

The twelve apostles as foundation stones of the heavenly Jerusalem and the foundation of the Qumran community

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ABSTRACT

The image of the apostles as the foundation stones of the heavenly Jerusalem in Revelation derives from the same tradition of Scripture interpretation as that employed by the Qumran community to describe its foundation. It shares the key concepts which underlie the image, but seems to diverge deliberately at certain points. The method of Revelation is indeed "anthological" (Schüssler Fiorenza 1985:135) rather than allegorical or literalistic, but it nevertheless rests on a definite method of Old Testament interpretation.

1 INTRODUCTION

In her refreshing re-interpretation of the central meaning and genre of Revelation, *The Book of Revelation: Justice and judgment* (1985), Schüssler Fiorenza argues against a clear-cut distinction between prophetic and apocalyptic writings. She denies that Revelation is concerned primarily to interpret the Old Testament prophets for its own day, as argued by Kraft (1973:81-98) and Hill (1977:108-130) among others:

Then (sic) Revelation does not even once quote the Old Testament. John uses Old Testament texts as he uses Jewish apocalyptic, pagan mythological, or early Christian materials in an allusive "anthological" way. He does not interpret the Old Testament but uses its words, images, phrases and patterns as a language arsenal in order to make his own theological statement or express his own prophetic vision (Schüssler Fiorenza 1985:135).

His "locus of revelation" is always his own "historical-theological situation" presented in a non-linear "conic spiral" (Schüssler Fiorenza 1985:22, 159-180). This paper intends to examine one of these Old Testament patterns in Revelation by comparison with a similar use of the pattern in the Qumran Scrolls. The concept is that of the Twelve Apostles as the foundation stones of the New Jerusalem in Revelation 21:14, which is supplemented in 21:19ff. It will be compared in particular with 1QS 8:1-16; 9:3-7; 11:7-9, and 4QpIsa^d. In this way it is hoped to examine the validity of this contention of Schüssler Fiorenza.

2 REVELATION 21:14,19FF

2.1 Context

The context of the description of the New Jerusalem is the eschatological new creation, summarised by the words of the Pantokrator: "Behold, I make all things new" (21:5). This involves a "new heaven" and a "new earth" after the passing away of the former heaven and earth (21:1). The precondition of the new creation is the destruction of the present evil world order which is under Satan's dominion. In this setting of the new heaven and earth, the "holy city, new Jerusalem" is seen "coming down out of heaven from God, prepared as a bride adorned for her husband" (21:3). This symbolises a permanent bridge between heaven and earth, in fact an "open heaven", since God now has his dwelling with men (21:13).

This image of the new Jerusalem as a bride is prefigured in the heavenly woman of Revelation 12 (Böcher 1983:151-152), and repeated in 21:9 with the addition of the detail "the wife (γυναῖκα) of the Lamb". It is clearly intended to characterise the new Jerusalem as the community of the Redeemed, the new Israel. The image of Jerusalem as the Bride of Yahweh adorned with jewels is found repeatedly in Isaiah, notably in 49:18; 61:10 (cf Hs 1-4; Ez 16:10ff), but there is a direct connection between this image of the Bride and the description of the foundation of the new Jerusalem in Isaiah 54:1-11, although the word "bride" (אֵשֶׁת) is not used. It is thus possible that this passage underlies the whole of Revelation 21. The triumph of the Bride is the antithesis of the destruction of Babylon the Great which is also characterised as a woman, the great harlot sitting on the scarlet beast of Roman imperial power, adorned with gold and jewels (17:1-6; Bousset 1906; Lohmeyer 1926:171-174; Sickenberger 1942:188; Wickenhauser 1959:157f; Kraft 1974:267). The contrast is continued and highlighted structurally in 21:9 by the presence of the angel as interpreter of the vision of the new Jerusalem, "one of the seven angels who had the seven bowls full of the seven last plagues", since the climax of the bowl septet is the fall of Babylon, the completion of judgment ("It is done!") in 16:17-21.

Yet while the New Jerusalem is characterised as the redeemed community of the new Israel by the image of the Bride (Hadorn 1928:208f), the description of the city certainly is not developed allegorically as it is, for instance, in the interesting parallel in Ephesians 2:19-22:

You are fellow citizens with the saints and members of the household of God, built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Christ Jesus himself being the cornerstone, in whom the whole structure is joined together and grows into a holy temple in the Lord; in whom you also are built into it for a dwelling place of God in the Spirit.

The identification of parts of the city with the community is rather in terms of names inscribed: those of the twelve tribes on the gates and those of the

apostles of the Lamb on the twelve foundation stones. The whole city is described in units and multiples of twelve, symbolic of the eschatological renewal of Israel. Sanders has remarked that,

the expectation of the reassembly of Israel was so widespread and the memory of the twelve tribes so acute, that "twelve" would necessarily mean restoration (1985:95-106 esp 98; cf Böcher 1983:153-154).

2.2 Analysis

The city has twelve gates, three facing in each direction (21:12) in a square plan (21:16). Hence the twelve foundation stones are usually seen as interspersing the gates (Swete 1911:286; Charles 1920:162; Ford 1975:333). The need for special foundations is emphasised by the height of the wall, which is given as 144 cubits in 21:17. However, the underlying theme is probably given by two texts from Isaiah 28:16 and 54:11-12. The "precious cornerstone" of Isaiah 28:16 was usually given a Christological interpretation in the New Testament, as in the Targum where, in place of the reading of the Masoretic text, "a stone, a tested stone" (אבן אבן כחן), it has "a king, a strong king, powerful and terrible" (מלך מלך תקיף גיבר ואמתן). Here it is applied to the community instead.

The significance of the inscription of the names of the apostles on the foundation stones is symbolic: they, by their witness and preaching are the foundation of the redeemed community. The apostles are mentioned as an undifferentiated group. This vagueness, especially with respect to the traitor Judas or the "apostle" Paul, is significant. It shows that this is a symbolic formula of tradition (compare the use of "the twelve" in 1 Cor 15:5). There is no suggestion that the twelve are currently in leadership positions of the Church. Rather they are figures from the Church's past, who have completed their faithful witness to the Lamb, and so serve as archetypes and firstfruits of the future heavenly community. This expresses the same picture as Revelation 7 in another form: the worship radiates out from the twelve elders and angels through the 144 000 of the twelve tribes to the vast multitude of God-fearing Gentiles (Draper 1983b:133-147). The structure of Revelation is built up by cyclic repetition in varying forms and images.

The twelve foundation stones are further characterised in 21:19ff as individual gemstones: jasper, sapphire, agate, emerald, onyx, carnelian, chrysolite, beryl, topaz, chrysoprase, jacinth, amethyst. It is generally acknowledged that these gemstones are related to the twelve stones on the high priest's breastplate in Exodus 28:17 and following verses (cf the jewels worn by the King of Tyre in Ez 28:13 LXX), on which were inscribed the names of the twelve tribes. The significance of the order, which differs from that of Exodus, is much debated, especially in relation to the twelve signs of the Zodiac. Bousset (1906:447) related this to speculation concerning the mythical "heavenly city" and the *Urmensch* (also Lohmeyer 1926:165; Hadorn 1926:211, contra Sickenberger 1942:191f). Charles saw a deliberate reversal

of the order of gems associated with the Zodiac, indicating a Christian rejection of the power of the Zodiac (Charles 1920b:164-169; cf Caird 1984:274-277). More recent studies have shown this to be unlikely, especially since there is no clear correlation of gemstones in Hebrew and Greek, nor is there any clear evidence concerning the identification of particular gems with particular signs of the Zodiac (Reader 1981:433-457, esp 455; contra Böcher 1983:148-149; 154-155). Certainly, the signs of the Zodiac would have been familiar to contemporary Jews, even pious ones. The combination of dualistic determinism and astrology in 4QHoroscopes (186) is evidence of this. In Philo, the garment of the High Priest is seen as a replica of the universe, so that the twelve stones of the Urim and Thummim are equated with the Zodiac (*SpecLeg* 1:87; *Fug* 184-185; *VitMos* 2:124; *QinEx* 2:112-114). However, if such speculation were known to the author of Revelation, it plays no clear role in his thinking (Kraft 1974:271).

The laying of precious gems as the foundation stones of the new Jerusalem suggests, instead, an interpretation of Isaiah 54:11-12 (cf Tob 13:16), though this is not cited nor followed exactly. The same text receives an interpretation in the fragmentary commentary from Qumran 4QpIsa^d, which invites a comparison with its use in Revelation. However, it is necessary first to set this fragment within the context of the Dead Sea Scrolls in general.

3 THE FOUNDATION OF THE COMMUNITY AT QUMRAN

The problem of interpreting the texts from Qumran is in many ways analogous to that of interpreting Revelation, in that historical references are few and vague, and the style is veiled and allusive rather than direct.

The Qumran community were a community in opposition to the rulers and temple establishment in Jerusalem and believed its wickedness would inevitably result in its destruction. It is likely that the community originated as a conservative priestly and Hasidaean reaction against the usurpation of the High Priesthood by Jonathan Maccabaeus in 153-152 B C or by his brother Simon in 143-142 B C (Stegemann 1971: passim; Burgmann 1974:323-359; Vermes 1977:137-156). The leader of the movement, the Teacher of Righteousness, may have been an ousted Zadokite High Priest (1QpHab 8:1-12:10; CD 1:1-2:12; See Stegemann 1971:204-224). The group withdrew to the desert at Qumran and boycotted the Jerusalem temple (CD 6:11-14). They claimed to represent the true Israel of God and to form the spiritual Temple of God in which spiritual sacrifices of praise, prayer and works of Law were offered up (e.g. 4QFlor 1:2-7; 1QS 5:5-7; 8:4-10; 9:3-6; Gaertner 1965:4-46; Gaston 1970:163-176). They saw themselves as preparing the way in the desert for the eschatological visitation of the Lord (1QS 8:13-16; 9:19-21).

Although the foundation of the community was seen as heralding the beginning of the restoration of Israel, there remained a strong futurist eschatology awaiting the triumph of the community over its enemies, which would also be God's victory. The victory would be preceded by an eschatological war between the Sons of Light and the Sons of Darkness (1QM), in which the struggle of the community was the earthly expression of the battle between Satan and the Angels of God. This conception shares much common ground with the world of Revelation.

A further point of contact is that these texts share with Revelation an apocalyptic dualism modified by Jewish monotheism. This is most clearly expressed in the "Two Ways" teaching of 1QS 3:13-4:26 (Wilcox 1969:83-96; Charlesworth 1972:76-106). From the beginning, God created two spirits of light and darkness and founded the whole created order on them, so that all men are pre-destined to the one or the other way, of light or darkness. The Qumran community claims to be God's eschatological righteous remnant, the sons of light, living "in the last days", which are the days of the dominion of the Angel or Prince of Darkness and his spirits and his sons, who persecute the sons of light and make them stumble. However, God has predetermined an end to this present age, when wickedness will be rooted out, the heathen destroyed and the righteous vindicated. Everyone will then be rewarded according to his deeds. In the meantime, the Angel or Prince of Light succours the sons of light and enables them to stand firm. This pattern is not so clearly expressed in all the texts and the eschatological expectation of the Scrolls is complex. Nevertheless, this dualistic framework forms the background to the thoughtworld of these writings (see further 4QTestAmram; 11QMelch).

The discovery of the Temple Scroll indicates that the rebuilding of an idealised physical temple and city, on the basis of Ezekiel, may well have been envisaged, though this scroll may not have originated in the community. Even here, however, the rebuilt temple is seen as only a temporary substitute for the final heavenly temple (11QTemp 29:8-10). 1QS 4:20, 25 seems to indicate that the Qumran community, like Revelation, awaited the complete renewal of the earth (עֲשׂוֹת חֲרֻשָׁה).

There is no reference in the Qumran texts to the heavenly Jerusalem as a bride. Sadly, 4QpIsa^d only begins after the reference to the bride of Yahweh in Isaiah 54:1-10. However, 1QH 3:6-14 shows that this concept was congenial to Qumran (cf Rv 12). The opposite image of the whore of Babylon is paralleled by 4QWiles (184/1), where it seems to be drawn from the Wisdom tradition.

The foundation of the Qumran community was regarded as the beginning of the eschatological plan of God. The Law and especially the Prophets were believed to be fulfilled in the events of their own time, if only they were read with understanding. The authoritative method of interpreting the Scriptures

was believed to have been given by God to the Teacher of Righteousness (CD 4:8; 6:4-11; 7:18f). This is most clearly expressed in 1QpHab 7:5:

That he who reads it may read it speedily, *interpreted this concerns the Teacher of Righteousness, to whom God made known all the mysteries of the words of His servants the Prophets* (cf 1QH 1:21). (All quotations from the Scrolls are taken from the translation of Vermes 1975, unless otherwise stated.)

This method appears to have been systematically applied by his disciples, especially to Old Testament prophecy. The usual way of referring to this doctrine in the Scrolls, is in the words סֹתֵר (e.g. 1QS 5:12; 8:11) and כְּכֹל הַנִּגְלָוֹת (e.g. 1QS 1:9; 5:9,12; 8:1,15 (see Schiffmann 1975:22-37). The method consists in finding the hidden key to a particular text, by double meanings of words or by textual variants or by numerical value. This discovery then enables the interpreter to give a systematic re-interpretation of the text. However, the method is literalistic, even what one would today call fundamentalist, within the parameters of the method. It is assumed that Scripture has a one to one correlation to reality. The method could also be described as "targumic", since it has clear parallels with that Rabbinic method (Draper 1983a:265-269). As we shall see, this produces a very different effect to the method of Rv where scriptural images are used in a cumulative, allusive way rather than in a precise or literal way.

The foundation of the community is described in several of the Qumran texts, and repeatedly seen as the foundation of a building, especially in 1QS 8:1-16; 9:3-11; 11:7-9 and 4QpIsa^d. The peshet on Isaiah 54:11-12 is especially of interest, in the light of the allusion to this text in Revelation 21:19, but it is in a fragmentary condition and needs to be carefully examined in conjunction with the other texts on the foundation of the community. This paper will examine each of the texts in turn, before returning to compare its findings with Revelation.

4 THE MANUAL OF DISCIPLINE: 1QS 8:1-16;9:3-11

4.1 Literary critical perspective

The most important account of the foundation of the desert community at Qumran comes in 1QS 8:1-16; 9:3-11. Sutcliffe (1959:134-138), followed by Leaney (1966:208-233) and Murphy O'Connor (1969:528-549), has argued that this description amounts to a manifesto for the foundation of the community. O'Connor argues, from a detailed literary critical analysis, against the idea that 1QS is a unified composition or even a compilation of various material made at the same time (contra Guilbert 1958-1959:323-344) He maintains that the *Manual* was formed in four main stages by successive additions to an original nucleus of 8:1-16a and 9:3-10:8a, which is a vision of a

future event found nowhere else in the *Manual*. This vision or "manifesto" led to the foundation of the community at Qumran, and the rest of the *Manual* accumulated around it. Into the "manifesto" were interpolated 8:16b-19 and 8:20-9:2 as pieces of penal legislation reflecting a serious failure of the plan after the foundation of the community. While the details of O'Connor's analysis may be challenged at some points, his assessment does seem to be the most convincing explanation of the genesis of the text. Certainly, everything speaks against the *Manual* being a unified text composed by one author, and in favour of the presence of a number of underlying sources, of which 8:1-16; 9:3-11 is the oldest.

4.2 Analysis

4.2.1 IQS 8:1-4

In the Council of the Community there shall be twelve men and three Priests, perfectly versed in all that is revealed of the Law, whose works shall be truth, righteousness, justice, lovingkindness, and humility. They shall preserve the faith in the Land with steadfastness and meekness and shall atone for sin by the practice of justice and by suffering the sorrows of affliction. They shall walk with all men according to the standard of truth and the rule of the time.

Although the expression is somewhat enigmatic, the establishment of the group is still envisaged as an event in the future (Leaney 1966:210f). It is not certain whether the expression "Council of the Community" (עצת הי חר) refers to an inner group within the community or to the whole community. The *beth* could bear either sense. In 1QpHab 12:3f, the "Council of the Community" is seen as "Lebanon", an image of the temple, as opposed to "the simple of Judah who keep the Law". This suggests that the inner group is intended by this expression. However, it is possible that these "simple" are those Essenes in the scattered "camps" (CD 7:6; cf Jos BJ II.160), while Lebanon refers to the settlement at Qumran. Other passages seem to refer the title to the wider community (e.g. 1QS 3:2; 6:3,10). The title may also have changed its reference, having initially referred only to the founder members of the community, but having come later to be applied to the whole community (Wernberg-Moeller 1957:122f; Sutcliffe 1959:254f; Leaney 1966:211).

It is almost universally held that the number of members of the Council consists of twelve laymen and a further three priests, making a total of fifteen (e.g. Brownlee 1951:31; Milik 1959:96; Leaney 1966:212), although the reference could equally well be to twelve men, including three priests. However, the inclusive sense is the most likely for a number of reasons. The strict adherence to a rigid hierarchy of priests, Levites and finally all Israel (2:19-23; 6:8-9), means that the priests would have to be mentioned first, if two categories are being mentioned, since in Hebrew thought, the first mentioned always has precedence (cf Reicke 1957:151; contra Fitzmyer 1971:291-

292). Moreover, since "only the Sons of Zadok shall rule in matters of justice", it is unthinkable that the Qumran writings could mention laymen before priests in a list of components of a community body. The only possible precedent for such an order, comes in the Temple Scroll, where twelve princes are mentioned before twelve priests and twelve levites in a royal court (11QTemp 57:11-14).

A decisive argument for an inclusive numbering, is that the Scrolls appear to have a formula for describing the composition of community courts. This can be seen most clearly in CD 10:4f, where a judicial court of ten is described:

And this is the Rule for the Judges of the Congregation: Ten shall be elected from the congregation for a definite time, four from the tribe of Levi and Aaron, and six from Israel (וזה סרך לשפטי הערה עד עשרה אנשים) ברורים מן הערה העת ארכה לוי ואהרון ומישראל ששה).

Here the formula is as follows: an introductory reference to the particular court, qualified by a title of the sectarian group (ערה), then the total number of men of whom the court is composed (ער עשרה אנשים), then the details of its composition, that is the balance between priests and lay (here four priests and six laymen), and finally the description of qualification for membership and duties of the court. Thus אנשים seems to have the meaning "persons" rather than "laymen". When laymen are indicated, this is made clear by the addition of a reference to Israel, but a reference to the number of priests on the council would, of course, be enough to determine its composition (cf 1QS 6:3, where the priest is one of ten). The formula is attested again in the court of twelve of 4QOrd 2-4:3-4. Allegro (1968:8) arbitrarily translates it as "ten men and two priests", but the lacuna could equally be filled in as "twelve men and two priests" (i.e. twelve men including two priests). This pattern fits exactly that in 1QS 8:1: the court and its title, the total of members, its composition, qualifications and duties. Thus the group in the Council of the Community in 1QS 8:1 should also be taken as consisting of twelve members of whom three were priests, representing the three priestly houses.

The qualifications of the group of twelve in 1QS 8:1 are specified as "being perfect in all which has been revealed from all the Torah", the special *halakah* of the group, its secret understanding of the "hidden things in which all Israel had gone astray", as elaborated by the Teacher of Righteousness. Further, a high standard of conduct is required for these members of the Council, and their role is "to atone for sin by the practice of justice and by suffering the sorrows of affliction" (8:3). This priestly role of atonement is mentioned again in 8:6,10; 9:4 and 5:5ff. The land has been polluted by the iniquity of the false cult in Jerusalem, and the task of this group of twelve is to cleanse it by their atoning work of judgment of wrongdoers and by their representative suffering.

4.2.2 1QS 8:4-11

When these are in Israel, the Council of the Community shall be established in truth. It shall be an Everlasting Plantation, a House of Holiness for Israel, an Assembly of Supreme Holiness for Aaron. They shall be witnesses to the truth at the Judgement, and shall be the elect of Goodwill who shall atone for the Land and pay to the wicked their reward. It shall be that tried wall, that precious cornerstone, whose foundations shall neither rock nor sway in their place (Isa xxviii, 16). It shall be a Most Holy Dwelling for Aaron, with everlasting knowledge of the Covenant of justice, and shall offer up sweet fragrance. It shall be a House of Perfection and Truth in Israel that they may establish a Covenant according to the everlasting precepts. And they shall be an agreeable offering, atoning for the Land and determining the judgement of wickedness, and there shall be no more iniquity. When they have been confirmed for two years in perfection of way by the authority of the Community, they shall be set apart as holy within the Council of the men of the Community.

The group is envisaged as a spiritual temple, as the language makes plain. The "everlasting plantation" is itself an image of the temple (Betz 1957:51f; Gaertner 1965:28). The image stems from Ezekiel 47:1-12, which also lies behind Revelation 22:1-2. The group serves both as a "Holy of Holies for Aaron" and as "a sanctuary for Israel": a reflection of its dual composition of priests and lay-persons. It is seen, in fact, as God's eschatological new temple. The task of this living temple is to "offer a pleasing fragrance" and to be a "school" where the Law was completely and rightly fulfilled (כִּית חֲמִים לְיִשְׂרָאֵל), as opposed to the false legal interpretation and false cult in Jerusalem.

The members of this group are described as "witnesses of truth for judgment", since they are heaping up judgment on the false worship in the Jerusalem temple by their witness to the true worship and right understanding of the Law, since is a central theme word in the Scrolls with polemical overtones (Gärtner 1965:23; O'Connor 1968:179-230). However, they will also share the judgment of the wicked in the imminent final visitation (cf 1QpHab 5:4-6).

This group of twelve founding fathers of the community is then characterised as the "precious cornerstone" of Isaiah 28:16: הַיָּאֵה תוֹמַח הַכֶּחֶץ פִּנֵּחַ (cf 1QH 6:24-28; 7:8-9, which draw also on Is 28:16). This image has links with the concept of the community as a spiritualised temple, since it probably refers to the stone on which the altar in the Holy of Holies in the Jerusalem temple was built. It seems to have been understood in this way by the Rabbis (WayyR on Lev 14:36; DebR on Deut 10:1). It was also linked in Jewish thought to speculation on the world foundation stone with which God sealed up the mouth of the deep, on which the Name of the Lord was believed to be inscribed (Jeremias 1926:51ff; Gärtner 1965:24f). Thus the twelve founding members

of the community are given a cosmic significance. The word **רַיָּסוּ** seems later to have become a title for the Council of the Community (1QS 7:17; 1QSa 1:12).

To establish their worthiness for this role, the twelve are to be tested in a two year long probation. This was probably intended to ensure their cultic purity, since priests were put on a similar probation before they were allowed to take up their active temple service (Gärtner 1965:4). This purity is to be preserved by separating from the surrounding wickedness of the land and people by going into the desert to prepare the way of the Lord (8:13).

4.2.3 1QS 9:3-7

When these become members of the Community in Israel according to all these rules, they shall establish the spirit of holiness according to everlasting truth. They shall atone for guilty rebellion and for sins of unfaithfulness that they may obtain lovingkindness for the Land without the flesh of holocausts and the fat of sacrifice. And prayer rightly offered shall be as an acceptable fragrance of righteousness, and perfection of way as a delectable free-will offering. At that time, the men of the Community shall set apart a House of Holiness in order that it may be united to the most holy things and a House of Community for Israel, for those who walk in perfection. The sons of Aaron alone shall command in matters of justice and property, and every rule concerning the men of the Community shall be determined according to their word.

The description of this founding group of twelve is taken up again in 9:3-11, where they are described as "a foundation of holy spirit" (**רַיָּסוּ רַיָּסוּ וְרַיָּסוּ**). The spirit of holiness has the function of purifying and inspiring the members with insight into the mysteries of God (compare 1QS 3:6-12, where the spirit of holiness is connected with moral conversion and ritual lustration). The spirit is a mark of the special presence of God with his people, and has also eschatological implications, since it was believed to have deserted Israel until the promised outpouring of the last days. This passage also sees the group as a spiritual temple offering spiritualised sacrifices of righteousness and worship to atone for the sins of the land without the "flesh of holocausts and the fat of sacrifice". They are to separate from the wicked and to unite together as a Holy of Holies. Within this community only the sons of Aaron are to rule in judgment and possessions, and the lot is to be cast only on their authority (9:7). Thus the group as a whole is invested with the authority of its three priests. This is because the lot which makes decisions or judgments, connected with the priesthood and the temple, is the Urim and Thummim of the High Priest's vesture.

5 1QS 11:7-8

5.1 The context

This passage forms a section of one of the hymns which form the concluding section of the Manual of Discipline. They share a close affinity with the Hymn Scroll (1QH), and may derive from a common author, perhaps even the Teacher of Righteousness, who was responsible for the foundation of the Community (Leaney 1966:115). Of significance is the immediate context of the passage in a hymn concerning special revelation of divine mysteries:

*From the source of His righteousness
is my justification
and from His marvellous mysteries
is the light in my heart
My eyes have gazed
on that which is eternal
on wisdom concealed from men,
on knowledge and wise design
(hidden) from the sons of men (line 6)*

In other words, the passage is set in an apocalyptic framework of special vision, even though this is not described actively as it is in Revelation. Thus 1QS 11:7-8 shares a similar thought world and form to Revelation 21. It is also closely related to the "Manifesto" of 1QS 8:1-16; 9:3-11 in vocabulary and conception.

5.2 Text

*To whom God has chosen,
he has given an everlasting possession,
and he has caused them to inherit
the lot of the Holy Ones,
and he has joined their assembly
with the Sons of Heaven
for an everlasting council,
a foundation of the Sanctuary
for an everlasting plantation
in every time which shall be.
(My translation)*

In this text, as in 1QS 8:5, there is the problem that the scribe does not distinguish orthographically between *Waw* and *Yodh*, so that the reading could be either מַכְנִיחַ יְסוּר or מַכְנִיחַ יְסוּר. Since, however, the context in the case of 1QS 8:5 is the establishment of the community, and in both cases the expression is linked with the phrase "an eternal plantation", it seems likely that the reading should be "foundation" (יְסוּר) in both cases. Several of the key words are also ambiguous in their reference, notably נַחֲנָם which could mean either that "those God has chosen" are themselves the "everlasting pos-

session", or that they are given something else for an "everlasting possession". The latter seems more probable in the context.

5.3 Analysis

The concept of special election is a consistent feature of the Scrolls, as of the New Testament, and is found also in Revelation 17:14, though it is not clear whether a select group is intended in 1QS 11:7-8 or whether the whole community is in mind. If the hymn were written contemporaneously with 8:1-16, then it refers primarily to the group of twelve pioneers of the community, as **ללו י** would suggest. This group receives, as its special possession, the inheritance of the lot of the Holy Ones. The word "lot" (**לול**) has a special meaning in the Scrolls, referring to the special divinely determined position of each member within the community. It is used to describe the decisions of the governing body of the community, as if lots have been cast (e.g. 1QS 4:26; 5:3). This word may also be connected in the minds of the community with the priestly Urim and Thummim, which were the prerogative of the High Priest, especially if the Teacher of Righteousness was a claimant to the office of High Priest.

However, here the lot is described as the "lot of the Holy Ones". The reference is apparently not to community members but to angels, since the parallel line describes the assembly of the community (**ללו**) as joined by God with the "Sons of Heaven" (Leaney 1966:253-254). The significance of this is that a direct link is made between the earthly community at Qumran and the heavenly community. There is, in fact, an "open heaven" for those who belong to the community (cf. 1QSa 2:3ff; 1QSB 4:24ff; 4QFl 1:3; 1QH 3:21ff; 6:15; 1QM 7:6; 12:1ff). This is a striking parallel to the concept of Revelation, where the holy city, Jerusalem, is seen "coming out of heaven, from God", so that by implication, the heavenly and earthly communities are firmly united.

It is in this context that the Council of the Community (**עצת היחר**) in this case seemingly the pioneer community at Qumran, is described as the foundation of the holy building or the sanctuary. Thus this short passage in 1QS 11:7-8 provides an important link between the concept of the founding members of the community as foundation stones of the heavenly Jerusalem and the apostles as foundations of the city in Revelation 21:14.

6 4QpIsa^d

6.1 Text

ןך כול ישראל כפיך בעין ויסרחיך בספיין
 יי יסדו את עצת היחר ׀ ׀ כוהנים והען
 ערת בחירו כאכן הספיד בחורך האבנים ׀
 כול שמשותיך פשרו על שנים עשר ׀

מאירים כמשפט האורים והחומים]
 הנעדרית מהמה כשמש ככול אורו וכן
 פשרו על ראשי שכטי ישראל לא]
 גורלו מעמרו]

This fragmentary commentary on Isaiah 54:11-12 contains sufficient text to reconstruct many of the lacunae. The key to reconstruction is the length of the lines, which can be calculated on the basis of lines 3 and 6, which contain the Biblical passages for the following interpretations (Baumgarten 1976:60). For reasons which will be elaborated in the analysis, the following reconstruction is suggested:

[הני אנכי מרכיץ כפוף אכניף פשרו על]
 [טרן] כול ישראל כפיך כעין ויסרתיך כספי [רים] פערן הרכר]
 [אש] יסרו אח עצת היחר [ה]כוהנים והעם ויברילו קורש
 [כתוף]
 ערת בחירו כאכן הספיר כתוף האכנים [יאשר אמר ישמחכרכר]
 כול שמשותיך פשרו על שנים עשר [איש וכוהנים שלושה]
 מאירים כמשפט האורים והחומים [לחרוץ משפט רשעה]
 הנעדרית מהמה כשמש ככול אורו וכן אמר ושעריך לאכני אקרחה
 פשרו על ראשי שכטי ישראל לא [חרית הימים ועריכו כול אנשי]
 גורלו מעמרו [כעצת אל]

This may be translated as follows:

- 1 [Behold I am laying your stones with antimony. Its interpretation is that]
- 2 [He has arran]ged all Israel like mascara around the eye. And your foundations with sapphi[re]. The interpretation of this is]
- 3 [tha]t they founded the council of the community, the priests and the people, [and set apart a sanctuary in the midst of]
- 4 his elect congregation, like a sapphire among other stones. And when [Scripture says, I will make of agate]
- 5 your pinnacles, its interpretation concerns the twelve [men and three priests]
- 6 who shine with the judgment of the Urim and Thumim [to ordain the judgment of wickedness]
- 7 which is banished from them, like the sun with all its light.
 And when [it says, And your gates of carbuncle]
- 8 its interpretation concerns the heads of the tribes of Israel in the la[st] days, who have appointed to each of the men]
- 9 of His lot his rank [in the Council of God].

This reconstruction fits the criteria of line length, compatibility with what is known from other scrolls about the foundation of the community, and also inner probability.

6.2 Introduction

There has been much speculation on this text, mostly prompted by the mention of the number twelve. Ford (1975:342-343) has particularly noted the relevance of this passage to Revelation 21:19ff, but does not explore its possibilities, simply quoting it in full. Baumgarten (1976:59-78) has seen in the passage a future eschatological court of twenty four, consisting of twelve priests and twelve heads of the tribes of Israel, citing as parallels 1QM 2:1 and 11QTemp 57:11-14. However, these do not seem relevant as parallels. The allusion in the War Scroll is to an envisaged future cultic restoration, where twelve priests, ranked carefully under the High Priest and his vicar, will minister at the daily sacrifice before God. Beneath them are twenty six leaders of the priestly divisions, twelve Levites, and then (twelve) chiefs of the tribes, together with the heads of family of the congregation (52 according to the text in line one. Their duty is to attend the sacrifices, daily in the case of the chiefs, or "at their appointed times" in the case of the heads of family. It is not a court which is described in this passage, but a future cultic event of the restored temple, in which strict hierarchic rank is to be observed. The passage in the Temple Scroll fits into the same context. It describes the court of the king, when the longed-for restoration of the kingdom of Israel takes place, and is a court of thirty six: twelve princes, twelve priests and twelve Levites. In any case, there is some question as to whether this scroll originates with the Qumran sectarians, or whether, like the Book of Jubilees, of which fragments have been discovered at Qumran, it was a work favoured but not produced by the sect.

Unlike these two texts, the primary concern of the *peshirim* of Qumran seems to be with the present fulfilment of prophecy in the history and institutions of the community. It is the identification of the "hidden meaning" of Scripture with what is happening to them, although, of course, all this is in the context of the belief that the end is imminent, and that they are living in "the Last Days". The intention of the *peshir* on Isaiah 54:11f is to show that the prophesied foundation of a new and glorified Jerusalem has taken place in the foundation of the community, as Flusser (1967:69) rightly points out:

The leading principle of the peshir is to explain the picture of eschatological Jerusalem in Is 54:11-12 as an allegory for the Dead Sea Community.

Thus the *pesharim* lie closer to the ordinances of the community than to the War Scroll and the Temple Scroll. 4QpIsa^d lies particularly close to the passages 1QS 8:1-16; 9:3-11 and 11:7-8, which have already been examined.

6.3 Analysis of the text

Line 1: This contains a *peshir* on the text, "Behold I am laying your stones with antimony". The key to the interpretation is provided by בַּפִּי, as is suggested by its recurrence in the *peshir* with the preposition בְּ. This principle

recurr throughout the text, with **כִּאֲבָן הַסְּפִיר** in line three and **כְּשֵׁמֶשׁ** in line six.

The traces of a letter at the beginning of line one indicate a *Kaph* (Allegro 1968:27; Strugnell 1970:196; Baumgarten 1976:60; Horgan 1979:127, contra Yadin 1959:39), so that the lacuna should be restored **סֹרֵךְ** (cf 1QM 2:1,6; 7:1) or **עֹרֵךְ** (cf 1QH 4:24; 1QM 2:9), both of which are used for the ordering of the community. The word **סֹרֵךְ** is perhaps preferable, since it is derived from **מְרַכְּבֵי יוֹץ** in the *lemma*, which may have suggested the teaching of the Law to the author of the *peshet* (Jastrow 1950:1445 s v Piel 2). In any case, the concept of ordering is found also in the Vulgate: *ecce ego sternam per ordinem lapides tuos* and perhaps also in the Targum, which suggests something laid in orderly fashion in a pavement (Jastrow 1950:1495).

The reference to "all Israel" is not common in the Scrolls, and seems to involve the concept of the community as the righteous remnant rather than the entire nation (cf 1QS 2:22; 1QSa 1:1; 4QpNah 3:3). The reference is brought on by the mention of "stones" in the *lemma*, which are consistently interpreted as a reference to members of the community (see esp 1QH 6:26, where Is 28:16 is interpreted in terms of "elect stones" **אֲבָנֵי כְּהֹן**), as it is also in the New Testament (e.g 1Pt 2:5; 1Cor 3:16; 6:19, as well as Rv 21) and the Patristic literature (Hermas, 3:9; IgnEph 9:1). The origin of this interpretation may lie in the similarity of the word "stone" (**אֲבָן**) to the word "son" (**בֵּן**), which takes an *aleph* in the Arabic 'ibn.

These references to the community are compared to the application of black mascara around a woman's eye to make the white of the eye more striking and beautiful (Reading **כְּפֹרֵךְ כְּעֵין** with Yadin 1959:40; Strugnell 1970:196; Baumgarten 1976:60; Horgan 1979:127, contra Allegro's **כְּפֹרֵךְ כְּעֹרֵךְ**, 1968:27). Isaiah 54:11 is interpreted in just this way in Pesiqta Rabbati 32, which refers also to 2 Kings 9:30, "with stibium she painted her eyes, and then attired her head". Thus **כְּפֹרֵךְ** is understood as a black substance (cf LXX ἄσθρακα) ground into eye make-up. An important implication of this image is that an inner group is envisaged, around which the eschatological people of God will gather. This "gathering around" motif may reflect the prospect of a perfectly new Jerusalem, which 11QTemp 39-45 envisages for the rebuilt temple, with three gates on each, allocated each to a particular tribe, as in Revelation. The founding fathers of the community are already in mind.

Lines 2-3: This *peshet* interprets the text "And your foundations with sapphires" (**יִסְרָחֵיךְ בְּסַפִּירִים**) to refer to the founding of the Qumran community by a group consisting of priests and laymen (contra Horgan 1979:128). The mainspring of the interpretation is the word **סַפִּירִים** read as "scribes, teachers of the Law". The elect group of twelve "perfect in all which has been revealed from all the Law" (1QS 8:1f), inspired by the special revelation of the Teacher of Righteousness, are the foundations of the new Jerusalem, which is the Council of the Community (**עֲצַת הַיְּהוּדָה**). This inner group is to have a special status in the community, just as the sapphire stone, the most

precious and durable of stones (BBB 75a; MidrTeh 87:1-3; PesR 32) has more value than other stones. The context requires ךחור before ערן (cf Horgan 1979:126). It seems likely that the lacuna referred to the setting apart of the spiritual sanctuary in the desert as in 1QS 8:11; 9:5f,19-21.

Lines 4-6: This *peshet* interprets the Scripture "I will make your pinnacles of agate" to refer to a group of twelve who are sources of judgment connected with the Urim and Thummim. The key for the interpretation is given by שמשותי which is taken from שמש to mean "luminaries" and not "pinnacles". There is a widespread tradition of this interpretation in Rabbinic literature, for example PesR 32,

And so, according to Rabbi Joshua ben Lev, the phrase in Isaiah is read luminaries to give light, not "turrets" but sources of illumination for people to see by (cf TgNeb to this passage; MidrTeh 87:1-3; BBB 75a; BSan 100a and Jub 1:29).

The Urim and Thummim are provided for the *peshet* by כרך , which is read numerically to give 48, which is also the number of the Urim and Thummim in 2 Baruch 6:7ff. The number twelve is seen in all its multiples, and this links the *lemma* to the twelve founding members of the community, the priests and people (Horgan 1979:129) rather than priests alone (Carmignac 1961b:74-76; Yadin 1959:39-42; Baumgarten 1976:61). The group of twelve, as a whole, has a priestly function to atone and to judge, according to 1QS 8:1-16; 9:3-11, so that the lacuna may be supplied from 1QS 8:1 to read "twelve men and three priests".

In Jewish tradition, the Urim and Thummim are not only sources of judgment as in the Old Testament, but also of brilliant light (e.g. PsPhilo LAB 26:13,15; 2Bar 6:7ff; Jos *Ant* 3:8,9,215-218). The sun is also connected with Levi and the priesthood in The Testament of Levi 4:3 and The Testament of Naphtali 5:1-5. The implication of this is that the new Jerusalem has no need of sun or moon, because its light is provided by the luminaries (Reader 1981:447). By the first century B C, the Biblical lots Urim and Thummim had been thoroughly confused with the twelve gemstones in the breastplate of the High Priest, each inscribed with the name of a tribe. After their loss in 586 B C, speculation took over from fact, but they continued to be understood as sources of judgment and prophecy, belonging to the High Priest (e.g. TgJ1 to Ex 28; MYom 5:2; TgKet to Shir 3:17; TgKet to Qoheleth 3:1; BYom 53b; TYom 3:6; TSota 13:1; BBB 122a). They were believed to have been hidden by Jeremiah before the fall of Jerusalem, and their restoration to the temple was to be a sign of the eschatological renewal of Israel (PsPhilo LAB 26:13; 2Bar 6:8f) (Reader 1981:447). All of these ideas lie behind the Qumran *peshet*, and it seems that the twelve founding members of the community are identified with the twelve Urim and Thummim (note also the inclusion of Dt 33:8-11 as a Messianic text in 4QTest 14). This is very close to the conception in Revelation 21:14,19ff, where the apostles' names are inscribed on the

twelve foundation stones of the new Jerusalem and characterised further as twelve gemstones. In other words, the twelve apostles are identified with the Urim and Thummim as a sign of the eschatological renewal of Israel.

The lacunae probably contained a reference to the function of judgment in rooting out wickedness. This would give a meaning to the otherwise inexplicable **הנעריית**, since **עור** in Niphal means "to be cast out, rejected, banished" (Jastrow 1950:1045). It would make better sense than "absent from" as Yadin (1959:39-42) despairingly translates, or the conjectured confusion of **אור** with **עור** to mean "streams from" given by Baumgarten (1976:61f). The wicked are to be judged and rejected by the Council of Twelve in the time of the "visitation".

Lines 7-8: This *peshet* refers the Scripture "And thy gates of carbuncle" (Strugnell 1970:196; Baumgarten 1976:62; Horgan 1979:130, contra Allegro 1968:28; Yadin 1959:41; Carmignac 1963:76) to the "heads of the tribes of Israel in the last days". This is reminiscent of the inscription of the twelve gates in Revelation 21:12 with the names of the "twelve tribes of the sons of Israel", both deriving from the plan of Ez 48:30 (cf 11Q Temp 40-41). The connection is made easier by the association of "heads" with "gates" in Psalm 24:7,9 (**שאו שערים ראשים**), and of the twelve tribes with the twelve gates in Ezekiel 48:30-34 (Baumgarten 1976:62).

The *peshet* continues with a reference to the lot (**גורלו**) and rank (**מעמרו**) at Qumran, so that it seems that the lacunae should contain a reference to the ordering of the members of the community by the Council. The root **עור** has a second meaning "to apportion, estimate, measure" and thus "proportion" or "apportionment" (Jastrow 1950:1612 s v II). This meaning seems to have provided the key for the interpretation. According to 1QS 5:2-3, the decision of the lot in the community is limited to the Sons of Aaron and the "Great/ Many" (**רוב**) of the men of the community. This would seem to refer to the inner council of twelve, both priests and laity, which is found in 8:1. They are to order all the members of the community strictly according to rank, subject to an annual progress review, so that every member will know his rank which is determined by his lot (5:20-24). It seems to be this responsibility of the community leaders which is referred to here, and suggests that the "heads of the tribes" are the same body of twelve that is referred to in lines 2-4, rather than a further body, as suggested by Baumgarten (1976:63-64).

7 CONCLUSION

It must be conceded that Revelation 21:14, 19 and following derives from the same thought world as the Qumran Scrolls which have been examined. The same dualistic framework, limited by a conviction of monotheistic omnipotence, lies behind these works. The same vision of the community as the true Israel, embattled and persecuted, dominates their thinking. The same hope that the eschatological new creation promised by God had already

begun for the members of the community is present and the expectation of a final decisive conflict. There is also a parallel tradition of the interpretation of the Old Testament prophets in a way which applies them directly to the contemporary situation of the community, which extends to details.

Thus, in both, the founding fathers of the community are twelve in number, and represent the eschatological restoration of Israel. In both the twelve are identified with the foundations of the new Jerusalem, although the images in the Scrolls are more closely related to the temple than is Revelation 21. Revelation 21:19ff describes the twelve foundations as twelve gemstones, which are modelled on the breastplate of the High Priest, which had long been confused with the Urim and Thummim. 4QpIsa^d identifies the twelve founders with the Urim and Thummim and ascribes to them the authority of judgment. In Revelation judgment is usually reserved for God (e.g. 6:10; 11:18; 16:5; 18:20), but there is a vision in 20:4 where it seems that elect members of the community will share in God's judgment:

Then I saw thrones, and seated on them were those to whom judgment was committed.

Perhaps these are the twelve apostles of the Lamb as in Matthew 19:28 (cf Rv 4:4; 1Cor 6:1-3, where judgment is extended to the whole community).

In the Scrolls, as in Revelation, the new Jerusalem is envisaged as the community of eschatological restored Israel. This is understood in a more allegorical way in 4QpIsa^d, where the stones are an image for the people, but the same understanding is implicit in Revelation, as it is explicit elsewhere in the New Testament.

An important contrast between the Scrolls texts which have been examined, and Revelation 21, is that the Scrolls think of the new Jerusalem primarily in terms of the temple. The community is a spiritual temple for Israel and a Holy of Holies for Aaron, offering spiritual sacrifices of worship and work. This is probably in line with the extension of priestly purity to the whole community (Seidensticker 1959:159f), since everything in the new Jerusalem will be as holy as the temple, even pots and pans (Zch 14:20f). Revelation allows no temple in the new Jerusalem "for its temple is the Lord God the Almighty and the Lamb" (21:22). This is a radical statement, which would have shocked the Qumran sectarians, although it has its roots in the concept of the community as the temple in which God was present (Mt 18:20; cf MAboth 3:2) which is central to Qumran thinking also, so that the contrast is more apparent than real (Gaston 1970:196f). But it does underline a difference of emphasis and attitude which is conscious and deliberate on the part of Revelation (Bousset 1906:450f; Hadorn 1928:211; Kraft 1974:273). It can only represent implicit polemic against the widespread Jewish hope in a physically reconstructed eschatological temple, as seen in 11QTemp. Likewise the Revelation city has no need of sun and moon not, as in 4QpIsa^d, because of the luminaries, but because God is its light and its lamp is the

Lamb (cf Is 40:19; 60:1; 24:23). In both these instances, Revelation emphasises the immanence of God.

In terms of their use of Scripture, it has been observed that Qumran writers cite Scripture directly, and interpret it on the assumption that it corresponds to their own situation on a one to one basis. All that is required is to find the key to unlock its meaning, whether by double meaning, textual variant or numerical value. The pattern which has been observed in 4QpIsa^d is characteristic of the *peshet* method throughout the Scrolls. When Cross (1972:5) writes of " ... the homogeneity of biblical interpretation at Qumran especially in instances of bizarre or wholly arbitrary applications to their sect or times", he is quite wrong. The Qumran interpretations are never arbitrary, it is simply that they use different criteria to our own, criteria familiar also from Rabbinic writings. Their method shows that for them the prophets and psalms, as well as the Torah, were already in some sense "canon", since this is the implication of the Scripture/*peshet* procedure. This process of interpretation is designed to appropriate the Scriptures for their community. Thus it would be just as true for the Scrolls as for Revelation to say that "the locus of revelation" is always their own "historical theological situation" (Schüssler Fiorenza 1985:22).

Revelation moves in the same world of Scripture interpretation - indeed it has been seen that its picture of the new Jerusalem is drawn from very similar exegesis of Isaiah, but its expression is more poetic and less allegorical. The picture of the new Jerusalem in Revelation is original in expression, but not in content. Reader (1981:434) is wrong in his assertion that

there is no analogy in late Jewish tradition for the connection of the eschatological Jerusalem with the motif of twelve stones. This feature stems therefore from John himself (criterion of dissimilarity).

Scriptural themes and interpretations are simply taken for granted, as the material with which the artist creates his collage. To use another image, the *peshet* method of interpreting Scripture, so central to the Scrolls, is like a musician scoring a musical theme for an orchestra, whereas Revelation works like a musician writing variations on a theme. Both are, in their own way, faithful to the theme, but the second method works at a deeper, more imaginative and creative level, so that sometimes, to the uninitiated, the theme seems to disappear completely, only to surface again in a new key. In Revelation such themes are run together and arranged in complex patterns, to build up a powerful and rich harmony, which hints tantalisingly at a familiar Scriptural tradition, only to pass on to another before it becomes concrete.

Thus, in this analysis of a small part of Revelation, Schüssler Fiorenza's description of John's method as "anthological" is valid. Kraft's contention that Revelation was *exclusively* a prophetic interpreter of Old Testament prophecy (1973:16) is too narrow. This study has shown that Revelation draws on several Jewish apocalyptic traditions originating outside of the Old Testa-

ment. However, Schüssler Fiorenza's contention that Revelation "does not interpret the Old Testament" must be questioned. It is clear that Revelation does interpret the Old Testament, in a manner very similar to the Scrolls, so similar as to suggest occasionally a refutation of other familiar interpretations (as, for example, in the case of the temple and luminaries of the new Jerusalem). In Revelation the interpretation is implicit rather than explicit, but it is interpretation nevertheless, of a kind in keeping with what is found in the Scrolls.

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