Wisdom Literature in the Qumran Scrolls

Noam Mizrahi

A review of Arjen F. Bakker, *The Secret of Time: Reconfiguring Wisdom in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (STDJ 143), Leiden 2023

His vast knowledge of material culture and ancient Jewish literature, alongside his skillful discernment, helped him identify these unique finds. After purchasing three scrolls, Sukenik devoted most of his time to studying them, although he did not neglect his research in other fields and continued to conduct excavations and devote time to writing articles on other topics. His work on the Dead Sea Scrolls became evident in several concerted actions to meet this end: he oversaw the careful and meticulous unraveling and photographing of the scrolls, he lectured in Israel and abroad about this fascinating discovery, and he devoted painstaking efforts to copying and deciphering the texts of the scrolls and engaging in intensive research on their contents. The identification of the Dead Sea Scrolls as the writings of the Essene sect at Qumran, and of their importance to the study of Second Temple-period Judaism marked the peak of Sukenik's academic career in his later years. In 1950, he was the first scholar at the Hebrew University to receive its prestigious Solomon Bublick Award for his academic achievements in the study of the Dead Sea Scrolls.

Prof. Eleazar Lipa Sukenik left a significant imprint on archaeological research, including research on the Dead Sea Scrolls. Although he did not have the opportunity to complete his research on the scrolls, he is to be duly remembered as the founder and pioneer in this important and far-reaching discipline of Jewish archaeology.

Book Reviews

A New Edition of the Songs of the Sage

Devorah Dimant

A review of Joseph L. Angel, *The Songs of the Sage*: 4Q510, 4Q511 (DSSE 2), Leiden 2022

History of Scholarship

Eleazar Lipa Sukenik, "Jewish Archaeology" and the Dead Sea Scrolls

Zeev Weiss

The discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls and their acquisition by Eleazar L. Sukenik on November 29, 1947 have been amply described over the years in various publications. This article, which is devoted to Sukenik's contribution to the study of "Jewish archaeology" and the Dead Sea Scrolls, opens with a brief description of the Scrolls' discovery and the events leading up to their acquisition while providing new information that was compiled in several archives in the course of searching for documentation relating to the discovery, purchase, and handling of the scrolls by the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

Sukenik's religious background and training in classical archaeology and Semitic languages prepared him for broad interdisciplinary research projects from the Chalcolithic through the biblical periods. He conducted various excavations and participated in others, initiated the publication of *Encyclopaedia Biblica* in Hebrew and stood at the helm of its academic committee. However, Sukenik's main interest was Jewish archaeology from the Second Temple period through late antiquity; he dedicated much of his career to studying ancient synagogues, Jewish burial, epigraphy, numismatics, and the Dead Sea Scrolls.

Sukenik's desire to promote the study of Jewish archaeology and create a Department of Jewish Archaeology at the Hebrew University was expressed on several occasions in the early stages of his career. His vision included a study program that would combine both general and Jewish archaeology as well as the establishment of a museum alongside the department, while placing a great deal of weight on excavations and the publication of finds associated with the Jewish realm in both the Land of Israel and the Diaspora. The scope of Sukenik's academic achievements and their contribution to the study of Jewish archaeology in the early days of the Hebrew University can be best demonstrated by describing his diverse studies on the Jerusalem necropolis, Jewish epigraphy, and ancient synagogues.

With the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls, Sukenik's academic career and interests in Jewish archaeology took a turn that he had never imagined.

"Impure, Impure": 4QTohorot A (4Q274) and the Hierarchy of Pollutions

Hillel Mali and Naphtali S. Meshel

Biblical and rabbinic literatures on purity and pollution often focus on the ramifications of contact between pure and impure people (and objects). In contrast, everyday scenarios of contact between different polluted people (and objects) are hardly ever discussed in these sources. However, 4Q274 (4QTohorot A) is dedicated to this topic, warning certain polluted people against contacting other polluted people and objects. Due to the uniqueness of these laws, previous scholars have considered them a window into the Qumranic understanding of pollution. Some have considered them an expression of a demonic perception of pollution in Qumran, whereas others have linked them to the Qumranic multi-staged purification process.

We submit that the key to understanding the scroll's special phrasing and laws is its primary innovation: a hierarchic arrangement of the diverse pollutions on a single scale—from severest to lightest, an organizing principle not found in earlier extant sources. Identifying the scroll's hierarchic organizing principle explains its enigmatic sequence of scenarios—both what it includes and what it omits. It also reveals the scroll's overall coherence, whereby its well-preserved sections as well as its fragmentary parts together constitute a unified halachic work that organizes the seemingly chaotic range of impurities within a single logical-legal framework.

Furthermore, the scroll's legal innovation is creatively hinged upon a hermeneutical maneuver—ingeniously wresting the distinction between "polluted" and "very polluted" from the biblical phrase, tm, tm, yqr, (Lev 13:45). This binary distinction, indirectly evidenced already in the Septuagint and in the Community Rule, was developed in 4Q274 into a complex, multi-tiered system.

The hierarchic ordering of degrees of pollution, reflected in the scroll's terminology, rhetoric, and law, is thus comparable to—but different from—the hierarchic ordering of the various pollutions in rabbinic literature.

camp, as described in Deuteronomy 23:10-15. Scholars have noted the significance of these texts in both Second Temple and rabbinic sources regarding the legislation of Jerusalem's sanctity. However, the comprehensive integration of these passages in Qumranic and rabbinic exegesis has not yet been fully explored.

According to the rabbinic view, the wilderness camp was categorized into three distinct camps, all of which later found reflection in Jerusalem: The "Camp of the Divine Presence (Shekhinah)" encompassed the Temple and its courtyard; the "Camp of the Levites" included the area of the Temple Mount outside the Temple proper; and the "Camp of Israel" encompassed the remaining territory of Jerusalem. This article demonstrates how the Tannaitic midrashim *Sifre to Numbers* and *Sifre to Deuteronomy* identify the war camp in Deuteronomy 23 with the Levitical camp, while the camp in Numbers 5 is identified with the Camp of the Divine Presence. These interpretations are utilized to support the rabbinic purity regulations of the Temple and its environs.

However, from several passages in the Dead Sea Scrolls, it appears that the sectarian writers considered the camp described in Deuteronomy 23 as holier than that of Numbers 5. I propose that according to the Temple Scroll, the purity rules in Numbers 5 are applied to every city in the Land of Israel, while the laws of the war camp are only applied to the Temple City. Hence, individuals with lesser impurities are only distanced from the Temple City, where defecation is also prohibited, whereas lepers and those with discharges are sent away from all other cities as well.

4QMMT reflects a perspective similar to that of the Temple Scroll, and therefore, I suggest, uses the term "Camp of Holiness" to indicate Jerusalem, and "Camps of Israel" for other cities. This proposed interpretation raises the need for a reevaluation of the physical reconstruction of the text at this part of 4QMMT, as well as reconsidering some of Qimron and Strugnell's proposed textual restorations.

the author of the scroll was also familiar with the same reality, which influenced his depiction of the use of trumpets.

The final section of the article examines the possibility that the description of the use of trumpets in 1QM was also influenced by the use of trumpets in the Jerusalem Temple. The first point of evidence for this proposal relates to the resemblance between the auditory pattern *Teki'ah—Teru'ah—Teki'ah* in the Temple service and the pattern described in the War Scroll. According to Tannaitic sources, this auditory pattern was sounded daily in the Temple at various designated times, as well as during holidays and other specified occasions. Similarly, the auditory pattern *Teki'ah—Teru'ot—Teki'ah* appears in the four stages of war described in 1QM 8:3–14. The second point is the possible resemblance between the Mishnaic depiction of the simultaneous sounding of trumpets and *shofar* during communal fasts (m. Rosh Hashanah 3:3) and the simultaneous usage of trumpets and *shofarot* in the battlefield, as described in various passages in 1QM.

My conclusion is that the descriptions of the use of trumpets in the War Scroll likely developed from a combination of scriptural descriptions relating to the religious aspect of using trumpets to invoke the divine presence, together with knowledge of Roman military practices employing trumpets for tactical guidance of soldiers, as well as knowledge of how trumpets were used in the temple, as described in Tannaitic sources. If this conclusion is accurate, then the focused discussion in this article regarding the description of trumpet usage on the battlefield in the War Scroll could contribute to a broader question regarding the sources of inspiration for all the military aspects described in the scroll and potentially open up new directions for research.

The Sanctity of the War Camp and of Jerusalem in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in Early Rabbinic Writings

Hallel Baitner

This article delves into the ancient exeges of two biblical laws: the expulsion from the camp of lepers, those with discharges, and individuals defiled by contact with a corpse, as outlined in Numbers 5:1-5; and the directive to remove those ritually impure due to nocturnal emissions from the war

used; the number of trumpet players and their military status; and the military and religious purposes for which trumpets were utilized to emit different auditory signals in the routine of the camp, on the battlefield, and during army marches. The research has revealed a distinction between the elevated status of trumpet players in 1QM, and the position of trumpet players in the Roman armies, who held the lowest military rank among all legionnaires. Along with this particular difference, however, there are several points of similarity between the usage of trumpets as described in 1QM and in the Roman military:

- The use of various types of trumpets for distinct military purposes.
- The use of a group of six trumpets. 1QM 8:8-9 and 16:7 refers to "the six trumpets of the slain." Descriptions found on various archaeological findings indicate that the Roman army also used six trumpets simultaneously, in ritual ceremonies and perhaps also on the battlefield.
- Similar to 1QM, several sources composed in the Roman era attest to
 extensive use of a variety of sound signals produced by trumpets, to
 direct soldiers on the battlefield.
- The use of trumpets during army marches. 1QM 3:5-6 refers to the use of "trumpets for their journeys," and lines 10-11 to the use of "trumpets for the return signal" during the army's journey back to Jerusalem. Roman armies also employed trumpets during their expeditions.
- The religious function of trumpets during battle. In 1QM, trumpets were apparently employed in battle both in order to direct the solders in combat and, additionally, to bring the divine presence into their midst, to support the army of the Sons of Light. Various sources from the Roman era testify that Roman armies also used trumpets for religious purposes (e.g., warding off bad omens, various ritual ceremonies).

Due to the substantial time gap between some of the sources describing Roman military tactics (which span the second century BCE to the fourth century CE) and the time of the composition of the War Scroll (generally dated to the second half of the first century BCE), it is not possible to definitively establish a direct influence of any specific Roman text or artefact on 1QM's descriptions of trumpet usage. Nevertheless, if the Roman writings and archaeological findings discussed in this article indeed reflect the historical reality of the Roman period, then the resemblances between the descriptions of trumpet usage in 1QM and the characteristics of trumpet usage in the Roman military strengthens the argument that

ארנא, likely a phonetic or orthographical variant of ארנה. This suggests that the connection between גרן נורן and the name ארנא/ארונה was lost before 4Q51 scroll was written.

The paper then explores the various forms of the name ארונה attested in the Bible and other sources, including ארניה, ארני, ארני, ארני, ארני, ארני, ארניה, ווגע argues that this allegedly non-Semitic name forms could theoretically have originated from a hypothetical proto-form *2orónā.

Finally, the paper re-examines the attestations of the name 1 = 2 Sam 6:6 in the Greek versions of the Bible. It demonstrates that the forms Naxwp, Axwv, Axwp reflect a corruption of the expected Naxwv; Nwdav is seen as a transcription of 1 = 2, a corruption of attested in 4Q51, and Nwdab is considered its corruption. Lastly, Opva is identified as a transcription of 2 = 2, which, as argued, could have existed in a hypothetical version of 2 = 2 Sam 6:6.

The Sources of Descriptions of the Use of Trumpets in the War Rule (1QM)

Moshe Piamenta

This article explores the origins of inspiration underlying the descriptions of the use of trumpets on the battlefield in the Qumran War Rule (1QM). This focused study serves as a potential "test case" that will shed light on the broader issue of the sources informing the knowledge of the military subjects mentioned by the author of the scrolls. Elsewhere, I have shown the similarities between the descriptions of the use of trumpets by priests in 1QM, and biblical depictions of the priests' use of trumpets for the purpose of being remembered before God. The current article focuses on showing the similarity between descriptions of the use of trumpets in Roman armies and their portrayal in the War Rule, and also introduces a novel suggestion for an alternative source of inspiration that has not been raised in scholarship to date—the use of trumpets in the Jerusalem Temple, as described in Tannaitic literature.

This comparison between 1QM and Roman tactics is based on the analysis of textual and archaeological data from the Roman era on the use of military trumpets, detailing such aspects as: the types of trumpets Paul's epistles. It is argued that in spite of the obvious centrality of Jesus's messianic figure, the tension between individual and collective aspects of end-of-days redemption is present in the writings penned by early Jesus followers, too. It is suggested that with all the differences between the two groups of texts, as well as within each of them, the combined evidence of Qumran and the New Testament exemplifies a characteristic conundrum in Second Temple eschatological thought.

The Qumran Scrolls in Their Contexts

Goren Nachon, Goren Chidon, and Goren Arawna in Ancient Textual Witnesses of the Hebrew Bible

Alexey Eliyahu Yuditsky

The toponym Goren Nachon appears in 2 Sam 6:6 in the story of Uzza's death. However, in the parallel version of 1 Chr 13:9, the name Goren Chidon is used. It was already suggested in the Babylonian Talmud (Sota 35b) that Nachon and Chidon were proper names for the same threshing floor.

In the Dead Sea Scrolls, the text of 2 Sam 6:6 has been partially preserved in 4Q51 (4QSam^a) frags. 68–76. In the DJD edition of the scroll, the reading עורן נודן was suggested, while other scholars argued for the reading . גורן נורן An examination of new infra-red photographs of the scroll favors the latter reading.

However, this גורן גורן reading presents its own new challenge, since its connection to the biblical versions needs clarification. In the present discussion, it is suggested that נורן, כידון, נכון are graphic variants of the same proper name, but determining the original form remains difficult. Furthermore, גרן גורן might be a phonetic parallel of the toponymic collocations גרן ארנן ארנן ארנן mentioned in the Bible in the parallel texts of 2 Sam 24 and 1 Chr 21. Due to the phenomenon of sandhi, the collocation גרן ארונה could have been pronounced as [gornorna] or something similar; this aligns well with גרן נורן, if we understand that the final syllable [na] is written defectively].

But apart from גרן נורן, 4Q51 (4QSam²) frag. 164 also contains the form

there is a contradiction between the two halves of the sentence. Rather than subscribing to some sort of "compatibilism," Josephus recognizes the contradiction and deals with it first by softening what the Essene doctrine holds into merely what it tends to hold or usually holds, and then by admitting, via μ év... δ é..., that nevertheless there is a contradiction here, between what theology teaches and what ethics demands. Thus, in this account of the Essenes, which in this regard goes beyond the longer account of them in War 2, Josephus refuses to portray the Essenes as giving up on either.

Individual Messiah and Collective Eschatological Calling: The Dead Sea Scrolls and the New Testament on a Second Temple Period Conundrum

Serge Ruzer

Biblical prophecies describe what seems to be an eschatological transformation of either Israel as a whole or that of the people's holy remnant. In Jeremiah 31 and Ezekiel 36, this transformation is characteristically presented as a collective phenomenon occurring in people's hearts with no appellation to a messianic go-between. As suggested by previous research, a full-fledged messianic outlook focused on an end-of-days redeemer figure would become pronounced only later during the Second Temple times. The fluctuation, and maybe tension, between the individual and collective emphases may thus be expected in sources of an eschatological character from that period. This essay focuses on two groups of texts, Qumranic and nascent Christian, both clearly exemplifying an eschatological trend, with the object of highlighting the interplay between the individual and collective emphases.

The discussion starts with the famous ambiguity between individual and collective meaning—Messiah or Messiahs—of the 4QMessianic Apocalypse opening line. The plausibility of collective interpretation is elaborated upon in light of additional instances in the Scrolls, e.g., the Damascus Document and 4QFlorilegium, where similar fluctuations can be discerned. The essay then proceeds to review examples from variegated strata of the New Testament tests—the Synoptic tradition, John, and

God's Power and Man's Efforts: Josephus on the Essenes (*Ant.* 18.18)

Daniel R. Schwartz

Studies of Josephus's presentation of the Essenes usually focus on the long account at Judean War 2.119–161 and assume, not without reason, that the much shorter account that appears at the same point in his narrative in *Antiquities* (18.18–22) adds little to it. This study focuses on an apparent exception to that assumption, at Ant. 18.18: Ἐσσηνοῖς δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν θεῷ καταλείπειν φιλεῖ τὰ πάντα ὁ λόγος, ἀθανατίζουσιν δὲ τὰς ψυχὰς περιμάχητον ἡγούμενοι τοῦ δικαίου τὴν πρόσοδον, where Josephus opens his account of the Essenes with three statements: that the Essenes' doctrine tends to leave everything in God's hands; that they claim souls are immortal; and (so it appears) that they think one should struggle to approach righteousness. Translators usually render these as three separate items, juxtaposed one after another, as materials often are in Antiquities 18. However, some details of Josephus's formulation indicate that, in fact, he saw a logical relationship between the two halves of the sentence and, within its latter half, another logical relationship between its two verbs. Translations that merely juxtapose the three topics (and even break them up into two sentences) do so only by rendering 18.18 as if it reports what the Essenes' doctrine is rather than what its doctrine φιλεῖ, *tends* to do or *usually* does; by ignoring Josephus's use of μέν... δέ to coordinate the two parts of the sentence; and by ignoring his use of a participle, ἡγούμενοι, in the second half of the sentence. Consideration of these points leads to the following translation: "The Essenes' doctrine tends to leave everything to God, but they hold that the souls are immortal because they think that coming near to righteousness is to be striven for."

Here, as at War 2.156-157, Josephus holds (in the latter part of 18.18) that the belief in immortality of the soul is meant to serve to encourage people to strive to live righteously. However, the assertion that souls are immortal does not make that dependent on God, and the assertion that individuals can strive to be righteous ascribes to them a significant measure of independence—and neither point sits well with leaving everything to God. Josephus, therefore, indicates, by $\mu \acute{\epsilon} \nu$... $\delta \acute{\epsilon}$, his awareness that

of Qumran signifies the particular interest the Qumranites took in this work. Indeed, Tobit displays an affinity of terms and ideas with other Qumran Aramaic texts, such as Enoch, the Aramaic Levi Document, and the Genesis Apocryphon. No less significant is the correlation of some terms used by Tobit to central ones adopted by the writings of the Qumran Yaḥad. Given these factors, the present article proposes that the paradigm of the pious man, on which the main figure of the book, Tobi, is modeled, is comparable to that of a member of the Qumran community.

The similarities between the two extend to the following issues:

- a) The importance of upholding the sanctity of Jerusalem and the Jerusalem Temple—an exceptional belief for an Israelite like Tobi.
- b) While living in Galilee, Tobi brought tithes and donations to the Jerusalem Temple; some of these resemble practices described in the Qomran documents.
- c) During his exile to Nineveh, Tobi shunned contact with gentiles by avoiding gentile food, by marrying within the family, and by associating only with his close relatives or with other Jews, adhering to his own pious practices. This closely resembles the instructions of Abraham to Jacob in Jub 22:16, as well as the Qumranites' own code of behavior (Rule of the Community [1QS] 5:14-10).
- d) Tobi performed acts of kindness for the unattended dead among the Jewish people; after having buried them, he immersed himself in the manner indicated by Qumran halakha.
- e) Finally, the only festival mentioned in the book is Shavuot, which Tobi celebrated with full respect. Shavuot may have been a major occasion at Qumran, perhaps the time when the chief annual renewal of the covenant was celebrated (Rule of the Community 1:6–2:18).

In summary, in both beliefs and practices, the character Tobi shows many points of contact with the praxis and ideology of the Qumran Yaḥad. The author of the book of Tobit may have been, therefore, acquainted with—and even close to—circles related to the Qumran community.

reading and interpretation of 1 Enoch 6–11. However, in contrast to this assumption, I posit that this narrative originally constituted an alternative literary source reflecting the tradition of "sinning angels," albeit without the names found in 1 Enoch 6–11. This argument is based upon (a) contradictions in content, between the two units including the identity of the character(s) sent to the Watchers to inform them of their punishment; and the interpretation of Gen 6:3 in each unit; (b) a close textual analysis of two passages that reflect the Asael tradition, in 13:1-2 and 16:3, which reveals that they are in fact interpolations to this literary unit, as part of the process in which chapters 6–11 and 12–16 were secondarily combined. When they are removed, the entire passage reads smoothly, offering an independent version of the "sinning angels" reading of the Watchers story.

Finally, I investigate the interpolation in 1 Enoch 16:3, with particular attention to its relevance as a potential source demonstrating the possible pre-Qumranic roots of the well-known expression הו איל, which figures prominently in some compositions preserved at Qumran. Scholars have generally reconstructed the Aramaic *Vorlage* of 16:3 according to the Ethiopic manuscripts, but have overlooked the significance of the Greek translation. Furthermore, comparison with parallel expressions in the Old Greek version of Daniel helps bolster the preference for the Greek text in 1 Enoch and sheds light on the theological-cosmological background of the expression.

The Book of Tobit: Separatist Patterns and Their Correlation to the Qumran Yahad Community

Devorah Dimant

The Book of Tobit has been transmitted in its entirety in two Greek major versions, a short one (G^I), attested by the Greek codices, including Codex Vaticanus, and a long one (G^{II}), preserved by Codex Sinaiticus and the Old Latin. In addition, five fragmentary Qumran copies of this book have come out from the Dead Sea Scrolls, four in Aramaic (4Q196–4Q199) and one in Hebrew (4Q200). The presence of these copies in the library

English Abstracts

Second Temple Literature

On the Sins of the Watchers in 1 Enoch 12–16

Michael Segal

This study analyzes a fundamental theme of one of the most popular stories in ancient Judaism, the story of the Watchers, first mentioned in Gen 6:1-4. The enigmatic, mythic story underwent many and varied developments in Jewish literature of the Second Temple period, most extensively in 1 Enoch. This article focuses on one literary unit that includes a certain version of the myth, 1 Enoch 12–16, with particular emphasis on the traditions about the sins of the Watchers in these chapters.

The article opens with a brief discussion of the version of the story in Gen 6:1-4, including its message and meaning. In its original form, the story did not focus on sin, but rather on the violation of the boundaries between heaven and earth. The discussion includes a new interpretation of the well-known crux בשגם (Gen 6:3), emphasizing the difference between the corporeal and spiritual realms.

I then summarize previous source-critical analyses of 1 Enoch 6–11, from the Book of Watchers. One can identify two primary traditions throughout this section: the first is about a group of sinning angels led by Shemihazah, and the second is about the angel Asael, who leads humanity astray by revealing heavenly mysteries to humanity. The combination of these two traditions, along with editorial attempts to smooth the combination, leaves its traces in contradictions and doublets throughout this section.

Subsequent authors read this complex version of the Watchers story, and attempted to solve many of these issues. Both Jubilees (primarily chapter 5) and the Animal Apocalypse (1 Enoch 85–90) are investigated here as early readings of 1 Enoch 6–11. I tease out both how they attempted to solve the difficulties of the earlier source, and new content that they have added to the developing Watchers myth.

Most scholars read 1 Enoch 12-16 as another example of an early

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