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“TEN JUBILEES OF YEARS”. HEPTADIC CALCULATIONS OF THE END OF THE EPOCH OF INIQUITY AND THE EVOLVING IDEOLOGY OF THE HASMONEANS

The rise of the Hasmoneans to power in Israel gave rise to renewal of hope for the final end of the postexilic period of external oppression and internal unrighteousness in Israel. From among many ancient prophecies especially one – the Jeremian heptadic prediction of the end of the period of exile after 70 years (Jer 25:11-12; 29:10; cf. 2 Chr 36:21) – came to be recalled, reworked, and applied in various ways to explain in theological terms rapid changes in political situation in Judea in II-I c. B.C. Various examples of this kind of heptadic calculation of the end of the postexilic epoch of iniquity are witnessed in the Dead Sea Scrolls. Their analysis may give some clues to the reconstruction of worldviews of their respective authors and, consequently, of their attitudes to the nascent Hasmonean state.

1. NEW LEADERS UPROOTING INIQUITY AT THE CLOSE OF THE SEVENTH EPOCH OF HISTORY

One of the least complicated examples of interpretation of the political events in Judea in II c. B.C. in terms of heptadic chronology may be found in the so-called Apocalypse of Weeks. This probably once independent work is now contained in the literary collection called traditionally The Book of Enoch (1 En 93:1-10; 91:11-17), the original Aramaic text of which was found in XX c. at Qumran (4Q212 Iiii 18a-4,26).

The Apocalypse of Weeks presents the course of world history knowable to humans as divided by certain important events into ten major epochs called in this work “weeks”. Notwithstanding efforts made to explain these “weeks” in terms of chronological duration of exactly 7 or 10 jubilees

(i.e. 343 or 490 years)¹, they have most probably only symbolic value of distinct epochs of history. The sequence allusions to events recounted in traditional biblical works enable readers of the Apocalypse of Weeks to identify six first “weeks” as periods of history from the creation of the world up to the Babylonian exile of Judeans. The seventh “week” – the period following the exile – is interpreted by the author in very negative terms as a period of total, general perversity of the Jews. All postexilic efforts to restore Judean life, made by Sheshbazzar, Zerubbabel and Joshua, Ezra and Nehemiah, and not least the Oniad priestly dynasty, are summarized in the Apocalypse of Weeks as numerous but futile.

A radical change in the situation occurred, however, at the end of the seventh period, with sudden appearance of “the ones chosen to be witnesses of truth” (4Q212 1iv 12). Who were these people? According to the author they were not simply prophets or teachers² (cf. the Danielic *maškilim*), given that they exercised power to uproot the foundations of violence (4Q212 1iv 12). Moreover, their literary description in the Apocalypse of Weeks is full of motifs belonging to the sphere of traditional royal ideology: chosen by God, rising from the everlasting plant of justice, endowed with sevenfold wisdom and knowledge, carrying out judgment in the whole society (cf. Is 11:1-5; 60,21-61:3)³. They are presented as not having yet assumed uncontested authority in Israel, but having evidently very high aspirations.

In the literary scheme of the Apocalypse of Weeks, which places the most prominent figures exercising authority in the history of Israel (as opposed to lawgivers) at the end of the odd weeks, these new “chosen by God” are set in line with Enoch, Abraham, and David and Solomon. Their placing at the end of precisely the seventh “week” additionally points to them as bringing all the precedent sacred history to its climax and close, and intro-

¹ Cf. e.g. Ch. Berner, *Jahre, Jahrwochen und Jubiläen*, Heptadische Geschichtskonzeptionen im Antiken Judentum (BZAW 363), de Gruyter: Berlin–NewYork 2006, 156-167.

² Cf. e.g. K. Koch, *History as a Battlefield of Two Antagonistic Powers in the Apocalypse of Weeks and in the Rule of Community*, in: *Enoch and Qumran Origins. New Light on a Forgotten Connection*, ed. G. Boccaccini, Eerdmans: Grand Rapids, MI – Cambridge, UK 2005, 185-199 [here: 193].

³ L.T. Stuckenbruck, *The Plant Metaphor in Its Inner-Enochic and Early Jewish Context*, in: *Enoch and Qumran Origins*, 210-2 [here: 212] perceives these Enochic metaphors as deriving conceptually from Is 5:7 (where the “planting” denotes broadly the men of Judah), but he fails to explain the meaning of “being chosen from the eternal plant” and of “carrying out judgment” in its immediate literary context (4Q212 1iv 12-13) – cf. G.W.E. Nickelsburg, *Response: Context, Text, and Social Setting of the Apocalypse of Weeks*, in: *Enoch and Qumran Origins*, 234-41 [here: 236]. The phrase referring to carrying out judgment in the society by the “chosen ones” poses a problem also to every kind of explanation of the Apocalypse of Weeks as reflecting worldview of a marginalized, “sectarian” community.

ducing a totally new era of God’s favour. This new era is described by the author with the use of prophetic imagery of Third Isaiah (cf. Is 60:21-61:3; 66:16-24): as the era of righteousness, and of just judgment over Israel, over the world, and eventually over the whole universe (4Q212 liv 15-25a)⁴.

The way of describing the present by the author of the Apocalypse of Weeks, who places himself evidently at the end of the seventh “week” of history, enables us to reconstruct to some extent his worldview. General condemnation of the postexilic period up to the author’s own time obviously refers not so much to the first, remote generations of the returnees (Sheshbazzar, Zerubbabel, Joshua, Ezra, Nehemiah), but particularly to the author’s contemporaries – to the priestly dynasty of the Oniads, ruling in Judea for over a century (ca. 300-172 B.C.). This dynasty is presented as swept away by the new leaders, since it was central to the past order of perversity, violence, and deceit. What is important here is the author’s presentation of the incomers’ own ideology of power. In place of the Oniad ideology of sacred priesthood (cf. 4Q213-214b [Aramaic Levi Document]; 4Q540-541 [Aaronic Text A]; 4Q542 [Testament of Qahat]; 4Q543-548 [Visions of Amram]), the new leaders declare themselves to be chosen by God and called to execute judgment and impose in Israel new rule of righteousness⁵. Their ideology was therefore not only priestly or sapiential, but also at least implicitly royal⁶.

The description of this new authority as already clearly discernible (also in its royal dimension), but not yet universally acknowledged in Israel and being in need to be imposed by means of a civil war (4Q212 liv 14-17) may hint at the end of the rule of Jonathan or beginning of that of Simon (ca. 150-140 B.C.) as the time in which the Apocalypse of Weeks was composed. Although it is rather unlikely that the document stems directly from the Hasmonean court, it clearly shows affinities with their nascent ideology.

Similar periodization of world history into epochs called symbolically “weeks” may be found also in the fragmentarily preserved Hebrew work usually entitled Peshar on the Apocalypse of Weeks (4Q247). The postexilic period of the history of Israel seems to be characterized in 4Q247 disparagingly as time of no legitimate authority. 4Q247 5-6, referring probably in a summarizing way to postexilic Israel, presents her as ruled by “the sons of Levi” (Levites?) with “the people of the land”, and later by a “king of Kittim”

⁴ G.W.E. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch* (Hermeneia), vol. 1, *A Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch, Chapters 1-36, 81-108*, Fortress: Minneapolis 2001, 448.

⁵ Cf. the constant use of *passivum divinum* in the narrative, conveying the sense of a God’s plan being fulfilled in the course of all these historical events.

⁶ On royal claims of also the preceding, Oniad high priestly dynasty (cf. Aramaic Levi Document 3c [1Q21 1,2], 99-100 [4Q213 1ii_2 15-16]) see H. Drawnel, *An Aramaic Wisdom Text from Qumran. A New Interpretation of the Levi Document* (SJSJ 86), Brill, Leiden–Boston 2004, 71.

(a Hellenistic ruler?). These data are evidently too scarce to reconstruct on their basis the complete chronological scheme of this undoubtedly interesting composition.

The same restrictive statement applies to another Aramaic work termed generally "Vision" (4Q558), which probably also contained some kind of periodization of history (4Q558 28,1; 54ii). The "chosen one" seems to appear here in the eighth period of time, accompanied by (?) Elijah (4Q558 54ii 3-4). Alas, poor state of preservation of the manuscript precludes any further reconstruction of this work.

2. A NEW DAVIDIC LEADER AFTER 70 PERIODS OF TIME OF INIQUITY

Jeremiah's heptadic prophecy of 70 years as the length of the Babylonian exile (Jer 25:11-12; 29:10) was recalled and reworked in literary visions of the Book of Daniel (Daniel 7-12), composed in the early Maccabean period (ca. 167-163 B.C.). Danielic actualization of the Jeremian prophecy consisted, in line with its sabbatical explanation in 2 Chr 36:21, in extending the period of the desolation from "seventy years" (שביעם שנה) to "seventy weeks" (שבעים שבועים – Dan 9:24)⁷. Although it was evident probably already to the author of Daniel that these "seventy weeks" do not correspond exactly to 490 years (because in such a case the Jeremian prophecy should have been dated to ca. 654 B.C.), yet the slight modification of the Jeremian text had a great advantage of explaining the political and religious crisis under Jason and Menelaus in terms of necessary fulfillment of an authoritative prophecy.

The impact of this innovative actualization of the old prediction can be seen in another post-Maccabean, Hebrew work, recently called Ages of Creation B (4Q181). Due to its poor state of preservation it is impossible to reconstruct its full content. Nevertheless, it is evident that its author, writing about the "seventieth week" (בשבעים השביעי), applied the Danielic scheme in his discussion about the transition from an epoch of iniquity to that of righteousness in the history of the Chosen People (4Q181 2,3).

Another important invention of the author of Daniel was the division of the whole seventy-weeks-long epoch into three historically identifiable periods: seven "weeks" of the exile, sixty two "weeks" of the postexilic rule of the "anointed ruler(s)"⁸, and one final "week" of the worst tribulation and

⁷ J.J. Collins, *Daniel. A Commentary on the Book of Daniel* (Hermeneia), Fortress: Minneapolis 1993, 352.

⁸ It is tempting to apply a kind of "Groningen hypothesis" to Dan 9:25-26 and to interpret the intriguing title נגיד משיח (changed in 9:26 to משיח) in terms of a whole line of postex-

desolation, including cessation of sacrificial worship in the Temple for “half of the week”, which immediately preceded eternal restoration of righteousness and holiness in Israel (Dan 9:25-27). This seemingly purely artificial subdivision has some chronological merit. Danielic calculation of the length of the Babylonian exile to 49 and not 70 years (as in Jeremiah) corresponds well to historical data (48 years: 586-538 B.C.). The author’s main aim in individuating the first seven “weeks” as the time of exile was nevertheless primarily theological. Similarly to the author of Jubilees, he wanted to apply the sacred jubilee chronology taken from Lev 25:8-12 to the series of historical events, even if he had to force somehow the real chronology to fit the theological scheme.

The impact of Danielic ideas can be seen in an important Aramaic work called traditionally Animal Apocalypse or Animal Vision (1 En 85-90; cf. fragments of the original text found in 4Q204-207). In its allegorical description of the exilic and postexilic sufferings of Israel the author of this document uses the heptadic scheme of 70 units of time as the length of the period of tribulation (cf. Dan 9:24). He also divides this epoch, but in his case into four shorter periods, according to another traditional literary motif of four oppressive kingdoms, perceived in Israel as dominating the Chosen People up to its final liberation (cf. Dan 2:31-45; 7:17-27; 4Q243 [Ps.-Daniel a] 16,1; 4Q552 [Four Kingdoms a] 2ii; 4Q553 [Four Kingdoms b] 6ii; 4Q554 [New Jerusalem a?] 3iii?).

The exilic and postexilic epoch is presented in the Animal Apocalypse as the period in which seventy evil “shepherds” exercise authority over Israel (1 En 89:59 – 90:19). Many scholars interpret these shepherds as angelic beings appointed by God to punish Israel for her transgressions. Notwithstanding all arguments in favour of this hypothesis⁹, the original meaning of this metaphor as denoting negligent leaders of Israel (cf. Ezek 34:2-16; Zech 11:4-17)¹⁰, and active involvement of the figures of “shepherds” in the course of narrated events, at the same plane as undoubtedly human agents (e.g. 1 En 90:13. 17-19), casts doubt on this interpretation. The fact that the whole group of “shepherds” is described as finally judged after the fallen angelic “watchers” and before the wicked ones of Israel (1 En 90:20-27) suggests that their nature or role placed them somewhere between humans and angels¹¹.

ilic rulers (administrators and high priests), commonly accepted as legitimate and chosen by God, up to the death of Onias III and exiling of Onias IV ca. 170 B.C.

⁹ See e.g. the arguments summarized by P. Tiller, *A Commentary on the Animal Apocalypse of I Enoch* (SBL.EJIL 4), Scholars: Atlanta, GA 1993, 54.

¹⁰ See G.W.E. Nickelsburg, *I Enoch*, 391.

¹¹ Cf. a somewhat similar scheme of a tripartite universal judgment in the Apocalypse of Weeks (4Q212 liv 15-24 [1 En 91:12-16]), where however the wicked ones in Israel are condemned at the first stage: before the Gentiles and the fallen angels.

It may be therefrom inferred that the “shepherds” in the Animal Apocalypse denoted Judean high priests, since in sacerdotal ideology high priests were praised as elevated above simple humans and having some, although obviously limited, share in angelic ministry and glory (cf. e.g. Sir 45:6-17; 50:5-21; 4Q400 [ShirShab] 1i 2 – 1ii 21; 2,6-7; 4Q541 [Aaronic Text A] 9i 1-5; 4Q545 [Vision of Amram C] 1i 11). A similar idea of Judean leadership constituted in the exilic and postexilic period unusually by priests instead of kings seems to be present also in the above mentioned Peshar on the Apocalypse of Weeks (postexilic “sons of Levi”: 4Q247 5) and in Apocryphon of Jeremiah D (“I will delivered them into the hand of the sons of Aaron”: 4Q390 1,2; see below).

It is widely recognized that the four periods into which the epoch of seventy shepherds in the Animal Apocalypse seems to be divided (12 + 23 + 23 + 12 shepherds)¹² denote, according to the literary scheme of four kingdoms, the sequence of rules of Babylonians, Persians, Macedonians with Ptolemies, and finally Seleucids over Judea¹³. The last period (1 En 90:6-19) for obvious reasons differs significantly from the others. Its long descriptions begins with arousal of “lambs” among “sheep” (Israelites) up to then totally passive (1 En 90:6-8). These “lambs” that begin to open their eyes and see, most probably denote a group of prophetic visionaries, who however did not succeed to win greater support among the Jews (cf. 1 En 90:7). Their leader was taken captive and many of them were brutally killed (1 En 90:7-8). It is tempting to detect here allusions to the “taking away of the unique Teacher” (CD 19,35; 20,14) and to the slaughter of the leaders of the Hasidim by the Seleucids (1 Macc 7:12-17)¹⁴.

The most important stage of Israel’s restoration came, however, with the arousal of “rams” with “horns” growing on their heads, from among the “lambs” (1 En 90:9a. 10-11). The metaphor of rams denoted in the earlier parts of the Animal Apocalypse exclusively three kings of the unified Israel: Saul, David, and Solomon (1 En 89:42-49). The image of rams with horns

¹² Cf. the use of numbers: 12, 37 [commonly emended to 35], 23, 58, 12 given in 1 En 89:73; 90:1. 5a. 5b. 17. They are most probably to be understood as elements of a symmetric scheme: 12 + 23 + 23 + 12 = 70. Cf. also the double “and behold” (89:72b; 90:6), which introduces the second and fourth elements that bring signs of hope for the Jews.

¹³ P. Tiller, *Animal Apocalypse*, 55, 345-348.

¹⁴ The identification of the “seized one” as Onias III (F. Martin, *Le Livre d’Hénoch*, Letzouzey et Ané: Paris 1906, 225-226) is highly improbable since he belonged to the high priestly dynasty rejected by the Hasmoneans, but evidently still challenging from Egypt the Hasmonean claims to high priesthood (cf. 1 En 90,14). The hypothesis of Jonathan Maccabeus as the seized “lamb” (A. Dillmann, *Das Buch Henoch*, Vogel: Leipzig 1853, 277) is also not plausible since he belonged to the Hasmonean dynasty (the “rams”), and because was eventually killed by the Seleucids not long after his capture.

is therefore very powerful. It clearly points out to royal claims of the new leaders, hoping to be rulers of a new Davidic-like empire covering in its first stage the whole Israel (including Samaria) and later the whole world (cf. 1 En 90:18-36)¹⁵.

It seems that this dynastic vision was not espoused by all the Jewish nationalists, what caused a split between the militant Hasmoneans (the “rams”) and the group of prophetic visionaries: probably Hasidim and/or “Damascus covenanters” (the “lambs”) awaiting other legitimate leadership in Israel (cf. 1 Macc 7:13; CD 7,16-21; 19,10-11; 20,1. 14)¹⁶.

One of the causes of the breach may be hinted at in 1 En 90:9b-13. This fragment of the work depicts one of the “rams” as taking over leadership after the death of some of his fellows (probably Judas, Jonathan, and maybe also Simon?)¹⁷, and as assuming individual royal authority over the up-to-then broad, liberatory, nationalistic movement (1 En 90:11; cf. 1 Macc 2:65; 13:33-42; 14:27-49).

The allusions to the historical events taking place during the rule of this would-be king: his assumption of power after the death of his fellows (1 En 90:9), wide recognition of his authority by the nationalists but not by all the Jews (1 En 90:10-11), constant activity of the deposed dynasty in the exile (1 En 90:13a; cf. *Ant.* 13,354?), urgent need of God’s help in a decisive battle against the external enemies (1 En 90:13b-16; cf. *Ant.* 13,282), but also reasonable hope for their final expulsion (1 En 90:19) – all these allusions hint at the period of either Simon (143-135 B.C.) or early John Hyrcanus (ca. 135-130 B.C.) as the time of composition of the work¹⁸. On balance, we lean towards the latter proposal as more realistic from the historical-political point of view (cf. 1 Macc 16:1-22; *Ant.* 13,236-249).

If this reconstruction of the circumstances of writing the Animal Apocalypse is accepted, the artificial, symmetric scheme of the duration of the four foreign dominions over Judea (12 + 23 + 23 + 12 “shepherds”) comes closer also to historical data. If the period of the rule of each “shepherd” had

¹⁵ It has to be noted that the Animal Apocalypse makes no mention of the kings of Judah and Israel between Solomon and the Hasmonean “rams”. The reason for this symbolical vacuum is obviously ideological.

¹⁶ The hypothesis of Hasidim presenting themselves in the Animal Apocalypse as “accepting wholeheartedly the military leadership of Judas Maccabeus” (P. Tiller, *Animal Apocalypse*, 126) is far from historical-political realism.

¹⁷ The identification of the one special “ram” with Judas Maccabeus (cf. e.g. F. Martin, *Hénoch*, 227; P. Tiller, *Animal Apocalypse*, 62-63) depends too much on the “foundational” narrative of 1-2 Macc. The Animal Apocalypse understandably puts more weight on the contemporary than on the historical rulers of the Hasmonean state.

¹⁸ For the latter proposal see A. Dillmann, *Hénoch*, 278.

for the author of the work a constant chronological value of seven years¹⁹, then the period of utterly corrupted Judean monarchy and of the Babylonian exile would be dated to ca. 620-536 B.C.²⁰, the Persian period to ca. 536-375 B.C., the Macedonian and Ptolemaic rule to ca. 375-214 B.C., and the Seleucid rule to ca. 214-130 B.C. These dates are obviously far from historical exactness, but nevertheless at least the first and the last period (620-536 B.C.; 214-130 B.C.) is dated with some recognizable correspondence to the real historical chronology.

3. HALAKHIC CONFLICTS TOWARDS THE END OF THE PERIOD OF 490 YEARS OF INIQUITY

The Danielic calculation of seventy “weeks” as the length of the time of desolation gave rise to further speculations as to its exact chronological meaning. If the seventy “weeks” are taken in the strict temporal sense, they denote a period of $70 \times 7 = 490$ years. This number may be expressed also in another sacred, heptadic calculation: as ten jubilees ($490 = 10 \times 49$ years). It seems that the latter type of calculation became popular especially in the post-Maccabean period, in the wake of rising interest in expressing chronology of events in sacred, Jewish terms of Lev 25:1-12 (cf. e.g. Jub chronology *jubilaeo mundi*), instead of Hellenistic, purely Gentile chronologies: of the era of Seleucids (cf. e.g. 1-2 Macc) or of the Greek Olympiads (cf. e.g. Ant. 13,236).

All three types of calculation (70×7 , 10×49 , 490 years) seem to be applied together in the Hebrew document preserved among the Dead Sea Scrolls in five copies (4Q385a, 4Q387, 4Q388a, 4Q389, 4Q387a) and entitled by its official publisher Devorah Dimant “Apocryphon of Jeremiah C”²¹. This pseudo-

¹⁹ The scheme of 70 “shepherds” has to be understood in terms of some chronology. The number 70 certainly does not correspond to the number of high priests governing Judea in the exilic and postexilic period. There were probably no more than eight high priests in Judea in the whole Persian period (cf. L.L. Grabbe, *A History of the Jews and Judaism in the Second Temple Period*, vol. 1, Yehud: A History of the Persian Province of Judah (LSTS [JSP.SS] 47), T&T Clark: London–New York 2004, 230-4). The number of high priests from the exile to the rise of the Hasmonean dynasty might not have exceeded sixteen: J. VanderKam, *From Joshua to Caiaphas. High Priests after the Exile*, Fortress: Minneapolis–Van Gorcum: Assen 2004, 491. According to the list of high priests (?) 4Q245 [Ps.-Daniel C] 5-10, John Hyrcanus was probably the 34th high priest counting from Levi.

²⁰ Note the adequacy of especially the latter date.

²¹ D. Dimant, *Qumran Cave 4.XXI: Parabiblical Texts*, Part 4: *Pseudo-Prophetic Texts* (DJD 30), Clarendon Press: Oxford 2001, 91-260. For the editor’s most recent commentary on

prophetic work describes the exilic and postexilic period of history of Judea from a general Deuteronomistic perspective as a time of recurring guilt and punishment, resulting in constant desolation of the land (cf. e.g. 4Q389 6,1; 4Q387 2ii 9-12; 4Q389 8ii 5-7; 4Q387 2iii 3-5).

The series of events following the Babylonian exile, alluded to in Apocryphon of Jeremiah C, seems to include: the first completion and redemption of Jewish guilt followed by the return of the exiles (4Q389 8ii 5-6), arousal of a blasphemous king of the nations setting apart Israel from the People (?) (probably Alexander the Great – 4Q389 8ii 9-10), conquest of Egypt (4Q388a 7ii 4-5), the dominion of “angels of Mastemot” (probably various Hellenistic governors) over Israel (4Q387 2iii 4), apostasy of Jerusalem high priests (probably the Oniad dynasty – 4Q387 2iii 6), the kingly rule of “three”: probably Ptolemies, Seleucids, and Lagids (4Q388a 7ii 8); and later also²²: the rule of three apostate high priests “serving foreign things” (probably Jason, Menelaus and Alcimus – 4Q387 3,4,6), the arousal of faithful Maccabean priests in place of their unworthy predecessors (4Q387 3,5), fierce halakhic controversies among the Jews (4Q387 3,7-9), and hope for final annexation of Samaria, expulsion of the Hellenists, and restoration of faithful Israel in its ideal borders up to Lebanon (4Q385a 16a_b 2-8)²³. These allusions (especially to the beginning of fierce halakhic controversies among the Jews) may point to the end of the rule of high priest Jonathan or beginning of that of Simon (ca. 150-140 B.C.)²⁴ as the time of the composition of the work.

The end of the period of iniquity is predicted in Apocryphon of Jeremiah C to come after the completion of 490 years of desolation²⁵. This idea is expressed in distinctly Jewish heptadic terminology: a certain number (seventy?) of sabbaths of years (4Q388a 4,2), ten jubilees of years (4Q387 2ii 3-4), seventy units (“weeks”?) of time (?) (4Q385a 11i 3-4), and seven hundred or maybe four hundred and a certain number (ninety?) of years (4Q385a 12,2)²⁶. It is however evident from the content of the work that the

this work, see: D. Dimant, *L'Apocryphe de Jérémie C de Qumrân*, RHPR 85 (2005), 497-515. On the document 4Q390, see below.

²² The connection of the following texts with the main fragment is not witnessed in the manuscripts. The placing of these texts in the reconstructed apocryphon is therefore only hypothetical.

²³ Cf. D. Dimant, *Qumran Cave 4.XXI* (DJD 30), 100.

²⁴ Josephus sets the arousal of the three famous “factions” among the Jews under the rule of Jonathan: *Ant.* 13,171-173. But the allusion to arousal of faithful Maccabean priests in place of their unworthy predecessors (4Q387 3,5) would point rather to the rule of Simon.

²⁵ Apocryphon of Jeremiah C is probably the first work in which, by means of combining different kinds of heptadic calculations, the Danielic half-symbolical period of 70 “weeks” became treated as lasting exactly $70 \times 7 = 10 \times 49 = 490$ years.

²⁶ The restoration מאות ותשעים [א]רבע מאות (... f]our hundr[ed and ninety]) instead of שבע מאות (...]seven hundr[ed]...) may be proposed in 4Q385a 12,2. The restoration of the traces

completion of 490 years of iniquity is, from the point of view of the author, yet to be expected.

A similar description of the exilic and postexilic period of guilt and desolation may be found in another pseudo-prophetic work: 4Q390, which due to its similarities to the above discussed document, but on the other hand due to its account of events being parallel to that of Apocryphon of Jeremiah C, may be entitled Apocryphon of Jeremiah D²⁷. According to this document, the whole epoch of desolation had to last, like in the parallel account of Apocryphon of Jeremiah C (4Q387 2ii 3-4; 4Q385a 11i 3-4 [?]; 4Q385a 12,2 [?]; cf. Dan 9:24), seventy weeks of years (שבעים שבועים שנה) – 4Q390 1,2)²⁸, that is 490 years. During this time Israel had to be governed not as normally: by kings, but exceptionally: by priests (“in the hand of the sons of Aaron” – 4Q390 1,2; cf. “the sons of Levi” in 4Q247 5 and the probably priestly “shepherds” in 1 En 89:59 – 90:19).

The author of Apocryphon of Jeremiah D used the sacred heptadic chronology to calculate not only the end, but also the internal division of the exilic and postexilic epoch of desolation into distinct, shorter periods (cf. Dan 9:25-27). He placed the first, postexilic outburst of violations of the covenant “in the seventh jubilee in reference to the devastation of the land” (4Q390 1,7-8), that is, if the time of desolation is counted from 586 B.C. – in the period from 292 B.C. onwards²⁹. Israel came in that time under the rule of “angels of Mastemot” or “envoys of enmities” (4Q390 1,11), who probably metaphorically denote various Hellenistic governors and Hellenized aristocracy in Judea after the conquest of Judea by the Macedonians and later by Ptolemies ca. 302 B.C. (cf. 4Q387 [ApJer C] 2iii 4).

Another part of the account of ApJer D (not necessarily directly connected to the former) begins with the seven years of destruction of Jerusa-

of the first barely visible letter in the first numeral as belonging to *š*in is by no means certain – see PAM 41.503 in the official edition of the manuscript: D. Dimant, *Qumran Cave 4.XXI* (DJD 30), Plate V.

²⁷ For this proposal and a thorough discussion on 4Q390 see B. Adamczewski, “Chronological Calculations and Messianic Expectations in Apocryphon of Jeremiah D (4Q390),” *The Qumran Chronicle* vol. 14, No. 3/4 [December 2006], 127-142 [here: 141-2].

²⁸ For this restoration of the textual lacuna in 4Q390 1,2 see B. Adamczewski, “Calculations,” 131. For the numeral-noun word order used by counting “weeks of years” cf. Dan 10:2 (שלושה שבועים שנה) – “three jubilees of years”).

²⁹ See e.g. D. Dimant, *Qumran Cave 4.XXI* (DJD 30), 115; Ch. Berner, *Jahre*, 413; C. Werman, *Epochs and End-Time: The 490-Year Scheme in Second Temple Literature*, DSD 13 (2006) 229-255 [here: 247]. For a proposal of counting seven jubilees not from 586 B.C. but from 516 B.C. see H. Eshel, *4Q390, the 490-Year Prophecy, and the Calendrical History of the Second Temple Period*, in: *Enoch and Qumran Origins*, 107, who however in the note 12 (*ibidem*) admits that “the statement »in the seventh jubilee after the destruction of the land« (col. 1:7-8) appears to include the 70 years of the Babylonian exile in the 343-year period”. For that proposal see also my earlier publication: B. Adamczewski, *Calculations*, 133.

lem under “the rule of Belial” (probably of Antiochus IV Epiphanes: 175-164 B.C.). These events take place “during that jubilee” (4Q390 2i 4), presumably meaning the ninth jubilee after the exile (if counted accurately: 194-145 B.C.), and described as a jubilee of constant violation of the commandments of the Law (4Q390 2i 4-5). Another heptadic calculation is used in a prediction of a period of fierce halakhic controversies (cf. 4Q387 [ApJer C] 3,7-9) that would last 70 years, counted not from a beginning of a new jubilee but from the act of (the worst?) violation of the covenant (4Q390 2i 6). In the chronological scheme of Apocryphon of Jeremiah D these 70 years of quarrels constitute probably the last period (if counted accurately: 166-96 B.C.) of the epoch of 490 years of iniquity (586-96 B.C.). This last period (and so also the whole epoch) is evidently not yet concluded in the author’s time (cf. 4Q390 2i 6: “and they will begin to quarrel...”).

It may be presumed that Apocryphon of Jeremiah D was also written at the end of the rule of Jonathan or at the beginning of that of Simon, probably already in the last, “tenth” jubilee (so ca. 145-140 B.C.). This period was characterized among others by the arousal of the three competing “factions” among the Jews (Ant. 13,171-173) and by the still continuing activity of Hellenizers (alluded to again as “the angels of Mastemot” in 4Q390 2i 6-7; cf. also 4Q390 2i 9-11)³⁰. The epoch of iniquity, desolation, and priestly government over Israel, presented in the heptadic scheme of Apocryphon of Jeremiah D as having to last for $490 = 343 (+ 70) + 7 + 70$ years³¹, was at that time still hoped for to be completed³².

4. ROYAL ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE FIRST JUBILEE OF A NEW ERA OF FREEDOM AND PEACE

The calculation of time in sacred Jewish chronology based on recurring jubilees (cf. Lev 25:8-12), which became popular in priestly circles in the post-Maccabean period (cf. Jub), led to various speculations about an extraordinary, special jubilee year that, according to the significance of a ju-

³⁰ There is no reason to interpret the priests mentioned in 4Q390 2i 10 as Hasmonians, cf. e.g. C. Werman, *Epochs*, 248-249. The priests in question seem to be direct followers of the previously mentioned “angels of Mastemot” (4Q390 2i 7) that most probably denoted Hellenizers active in Israel from the time of the Macedonians onwards (cf. 4Q390 1,11; 4Q387 2iii 4) at least until the beginning of the nationalist cultural campaign of John Hyrcanus in 129 B.C.

³¹ Cf. C. Werman, *Epochs*, 253.

³² The recent proposal of H. Eshel, 4Q390, 107 (referring to a suggestion given to him by Albert Baumgarten) for interpreting 4Q390 as written after the completion of the 490 years by enemies of Alexander Jannaeus lacks solid textual basis.

bilee year in Lev 25:8-17, would mark a beginning of a new era of redemption, return to the homeland, freedom, righteousness, and blessing for the whole Israel. The first attempts to discern such a special jubilee year may be seen in *Jub* 50,4 presenting the entry to Canaan as occurring after the completion of fifty jubilees of the history of humanity, and in 4Q387 [ApJer C] 2ii 3-4, predicting that the epoch of desolation of Judea would end with the completion of ten jubilees of years.

The latter calculation of the beginning of a new era of righteousness after ten jubilees of years of iniquity has been theologially and ideologically reworked in a document traditionally called Melchizedek (11Q13). This work is a multi-level peshet (cf. 11Q13 2,4. 12. 17. 20) on the jubilee-year legislation Lev 25:8-17 explained in light of Isaian prophecies Is 52:7; 61:1-4 and of other, secondary texts, especially taken from the Psalms. The document predicts a special, eschatological “Melchizedek’s year of favour” (11Q13 2,9), which would mean return of the dispersed (11Q13 2,6), freedom and forgiveness for their iniquities (11Q13 2,6), atonement for the sins of the sons of light (11Q13 2,8), God’s judgment upon the wicked, exercised by “the righteous king” Melchizedek (11Q13 2,11-13), peace and salvation for Zion (11Q13 2,15-16), and final reconstruction of the walls of Judah and Jerusalem (11Q13 3,9-10 [+ 7,3-4]).

The calculation of the beginning and of the end of this eschatological jubilee is presented in 11Q13 2,6-7: “And this [wil]l [happen] in the first week of the jubilee (that occurs) after [the] ni[ne] jubilees. And the D[ay of Atonement] i[s] the e[nd of] the tenth [ju]bilee.”³³ Several scholars assume that the text proclaims the special jubilee as beginning after nine jubilees of guilt and exile, and ending on the Day of Atonement at the end of the tenth jubilee³⁴. This interpretation is quite problematic, however, for several reasons. First, it is difficult to reconcile the idea of only nine jubilees of guilt and exile with the long tradition of calculating this epoch as lasting ten jubilees. Second, in Lev 25:8-10 the jubilee year occurs after the completion of the full number of seven heptads and not at the end of them. Third, in Lev 25:9 the Day of Atonement begins and not ends the jubilee year. Fourth, it is hard to assume that God’s act of redemption, forgiveness, and liberation would be extended to the span of a whole jubilee (49 years).

The very mutilated text of 11Q13 2,7 may be however restored also in another way. According to the note of the editors, the “four tiny strokes are probably the tip of the head of *taw* and the uppermost ends of the three arms of *šin*. The interpretation of the dark stroke at the edge of the frag-

³³ F. García Martínez, E.J.C. Tighelaar, A.S. van der Woude, *Qumran Cave 11. 11Q2-18, 11Q20-31* (DJD 23), Clarendon: Oxford 1998, 229.

³⁴ Cf. e.g. J.T. Milik, *Milkî-šedeq et Milkî-reša’ dans les anciens écrits juifs et chrétiens*, JJS 23 (1972), 95-144 [here: 104].

ment as part of *‘ayin* is questionable.”³⁵ However, the first of the “four tiny strokes” may be in reality “the tip of the head” not only of *taw*, but also (and even preferably, taking into consideration the form of the letter) of *‘ayin*. The second letter of the word seems to be indeed *šin*. The “dark stroke” that remained of the third letter may be the right part of *‘ayin*, as suggested by the editors, but also of *roš*. The barely visible word, restored by the official editors of the document as תש]עה (“ni[ne]”) may be therefore read also as עש]רה (“te[n]”). Another proposal, that would also make good sense in the context and would account for the presence of the “dark stroke” as a head of the third letter, would be הש]לם (“being completed”)³⁶.

If the above proposed restoration is accepted, the content of 11Q13 corresponds much better to the concept of a jubilee year (cf. Lev 25:8-17). The extraordinary jubilee year, called “Melchizedek’s year of favour” (11Q13 2,9), is announced after the completion of ten jubilees (490 years) of guilt and exile (11Q13 2,7a; cf. 4Q387 2ii 3-4). It is introduced by the Day of Atonement, ending up the tenth jubilee of guilt with a liturgical act of blowing the trumpets and of redemption and forgiveness for the “men of the lot of Melchizedek” (11Q13 2,7b-8. 25; cf. Lev 25:9). This extraordinary jubilee year is then probably prolonged to last a “week” of seven years (11Q13 2,7a; cf. 3,17?).

Although this special jubilee, treated as predicted by the Law, the prophets, and the Psalms, occurs “at the end of the days” (11Q13 2,4), it does not end the human history. As it may be inferred from 11Q13 2,7 “Melchizedek’s year of favour” is understood as a beginning of the first jubilee – presumably, in line with the bulk of prophetic and pseudo-prophetic tradition, of an eschatological era of freedom, righteousness, peace, and blessing (cf. 11Q13 3,13-18?).

This new era, beginning with its first “week” and first jubilee period (11Q13 2i 7) is described in terms of royal ideology as a time of the rule of Melchizedek (“the righteous king”)³⁷, who is God’s agent³⁸ in bringing back

³⁵ F. García Martínez, E.J.C. Tighelaar, A.S. van der Woude, *Qumran Cave 11* (DJD 23), 227.

³⁶ For this, cf. וכהשלם (“and when will be completed”) in 4Q385a [ApJer C] 11i 3, used evidently also in the context of counting jubilees or seventy others units of time (4Q385a 11i 4). The text of 11Q13 2,7a would then be translated: “in the first week of the jubilee (that occurs) after [the(se)] jubilees will be compl[eted]”.

³⁷ In line with some Judaic priestly texts the name Melchizedek may be understood as “the king of righteousness”, as opposed to an angelic “king of evil” Melchi-Resha’: 4Q280 [Blessing] 2,2; 4Q544 [Amram] 2,13; 4Q401 [ShirShab] 11,3 (?); 22,3 (?); 11Q17 [ShirShab] 2,7 (?). Cf. F. Manzi, *Melchisedek e l’angelologia nell’epistola agli Ebrei e a Qumran* (AnBib 136), PIB: Roma 1997, 51-53; F. García Martínez, *Las tradiciones sobre Melquisedec en los manuscritos de Qumran*, “Biblica” 81 (2000), 70-80 [here: 74-75].

³⁸ For a proposal of identifying Melchizedek with God “the King of Righteousness” see F. Manzi, *Melchisedek*, 71-96. But in 11Q13 2i 13. 23-25 Melchizedek, carrying out God’s judgments, seems to be distinct from God himself.

the exiles (11Q13 2,6), in performing just judgment and freeing the people from the evil (11Q13 2,13. 25), and in inaugurating a new righteous kingdom (11Q13 2,23-25)³⁹. The text conveys therefore an image of an eschatological, powerful, and appointed by God king of Israel, understood as the fulfillment of prophecies: the ruler anointed with the Spirit to proclaim and carry out good news of salvation (11Q13 2,16-18; cf. Is 61:1; Dan 9:25)⁴⁰.

The date of composition of this intriguing text is probably relatively late. Royal ideology developed to the extremes, with no soteriological place for high priesthood; no mention of an imminent liberating war, but only of liberating and gathering of the dispersed exiles; presumed presence of only one copy of the work among the Dead Sea Scrolls; internal dating of the seven-years-long jubilee year, announced in the work, for presumably 96-89 B.C.⁴¹ – all these facts point to the rule of Alexander Jannaeus as the time of the composition of 11Q13⁴².

“Melchizedek” most probably expresses therefore ideology of this would-be Messianic monarch, who as the first in the postexilic Israel minted coins with clearly royal self-designation: “king Jehonathan”. His court ideologists presumably reworked earlier priestly speculations over a supernatural “king of righteousness” and applied them to the new priestly “king of Salem”

³⁹ There is no mention of any Melchizedek's cultic role in God's making atonement for sins of Israel in 11Q13 2,8 *pace* e.g. P. J. Kobelski, *Melchizedek and Melchireša'* (CBQ.MS 10), CBQ: Washington 1981, 57-8; É. Puech, *La croyance des esséniens en la vie future: immortalité, résurrection, vie éternelle? Histoire d'une croyance dans le judaïsme ancien* (ÉtBib.NS 22), Gabalda: Paris 1993, 551. The suffixed pronoun 3. sing. masc. in the phrase *וְיָרֵכֶל* refers to the previously mentioned day of atonement (“to atone in it” – 11Q13 2,7b) and not to the later introduced Melchizedek (“to atone by him... Melchizedek” – 11Q13 2,8).

⁴⁰ There is no reason to limit the broad scope of this powerful image, as many scholars do, to a figure of only an angelic being, a high priest, an eschatological prophet, or *Moses redivivus*. Notwithstanding possible affinities of 11Q13 to texts dealing with an angelic Melchireša' (4Q280 2,2; 4Q544 2,13), the characterization of Melchizedek in 11Q13 is clearly royal, and linked with the idea of fulfillment of prophecies of final salvation of Israel by means of this figure as far as possible. Neither archangel Michael nor Moses was for example supposed to rebuild the walls of Judah and Jerusalem (11Q13 3,9-10 [+ 7,3]). Cf. the reservations (although not sufficient) of L. Monti, *Una comunità alla fine della storia. Messia e messianismo a Qumran* (StBib 149), Paideia: Brescia 2006, 123-125.

⁴¹ For the exactness of ancient dating the end of the period of 490 years after the exile for ca. 96 B.C. cf. Josephus's information contained in *Ant.* 13,301 that Judean monarchy was restored 481 years and 3 months after the Babylonian exile. Josephus or his source most probably confused here the beginning of the exile with its end (changing thereby the internal logic of the calculation of the length of *interregnum*). Nevertheless, the number itself corresponds to historical data. The restoration of monarchy took place, according to the most recent dating, in 105-104 B.C., so indeed 481 years after the destruction of Jerusalem in 586 B.C.

⁴² For the ideology of this period cf. also 4QMMT C 16-26, written presumably ca. 104-96 B.C., with its similar to 11Q13 allusions to a virtuous Davidic-type king ruling at “the end of the days”. Cf. B. Adamczewski, *Calculations*, 140-141.

(Gen 14:18), who wanted to present himself as the awaited from centuries, eschatological Messiah-Saviour of Jerusalem and of the whole Israel.

CONCLUSION – THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS AND THE HASMONEAN IDEOLOGY

Various types of heptadic calculations of the end of era of iniquity, contained in the Dead Sea Scrolls, betray detectable relationships to evolving Hasmonean ideology. The visions of Daniel reflect ideas of early Jewish nationalists and provide a starting point for further temporal calculations based on the sacred, distinctly Jewish, heptadic chronology.

The documents written probably under the rule of Jonathan, before broader recognition of his high priestly authority (Apocrypha of Jeremiah C and D), allude to the Maccabees as replacing the former Oniad dynasty that failed to prevent Israel from widespread Hellenization and from abandonment of her covenantal obligations. Both works give also witness to the beginning of fierce halakhic disputes among the nationalist Jews and probably also with the Maccabees, eventually leading to the rejection of the authority of this militant, striving for power group by a faction of Hasidim (and of) the covenant-enacting followers of “the unique Teacher” (cf. CD 20).

The works composed probably during the rule of Simon or early John Hyrcanus (Apocalypse of Weeks, Animal Apocalypse, cf. Peshier on the Apocalypse of Weeks) contain easily recognizable allusions to the evolving Hasmonean ideology of a new epoch of royal rule, bringing freedom, righteousness, and the hope for Israel’s final restoration and rule over the whole world.

The document called traditionally Melchizedek, written probably under the rule of Alexander Jannaeus, presents the king as a figure fulfilling in him the old prophecies of salvation for Israel. The “righteous king” ruling in Jerusalem announces and carries out in God’s name the long-awaited jubilee of God’s favour and Israel’s redemption and restoration. Jannaeus’ rule is presented here as a beginning of a totally new, eschatological era in the history of Israel.

The analysis of these various documents, preserved in the Dead Sea Scrolls, shows that at least many of them do not contain any anti-Hasmonean bias, which was assumed to be one of the characteristic features of all the so-called Qumran writings. The authors of the analyzed documents were certainly not sectarians, but rather represented views more or less linked to the evolving, probably widely propagated in Judea ideology of the Hasmoneans. The above presented analysis casts further doubt on the understanding of the Dead Sea Scrolls in terms of a coherent, “sectarian”, “Qumranian” body of

texts. On the other hand, it helps to understand the rich theological-political background of the Messianic-eschatological proclamation and activity of Jesus Christ.

**„DZIESIĘĆ JUBILEUSZY LAT”
HEPTADYCZNE KALKULACJE KOŃCA EPOKI NIEGODZIWOŚCI
A EWOLUJĄCA IDEOLOGIA HASMONEUSZY**

Streszczenie

Powstanie państwa hasmonejskiego spowodowało odrodzenie nadziei na ostateczny koniec zewnętrznego ucisku i wewnętrznej nieprawości w Izraelu. Pisma znad Morza Martwego zawierają wiele metod kalkulacji końca owej epoki niegodziwości. Wyliczenia przedstawione w Księdze Daniela, Apokalipsie Tygodni, Apokalipsie Zwierząt, Peszerze na Apokalipsę Tygodni, Apokryfach Jeremiasza C i D oraz utworze o Melchizedeku są, generalnie rzecz biorąc, oparte na siódmkowym systemie liczenia 7, 49, 70 bądź 490 lat. Szczegółowe metody tworzenia względnych chronologii znacznie różnią się jednak w poszczególnych pismach. Pomimo to dające się wykryć odniesienia do wydarzeń historycznych sugerują, iż większość z tych utworów wspiera hasmonejską ideologię nowej epoki, mającej się rozpocząć wraz z dojściem do władzy Jonatana, Szymona bądź Aleksandra Janneusza. Domniemane ogólne antyhasmonejskie nastawienie tak zwanych pism qumrańskich jest zatem prawdopodobnie naukowym nieporozumieniem.