

LORENZO DITOMMASO

The Dead Sea
New Jerusalem Text

*Texts and Studies in
Ancient Judaism
110*

Mohr Siebeck

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Lorenzo DiTommaso

The Dead Sea
New Jerusalem Text

Contents and Contexts

Mohr Siebeck

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Preface

This volume is based on my doctoral dissertation, which was submitted to the Department of Religious Studies at McMaster University in late 2001. I wish to acknowledge the efforts of my committee members, E. Schuller, A. Mendelson, and S. Westerholm, who despite severe restrictions of time imposed by my postdoctoral schedule reviewed each chapter as soon as it appeared. I owe a great debt to Professor Schuller, my doctoral supervisor, for demonstrating the value of careful scholarship through her instruction and example. My thanks extend also to Professor Mendelson for his keen editorial eye, Professor Westerholm for graciously agreeing to serve on my committee on short notice, Dr. P. Rask for a copy of his Ph.D. thesis, Professor J.C. VanderKam, the dissertation's external reader, for his constructive suggestions regarding its anticipated revision, Ms. C. Sulzbach for her thorough review of the final draft of the revision, and Professor M. Abegg for kindly sending me electronic Hebrew/Aramaic numeral characters. Any remaining errors of fact or omission are entirely my responsibility.

The present volume follows the dissertation in its three-chapter framework and in the basic reconstruction of the text in Chapter One. In all the details, however, and particularly in Chapters Two and Three, which I have substantially revised, the volume is more a reflection of 2004/05 than it is of 2000/01. To some degree this duality is a function of the state of research.

On the one hand, except for É. Puech's 2003 article on the gates of the city, not much attention has been devoted to the *NJ* over the past four years. The seminal essays of F. García Martínez are products of the 1990s, and the bulk of the other important scholarship was published in the last half of the same decade. García Martínez and E.J.C. Tigchelaar's superb DJD edition of the Cave Eleven *NJ* fragments appeared in 1998, and the remains of the Caves One, Two, and Five copies were edited long ago. True, the sixth part (2005) of the *Dead Sea Scrolls Reader* includes E.M. Cook's edition and translation of 4Q554 and 4Q554a, and a partial reconstruction of these fragments stands behind their citations in the 2003 *Dead Sea Scrolls Concordance*. Yet as of early 2005 we await an edition of the Cave Four copies in either the DJD or the PTSDSS series. A close examination of the content

of these copies and an evaluation of the attempts at their reconstruction are desiderata which I hope Chapter One has partially addressed.

On the other hand, many fine studies have recently appeared on the subject of the New Jerusalem in the Book of Revelation and its early Jewish expressions. The names of D. Aune, R.A. Briggs, P. Lee, U. Sim, and P. Söller figure most prominently here, and Chapter Two is thoroughly informed by their work. Such studies have allowed me to omit or radically revise long sections of the dissertation, which in turn, I believe, has resulted a more focused volume.

My sincere thanks to Professor P. Schäfer and Professor M. Hengel for recommending this volume for publication as part of this distinguished series. Professor Schäfer and Dr. H. Ziebritzki of Mohr Siebeck e.K. maintained their interest in receiving a revised version of my dissertation from the time I first suggested the possibility in 2002. I am especially grateful to Dr. Ziebritzki for his understanding and patience, particularly in light of the unexpected delays with the revisions imposed by my postdoctoral research.

As a final word, my most profound gratitude is reserved for my immediate family, and in this context I feel it only proper that I reproduce the dedication in my dissertation:

I owe so much to my parents, Aldo and Helen (Wezse) DiTommaso, who taught me how to read and provided me with a wonderful library. From them flowed love, support, goodwill, understanding, and an appreciation of the classics and the fine arts. I am in debt, too, to my in-laws, Philippe and Shirley (Mason) Labrosse, who took me into their family and who have shown me a kindness and generosity that words can never adequately acknowledge. Finally, to my darling wife, Diane N. Mason Labrosse, who from her own work in modern history [still] happily travels with me back in time to the ancient world, I owe everything.

Montréal
April, 2005

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List of Abbreviations and *Sigla*

1. Abbreviations of Serials and Series

AbrNSup	<i>Abr-Nahrain</i> Supplement Series
AUSS	<i>Andrews University Seminary Studies</i>
BA	Biblical Archaeologist
BAC	Bochumer altertumswissenschaftliches Colloquium
BAR	<i>Biblical Archaeology Review</i>
BASOR	<i>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research</i>
BBB	Bonner biblische Beiträge
BeOr	<i>Bibbia e oriente</i>
BJS	Brown Judaic Studies
BibOr	Biblica et orientalia
BKir	<i>Bible und Kirche</i>
BZNW	Beiträge zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft
CBQ	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
CoLA	<i>Collectio Assisiensis</i>
DJD	Discoveries in the Judean Desert
DSD	<i>Dead Sea Discoveries</i>
ÉBib	Études bibliques
Erlsr	<i>Eretz Israel</i>
ErJb	<i>Eranos Jahrbuch</i>
EstBib	<i>Estudios biblicos</i>
ETL	<i>Ephemerides theologicae Lovaniensis</i>
EvT	<i>Evangelische Theologie</i>
ExpTim	<i>Expository Times</i>
HAR	<i>Hebrew Annual Review</i>
HSM	Harvard Semitic Monographs
HSS	Harvard Semitic Studies
HTR	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
HUCM	Hebrew Union College Monographs
IEJ	<i>Israel Exploration Journal</i>
JAOS	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
JBL	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
JCPS	Jewish and Christian Perspectives Series
JJS	<i>Journal of Jewish Studies</i>
JNES	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>
JQR	<i>Jewish Quarterly Review</i>

<i>JReIS</i>	<i>Journal of Religious Studies</i>
<i>JSJ</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of Judaism</i>
<i>JSNT</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the New Testament</i>
<i>JSNTSup</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the New Testament Supplement Series</i>
<i>JSOT</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the Old Testament</i>
<i>JSOTSup</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series</i>
<i>JSP</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha</i>
<i>JSPSup</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha Supplement Series</i>
<i>JTS</i>	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
<i>JudCh</i>	<i>Judaica et christiana</i>
<i>LumVie</i>	<i>Lumière et vie</i>
<i>MDB</i>	<i>Le monde de la Bible</i> [magazine]
<i>MDB</i>	<i>Le monde de la Bible</i>
<i>Neotest</i>	<i>Neotestamentica</i>
<i>NovT</i>	<i>Novum Testamentum</i>
<i>NTS</i>	<i>New Testament Studies</i>
<i>OBO</i>	<i>Orbis biblicus et orientalis</i>
<i>OTM</i>	<i>Oxford Theological Monographs</i>
<i>OTS</i>	<i>Oudtestamentische Studiën</i>
<i>PAAJR</i>	<i>Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research</i>
<i>PEFQS</i>	<i>Palestinian Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement</i>
<i>PEGLBS</i>	<i>Proceedings, Eastern Great Lakes Biblical Society</i>
<i>RB</i>	<i>Revue biblique</i>
<i>RevistB</i>	<i>Revista biblica</i>
<i>RevQ</i>	<i>Revue de Qumran</i>
<i>RHPR</i>	<i>Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses</i>
<i>SBFAn</i>	<i>Studium biblicum Franciscanum analecta</i>
<i>SBLDS</i>	<i>Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series</i>
<i>SBLEJL</i>	<i>Society of Biblical Literature Early Judaism and Its Literature</i>
<i>SBLSS</i>	<i>Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Series</i>
<i>SBT</i>	<i>Studies in Biblical Theology</i>
<i>SCS</i>	<i>(Society of Biblical Literature) Septuagint and Cognate Studies</i>
<i>ScrHier</i>	<i>Scripta Hierosolymitana</i>
<i>SDSSRL</i>	<i>Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature</i>
<i>SJLA</i>	<i>Studies in Judaism in Late Antiquity</i>
<i>SJOT</i>	<i>Scandinavian Journal of the Old Testament</i>
<i>SJT</i>	<i>Scottish Journal of Theology</i>
<i>SNTSMS</i>	<i>Society of New Testament Studies Monograph Series</i>
<i>STDJ</i>	<i>Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah</i>
<i>TANZ</i>	<i>Texte und Arbeiten zum neutestamentlichen Zeitalter</i>
<i>TG</i>	<i>Theologie und Glaube</i>
<i>TLZ</i>	<i>Theologische Literaturzeitung</i>
<i>TQ</i>	<i>Theologische Quartalschrift</i>
<i>TSAJ</i>	<i>Texte und Studien zum antiken Judentum</i>
<i>TZ</i>	<i>Theologische Zeitschrift</i>
<i>VT</i>	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i>

VTSup	Supplements to <i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
ZAH	<i>Zeitschrift für Althebraistik</i>
ZNW	<i>Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
ZTK	<i>Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche</i>

2. Supplemental Abbreviations

- ATTM 1 and 2* Beyer, K. "J = 1Q32. 2Q24. 4Q. 5Q15. 11Q: Das himmlische Jerusalem." *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer samt den Inschriften aus Palästina, dem Testament Levis aus der Kairoer Genisa, der Fastenrolle und den alten talmudischen Zitaten*. Göttingen, 1984. 215–222; *idem*, "J = 1Q32. 2Q24. 4Q554. 555. 5Q15. 11Q18: Das himmlische Jerusalem." *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer samt den Inschriften aus Palästina, dem Testament Levis aus der Kairoer Genisa, der Fastenrolle und den alten talmudischen Zitaten. Ergänzungsband*. Göttingen, 1994. 95–104.
- Baillet, "Fragments"
Baillet, M. "Fragments araméens de Qumrân 2: Description de la Jérusalem nouvelle." *RB* 62 (1955). 222–245.
- Broshi, "Architecture"
Broshi, M. "Visionary Architecture and Town Planning in the Dead Sea Scrolls." *ErIsr* 23 (1992). 286–292. [modern Hebrew] [= *Time to Prepare the Way in the Wilderness. Papers on the Qumran Scrolls by Fellows of the Institute for Advanced Studies of the Hebrew University, Jerusalem, 1989–1990*. Edd. D. Dimant and L.H. Schiffman. STDJ 16. Leiden, 1995. 9–22] [page numbers to English version]
- Chyutin, *NJ Scroll*
Chyutin, M. *The New Jerusalem Scroll: A Comprehensive Reconstruction*. JSPSup 25. Sheffield, 1997.
- Collins, "Excursus"
Collins, J.J. "Excursus on the Temple Scroll and the New Jerusalem Text." *Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls*. London/New York, 1997. 58–62.
- CT
Claremont Ancient Biblical Manuscript Center Transparency (of Palestinian Archaeological Museum photographs of 4Q554 and 4Q555). Made privately.
- DJD I
Milik, J.T. "Description de la Jérusalem nouvelle (?)." *Qumran Cave I*. DJD I. Oxford, 1955. 134–135, pl. XXXI.
- DJD III
Baillet, M. "Description de la Jérusalem nouvelle." *Les 'petites grottes' de Qumrân. Exploration de la falaise. Les grottes 2Q, 3Q, 5Q, 6Q, 7Q, à 10Q. Le rouleau de cuivre*. DJD III. Oxford, 1962. 84–89, pl. XVI.
and

- Milik, J.T. "Description de la Jérusalem nouvelle." *Le 'petites grottes' de Qumrân. Exploration de la falaise. Les grottes 2Q, 3Q, 5Q, 6Q, 7Q, à 10Q. Le rouleau de cuivre.* DJD III. Oxford, 1962. 184–193, pls. XL–XLI.
- DJD XXIII García Martínez, F., Tigchelaar, E.S., and van der Woude, A.S. "11QNew Jerusalem ar." *Qumran Cave 11, II. 11Q2–18, 11Q20–31.* DJD XXIII. Oxford, 1998. 305–355, pls. XXXV–XL.
- DSSC Abegg, M.G., Jr., with Bowley, J.E. and Cook, E.M. *The Dead Sea Scrolls Concordance. Volume One: The Non-Biblical Texts from Qumran, Parts One and Two.* Leiden/Boston, 2003.
- DSSE Vermes, G. *The Dead Sea Scrolls in English.* New York, 1997.
- DSSNT Cook, E.M. "A Vision of the New Jerusalem." In Wise, M.O., Abegg, M. Jr., and Cook, E. *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A New Translation.* San Francisco, 1996. 181–184.
- DSSR Cook, E.M. "New Jerusalem." *The Dead Sea Scrolls Reader. Part 6: Additional Genres and Unclassified Texts.* Edd. D.W. Parry and E. Tov. Leiden/Boston, 2005. 38–75.
- DSSSE García Martínez, F., and Tigchelaar, E.S. *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition.* Leiden/New York/Köln, 1997–1998.
- D SST García Martínez, F. *The Dead Sea Scrolls Translated: The Qumran Texts in English.* Trans. W.G.E. Watson. Leiden/New York/Cologne, 1996. 129–135.
- DSSU Eisenman, R., and Wise, M. "The New Jerusalem (4Q554)." *The Dead Sea Scrolls Uncovered.* New York, 1992. 39–46.
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- Gaines, "Eschatological Jerusalem" Gaines, E.A. "The Eschatological Jerusalem: The Function of the Image in Biblical Literature." Diss: Princeton Theological Seminary, 1987.
- García Martínez, "Future Temple" García Martínez, F. "La 'Nueva Jerusalén' y el Templo Futuro de los Mss. de Qumrán." *Salvación en la palabra. Targum – Derash – Berith. En memoria del profesor Alejandro Díez Macho.* Ed. D. Muñoz León. Madrid, 1986. 563–590. [revised = "The 'New Jerusalem' and the Future Temple of the Manuscripts from Qumran." *Qumran and Apocalyptic: Studies on the Aramaic Texts from Qumran.* STDJ 9. Leiden, 1992. 180–213.] [page numbers to English version]

- García Martínez, "Last Surviving Columns"
 García Martínez, F. "The Last Surviving Columns of 11QNJ." *The Scriptures and the Scrolls: Studies in Honour of A.S. van der Woude on the Occasion of his 65th Birthday*. Edd. F. García Martínez, A. Hilhorst, and C.J. Labuschagne. VTSup 49. Leiden/New York/Köln, 1992. 178–192, pls. 3–9.
- García Martínez, "More Fragments"
 García Martínez, F. "More Fragments of 11QNJ." *The Provo International Conference on the Dead Sea Scrolls. Technological Innovations, New Texts, and Reformulated Issues*. Edd. D.W. Parry and E. Ulrich. STDJ 30. Leiden/Boston/Köln, 1999. 186–198.
- García Martínez, "New Jerusalem"
 García Martínez, F. "New Jerusalem." Trans. A.E. Alvarez. *The Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls*. Edd. L.H. Schiffman and J.C. VanderKam. Oxford, 2000. 606–610.
- García Martínez, "Temple Scroll"
 García Martínez, F. "Temple Scroll." Trans. A.E. Alvarez. *The Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls*. Edd. L.H. Schiffman and J.C. VanderKam. Oxford, 2000. 927–933.
- García Martínez, "TSNJ"
 García Martínez, F. "The Temple Scroll and the New Jerusalem." *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years. A Comprehensive Assessment*. Edd. P.W. Flint and J.C. VanderKam, with the Assistance of A.E. Alvarez. Leiden/Boston/Köln, 1999. 2.431–459.
- Lee, *New Jerusalem*
 Lee, P. *The New Jerusalem in the Book of Revelation*. WUNT 2.129. Tübingen, 2001.
- Licht, "Ideal"
 Licht, J. "An Ideal Town Plan from Qumran – The Description of the New Jerusalem." *IEJ* 29 (1979). 45–59.
- MPAT
 Fitzmyer, J.A., and Harrington, D.J. *A Manual of Palestinian Aramaic Texts (Second Century B.C. – Second Century A.D.)*. BibOr 34. Rome, 1978. 46–65, 198–199.
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 Strugnell, J. *A Preliminary Concordance to the Hebrew and Aramaic Fragments from Qumrân Caves II–X, Including Especially the Unpublished Material from Cave IV. Volume V: Aramaic Part*. Based on work by R.E. Brown, J.A. Fitzmyer, W.G. Oxtoby, and J. Teixidor. Prepared and Arranged by H.-P. Richter. Göttingen, 1988. Privately printed.
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 Puech, É. *La croyance des esséniens en la vie future: immortalité, résurrection, vie éternelle?* ÉBib n.s. 21–22. Paris, 1993.
- Puech, "Gates"
 Puech, É. "The Names of the Gates of the New Jerusalem (4Q554)." *Emanuel. Studies in Hebrew Bible, Septuagint, and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honor of Emanuel Tov*. Edd. S.M. Paul, et al. VTSup 94. Leiden/Boston, 2003. 379–392.

- Puech, "JN" Puech, É. "À propos de la Jérusalem nouvelle d'après les manuscrits de la Mer Morte." *Semitica* 43–44 (1995). 87–102.
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Sim, U. *Das himmlische Jerusalem in Apk 21,2–22,5 im Kontext biblisch-jüdischer Tradition und antiker Städtebaus*. BAC 25. Trier, 1996.
- Söllner, *Jerusalem*
Söllner, P. *Jerusalem, die hochgebaute Stadt. Eschatologisches und himmlisches Jerusalem im Frühjudentum und im frühen Christentum*. TANZ 25. Tübingen, 1998.
- Starcky, "Jérusalem"
Starcky, J. "Jérusalem et les manuscrits de la Mer Morte." *MDb* 1 (Nov./Dec. 1977). 38–40.
- Tov, *Scribal Practices*
Tov, E. *Scribal Practices and Approaches Reflected in the Text Found in the Judean Desert*. STDJ 54. Leiden, 2004.
- TTMnJ
Maier, J. *Die Tempelrolle vom Toten Meer und das "Neue Jerusalem": 11Q19 und 11Q20; 1Q32, 2Q24, 4Q554–555, 5Q15 und 11Q18. Übersetzung und Erläuterung, mit Grundrissen der Tempelhofanlage und Skizzen zur Stadtplanung*. Uni-Taschenbücher 829. München/Basel, 1997.
- Wise, *Temple Scroll*
Wise, M.O. *A Critical Study of the Temple Scroll from Qumran Cave 11*. Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization 49. Chicago, 1990. 64–86.
- Wise, "New Jerusalem Texts"
Wise, M.O. "New Jerusalem Texts." *Dictionary of New Testament Background*. Edd. C.A. Evans and S.E. Porter. Downers Grove, IL/Leicester, 2000. 742–745.
- Yadin, *Temple Scroll*
Yadin, Y. *The Temple Scroll*. Jerusalem, 1983. (orig. מגילת המקדש. Jerusalem, 1977)

3. Transcription Notations

- Ⲁ probable letter
ⲁ possible letter
• remnant of an undetermined letter
Ⲃ supralinear letter
[Ⲁ] reconstructed letter
Ⲁ, ⲁ overlapping text from other copies
Ⲁ ancient scribe's correction (strike-out)
<Ⲁ> ancient scribe's correction (erasure)
vacat empty space (explicit or reconstructed); also indicated as *vac* or *v*
? doubtful reconstruction
/ beginning or end of line (text only)

- ʹ unit-cipher; cipher for the number “one”
- ʋ cipher for the number “two” (in a terminal position)
- ↯ cipher for the number “ten”
- ↯ cipher for the number “twenty”
- ↯ cipher for the number “one hundred”
- */** direction to the reader to consult the Note/Notes on the Reading at the location(s) cited (*e.g.*, *4Q554 1 ii 22, *or* **4Q554 1 ii 21 and 22)

Introduction

Among the hundreds of manuscript scraps recovered from the Dead Sea caves, there is a fascinating but highly fragmentary composition, the *New Jerusalem* text – *NJ* for short. As its name suggests, the subject of the text is the New Jerusalem, the expected eschatological city. Most of what survives of the *NJ* describes the precise measurements of the structures of this city, which is both gigantic and exceedingly beautiful. Its rectangular-shaped perimeter is circumscribed by monumental walls in which are set imposing sapphire gates named after the twelve tribes of Israel. Inside the walls are blocks of houses and rows of streets arranged in a rigidly orthogonal pattern. Some of the *NJ* fragments tell us that there is a New Temple in the city and describe the Temple implements, offerings, and rituals. Other fragments outline the New Jerusalem in its eschatological context, which includes references to nations that in the biblical and extra-biblical traditions were traditionally hostile to Israel.

One of the many curious aspects about the *NJ* is that it was composed in Aramaic and not in Hebrew,¹ the language of the majority of the texts

¹ There is nothing to suggest that Aramaic is not the original language of the *NJ*. The view that a Hebrew copy of the *NJ* is extant among the Dead Sea fragments has circulated for the past few decades (see, *inter alia*, Wise, *Temple Scroll*, 85 note 87). In some cases the text cited was 4Q232 (on which, see note 7, below), while other times scholars were referring to fragments from what would later be called the *Reworked Pentateuch*. On the complicated history of identifying the nature of these fragments from the *Reworked Pentateuch* and determining their relationship to the *NJ* and the *Temple Scroll*, see Chapter Three § 1. Most recently, García Martínez mentions that he re-checked the unidentified fragments which were registered in the *Preliminary Concordance* as having been assigned to J.T. Milik and found no evidence of a Hebrew *NJ* fragment. He also notes, however, that upon examination of miscellaneous fragments not part of Milik's lot, he has discovered a "small fragment" in Hebrew in the lower left quadrant of PAM 43.368 that might be associated with *NJ* and which may be the "tiny fragment" that Milik identified as 4Q232. At the same time, he notes that a different and palaeographically preferable reading of the text of the fragment would "eliminate a connection to the *New Jerusalem*" ("TSNJ," 445–446 note 27). For the present time, the material evidence suggests that i) 4Q232 as a Hebrew copy of the *NJ* has not yet been confirmed; ii) the fragments from the *Reworked Pentateuch*, while potentially important to the study of *NJ*, are not a copy or a paraphrase of it; and iii) García Martínez is correct in asserting that the existence of the *NJ* in Hebrew is "unproven thus far" ("TSNJ," 446 note 27).

recovered at Qumran.² This means that despite the fact that the *NJ* is known to us solely from these manuscript copies, the text was probably not a product of the nearby Qumran community, since, generally speaking, Dead Sea Aramaic texts lack the distinctive sectarian terminology.³ (There are other reasons which indicate its extramural provenance.) The Aramaic of the *NJ* is “Middle Aramaic,” more specifically “Palestinian” or “Judean” Aramaic,⁴ and there are only a few Hebraisms in the text.⁵ All the copies of the *NJ* have been dated palaeographically to the Herodian period,⁶ that is, *circa* 50 BCE to 50 CE. Of course, this is not necessarily the period in which the text was

² There are over 820 literary manuscripts discovered at Qumran which have been assigned a unique numeric *siglum* (see E. Tov, with S. Pfann, “List of Texts from the Judean Desert,” *The Texts from the Judean Desert* (DJD XXXIX; Oxford, 2002), 27–114 at 27–89), to which must be added a few (like 1QpHab) without a numerical *siglum*. 130 of these are written in Aramaic, including the unidentified and unclassified ones (Tov, “Lists of Specific Groups of Texts from the Judean Desert,” *op. cit.*, 203–228 at 221–226), and thus there is approximately one Aramaic text for every six or seven Hebrew ones.

³ On the view that Qumran Aramaic texts are not sectarian creations, see J.A. Fitzmyer, “The Dead Sea Scrolls and Christian Origins: General Methodological Considerations,” *The Dead Sea Scrolls and Christian Faith. In Celebration of the Jubilee Year of the Discovery of Qumran Cave 1* (edd. J.H. Charlesworth and W.P. Weaver; Harrisburg, PA, 1998, 1–19) [= *The Dead Sea Scrolls and Christian Origins* (SDSSRL; Cambridge/Grand Rapids, 2000), 1–16 at 8], and *idem*, “Aramaic,” *The Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (edd. L.H. Schiffman and J.C. VanderKam; Oxford, 2000), 48–51 at 50. On the question whether the *NJ* can be called a sectarian text, and also on the issue of its place in and importance to the community, see Chapter Three, esp. §§ 2 and 3.

⁴ DJD III, 184. Fitzmyer identifies Qumran Aramaic as “Middle Aramaic” in his five-fold division of the Aramaic language (on his classification in general, see “The Phases of the Aramaic Language,” *A Wandering Aramean. Collected Aramaic Essays* (Missionsoula, 1979), 57–84). For the most recent survey of the Aramaic of the Qumran texts, see E. Cook, “Aramaic of the Dead Sea Scrolls”; *n.b.* a correction: באַתִּי, which Cook cites as an example of an *aleph* representing a long /a/ after a consonant other than *vav* or *yod*, is found at 5Q15 1 ii 6 rather than the “4QJN^a ar (554 1 6) 1 ii 6” that he indicates (362). On the Aramaic of the *NJ* and the date of its composition, see Chapter Three § 3.

⁵ DJD III, 88; Frey, “Contexts,” 808 note 43. As for the original language of composition, García Martínez opines, “nothing in the Aramaic text indicates that we are dealing with a composition translated from a Hebrew original” (“Future Temple,” 193 note 42).

⁶ 1QNJ: an early Herodian script dating from the latter half of the first century BCE (García Martínez, “TSNJ,” 446); 2QNJ: the late Herodian period (Baillet, “Fragments,” 245), but somewhat limited more precisely to the early decades of the first century in Baillet, DJD III, 84; 4Q554, 4Q554a, and 4Q555: early Herodian (Puech, *La croyance*, 591); 5QNJ: Milik classifies the language as “[une] belle écriture ‘hérodienne,’ comparable à celle des 1QIs^b, 1QH (première main), 1QM, 1Q‘Genesis Apocryphon’” (DJD III, 184); 11QNJ: either the early part of the Herodian period, its script corresponding to the “round semi-formal” type isolated by F.M. Cross (DJD XXIII, 309), or the later part (Puech, *La croyance*, 591); *n.b.* that García Martínez/Tigchelaar observe that “most letters [of 11Q18] are virtually identical to those of 4QMMT^d (4Q397).” García Martínez calls the script type “late Herodian” in his “TSNJ,” 449.

actually composed, and in fact there are good arguments to suggest that the *NJ* is actually a fair deal older.

The Dead Sea *NJ* text is a significant document because the expectation of the New Jerusalem is one that appears time and again in the Hebrew Bible, the New Testament, and other examples of ancient Jewish and Christian literature. This expectation was not a homogenous one among Jews and Christians of the period, and there are many variations on the theme, including the city's anticipated size, shape, and contents; the nature of the events and figures associated with its appearance; the question as to whether it will be a restored Jerusalem or an ideal one; and whether it will be a heavenly or an earthly city. At the same time, the detailed description of a monumental New Jerusalem is a basic component of the eschatological images of Ezekiel 40–48 and Revelation 21–22, the influence of which persists to the modern day. The passage in Revelation occurs over the final two chapters in Christian Bibles and in some ways represents the acme of one stream of Christian eschatological expectation.

Despite the fact that much of its preserved length is devoted to the formulaic recitation of urban structures and their measurements, the *NJ* text is not always an easy document to understand. For one thing, its description of the New Jerusalem must be set within the complex of these other traditions about the expected new city. This complex, which would have been part of post-exilic Judaism, to some extent has been evaluated too much in the light of Revelation 21–22 and not enough on its own terms. For another thing, as I have observed, the *NJ* survives nowhere else but in the manuscript copies from the Dead Sea. In other words, and unlike Ezekiel or Revelation, this text has only been known for a couple of generations, which is not a long time by the standards of biblical scholarship.

All told, seven manuscript copies⁷ of the *NJ* have been discovered: 1Q32, 2Q24, 4Q554, 4Q554a, 4Q555, 5Q15, and 11Q18.⁸ Each copy is extremely

⁷ 4Q232 and 4Q365a have been variously identified as copies of the *NJ*, but this identification is seemingly erroneous. The possibility that 4Q232 might be a copy of the *NJ* was first raised by Milik, who mentions in passing the existence of 4Q232, a “tiny fragment” that provides “a Hebrew version of the Aramaic work ... [the] *Description of the New Jerusalem*” (*The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumrân Cave 4* (Oxford, 1976), 59). Milik did not elaborate, however, and no PAM photograph of 4Q232 seems to exist. In their *DSSSE*, García Martínez and Tigchelaar state that “[4Q232 is the] old number and title of 4Q365a” (484), although this statement is difficult to reconcile with Milik’s observation, since 4Q365a 2 i–ii is anything but a “tiny fragment.” See also Frey, “Contexts,” 801 note 1, who writes of 4Q232 that “there is only one small fragment of the manuscript.” On 4Q232, see also note 1, above; on 4Q365a as a copy of the *NJ*, see Chapter Three § 1.

⁸ 1Q32: PAM 40.445, 40.478, 40.480, 40.503, 40.516, 40.553, 40.535, 40.538, 40.542, and 40.548; 2Q24: PAM 40.553, 40.555, 40.558, 43.755, 43.948; 5Q15: PAM 41.033,

fragmentary. Apparently 11Q18 was a complete or partially complete, petrified scroll-mass at its time of discovery, but efforts to preserve it intact failed and it now exists solely as a collection of scroll pieces.⁹ Although textual overlaps exist among all the copies with the exception of 1Q32 and 4Q555,¹⁰ the fundamentally fragmentary nature of the *NJ* has hindered scholars in their efforts to appreciate the text.

This appreciation has been further handicapped by the relatively uneven process of the publication of the manuscript copies. On the one hand, the fragments of 1Q32,¹¹ 2Q24,¹² and 5Q15¹³ were presented to the scholarly

41.034, 41.035, 41.037, 42.320, and 42.323 (for a more specific identification of the 5Q *NJ* fragments and the PAM photographs in which they appear, see Chapter One note 56); 11Q18: PAM 43.981, 43.993–44.002, 44.007–44.009, and IAA 342924, 508044. See Chapter One for the list of the PAM photographs in which the 4Q copies appear.

⁹ Regarding the details, see DJD XXIII, 305; *cf.* also note 18, below.

¹⁰ For a description of the full range of the overlaps, see Chapter Two note 2. The overlapping text represented by 2Q24 1 1–4, 4Q554 1 ii 12 – iii 22, 4Q554a 1–6, and 5Q15 1 i 1–6, i 15 – ii 9 reconstructs a comparatively long and fairly unbroken section of the *NJ* and confirms that 2Q24, 4Q554, 4Q554a, and 5Q15 are all copies of the same composition. Similarly, the overlap between 2Q24 4 and 11Q18 20 confirms 11Q18 as another copy of the *NJ*. This, too, is an important overlap, since the majority of the 11Q18 fragments are devoted to a description of the New Temple complex and its operation.

¹¹ Milik published the DJD edition of 1Q32 in 1955 (DJD I, 134–135, pl. XXXI). He identified twenty-three very small fragments, some containing no more than a few traces of individual letters. This fact, coupled with the uncertainty that the fragments even derive from the same section of the *NJ*, makes it very difficult to identify the precise topic with which they are concerned. Milik remarks that “ce groupe de fragments n’est pas très homogène” (DJD I, 134); note also García Martínez’ view that 1Q32 14 exhibits several differences from 1Q32 1 and 2, including its physical appearance and the characteristics of the preserved text (“TSNJ,” 446 and note 30). That these fragments are from a copy of the *NJ* is fairly certain, however; Milik identifies them as such by comparison with the copies from Caves 2, 4, and 5 (DJD I, 134), and the terminology of fragments 1–7 is almost exclusively architectural. In addition, García Martínez observes that all the words in these first seven fragments correspond to words found in other copies of the *NJ* (“TSNJ,” 446). Only a few attempts have been made either to situate the fragments with respect to the preserved text of the other copies or to reconstruct their sequence. Yadin recreates a section of the text using 1Q32 1, 5, and 14 (*Temple Scroll*, 1.235). García Martínez has since proven Yadin’s reconstruction to be materially untenable (“Future Temple,” 181–182 note 7; *n.b.* also *idem*, “TSNJ,” 446 note 30, where he questions whether fragment 14 is actually part of 1Q32; on the ramifications of this, see Chapter Three note 28). Chyutin reconstitutes a portion of a column on the basis of nine 1Q *NJ* fragments (his column 7, lines 10–17 (*NJ Scroll*, 17–18)), but his results are speculative (see Chapter Three notes 26, 27, and 28). Beyer, *ATTM* 1 and 2, displays a selection of 1Q *NJ* fragments along with other small fragments from 2Q *NJ* and 5Q *NJ* in a section bearing his *siglum* J 5, 1–26 and titled “Isolierte Fragmente über Stadt und Tempel.” Although these 1Q, 2Q, and 5Q fragments are presented in a continuous format in numbered lines and even though Beyer has obviously selected their order, there is no sense that he is attempting to reconstruct the text. Rather, his title indicates that he is merely grouping together fragments from various copies that appear to share the same subject

world shortly after their discovery when they were published in the official DJD series in the period from 1955 to 1962. These fine *editiones principes* formed the basis for an entire generation of studies and presentations of

matter. Indeed, the only place where there is any degree of running text is J 5, 21–24, and these lines correspond to 2Q rather than 1Q fragments.

¹² In 1962 M. Baillet and Milik presented the official editions of 2Q24 and 5Q15 in DJD III (2Q24: DJD III, 84–89, pl. XVI; preliminary publication: Baillet, “Fragments,” 222–245 (reproduced in J.J. Koopmans, *Aramäische Chrestomathie. Ausgewählte Texte (Inscripten, Ostraka und Papyri) bis zum 3. Jahrhundert n. Chr.* (Leiden, 1962), 1.53–54, 194–197); 5Q15: DJD III, 184–193, pls. XL–XLI). On 5Q15, see the following note. 2Q24 encompasses eleven fragments, ten of which preserve anything from two to a dozen or more words, and the relatively large 2Q24 4, which preserves incompletely twenty lines of text. The *sigla* and joinings presented in the preliminary edition differ somewhat from those of the DJD edition: fr. 1 in the preliminary edition = DJD 2Q24 4; fr. 2 = 2Q24 7; fr. 3 = 2Q24 5; fr. 4 = 2Q24 6; fr. 5 = 2Q24 3, fr. 8 = 2Q24 8, and frs. 6, 7, and 9, plus a small piece placed near the right margin of line 2 = 2Q24 1. There are distinct stages in the evolution of 2Q24 8. The main piece appears alone in PAM 40.558, which contains all the fragments that Baillet presents in his 1956 preliminary study, with the exception of two small scraps. A second piece was then added to the extreme left edge of this main piece (“Fragments,” pl. III, fr. 8). Finally, a third and even smaller piece was added to the lower right edge of the first addition (see DJD III, pl. XVI). In the main, the 2Q24 fragments exhibit the one characteristic common to all the *NJ* copies: a detailed description of various architectural phenomena associated with cities and their structures, wherein the dimensions of these structures are measured and where these measurements are recorded in precise units. The notable exception to this characterization is the larger fragment 2Q24 4, which appears to contain a description of the nature and distribution of the shewbread (so identified by Baillet, “Fragments,” 227–237, and subsequent studies).

¹³ 5Q15 consists of twenty-one separate fragments or collections of fragments. 5Q15 2–21 each contain no more than a few words or phrases. The striking exception is the arrangement of fragments labeled 5Q15 1, which, despite its state of severe disrepair, provides significant portions from two columns of text that overlaps imperfectly text from both 2Q24, 4Q554, and 4Q554a. Milik’s reconstruction of the two columns of 5Q15 1 involved his working with very fragmentary evidence (at least two dozen separate fragments of varying sizes) and represents a triumph of the art of fragment identification and manuscript assembly. The 4Q overlaps, which Baillet employed to reconstruct a portion of 2Q24 1 and Milik used to restore entire sections of both columns of 5Q15 1, will be examined in greater detail in the next chapter, although both men presented the 4Q text with little critical comment, few references to *sigla* and other means of identification, and no photographs of the fragments themselves. All the 5Q15 fragments are concerned with the description and measurements of architectural phenomena. Some, like 5Q15 2, appear to be part of the presentation of a house and its features and possibly could have derived from the same section of the text as that preserved in 4Q554a 3–13 and 5Q15 1 ii 6–15. Other fragments, such as 5Q15 3, which mentions “gates,” contain text more appropriate to a description of larger structures. Nothing in 5Q15 appears to be related to either the eschatological material of 4Q554 2 iii or the description of the Temple as witnessed in 2Q24 4 and most of the 11Q18 fragments. The publication of DJD III occasioned two substantial reviews, each of which made significant contributions to the study of 2Q and 5Q *NJ*, especially regarding the identification and evaluation of certain

these fragments. On the other hand, and with a few minor exceptions,¹⁴ these editions represented the complete text of the *NJ* known to scholarship for the next three decades,¹⁵ a period which G. Vermes calls “the lean years in Qumran studies.”¹⁶ The preliminary publications of 11Q18¹⁷ did not appear until the 1980s and 1990s, and the excellent DJD edition of 11Q18 by F. García Martínez and E.J.C. Tigchelaar saw print only in 1998.¹⁸ For many

architectural terminology: see R. Meyer, “Der gegenwärtige Stand der Erforschung der in Palästina neu gefundenen hebräischen Handschriften: 48. Die sogenannten ‘kleinen Höhlen’ von Qumran,” *TLZ* 90 (1965), cols. 331–342 at 339–340; and J.C. Greenfield, “The Small Caves of Qumran,” *JAOS* 89 (1969), 128–141 at 130, and 132–135. Greenfield’s review-essay is perhaps the more important of the two, as it addresses the question of genre and various critical matters regarding the language of the text. On 5Q15, see also J. Bernhardt’s unpublished dissertation, “Die kultur- und religions-geschichtliche Bedeutung des Qumran-Fragments 5Q15,” (Diss: Jena, 1970) [*non vidi*], and the comments on it by Frey, “Contexts,” 801–802 note 6.

¹⁴ The sum total: a few, isolated references to Cave Four material were used to reconstruct sections of 2Q24 and 5Q15 in DJD III; Starcky’s brief article on certain aspects of the architectural data of 4Q554 1 (“Jérusalem”), which contains a superb photograph of 4Q554 1 ii on page 38; and Jongeling’s preliminary publication of 11Q18 20 (“Publication provisoire d’un fragment provenant de la grotte 11 de Qumrân (11Q Jér Nouv^{AR}),” *JSJ* 1 (1970), 56–64, 185–186), where a 4Q fragment is referred to as “fragment 14.”

¹⁵ The same range of fragments is exhibited in Fujita’s 1970 dissertation (“Temple Theology,” 306–315), Fitzmyer and Harrington’s 1978 anthology of Aramaic writings (*MPAT*, 46–65, 198–199), which is largely reproduced in Chyutin’s 1994 study (“The New Jerusalem: Ideal City,” *DSD* 1 (1994), 71–97), and in the 1984 edition of K. Beyer’s compendium of Qumran Aramaic texts (*ATTM*, 1.215–222). It also underpins Wise’s arrangement of the order of the *NJ* fragments in his 1990 monograph on the *Temple Scroll* (64–86).

¹⁶ G. Vermes, *Providential Accidents: An Autobiography* (London, 1998), 188, with specific reference to the years from 1962 to 1987.

¹⁷ Thirty-seven fragments of 11Q18 are extant, the majority of which preserves portions from five to eight lines of text. Of the fragments containing more than a few letters or words, it appears that all contain descriptions of the architectural details or cultic operations of the New Temple, which is mentioned at fr. 19 1 and 3, fr. 20 2, fr. 31 ii 6, fr. 32 3 and 6 (היכלא) and likely also at fr. 9 6 (מקדשא). Note also קדישא [קד] of 11Q18 15 5.

¹⁸ García Martínez, “Last Surviving Columns,” and *idem*, “More Fragments.” The existence of a Cave Eleven copy of the *NJ* was mentioned first by Milik in DJD III, 186, and one fragment, 11Q18 20, was published in preliminary form by Jongeling in 1970 (see note 14). In 1985 J.P.M. van der Ploeg offered a brief description of the almost completely petrified scroll, observing that from “une protubérance non pétrifiée . . . j’ai obtenu 26 fragments, correspondant à 25 circonvolutions du rouleau et quelques fragments plus petits” (“Les manuscrits de la grotte XI de Qumrân,” *RevQ* 12 (1985–1987), 1–15 at 13–14; note also his “P.-S. 2” on p. 15). But this description is at odds with the material remains, which when studied afresh by García Martínez in 1992 revealed that one of the large fragments had at least three further layers of skin attached, each layer having three to five lines of text (*cf.* PAM 43.993 and “Last Surviving Columns,” 178–192 at 181–182; see also DJD XXIII, 307, where he demonstrates that the order of the fragments in the PAM photographs is not consistent with what would be derived from consecutive

years scholars were unaware of the eschatological expectations of the *NJ* or the extent to which the text was concerned with the New Temple and its operation, nor did they have an inkling that an extended portion of the description of the largest structures of the New Jerusalem was preserved in hitherto unpublished copies.

Of all the *NJ* copies, the Cave Four fragments have proven the most difficult to identify and characterize,¹⁹ and not only because they have yet to be presented in an official edition.²⁰ In 1955, J.T. Milik observed that the 1Q32 fragments were part of a text which had survived in fragments from other caves, including two copies from Cave Four,²¹ while in the following year J. Starcky reported the existence of several 4Q fragments describing the dimensions of the New Jerusalem.²² I have already noted that the editors of DJD III employed discrete portions of 4Q *NJ* to assist in reconstructing 2Q24 1 and 5Q15 1 i–ii, and that Starcky later wrote a brief essay on the dimensions of the New Jerusalem as they are envisioned in the 4Q and 5Q copies.²³

revolutions of a scroll: “It is possible that at least some of the fragments were arranged by shape, rather than according to their original order”). It was in his 1992 article, too, that García Martínez attempted to arrange some of the 11Q18 fragments according to columns, a process that in five of the nine cases involved reconstructing the column on the basis of two or more fragments: Column I = DJD 11Q18 10 ii; col. II = 11Q18 10 i + 11 + 12 ii; col. III = 11Q18 12 i + 13; col. IV = 11Q18 14 ii + 15; col. V = 11Q18 18; col. VI = 11Q18 17; col. VII = 11Q18 17 i + 20; col. VIII = 11Q18 19; and col. X = 11Q18 9 + 21. M. Kister subsequently argued that the fragments that form columns II, III, and IV in García Martínez’ preliminary reconstruction do not belong together but rather should be interpreted individually (“Notes on Some New Texts from Qumran,” *JJS* 44 (1993), 282–286). In DJD XXIII García Martínez and Tigchelaar – after much study – finally abandoned the attempt to arrange all the fragments in their original order (305–355, esp. 307–308; see also García Martínez, “More Fragments”). Note that despite this basic uncertainty they have determined i) the correct order of the fragments 11Q18 3–10 and ii) that 11Q18 11–13 should follow 11Q10, although “frgs. 11–13 cannot be placed in a logical order.” The subject matter of 11Q18 6–11 suggests that they should precede 11Q18 12–33.

¹⁹ For the list of PAM photographs of 4Q554, 4Q554a, and 4Q555, see Chapter One.

²⁰ The fragments will be edited by É. Puech in volume XXXVI of the DJD series.

²¹ DJD I, 134.

²² J. Starcky, in P. Benoit, *et alii*, “Le travail d’édition des fragments manuscrits de Qumrân,” *RB* 63 (1956), 49–67 at 66. According to Starcky, “Plusieurs pièces assez considérables donnent les mensurations de la *Jérusalem Nouvelle*: peut-être la même apocalypse que celle identifiée par M. Baillet dans la Grotte 2.”

²³ See note 14. To one extent or another, this limited understanding of the extent of the text of 4Q *NJ* is reflected in J. Licht’s 1979 article on the dimensions of the *NJ* city and their significance (“Ideal,” containing text, translation, and commentary of 5Q15 1 i–ii 5, with 4Q*NJ* material filling in some gaps at the beginning, *apud* Milik’s presentation in DJD III), in the 1984 first edition of Beyer, *ATTM* 1, and in Wise’s 1990 *Temple Scroll*.

The first major presentation of 4Q *NJ* came only with the 1992 publication of R. Eisenman and M.O. Wise's controversial volume, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Uncovered*.²⁴ The authors presented what they understood to be 4Q554, arranged in seven columns and with some of the lacunae in the text bridged by material from the overlapping sections of 5Q15 1 i–ii. Subsequent editions of 4Q554 include Beyer's 1992 second edition²⁵ and Chyutin's 1997 monograph, wherein he attempts to reconstruct the entire *NJ* scroll on the basis of all the manuscript copies, including what he identifies as 4Q554 and 4Q555.²⁶ In 1995, É. Puech published an influential article which stated without detailed explanation that one of the large fragments hitherto attributed to 4Q554 was in fact a separate copy, 4Q554a.²⁷ Later reconstructions, editions, and translations of the *NJ* have sometimes, but not always, reflected the separation of 4Q554 and 4Q554a.²⁸

In sum, the only substantial presentations of the text of the 4Q *NJ* copies remain the few (and often problematic) reconstructions of all or por-

²⁴ *DSSU*, 39–46. The text was based in part on R. Eisenman and J.M. Robinson, *A Facsimile Edition of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (2 vols.; Washington, 1991), nos. 521, 1512, and 1536. In *DSSU* they also presented a fragment that they termed “4Q555” (= what is now called “4Q554a”).

²⁵ *ATTM* 2.95–104. As far as I can determine, “J” appears in the context of the *NJ* fragments because Beyer allocates certain letters of the alphabet to the texts in his collection. Since he assigned the letter “J” (for “Jerusalem”) to the *NJ*, all the *NJ* fragments are so prefixed. The numbers following the letter “J” indicate the position of each fragment relative to the text as a whole (as he reconstructs the text): J 1 to J 4 = 4Q554 1 i–iii, 2 i–iii, 4Q554a and any overlapping text, most importantly 5Q15 1 i–ii; J 5 1–26 = the collection of 1Q, 2Q, and 5Q fragments discussed in note 11, above, with the rest of the J 5 fragments according with other 4Q554 fragments; J 6 1–20 = 2Q24 4 + 11Q18 20, while the rest of the J 6 material corresponds with 4Q555; and J 7 fragments = with the 11Q fragments known to that point. The basic schema by which Beyer situates the various fragments is the understanding – which is shared by the majority of scholars – that the description of the city proceeds from the “outside in.”

²⁶ *NJ Scroll*. On the serious difficulties with the methodology and results of Chyutin's reconstruction in general, see E.J.C. Tigchelaar's review in *RevQ* 18 (1998), 453–457, L.T. Stuckenbruck's review in *JTS* 50 (1999), 658–664, and my comments in Chapter One, *passim*.

²⁷ Puech, “JN,” 87–102. He first noted the existence of the three 4Q *NJ* copies in *La croyance*, 591. Puech does not reveal which of his *sigla* correspond to which fragment, but it appears that: 4QJNa^a 1 = (?) 4Q554 3 (= Beyer J 5, 30); 4QJNa^a 2 = 4Q554 1 in *DSSSE*; 4QJNa^a 3 = 4Q554 2; and 4QJNa^b = 4Q554a. On the clear association that 4QJNa^a 3 iii = 4Q554 2 iii, see Puech, *La croyance*, at 593–594. The possibility that 4QJNa^a 1 = 4Q554 3 is based on the fragment's position in PAM 43.564. Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 212–213, lists 4QJNa^a = 4Q554 and 4QJNb^a = 4Q554a.

²⁸ *DSST*, *DSSSE*, and *DSSR* distinguish between 4Q554 and 4Q554a; *NJ Scroll*, *TTMNI*, and Söllner, *Jerusalem*, do not. The argument that 4Q554 and 4Q554a are separate copies has been accepted by García Martínez, “TSNJ,” 445–449, but is still listed as questionable by Frey, “Contexts,” 800 note 1.

tions of the *NJ*,²⁹ García Martínez and Tigchelaar's *Study Edition*,³⁰ and the reconstruction which stands behind the citations in the *Concordance* of M.G. Abegg, J.E. Bowley, and E.M. Cook.³¹ Indeed, because of delays in their publication, only the more recent translations of the Scrolls include the major 4Q *NJ* fragments,³² and by their very nature such volumes do not include an extended commentary. It is my sense that the 4Q fragments demand more attention, especially regarding the gross and subtle details of previous reconstructions and editions, the identification and placement of the individual fragments, and the problems associated with their substantial overlaps with the other *NJ* copies.

Chapter One is a response to this demand. It presents a working edition of the 4Q554, 4Q554a, and 4Q555 fragments, including a full reconstruction of the text represented by 4Q554 1 i–ii + 4Q554a (par. 2Q24 1; 5Q15 1 i–ii), accompanied by translations and detailed notes on the readings of the text. This edition is a desideratum for several reasons. First, the content of the 4Q fragments is critical to understanding the Dead Sea *NJ* as a whole. 4Q554 contains material that is unparalleled in other copies, including the long description of the wall and the named gates of city at 4Q554 1 i 11 – ii 10 and the critical eschatological section of 4Q554 2 iii (+ 4Q554 7). Second, the 4Q copies have not been the focus of much dedicated study regarding phraseology or the issue of the order of the material³³ (the last is discussed in Chapter Two rather than Chapter One). Third, a working edition affords the opportunity to discuss specific elements of the text. Among other things, I suggest that: i) the hitherto unsubstantiated contention that 4Q554 and 4Q554a are separate copies is correct; ii) 4Q554 2 iii should include 4Q554

²⁹ *DSSU*; *NJ Scroll*; *ATTM* 1 and 2; and *DSSR*. On the correlation between Beyer's "J" *siglum* (i.e., the *siglum* by which he labels the *NJ* fragments) and the official *sigla*, see notes 11 and 25, above. Note, too, that the enumeration of the fragments in *DSSR* differs from mine (see Chapter One notes 6 and 13).

³⁰ *DSSSE*, 1.110–113 [1Q32 1], 1.218–221 [2Q24 1, 3, 4, 8], 2.1106–1113 [4Q554 1, 2, 4Q554a, 4Q555 2, 3], 2.1136–1141 [5Q15 1, 2], 2.1220–1227 [11Q18 6–22, 24–30, 32].

³¹ *DSSC*. See note 29 on the enumeration of the fragments in the *DSSR*, which applies here as well. The 4Q *NJ* fragments are not included in the Brill/FARMS computer *Accordance*.

³² *DSSE*, 129–135; *DSSNT*, 180–184; *TTMNJ*; Vermes, *DSSE*, 568–570.

³³ What is more, the processes underpinning the reconstruction of the 4Q text on the basis of overlapping material from other copies has yet to be discussed in any sort of detail. All the previous reconstructions and editions of the text are in one sense or another incomplete: some early editions of the text were unaware of full scope of *NJ* fragments, other editions or translations involving a reconstruction of the text are presented without comment, while still other reconstructions are highly detailed but extremely problematic. A working edition/reconstruction of the text therefore represents an opportunity to evaluate the merits of this previous work.

6; iii) it is possible that 4Q554 7 is part of 4Q554 2 iii 19–22; iv) the figures most often reconstructed by scholarship to express the dimensions of the walls of the New Jerusalem (100 by 140 stadia) and the number of towers along these walls (1,432) are likely incorrect; and v) the names of the gates missing in the text at 4Q554 1 i 11 – ii 10 cannot be restored automatically on the basis of the nearly identical, but not exact, lists of named gates in the *Temple Scroll* and the *Reworked Pentateuch*.³⁴

Chapter Two situates the *NJ* within the broader compass of the New Jerusalem topos. It commences with a free translation of all the major *NJ* fragments. This provides the reader with an idea of the general shape and content of the text and a basis for the discussion of the rest of the chapter and Chapter Three. Several related sections follow, beginning with an investigation into the order of the component parts of the *NJ*, the results of which are reflected in the tripartite nature of the translation, which moves from a blueprint of the walls and gates of the new city and its intramural structures, through a depiction of the splendour of the New Jerusalem and a section describing its expected place among the nations, and finishes with an extended report of the dimensions of the New Temple and an accounting of its objects, personnel and operation. The other sections involve an examination of the *NJ* in the light of ancient urban design and a discussion of the genre of the *NJ*, which should be considered an apocalypse but not part of the corpus of the ancient Ezekiel pseudepigrapha.

The remainder of the chapter is devoted to the study of the *NJ* and the New Jerusalem topos. I argue that the New Jerusalem of the *NJ* should not be understood as a heavenly Jerusalem and that to do so employs an understanding of the evolution of the topos which might be too influenced by the heavenly New Jerusalems of the New Testament or the history of the development of apocalyptic literature. I posit that perhaps a more fruitful taxonomy may be sought in the division between the “restored” and the “monumental” types of New Jerusalems.

Chapter Three begins by examining the relationship between the *NJ* and the other Dead Sea texts which specifically anticipate a New Jerusalem or New Temple. The most conspicuous of these texts is the *Temple Scroll*, a fair portion of which is devoted to the description of the New Temple and its architectural details. To my mind, there is little specific correspondence between the *NJ* and the *Temple Scroll* regarding their descriptions of architectural design and the details of the Temple complex and its operation. This in turn suggests that these texts do not depend on a common source, nor does

³⁴ These conclusions were included in the 2001 dissertation of which this present study is a revision. I highlight the point about the gates of the *NJ* because Puech independently proposes the same in his 2003 article (“Gates”).

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