profaned with the blood of the vainglorious nations." (1QM 9:7-9)

As it pertains to the soldiers:

"After they have withdrawn from the slain to enter the camp, all of them shall sing the hymn of return. In the morning they shall wash their clothes, cleanse themselves of the blood of the sinful bodies, and return to the place where they

had stood, where they had formed the battle line before the slain of the enemy fell. There they shall all bless the God of Israel and joyously exalt His name together." (1QM 14:2-4)

These passages indicate a clear esteem for ritual purity with regard to the defiling nature of blood. In contrast, Josephus relates as follows:

"As for the dead bodies of the people, their relations carried them out to their own houses; but when any of the zealots were wounded, he went up into the temple, and defiled that sacred floor with his blood, insomuch that one may say it was their blood alone that polluted our sanctuary." (*War* 4.201)

Setting these passages alongside each other, it becomes exceedingly clear the difference between the rhetorical creativity of 1QM, and the actual results of its failed execution on the part of the Zealots. They also refused to the bury the dead (*War* 4.381), and Josephus, to his shock and horror, describes them as killing any who attempted to do so. In this way, the Zealot party did to their fallen enemies exactly what both 1QM and Revelation describe as the due punishment within an honor/shame culture.[662] Indeed, the fantasy on the parchment did not translate to a reality on the field of battle. Ultimately, as the historical record shows, although the Zealots were dauntless in the face of death, they fell into factional civil war amongst themselves, and their final defiance by the time of the Bar Kokhba Revolt (c.132-136 CE), ended with the complete decimation of any shred of Jewish resistance against the Roman Empire.[663] What we see then, is a practically implemented Zealot theology derived from the blueprint prescribed by 1QM, to a disastrous and catastrophic end.

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[662] See above section *4.1.2 The Polemics of Revelation*. The refusal to bury the dead is described in 1QM 11:1, and in Rev 19:18, 21.

[663] As we have demonstrated, it is not too much of a stretch to view the *yaḥad* as militantly anti-Roman, and inspirational towards the Zealot party. The resistance factor may be further seen in the evidence of artifacts uncovered at Masada, which include fragmented copies of Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice (4Q400–407; 11Q17), the Apocryphon of Joshua (MAS1L), Jubilees (MAS1J), and three pieces of the distinctive cylindrical jars manufactured and used by the Qumran sect. All of these indicate an affiliation on the part of the *yaḥad* with the rebels and refugees of Masada, at least insofar as some of them made their final stand together as a group. See Magness, *Masada*, 177-179.

5.4   The Martyrdom of Revelation

John of Patmos, living at some distance from the destruction of Jerusalem and writing

perhaps during, or immediately following these events, was in a position to consider the

consequences more expansively. We have already noted that he would have had a considerable

amount of time to construct his Apocalypse, and his intended audience (i.e., the seven churches)

was not a local community within which he personally resided. No less hateful of Rome, and its

religious apparatus, not to mention the unseen powers which he understood to animate the

empire, his rhetoric paints a lofty picture, but it is a portrait which is more removed from the

material concerns of the physical Temple in Jerusalem than is 1QM. Accordingly, John takes the

position of the *yaḥad* to its Christian conclusion: If indeed the people of God have themselves

become 'living temples,' then the tragic destruction of the Temple of Jerusalem is ultimately of a

lesser concern, although one can imagine the sorrow and bitterness Jews throughout the

Mediterranean would have felt, including John himself.[664] Where then does John stand in

relation to this?

Commentators have recognized the role of witness/martyr theology in the Book of

Revelation, although some give it greater emphasis than others.[665] In Revelation, Christ himself

is presented as a witness/martyr (μάρτυς),[666] and so too are his faithful followers.[667] We see

references to the martyr mentality, and exhortations on the part of John to that end, in several

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[664] Cf. 1 Kgs 8:27. Theologically speaking, such a painful step could have been made with some relative intellectual ease, based on passages such as Solomon's prayer dedicating the first Temple, wherein he asks (rhetorically), "Will God really dwell on earth?"

[665] For example, the pivotal passage in Rev 12:11, which indicates that the ones who conquered the dragon did so by the testimony of their witness (μάρτυς), rather than loving their own lives so much as to seek the avoidance of death, sharply divides scholars. Prigent sees this passage as, "clearly martyrological." Fee sees this passage as, "not in fact a call to martyrdom." Blount, upon whose reasoning the present line of argumentation would lean, says, "It is a mythological picture of nonviolent resistance and revolution inspired by the historical narration of the cross." Fee, *Revelation*, 172. Prigent, *Commentary on the Apocalypse of St. John*, 392. Blount, *Revelation: A Commentary*, 238.

[666] Cf. Rev 1:5; 3:14.

[667] Cf. Rev 2:13; 11:3; 17:6.

passages. Rev 2:10 sees John depicting the Son of Man as giving the encouragement to Smyrna,

"Be faithful until death, and I will give you the crown of life." The fifth seal of Rev 6:9-11

indicates those who are protected under the altar of heaven had been killed, "because of the word

of God, and because of the testimony which they had maintained." In that same context we are

told the number of those killed forms the basis of the execution of God's coming wrath (6:11ff).

In Rev 11:11, the two witnesses who are publicly killed by the beast are shown to resurrect. This

example provides a symbolic yet clear indication of the merits to a martyrological ethic in John's

Apocalypse. The portrayal of their death and resurrection is followed by the equally clear

liturgical statement in 12:11, that, "they overcame him (i.e., the dragon) because of the blood of

the Lamb and because of the word of their testimony, and they did not love their life even when

faced with death."

A related position not of resignation, but of confidence in the final outcome of a

witness/martyr's death is articulated in Rev 13:10, which says that, "If anyone is to be taken

captive, to captivity he goes; if anyone is to be slain with the sword, with the sword must he be

slain."[668] Finally, in Rev 20:4-6, the text indicates that those who have been martyred (lit.

beheaded; πελεκίζω), are regarded as outstanding among the faithful. All of these passages

together paint a picture of a distinctively Christian witness/martyr theology, with the death of

Christ himself serving as the crowning example.[669] In John's Apocalypse the Parousia of Christ

is an indication of his having conquered death by way of witness/martyrdom.

This brings us to the crux of our theological comparison between 1QM and Revelation.

As we have noted regarding the Zealot party, while their attempts to consolidate power in the

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[668] Rev 13:10, ESV. The translation here is debated, but the outlook is nevertheless one which espouses a non-violent response to persecution, i.e., a willingness to suffer and endure.

[669] Cf. Rev 1:7; 18. Jesus appears as the one who was "pierced," and the one who was dead, but is alive for eternity.

Temple were short-lived and tumultuous at best, the group is depicted as willing to fight, kill, and die in the cause of Holy War. It is the *willingness to die* which ties the Zealot theology of 1QM to the witness/martyr theology of Revelation. Josephus' account of the Zealots is highly derogatory, but he provides indications that the Zealot party, if nothing else, were willing to die.

> "But the zealots were more deeply concerned for the danger these men were in than they were for themselves, and got together, and looked about them, to see whether they could devise any means of assisting them." (*War* 4.291)

Perhaps it was due to their youthfulness (*War* 4.193), or to their level of military training (*War* 4.197), or that they simply felt they had nothing to lose (*War* 4.199). Whatever the case may have been, the Zealots were not unwilling to die, and this constitutes the key point of theological contact between the Zealot ideology embodied in the War Scroll, and the witness/martyr theology espoused by John's Apocalypse. The bridge between the two is articulated by Yarbro Collins, in a chapter on the political perspective of John's Apocalypse, where she ties these views together. In light of the way John's writing rhetorically steels the nerves of his readers/hearers to withstand and endure persecution to the point of death, she observes that, "Readiness to die, however, is not peculiar to the non-violent opposition. It is obvious that the Maccabees and the Zealots also willingly risked their lives for the cause."[670]

From this point, regarding John's political motivations for writing an apocalypse (rather than fighting Rome directly), Yarbro Collins reasons as follows.

> "Given a situation of persecution, a variety of responses is possible. One might decide to write an apology for the Christian faith rather than an apocalypse. The fact that the author chose to write an apocalypse and one which involves such a thorough-going attack on the authority of Rome is an indication that he shared the

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[670] Adela Yarbro Collins, *Cosmology and Eschatology in Jewish and Christian Apocalypticism* (Leiden; Boston; Köln: Brill, 2000).

fundamental theological principle of the Zealots; that the kingdom of God is incompatible with the kingdom of Caesar."[671]

In concurrence with this assessment, we would apply the same logic to our own adjudication regarding the same principle of Zealot theology appearing also in 1QM, and observe that the step from a Zealot theology (1QM), into a witness/martyr theology (Revelation), hinges on the willingness to die for the cause of Holy War. As a result of this willingness, the ideology and institution of Holy War found a new expression in the post-Second Temple world of nascent Christianity.

5.5   Synthesis and Summary

Over the course of our study, we have taken into account the historical, discursive, and rhetorical connections between the War Scroll (1QM), and John's Apocalypse (the Book of Revelation). While these literatures are dissimilar in genre, they are both occupied with the concern of Holy War, which was an institution and an ideology of antiquity. Classical Israelite Holy War, as we have described it, finds its literary origins in Exod 15, followed by the idealistic examples which unfold subsequently in the Conquest period, of Joshua and Judges. Coming out of the period of the Judges, von Rad traced the phenomenon of Holy War from these beginnings into the Monarchic period (Samuel and Kings), wherein it became subject to the literary expressions of those who had never experienced such Holy Wars themselves. Thus, von Rad described it as a secular, or novelistic approach to Holy War, but with the rise of the state in the post-Solomonic era the prophets became spokesmen for the requisite *holiness* sought by way of classical Holy War.

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[671] Ibid.

Our study has picked up where von Rad left off, and traced these developments through the Persian period, the Hasmonean, and finally into the Second Temple era. We have seen the way in which 1QM and Revelation responded to Rome, the ways in which they understood the role of the priesthood, their geographical sensibilities, as well as their cosmological and liturgical perceptions, with the fall of Jerusalem becoming central to the Holy War positioning and rhetoric of both documents. Building on the prior scholarship of von Rad, we would submit the following historical outline, charting the lengthy development of Holy War.

Iteration of Holy War	Historical Era/Occasion
Classical Israelite Holy War	Exodus and early Conquest Period
Secular/Novelistic Holy War	Monarchic Period
Prophetic re-adaptation of Holy War	Post-Solomonic Era (development of the state)
Eschatological Holy War	Prescribed by 1QM (became the Zealot tradition)
Martyrological/Eschatological Holy War	Adapted by John's Apocalypse

We began our study with the suggestion by Bauckham that Revelation comprised a type of 'Christian War Scroll,' in that certain elements of Revelation had points of contact with 1QM. We have moved well beyond Bauckham's original hypothesis, comparing and contrasting a wide aspectual range of the components found in each text. In some cases, such as the use of Levites in Holy War, we have seen plausible reason to suggest the possibility of literary dependence between the two documents. In other cases the contrast(s) could not be more apparent, leaving us to conclude that only by way of analogy could certain elements be understood as comparable. We have also taken seriously the rhetorical goals of both texts, and observed that 1QM and Revelation are both *preparatory* writings, attempting to bring their readers/hearers to a place of

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readiness in anticipation of a great conflict, or tribulation. Finally, while both are described as 'resistance' literature, we may also understand 1QM and Revelation as defiance literature, in that they are indeed responsive, yet both texts are also antagonistic revenge fantasies. Even though 1QM is a rule, and Revelation is an apocalypse, in both cases the written word substitutes for the point of the sword.

The final days of the *yaḥad* came to a close sometime between 68 and 74 CE, when the chaos of Jewish civil war led to the Roman occupation of the site of Qumran following its destruction. As we have seen, the War Scroll indicates that the very opposite should have happened. In the highest of ironies, it was the hated and feared 'Kittim' themselves who would destroy the sect. In contrast, the first readers/hearers of John's Apocalypse died at the hands of 'Babylon,' but the larger movement prevailed against the political entity of Rome by way of endurance through suffering. Revelation accomplishes this, in part, by providing the picture of a victorious outcome, one which 1QM does not attempt to describe. In light of this, may we accurately say that Revelation is a Christian War Scroll? One would hope not.

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