The Maskilim: Example Of Levitical Pedagogy in Second Temple Judaism

Cheryl L. Rice

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THE MASKILIM: EXEMPLA OF LEVITICAL PEDAGOGY IN SECOND TEMPLE JUDAISM

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO
THE FACULTY OF THE DEPARTMENT OF JEWISH-CHRISTIAN STUDIES
IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF ARTS

BY
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To Ashley and Dodie
And the wise will shine like the expanse of the firmament and those who lead many to righteousness, like the stars for ever and ever.

Daniel 12:3
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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I owe the completion of this thesis to the support and patience of my advisor, Rabbi Asher Finkel and to Reverend Lawrence Frizzell. Their guidance and encouragement enabled me to bring this project to completion. In addition, I would like to thank the Institute of Judaico-Christian Studies for its support during the time of my graduate studies here at Seton Hall University. Finally, I would like to thank both my family and friends who never doubted my ability to succeed.
# ABBREVIATIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AB</td>
<td><em>Anchor Bible Dictionary</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>BDB</td>
<td><em>Brown Driver Briggs Hebrew Lexicon</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CRIANT</td>
<td><em>Compendia rerum tudaicarum ad novum testamentum</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>DSSE</td>
<td><em>Dead Sea Scrolls in English, G. Vermes</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>EJ</td>
<td><em>Encyclopedia Judaica</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>JBQ</td>
<td><em>Jewish Biblical Quarterly</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>JSOT</td>
<td><em>Journal for the Study of the Old Testament</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>LXX</td>
<td><em>Septuagint</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>MT</td>
<td><em>Massoretic Text</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>NTGEL</td>
<td><em>New Thayer’s Greek–English Lexicon</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RQ</td>
<td><em>Revue de Qumran</em></td>
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<td>VT</td>
<td><em>Vetus testamentum</em></td>
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INTRODUCTION

Within the canonical Psalter there are thirteen compositions which bear the superscription, maskil; namely, Psalms 32, 42-45, 52-55, 74, 78, 88, 89 and 142. The possible significance, if any, and relationship of these works has been largely debated among scholars. The consensus seems to be that the maskil psalms do not comprise a group, and that the superscriptions merely reflect an obscure musical notation for the benefit of the musical director. Interestingly, this expression is found elsewhere, both in the canon and beyond it: Daniel and the Dead Sea Scrolls. Maskil, as an individual or as a type of composition, bears significance, particularly in the Second Temple period. It is the purpose of this thesis to explore the signification of maskil.

Identifying the dynamic relationship between the history-tradition, curriculum and phenomenology of the Second Temple Levitical guilds and the Essenes of the Dead Sea Community requires a multidimensional approach. Although the scope of the current work will not be exhaustive, it is hoped that the research undertaken will establish a solid foundation for a more expansive investigation at the doctoral level.

First, a linguistic study of maskil will be made, employing source material from the Psalter of the MT, the book of Daniel, and varied compositions from the Dead Sea Scroll corpus. Pertinent to the time of the institution of the guilds and the members' subsequent Babylonian exile and

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1 Although there are fourteen psalms enumerated, traditionally, psalms 42 and 43 are considered to be one composition; therefore, for the purposes of this thesis, the number of psalms that bear the superscription, 'maskil', is thirteen.
Return through the edict of the Persian King Cyrus are the thirteen canonical psalms bearing the superscription \textit{maskil}. From the Hasmonean period, the book of Daniel and the Dead Sea Scrolls will serve as exempla. Due to the limited scope of this thesis, the linguistic study will be confined to the identification and analysis of important vocabulary and the utilization of redaction criticism to recognize motifs and theological concerns within each time period. This data will also be subject to a comparative analysis wherein areas of commonality, progression and/or divergence will be indicated.

Throughout the thesis, particular attention will be given to understand the phenomenology associated with the Levitical (or related) groups in each historical period will be identified. For the purposes of this thesis, a phenomenological analysis will assume the following: a determination of the scientific and historic validity of certain practices/traditions passed down to subsequent generations of Levites will be subordinate to an assessment of the psychological/spiritual effects of these activities. That is, the spiritual exercises, which were part of the Levitical institution's traditions, cannot be assessed solely in a scientific manner. For the Levites, however, these activities constituted part of their reality, and, as such, are relevant to this investigation. An awareness of the signification of mystical exercises and the importance of propitious times during which an experience with God's presence is manifest, coupled with the results of the historico-tradition and linguistic studies, could shed light on our understanding of \textit{maskil}. Moreover, this study may add to our understanding of the Levites, their world, practices and concerns. It is also hoped that this thesis may establish an historical, traditional, linguistic and phenomenological link between the Levitical guilds of the Second Temple and the Dead Sea
Community. As a result, the current dating of the emergence of Jewish mysticism could be called into serious question.

Last, a delineation and analysis of the Second Temple period history will be made, i.e., from the Persian through the Hasmonean periods. In addition, the key traditions and practices of the Levitical guilds will be sketched and analyzed within the greater context of the outer history of the same period. Key figures and/or guilds will include Asaph, Heman and Ethan and their descendants, the sons of Korah and the Maskil from the Dead Sea Community. The investigation of the Sitz im Leben will be subdivided into three distinct periods: the Persian (538-323 BCE); the Hellenistic (including the Ptolemaic and Seleucid), and last, the Hasmonean-Herodian period. Particular attention will be given to the work of the Chronicler and Ezra-Nehemiah in which material evidence regarding the Levitical institutions and traditions of both pre-and post-exilic times was recorded. Similarly, essential components of the maskil history-tradition descriptive of the Hasmonean period in the book of Daniel will be identified and discussed. In addition, the withdrawal of one of the Essene sects into the desert during this time will be noted. The history-tradition of the renegade maskil within this sect will be identified, examined and analyzed through utilization of the Dead Sea Scroll documents as source material.

The thesis is presented in the following format. After an introduction, the work will be exhibited in two parts; namely, the linguistic and the historico-traditional. Part One contains the linguistic study of maskil and is divided into the following chapters:

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3 The historical analysis will be based on the works of the following scholars: Finkelstein, Noth, and Smith. See bibliography for individual works.
the enigma of maskil; the root sekel; the ideas of sekel; the maskil form; the maskil as tehillot; some concluding remarks about the maskil psalms; the maskilim in Daniel; the maskilim as the wise teachers in the book of Daniel; method of interpretation; the maskil at Qumran; the role of the maskil at Qumran and the maskil form in the Hodayot. Due to the limited nature of this thesis, the study will be limited to the occurrence of the term maskil in the Community Rule, the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice and the Hodayot. Foci of investigation for these three chapters will include the identification and analysis of important vocabulary, motifs, curricula and theological concerns. The data will be subject to a comparative analysis wherein areas of commonality, progression and/or divergence will be identified.

Next, in the historico-traditional part will be the following chapters: the history of the Persian period; the Jewish community under the rule of Cyrus through Darius; the history from Xerxes I to the conquest of Alexander the Great; the Jewish community from the time of Xerxes I to Alexander the Great; the period of Alexander the Great through the Hasmonean dynasty; the Hasmoneans, Pharisees and Sadducees, the Herodian dynasty and the roles of the Levites. Data gleaned from the study of each historical period will be analyzed, identifying areas of commonality, progression and/or divergence.

It is hoped that this study will shed some light on this obscure term and will encourage further research into its usage and signification.
Part I

The Linguistic Elements
The Enigma of Maskil

The psalm superscriptions pose a web of difficulties for scholars, in part due to conflicting theses concerning the appropriate historical and phenomenological complex of their provenance. For that reason, it is often a challenge, at best, to state with any degree of certainty who composed them, when and under what circumstances. From a canonical standpoint, then, it makes sense that there exists a sort of timelessness about many psalm compositions, thus illustrating their universal appeal. It is possible, however, to elucidate the meaning of certain key terms in the superscriptions of the psalms. Scholars recognize the importance of the historico-traditional background and the Sitz im Leben of given compositions, as well they should. The thrust of this thesis, however, will be the identification and analysis of one such term, the signification of which has been poorly understood.

 סק', the root of משפלי appears in several fundamentally different books in the Hebrew canon, ranging from Proverbs to Daniel to Kings. Because of this wide disparity of literature over a lengthy period of time, it would at first seem unlikely that any significant parallels exist among them. What was discovered, however, is that there exists a common ground of meaning ascribed to סק', both by those in the apocalyptic/prophetic tradition and those traditions engaged in the legal traditions. The distinction also touches on differences between the wisdom literature in the tradition of Proverbs versus that found in the corpus of Enochic literature. When moving to an analysis of the other uses of סק',
particularly in the psalm superscriptions, Daniel and the Dead Sea (Qumran) literature, we witness an extension of its signification into new realms. It is precisely this new signification that is of primary interest in this thesis. Let us then turn toward a better understanding of this term.

The Root סֵל

This introductory analysis will focus on a linguistic study of the root סֵל and its variants as found in the MT. First, the most commonly found variants followed by samples of the scriptural verses in which they occur will be identified and delineated. Next, the Greek terms used in translation will be identified. Those psalms bearing the superscriptions which include the term מָשְׂכֵל are 13 in number.¹ Of significance is the manner in which the LXX translates מָשְׂכֵל. An analysis of the Hebrew מָשְׂכֵל compared with the Greek would yield the sense of this term as understood by the translators, thus enhancing our ability to comprehend its meaning. Information gleaned from the analysis of each category will then be sifted in order to shed light on varied ideas associated with סֵל, the root of מָשְׂכֵל. Next, the psalm superscriptions including the term מָשְׂכֵל will be delineated and compared to the LXX and Targumic renditions.

The root סֵל has been used in the canon both nominal and verbal modes. As a noun, the word has been defined as prudence, insight and understanding. Depending on the context, סֵל can also mean cunning or craft.² Immediately one can ascertain that סֵל has a double meaning, each definition being the polar opposite of the other. These polar opposites are critical in understanding the so-called מָשְׂכֵל form in the Psalter, Daniel and the Dead Sea literature.

¹ They are specifically 32, 42-45, 52-55, 74, 78, 88-89, and 142. I include Psalm 41 with the others because the lesson it teaches parallels the themes in the other מָשְׂכֵל psalms.
² BDB, p. 968.
The verbal form of חָצֵל has been defined in various ways, including to be prudent, act circumspectly, show good skill with music, to look at and to impart insight. An important extension of the verbal form that translates as “to look at” may be seen in the Aramaic form, חָצְלָה, meaning “to gaze”. This term is expanded also to חָצֵל and חָצְלָה, also meaning “to gaze” or referring to those who gaze. This gazing phenomenon embodies not only physical sight, but also a deeper, more penetrating manner of seeing involving mental or spiritual acuity.

Cognate forms are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>New Hebrew</td>
<td>חָצֵל</td>
<td>(Hifil) to show oneself attentive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aramaic</td>
<td>חָצְלָה</td>
<td>to understand; (Ithp.) to look at or consider; (Aph.) to instruct, make one wise or understand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palmyrene</td>
<td>חָצְלָה</td>
<td>to gaze; penetrate with one's mind</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samaritan</td>
<td>חָצָל</td>
<td>(Ithp.) to look for</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assyrian</td>
<td>חָצָלָה</td>
<td>clever; cleverness</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This preliminary information indicates that this term has a not only a double meaning, where each suggests the polar opposite of the other, but also a multifaceted quality to it.

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3 Ibid.
In particular, the visual component coupled with mental acuity lends a particular meaning to ἁρμα, and is of importance in esoteric and mystical literature.

When translated into Greek, ἁρμα and its variants are often rendered as syneseis (συνεσεῖς). Syneseis is understood as a flowing together of two rivers, as illustrated in Homer's Odyssey. In Scripture, syneseis appears frequently in the LXX, especially in wisdom literature. It usually translates as insight given by God into His activities and will. In the NT, syneseis occurs seven times, mostly in the Pauline epistles. A useful example appears in Col. 1:9.

For this reason, since the day we heard it, we have not ceased praying for you and asking that you may be filled with the knowledge (ἐπιγνώσεω) of the will of Him in all wisdom (σοφία) and insight through the Spirit (συνεσί πνεύματος).

As understood and employed by Paul, syneseis is insight into the mysteries of Christ through the power of the Holy Spirit. He contrasts the insight gained by the Holy Spirit with the "cleverness of the clever".

For it has been written, I will destroy the wisdom of the wise (σοφίαν σοφίαν) and the cleverness of the clever (συνεσίν συνεσίαν) I will set aside. (I Cor. 1:19)

In this example, Paul illustrates the negative side of syneseis contrasted with the positive side in the same way it was understood in the Hebrew. The Greek translation of ἁρμα as syneseis indicates an understanding of its particular meaning as insight or knowledge gained through the agency of the Holy Spirit or craftiness through the evil inclination.

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5 NTGEL, p. 604.
The Ideas of סִלּ ק

סִלּ ק as a verb form meaning to be prudent, wise and/or circumspect may be illustrated by
1 Samuel 18:30.

And then the chiefs of the Philistines went forth into battle lines.
And then it came to be that whenever they went forth, David was more
prudent/circumspect (סילק; συνεστίς) than all the servants of Saul. And then his
name came to be highly renowned.

Complementing our understanding of the sense of סילק in this instance is v.28.

And then Saul saw (David and that which he did in battle).
And then he knew that the Lord was with David.

This verse implies that being wise or circumspect in battle could be attributed to divine
favor and might result in having extraordinary military foresight that ends in victory.1

Jeremiah 23:5 offers an intriguing example.

And then I will cause to be raised a righteous branch for David and at that time he
will rule as king and he will be given prudence/insight (חֲשׁוֹד; καὶ συνεστίς)
and he will make justice (מַדִּיש); and righteousness (שֵׁדִיה) in the land.

In the above citation, the bestowal of insight and circumspection emanates from the
divine realm and descends to the human realm. Additionally, the gift is designed to be
used in the service of the kingdom of the God of Israel, illustrated thus far either in a
military sense or in the dispensation of justice in the land.2

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1 Cor. 1:19, quoting Isa. 29:14; הֲכָה הֲכָה.
1 Compare 1 Sam. 18:5; 2 Kings 18:7 describing Hezekiah. Note the individuals to which this root is
appended. This particular formation of סילק occurs in the Qal perfect (1Sam. 18:30) and Hifil imperfect
(2 Kings 18:7 and 1 Sam. 18:5).
2 See other uses of סילק and συνεστίς in the sense of enlightenment, knowledge, prudence or circumspection
in Daniel 1:17, 9:25; Jeremiah 9:23; Job 34:35; Deuteronomy 32:29; 2 Chronicles 2:11 where it appears
with צָדִי and הַבִּיה; 1 Kings 2:3; Ezra 8:18 describing Shebuel the Levite who returned with Iddo the
Seer and Zerubbabel from Babylon; 1 Samuel 25:3 describing Abigail, a wife of David.
Deuteronomy 29:8 offers a material example for this thesis, as it expands the theme of having "eyes to see and ears to hear". The pericope of interest concerns Moses' address to his people that starts with historical testimonies. Until that day, God had not given them "a heart to understand, eyes to see or ears to hear". By entering the covenant and heeding its demands, the people of God would reap their just reward; if not, then they would be cursed. Similar to the negative idea of שֵׁם (shem), those who are spiritually blind are fools (נְהִיל) and unable to discern God's plan, will or actions in history.

שֵׁם has also been used in the sense of teaching or instruction, particularly from the transpersonal realm to the level of humanity. Often the lesson is unexpected and is unrecognized by those who witness it. For that reason, one who can discern these important signs and lessons is needed in order to ensure the proper understanding by the masses.

So that they will see (יִרְאָה) and know (יָדְעוּ) and they will be astonished (יַכְזְבוּ) and then have understanding (יָדְעוּ). (Isaiah 41:20)

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3 This theme is used by the gospel writer Matthew when he describes certain people as deaf and blind in chapter 13. This theme is used as a teaching device to illustrate how the once obedient people of the covenant had turned away from its precepts and their eyes had become blinded from seeing (Isa. 44:18).
4 See the exchange between Daniel and the angel Gabriel (Da. 9:25). Also, consider the nature of the teaching of esoteric material on the 'Kingdom of heaven' in Matthew 13, the veiled language of Deutero-Isaiah and the content of the messages of the מִישָׁל psalms.
5 The LXX renders מִישָׁל as εἰλικρινές. Although beyond the scope of this thesis, the title of servant of God is an important one which appears both in Deutero-Isaiah referring to the Messiah and the faithful remnant of Israel and in the מִישָׁל psalms. Consult the bibliography for Schoors, Kissane, Noth and Mowinckel's works on the servant. The mystery, of course, is in the manner in which the servant is taught by God. The esoteric disciplines of the Essenes and the early Church might serve as examples for further research. In addition, the apocalyptic literature contain information about some phrases which the penitent ones used in order to gain esoteric knowledge, especially IV Ezra. Consult A. Johnson, The Cultic Prophet and Israel's Psalmody (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1979) 38, for his position on the role of the Levites during the monarchy as cultic prophets and intercessors. Translation from A. Finkel's article, "The Suffering Servant Hymn and Its Sequel: A New Translation", in SIDIC XIX(#1-1986).
Herewith let My servant become the lesson (ψῆλον).  
He rises exalted and exceedingly uplifted, while many wonder about him.  
(Isaiah 52:13)

As one may glean from these two references, the lessons to be taught are unexpected and misunderstood by those who witness them. There is a gradational process of understanding. First, one sees, then comes to know experientially which results in astonishment because it was totally unexpected. Only after that cognitive dissonance is resolved can one have the insight or understanding intended by the lesson.

Nehemiah reports that the Levites instructed the heads of the families and the people about the Torah after the return from exile. The use of ἴδια in this sense retains its sense of instruction, without expanding into the realms of a lesson that causes astonishment.

On the second day they assembled. The heads of the families of all the people, the priests and the Levites around Ezra the scribe; and they did so in order to be instructed (ἦλθαν, ἴδια) about all the words of the Torah.

(Nehemiah 8:13)

The translators understood the sense of ἴδια in Nehemiah 8:13 and rendered it as epistēma, as opposed to synēsis.⁶ Nehemiah's intention was to indicate the Levites' role as teachers of the masses using accepted methodology for scriptural interpretation.⁷

A third component of ἴδια's import is that of visual perception and heightened mental acuity through the Holy Spirit. Isaiah 44:18 illustrates this point.

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They did not know (γινέται) and they did not discern (γνωρίζω) for their eyes were
besmeared from seeing and perceiving (μάτησαι, θεωρεῖν).

(Isaiah 44:18)

A peculiar verse appears in 1 Chronicles 28:19 regarding David’s instructions for the
Temple.

All of this was in the writing/document from the hand of God upon which He
revealed (הָנוֹקַל; μεταφάσατο) all the workmanship of the pattern (Temple and
furnishings). 8

(I Chronicles 28:19)

The concept of gazing was adapted for use by the rabbis and used in esoteric teachings,
such as the Mishnah Hagigah. The Mishnaic form of סֵיָל, שֵׁכיל, captures the
visual/perceptive meaning of the term. Because it appears in the Hifil formation, it
suggests the causative, where the individual is caused to gaze or perceive, granted an
intellectual vision of some kind or has a dream of divine origin. 9

Arayot may not be expounded by three, nor ma’aseh bereshit by two, nor the
merkabah by an individual unless he is a scholar (or wise) and has understood
on his own.

Anyone who gazes (שֵׁכיל) at four things it would be merciful to him
if he had not come into the world:
what is above and what below,
what is before and what after.

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8 This is an important text as it relates to the Temple Scroll in the DSS corpus and the fellowship of the yeha
with the angels in prayer, liturgy and battle. Contra Yadim’s thesis of the provenance of the Temple Scroll in
the Qumran Community, Stegemann asserts that it is an earlier composition, closer to the time of
(Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1988). Compare how Bezalel is described in Exodus 35:31 as having the spirit of God.
Also, Exodus 31:3, to be endowed by God’s Spirit.

9 Consult the article by B. Uffenheimer. “Prophecy Ecstasy and Sympathy”. In Congress Volume XL,
Jerusalem, VT. (Leiden: Brill, 1988) 257-269, on the nature of the prophetic/apocalyptic phenomenon in
Scripture.
Anyone who has no concern for the honour of his Creator, it would be merciful to him if he had not come into the world.  

(Mishnah Hagigah 2:1)

Thus far, based on the evidence of the preceding references for סְדִּיק, the sense of the term may be understood as follows:

- as a verb: to be circumspect, have insight and understanding; to physically see and intellectually or spiritually understand; the polar opposite would translate as to be crafty, cunning, foolish
- in the Hifil form of the verb: to instruct, to cause to understand things of an esoteric nature, particularly the pattern of the Temple; to be granted a vision (intellectual or corporeal) of heavenly mysteries.

With that in mind, we must consider the meaning of the Hifil participle formation of סְדִּיק, i.e., מְסִדֶּיק. Mśdył is used in at least two ways in the MT and in the DSS. A mśdył may refer to either a person or to a particular type of teaching method or composition.  

In the Proverbs, mśdył takes on an ethical dimension and is often used in apposition to one who is either a fool (נָבִיל) or one who is evil (רַע). The contrast is due to the distinction between one who is endowed with God's spirit and one who relies on his own judgment. Consider the following exempla.

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10 Compare Psalm 2:10: And now, kings contemplate! Gaze, ye judges of the earth!
11 For example, the superscriptions of the psalms in question refer to a type of composition, which might be construed as didactic poems. Additionally, the superscriptions on the Songs of the Sacrifice of the Sabbath, C. Newson's work, refer to the nature of these compositions. There exist many references to persons in the canon described as mśdył. The mśdył in the Community Rule of the DSS has a unique position in the yḥd and is involved in esoteric practices.
The one understanding (mēskvî; vocuov) and giving heed to a word will come upon goodness, and the one trusting in the Lord, blessesness.

(Proverbs 16:20)

A wise and righteous servant (mēskvî; Δικαιος) will rule over a son,
And he will share the inheritance with the brothers (sons of the master).

(Proverbs 17:2)

The righteous (yddq; δικαιος) perceives/has insight (mēskvî; σοφει) the house of the wicked and brings it to ruin.

(Proverbs 21:12)

A man who strays from the path of wisdom/prudence (ḥiq; δικαιος) will rest in the company of the dead.¹²

(Proverbs 21:16)

The mēskvî of the book of Daniel are described as pious individuals (not unlike the yddq) who are involved in teaching a particular curriculum, experiencing a special relationship with God through prayer and Ἁγία and maintaining the God-alone tradition, rather than the syncretistic traditions which certain Jews chose to follow.¹³

And of the wise teachers (mēskvî; σοφεις) some will stumble¹⁴ and So a number of them will be purged, purified and made clean until the time of the End, for the appointed time is still to come.

(Daniel 11:35)

¹² The LXX often translates mēskvî as δικαιος, meaning righteous. Δικαιος is an important term in the NT. See Luke 1:6, 2:25, 8:1f, 12:57, 14:14, 18:6, where the righteous are also known as the elect of God. Matthew 5:19 and 13 presents teachings to the elect in veiled, mysterious and apocalyptic terms couched in the form of parables (παραβολας or similitudes).
¹³ Consult the study of the post-exilic historical phenomena in the historical section of this thesis.
¹⁴ Play on words between Ἁγία and Ἀγία.
And the wise teachers (mškylm; τινες ἀνθρώπους) will shine as brightly as the expanse of the heavens and those who have instructed many in uprightness, as stars for all eternity.15

(Daniel 12:3)

Daniel 11:35 is the depiction of how the mškyl may be misled by smooth talk (hlgd) and stumble, which is the very issue the Dead Sea community warns about, as they refer to the Pharisees as seekers of smooth things (ahrîy hlgd).

The mškylm in the DSS, particularly in the Community Rule (1QS 9:12-26) are to be understood as the enlightened ones. Schiﬀman argues that the technical term mškyl is apparently one of the sect’s terms for its sages and models of piety.16 The mškyl is recognized for his intellectual and moral aptitude, while not necessarily being assigned any speciﬁc function. It may well be that the sect expected the mškyl to assume a more formal role in the end of days.17 In the Srk Ḥvyjd (Community Rule) there appears a list of the obligations of the mškyl:

To do the will of God according to everything that is revealed from time to time and to learn all the knowledge (šdr) which is derived according to the times and the law of the time.

(Community Rule 1QS 9:13-14)

17 Ibd.; compare Schiffman’s assessment of the role and function of the mškîl with that explained in Vermes’ The Dead Sea Scrolls in English, p.4 and consult the section in this thesis on the Maskil at Qumran.
In addition, Schiffman asserts that mškyl denotes not only a wise man, but one who is also a teacher of wisdom (šẖl). He notes that in Daniel 11:33 and 12:3, texts related to the theology of the Qumran sect, the verb šẖl is applied to the activity of the mškylym.18

The basic argument of Schiffman is acceptable; however, he neglects to understand the unique qualities of these teachers, which include being enlightened by the Holy Spirit. The Community rejects the methodology of scriptural interpretation and the hikk of other sects (traditionally the Pharisees and other Sadducees) because of their reliance on human judgment and wisdom, rather than the authority of the Divine Spirit.

In essence, the question remains regarding the signification of the psalm superscriptions in the MT entitled mškyl. Scholars already cited have contributed to our understanding of the role and the person of the mškyl at Qumran and the mškylym in the book of Daniel. How do these individuals, their sect(s), theology and disciplines relate to the Levitical guilds, some of whose works were entitled mškyl?

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18 L. Schiffman, *The Halakhah at Qumran* (Leiden: Brill, 1975) 25. He also ties in the term mgdh meaning, “to reveal”, to the cited texts in Daniel and to the activity of the Qumran mškylym regarding the progressive revelation of the law. He states that these revelations were put down in writing and contained in the Sf Hg.
The Maskil Form

The drama portrayed in the *masal* psalms is not merely the tensions between good and evil. The heart of the teaching, however, is the suffering of the pious; that is, the suffering servants. This teaching comes on the heels of the traditional teachings regarding the promises of blessings to the righteous, even in this life, versus the threat of curses to the wicked.¹ The historical, political, social and religious conditions during the 70 year span from 587 through ~515 BCE affected the faith and morale of those who saw themselves as God’s pious ones (*ḥadām*).² Deutero Isaiah and the *masal* psalms may be linked, at least hypothetically, due to their common historical provenance, use of the *masal* and *thyllh* formulae and common themes. Schramm stated that there is little doubt among modern scholars that Isaiah 40-55 and 56-66 are the literature of the Babylonian exiles. DTI is to be credited with announcing the re-establishment of the people Israel as a new exodus.³ Based on the linguistic evidence, themes and motifs of the *masal* psalms, this thesis postulates their provenance to be comparable to that of Isaiah 40-55 and 56-66.

The so-called song of the suffering servant (Isaiah 53:12f) has been described as a *masal*, i.e., a poem which comes to enlighten.⁴ Deutero-Isaiah also contains oracles in prayer form (*thyllh*). For example, Isa. 63:7-19 includes polarity of praise and lament. Similarly, the *masal* psalms display polarities in prayers of praise and lament, sometimes occurring simultaneously within one composition. *Masal* psalms, as such, illustrate the polarity

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¹ Entering into a nuptial covenant with the God of Israel entailed a serious commitment. Obedience and faithfulness to the terms of the covenant would lead to blessings and continued violations and neglect of the terms would lead to curses. See Deuteronomy 28 and Leviticus 26. Also, on the question of theodicy pertaining to the suffering of the righteous, see P. Berger. *The Sacred Canopy* (New York. 1962) ch.3.
² There is considerable debate over the conditions during the time of the exile and the return under Sheshbazzar and later Zerubbabel and Joshua. See B. Schramm. *The Opponents of Third Isaiah: Reconstructing the Culitic History of the Restoration.* JSOT. Supplement Series 193 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995) 108-109.
inherent in the root אֵל between the foolish, cunning ones and the wise, righteous ones. If we accept the מַעֲלֵי psalms and Deutero-Trito Isaiah as containing a grain of historical truth, then we can identify at least two sources of oppression; namely, foreign nations and those Jews who mixed idolatrous practices with Jewish cult. Conceivably, the foreigners could have had an ambivalent attitude towards exiled Jews living amongst them. Would it be strange, on the other hand, for certain separatist groups taking a possibly zealotic stance to be perceived as a threat to their host government? Would it then be hard to believe that certain Jews who might well have assimilated into the foreign culture were opposed to any separatist, pietistic groups who challenged the status quo? What about the Jews who remained in Jerusalem? In light of these possibilities, it is facile to understand the laments encountered in the מַעֲלֵי psalms. Complementing the ascending cry for justice, salvation and deliverance from evil are the descending responses of admonition, comfort and reassurance through the mouth of God’s prophet(s) in Deutero-Isaiah.

מַעֲלֵי psalms 41, 44, 55, 88, 89 and 142 contain graphic descriptions of suffering. Their historical background consists of a given sect (s) and of an individual during the time of the exile (587-86) through the return to Jerusalem, the rebuilding of the Temple (~515) and the early years of the restoration. Let us first turn to a brief delineation of some of the key themes and vocabulary in the מַעֲלֵי psalms, i.e., 78, 52, 53, 89, 88, 142 and 41.

Pertinent to our discussion is Psalm 78 that vividly illustrates the concept of Israel’s blindness with regards to God’s involvement in history and in recognizing His servants. As such, those who are blind are the fools, compared to the ἀγαθοὶ ὄρφανοι who are enlightened by the Holy Spirit. This lengthy composition reviews the events of the first exodus out of Egypt and the failures of the psalmist’s and his audience’s forefathers during that time. The account ends with the election of David and the building of the Temple. Kissane assigns a date of composition of prior to 586. He believes that its composition was occasioned by the withdrawal of the Northern tribes after the death of Solomon or by a disaster in 722 BCE when Samaria was taken by Assyria. The history lessons focused on the following:

- the apostasy of Ephraim (v.8-14),
- murmuring in the desert (v.17-22),
- manna and quails incident (v.23-31)
- inconstancy in the desert (v.32-39),
- plagues of Egypt (v. 40-48),
- exodus and settlement in Canaan (v. 49-55),
- apostasy and rejection of Ephraim (v. 65-72),
- election of Judah, Zion, David (v.73-78).

When assessing the lesson of this psalmist, we must consider the signification of the opening verses.

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3 Some scholars argue that the social, political and religious conditions which existed for Jews during the Babylonian exile were not hostile and they were able to assimilate into the existing social structure. See Richard J. Clifford, “Second Isaiah,” in AB, vol.3, 490-501.
Psalm 78:1-2

My people, incline your ears to my teaching (tny),
listen to the words of my mouth.
I will open my mouth in parables (mfl),
I will utter riddles (hvd), things from of old-
what we have heard and known,
what our fathers have told us.

Weiser connects the term ḫvr (riddles) to those stories of an irrational quality which had come to pass.⁵ He sees the teaching as an exhortation to remember and not to repeat the mistakes of their fathers.⁶ I concur, in the sense that this teaching is designed to be an admonition. The appellation of Psalm 78 as both a riddle and parable (mfl) poses at least two questions. First, how is a review of Israel’s exodus history to be understood as a parable and then to what other situation(s) is it applicable? As a riddle, how does it perplex the minds of those who are challenged to receive and pass on (qbd) the teaching?

A parable in scripture typically is a teaching method which serves to illustrate and instruct in the form of declarative or interrogative sentences, short stories or riddles.⁷ A riddle is a parable whose lesson is veiled.⁸ As such, Psalm 78’s lesson as a riddle and a parable is replete with meaning, especially for the God-alone groups which longed for their own miraculous exodus to Zion.⁹ The key to the riddle is in v.9-10:

The sons of Ephraim, though armed with bows,
Turned back on the day of battle.
They did not keep God’s covenant
And refused to live by His law.

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⁷ Ibid.
⁸ Weiser, p. 538.
⁹ Ibid.
¹¹ Ibid.
¹² See Is. 43:16-28 and 49:3-12.
The sons of Ephraim, according to the maskil, wanted to capitalize on the historical period of Egypt's weakness in order to further their own goals. They sought a human solution to their problem and didn't heed the words of Moses, their leader and God's prophet. The sons of Ephraim failed to realize that there is another force moving history. They miscalculated the end of the Egyptian bondage by 30 years.\textsuperscript{13} En route to Canaan, the Philistines defeated them in battle and killed 300,000 of them. Because their bones were piled up along the road, God chose to lead the children of Israel by a circuitous route.\textsuperscript{14} As a parable then, Psalm 78's teaching may be a lesson for the second exodus. The challenge then would be not to pre-empt God's timing, i.e., prior to the 70 year period taught by Jeremiah. The admonition is to heed the teaching of His prophets and not to repeat the mistakes of their forefathers by being stubborn and rebellious.\textsuperscript{15} The psalmist also draws attention to Judah and Mt. Zion as beloved (v.67)\textsuperscript{16} and God's choice of David to shepherd His flock. This original paradigm would point to the return to Zion/Jerusalem and God's raising up one like David to shepherd His people. Therefore, this psalm like the other maskil psalms is concerned with the program of the second exodus and who would be the God appointed leader of the effort. Those enlightened by the maskil and who are upright in heart (Ps. 32:11) are challenged to comprehend and heed the teachings of the maskil, lest they be accused of being deaf and blind.

\textsuperscript{13} "Ephraim," in EJ, Vol.6, 809. E.D.
\textsuperscript{14} Ibid. The editor references the Palestinian Targum (Ezek. 37) and the Talmud (Sanh. 92b) as indicating that these bones were reassembled by Ezekiel.
\textsuperscript{16} See Sifre Deuteronomy, Piske 352, in the form of a riddle which uses repetition of the term beloved (\textit{ydkd}).

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Psalm 52, a *mishyl* psalm in this discussion dealing with the slanderers and the unjust points to one wicked individual and his fate.\(^{17}\) Thus, the polarity is established illustrating the two sides of *mishyl*, i.e., the one who is crafty and cunning versus the one who is wise, righteous and suffering. According to *Midrash Tehillim*, the superscription is to be read in light of Proverbs 18:21, where death and life are in the power of the tongue.\(^{18}\) This tyrant is described in the *mishyl* as follows:

- tongue plots destruction,
- does works of deception and falsehood.

His fate is death, because he will be snatched from the land of the living. In contrast, the upright, the victim of the slanderer praises and trusts in God to uphold him and to crush the wicked one whose tongue is a sharp sword (כֶּלֶד).

- righteous one (*zaddiq*),
- olive tree (*zeyr*),\(^{19}\)
- living in the house of God forever,
- in the presence of Your pious ones (*hazdyn*).

We have no evidence in the vocabulary of Ps. 52 that the psalmist is here speaking of a foreign oppressor, but of someone inside the community who, in his heart, has no fear of God. Similarly, Isaiah 51:7 speaks of the community of the pious and encourages them not to fear others’ taunts and insults, for God’s saving justice will last forever.

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\(^{17}\) Kassane, vol. 1, p. 230.

\(^{18}\) See *Midrash Tehillim*, on Ps. 52, p. 474f. Compare *Pesiba de Rab Kahana*, 4:2, p. 62, where slander causes the Presence to depart from earth to heaven. The Rabbis also quoted Jer. 9:22-23 and applied it to Titus, who should not boast or glory in his own wisdom, but glory in that he understands and knows God.

\(^{19}\) Joshua and Zerubbabel are described as olive trees in Zech. 4:11-12.
Psalm 53, written in the masoretic form with polarities, speaks of the fools who have turned away from seeking God.

- corrupt,
- vile,
- evil,
- turned away,
- devour (My people).

The fate of those persecuting the righteous is dread where there was nothing to dread (p̄hād) and shame (bāh). The lesson for the wicked is that God destroys the impious and the manner in which it happens will be a sign to them that the Judge was God Himself.

Their opposites, the seekers of God, expectantly await their salvation and restoration of the cult on Mt. Zion (Ps. 53:6):

Let Jacob rejoice and Israel be glad!

Psalm 89's relevance to this discussion is its portrayal of the enemy as oppressors of a nation that insults God (v. 47-52). These individuals, be they political or religious, taunt the Anointed One. It is apparent that the anointed leader tried to engage in battling the enemy, but was unsuccessful. The dilemma, however, is in continued hope for the promises made to Israel and to David compared to their apparent defeat and rejection.20

Let us consider some of the vocabulary used by the psalmist to describe the protagonists, antagonists and the God of Israel.

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Protagonists:

Son of David:

- my chosen one
- my servant
- first born
- anointed one
- scorn
- shame

His fate:

- throne like the moon and sun forever
- faithful one will be witnessed in the sky

Assembly of faithful:

- assembly of the holy ones (qhl qaš̄ym)
- sons of the holy ones (bnymyym)
- council of the holy ones (sd qaš̄ym)
- ones surrounding God (abyhym)
- ones learning of the acclamation of God and who walk in the light of your presence
- faithful ones

Antagonists:

- enemies (byby)
• relentless pursuers (Gr)
• abusers, persecutors (מַשְׁפָּד)

Appellations of God:
• our shield
• Holy One of Israel
• My Father
• Rock of my salvation
• Awesome over all the ones surrounding Him
• God of Hosts
• Exalted Hand
• Throne of justice and righteousness
• Our King

Psalms 41, 55, 88, and 142 describe immense personal suffering, illness, betrayal, the feeling of imminent death and a feeling of abandonment by God. If we accept the thesis of an historical and theological relationship between the מַשְׁפָּד psalms and Deutero Isaiah, then we must consider the very strong possibility that the some of the laments, particularly in the I-form, may be the cry of the so-called suffering servant described in Is. 53:12f. In addition, the prologue beginning with 52:8-12, describes the group of gazers and/or prophets who witness the return of God’s presence to Jerusalem. These pious watchers, who rejoice in peace and good tidings, proclaim salvation and declare to

Zion, "Your God reigns!", may well be the Levitical group(s) responsible for the *mššyl* psalms.\(^2\)

Let us consider some common themes from the so-called Song of the Suffering Servant and the *mššyl* psalms.

52:13 Herewith, let My servant become the lesson (*mššyl*).\(^2\)
Consider the superscriptions of Ps. 55, 88, 89 and 142.\(^2\)

52:14b As his appearance is disfigured beyond personhood and his description beyond the human.
52:15a So does he astound many, kings purse their mouths about him.

53:3a We despised him as human waste, a man of suffering who is subject to illness.\(^3\)

Ps. 41:7 All who hate me whisper together about me and reckon
I deserve the misery I suffer.
Ps. 88:3 I am filled with misery and my life is on the brink of Sheol.
Ps. 88:5 I was reckoned as a man lacking strength.
Ps. 88:15 Wretched and close to death since childhood.
Ps. 142:6f I am miserably weak.

53:3b As one hides his face from him, we despised him
and did not consider him.

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\(^2\) This suggests a possible discipline of mysticism among certain Levitical groups. Note the term *ḥaḥ* or seer/visionary applied to Asaph and Heman, *BDB*, p. 302. See Psalm 45, a so-called wedding song of the sons of Korah which in reality is an allegory symbolizing the marriage between Jerusalem and the King, God Himself.

\(^3\) The Aramaic translation to *mššyl* in psalms is a good/ethical lesson (*šḥ ṭ̄w*).

\(^4\) See ch. 3 on the ideas of Sekel and the Appendix.

\(^5\) See Is. 53:4b. Same references.
Ps. 88:8 You have deprived me of my friends and made me repulsive to them.
Ps. 88:14 Why do you rebuff me and turn your face away from me?
Ps. 142:3f On my right, no one recognizes me.

53:5a Yet, he was severely pained due to our rebelliousness, anguish because of our iniquities.
Ps. 32:3f For I was made silent, my bones wasted away through affliction in my distress all day.
For day and night your hand is continually heavy upon me,
My vital power (strength) was withdrawn as in a drought during the hot weather of harvest time.²⁶

53:8a From confinement and the court judgment he was taken away; who can relate his agony?
Ps. 55:2f Hear my prayer, Lord! My enemies bring hostile accusations against me!²⁷
Ps. 88:8f I am imprisoned and cannot escape.
Ps. 142:6 Rescue me from my persecutors!
Lead me out of prison!

53:9a His grave was placed among the wicked while the rich in his sepulchre.
53:9b Though he committed no violence and there is no deceit in his speech.

Ps. 89:45 You have cut short the days of his youth,
You have covered him with a mantle of shame.

²⁶ Ps. 32:4 ends with a pause. Perhaps the next section reflects a change in scene and is indicative of a new voice in the 1-form. As such, the new person would speak of his confessing his sins and having them forgiven through the intercession of the afflicted one. So, v. 6, that's why all the pious ones pray to You continually while You may still be found. See Perikia de Rab Kahana on 32:6, p. 450.
²⁷ The prayer is in the form of the oratorative and not in the imperative as appears here. Also, the enemies referenced may be those opposed to the servant's party and ideology. There was a strong teaching on betrayal by a close friend or associate and on slander in Psalms 52-55. The possibility of Zerubbabel as the subject of these psalms and as the suffering servant in Deutero-Isaiah 53:12 should be entertained.
The מָשָׁל psalms referenced in the section on the suffering servant all bear
superscriptions attributing them either to David himself or his advisors, Heman and
Ethan. More interesting is the juxtaposition of Psalms 88 and 89. Psalm 88, a lament, is
likened to Job, according to Weiser. The facts that in the MT and the LXX it appears
juxtaposed to Psalm 89 classified as a royal psalm is significant. Psalm 89 speaks of the
promises of God to Israel and to David. God's faithfulness and power are illustrated in the
themes of the creation and the exodus. These are contrasted with the apparent shame and
defeat of the son of David (v. 38-45). The two polar opposites are indeed true. Yet, one
cannot reconcile their being simultaneously true. The dilemma cannot be resolved by
methods of logic, because they contradict one another. Instead, a spiritual teaching
method, i.e., מָשָׁל, is used to convey the truths of the lesson.

Therefore, it is reasonable for the suffering one in Psalm 88 to be identical to the
individual described as son of David in Psalm 89. It is also possible to connect
these two psalms to Isaiah 53:12, the so-called "Song of the Suffering Servant".
If these assumptions are valid, then one may deduce that the suffering servant in
Deutero Isaiah may have been Zerubbabel.

28 Refer to Appendix.
29 Weiser, 586f.
30 Sabourin, 333-335.
31 Compare the same motifs in Isaiah on creation and redemption, especially Isa. 44:24-28; 45:11-13.
32 See the historical section for a discussion on Zerubbabel and groups which may have supported the
restoration of the monarchy and the Temple cult as instituted by David.
The Maskilim as Tehillot

Among the msayl psalms exist seven compositions classified by scholars as thllr.¹ These prayers are in the form of community and individual laments, praise and thanksgiving. Sometimes, within one composition exist both poles, i.e., lament and praise. In the service of God, the suffering servants vacillate between two emotional extremes; namely, elation and despair. Because the simultaneous existence of these two polar opposites cannot be reconciled in a rational fashion, they cannot be explained by mere logic. Indeed, these msayl compositions pull two opposing emotions together into a synthetic composition. Herein we revert to the Greek understanding of msayl as synesis. Either in suffering to the point of death or in praise to the point of euphoria, these servants of God characterized themselves as committed to the service of God and doing His will as they understood it. Rather than dreading the possibility of death at the hands of enemies, the servants of God prepared themselves to meet death and to possibly welcome it.

Psalms 42-43, attributed to the sons of Korah, display the polarity between the righteous and the wicked and the happy memories of being in God’s presence in the temple contrasted with being in exile.² Exempla of their vocabulary are as follows.

**The Righteous:**

- soul thirsts and is downcast (snh msayl sîbh)⁴
- lead them to the house of God with sound of shout of joy and thanksgiving

¹ They are specifically 42-43, 44, 54-55, 74, 45 and 32. Psalms 42 and 43 are considered one composition in the MT. In the LXX, Psalm 43 bears a separate superscription. See Appendix.
• mourning in oppression
• they taunt me (harfin)

The prayer of the righteous:
• send forth your light and your truth; let them guide me to the mountain of your holiness, your dwelling place;
• praise with harp at the altar
• put your hope in God, for I will yet praise Him, my Savior and my God

The enemies:
• foes
• deceitful (mrnh)
• wicked

In sum, the exiled person who is apparently a Levite laments about his current situation, prays for deliverance from his enemies and to be guided by God’s light and truth to Zion.

Psalm 44 speaks of a pious group that evidently felt forsaken along with the rest of the nation during a time of divine punishment and chastisement. Many were attracted to idolatry and later to Hellenism, and as a result, Israel’s misery could be attributed to a loss of favor. This group, however, asserted their piety and proclaimed their reliance on God in a time of strife (v.4-9). Their theological and personal spiritual dilemmas are manifest in the psalmist’s meditation on the Heilsgeschichte of their forefathers, the continued faithfulness of the current generation of Ḥvydm, yet their apparent rejection. The fact that there is military language in Psalm 44:5-12 could be construed as illustrative of a possible

\[\text{See the chapter on the Roles of the Levites in the Historico-Traditional Section.}\]
historical reality which existed during the early 6th and late 5th centuries BCE. The cry for deliverance and a call for God to awake (hgysh) resembles the call to God in the wilderness on their journey (Num. 10:35). In this mizdy, both sides of prayer are presented together, i.e., praise and lament. In addition, the polarity between the suffering servants and their adversaries is depicted.

The suffering servants:

- rejected (znh)
- humble (klm)
- sheep to be devoured, slaughtered (šn ʾlt ṯḥ)
- reproach (ḥrf)
- scorn (ʾğ)
- derision (qls)
- shame (ḥṭ)
- murdered (ḥrg)

Their prayers:

- praise (nḥh)
- boast (ḥlnn)
- awake (ʾvrh)
- rouse Yourself (hgysh)
- please don’t reject us forever (ʾl znḥ lnhh)

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3 On the association of military language and hgyshm see Ps. 149.
4 The cohortative is used in Numbers 10:35, qmh, as well as in Psalm 44: 23-26 (hgysh and qash).
Enemies:
- relentless pursuers
- our foes
- our adversaries plundered us

Because we have already postulated an historical, linguistic and phenomenological connection of the מָקוֹם psalms and their composers to DTI, it is necessary to identify yet another link between them. Isaiah 63:7-19 is in the form of a שילוח, which simultaneously exhibits both sides of prayer, i.e., lament and praise.

Isaiah 63:7-19

I will tell of the kindnesses of the Lord,  
The deeds for which he is to be praised,  
According to all the Lord has done for us—  
Yes, the many good things He has done  
For the house of Israel,  
According to His compassion and many kindnesses.  
He said, “Surely they are my people,  
Sons who will not be false to me”;  
And so He became their Savior.  
In all their distress He too was distressed,  
And the angel of His presence saved them;  
In His love and mercy He redeemed them;  
He lifted them up and carried them all the days of old.  
Yet, they rebelled and grieved His Holy Spirit.  
So they turned and became their enemy and  
He Himself fought against them.

Recalling the first exoduses and praising God for His mighty acts:  
Then His people recalled the days of old,  
The days of Moses and his people—  
Where is He who brought them through the sea,  
With the shepherd of His flock?  
Where is He who set His Holy Spirit among them,  
Who sent His glorious arm of power to be at Moses’ right hand,  
Who divided the waters before them,  
To gain for Himself everlasting renown,  
Who led them through the depths?
Like a horse in open country,
They did not stumble;
Like cattle that go down to the plain,
They were given rest by the Spirit of the Lord.
This is how You guided your people
To make for Yourself a glorious name.

**Transition to Lament:**
Look down from heaven and see
From Your lofty throne, holy and glorious.
Where are Your zeal and Your might?
Your tenderness and compassion are withheld from us.
But You are our Father,
Our Redeemer from of old is Your name.
Why, O Lord, do you make us wander from Your ways and harden our hearts so we do not revere You?
Return for the sake of Your servants, the tribes that are Your inheritance.
For awhile Your people possessed Your holy place,
But now our enemies have trampled down Your sanctuary.
We are Yours from of old;
But You have not ruled over them.
They have not been called by Your Name.

Other exempla of the lament/praise *mskylm* are portrayed in Psalms 54 and 55. These psalms give evidence of possible polemics between those who saw themselves as God’s pious ones (*pqylym*) versus those who fear not God, abandon their oaths, lack wisdom and have deceit in their hearts. Consider the vocabulary of each composition.

**Psalm 54**

**Cry of the suffering one(s):**

- save me
- vindicate me by your might
- hear
- listen
- let evil recoil
- destroy them
Excitation of praise:
- with a free will offering I will sacrifice to you
- I will praise your name for it is good
- He delivered me

Antagonists:
- strangers rise up
- ruthless men
- slanderers of me (snarl)

Psalm 55

Cry of the suffering servant:
- listen
- please don't ignore me
- hear me
- answer me
- let death take them
- confuse the wicked and confound their speech

Praise of the suffering servant:
- I call and He saves me
- I cry out and He hears my voice
- With peace He ransoms my soul from battle
- God enthroned forever will hear them and afflict them.
Afflictions of the suffering servant:

- I am troubled and distraught
- my heart is in anguish, terrors of death assail me
- fear, trembling
- wings of a dove, flee and stay in the desert
- violence and strife in the city
- prowl on walls
- malice and abuse are within it
- threats and lies never leave its streets

Evil ones:

- bring down suffering upon me and revile me in anger
- companion, close friend
- attacks his friends
- violates covenant (hll bryt)
- his words are smooth, yet drawn swords (hlg dbrm hnh pth)
- blood thirsty and deceitful (hly dbrm rmrmh)

In a broad sense, the themes of this psalm are distress of an individual and/or community, the troubled city of Jerusalem and prayer for deliverance and retribution. The pious one is described as being the target of evil speech made by his enemy who was once an associate (hly) in the temple (v. 12-14). As one who is a smooth talker (hlg), he is deceitful in his heart and fears not God. The evidence suggests that the enemy is a fellow

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5 Refers to a friend or familiar one with whom one shares intimate or private conversation (1F; sd
Jew who might have become a syncretizer or opposed to the teachings and praxes of this sect. Further evidence of polemics during the time of the early restoration are presented in Psalm 74, another mškyyl composition. The author creates tension between the protagonists and the antagonists regarding the temple’s state of disorder. Herein we find two sets of polarities in this mškyyl. On the positive pole of mškyyl are those who are the poor, needy sheep of God’s flock. On the negative pole are their enemies described at times as wild beasts, fools and relentless pursuers. The psalmist shows contrast between the ruins of the temple and the protagonists apparent defeat compared to the power and majesty of God demonstrated in creation. This piece is a classic example of the mškyyl form where we find the simultaneous existence of polar opposites.

**Protagonists as the suffering servants:**

- sheep (šn)
- dove (n
- afflicted ones (šny)
- poor (šk)
- needy (šym)

**Antagonists as the enemies of the suffering servants:**

- enemy
- relentless pursuers
- foolish ones
- wild beast (šnt)

= esoteric wisdom, Qumran). See BDB, 48.
Description of the temple and God who dwelled therein:

- Holy place
- dwelling place of Your Name
- worship places of God=synagogues

Praise by suffering servants recalling the wonders of creating order out of chaos:

- split the sea by Your Power
- broke the heads of the monster in the waters
- crushed the heads of Leviathan
- opened up springs and streams
- dried up ever flowing rivers
- day and night are Yours
- established the sun and the moon
- set boundaries of the earth
- made summer and winter
Psalm 32, which bears the superscription, A Ṣṭḥyl of David, was designed to be a teaching of exhortation and admonition in the form of a ṣḥylḥ. The composition is classified as an individual thanksgiving.⁶ The lesson concerns the transpersonal relationship between God and mortals. The teaching method indicated by the introductory verses is in the 3ḥy form which opens the lesson to be learned; in this case, who is blessed or happy and why.⁷ The end of the lesson is in the form of the imperative and tells the pious to make a joyous sound, exult and rejoice (v.11). The introductory and ending formulae state the lesson by indicating who ought to rejoice and who is blessed. Herein we find the classic characteristics of the Ṣṭḥyl psalm; namely, the polarities previously described. The internal text teaches why the pious should rejoice and what they ought to do; therefore, it is clearly didactic. The blessed, in this lesson, are those whose sin is covered, transgression forgiven and in whose spirit exists no deceit (rmyḥ).⁸ This psalm teaching the idea of reconciliation between the penitent ones and God as Judge, Deliverer and Redeemer does not mention sacrifices or the cultic activities pertaining to atonement. As such, this absence may indicate a Sitz im Leben of a period of exile. The state of blessedness enjoyed by the pious and upright in heart (ḥṣry lv) is contrasted with the fate of the wicked (ḥṣrytv.10).⁹

⁶ See Sabourin, 333.
⁷ On the 3ḥy form, see A. Finkel. The Pharisees and the Teacher of Nazareth (Leiden: E.J. Brill) 156-58. Also, the Hekhaloth Rabbati and the Maaseh Merkabah use this method.
⁸ See A. Johnson. The Cultic Prophet and Israel’s Psalmody, on the role of cultic prophet as God’s spokesman and mediator, 302.
⁹ Compare the beatitudes of Jesus in Matthew 5:1-15.
The lesson of this מִשְׁפָּת is to confess sins, seek reconciliation with God, have an upright heart and pray with a sense of urgency (while He may be found). The descending response of God is to forgive and cleanse from sins, to deliver, protect, teach and show them the right path (v.7). As was previously discussed, the מִשְׁפָּת seek enlightenment from God through the agency of the Holy Spirit. They rely not on their own judgment, but on the insight granted by God. This is clearly the concern of those who are seeking reconciliation with God, protection and deliverance along the dangerous road in the desert leading out of Babylon back to Jerusalem.

Psalm 41 employs the מִשְׁפָּת form in order to draw attention to the importance of the being able to see and perceive the one who is sick and needy (v.1atif). The task indeed is for those who are upright in heart (Ps. 32:11) to understand the new teaching on theodicy, i.e., the stoning quality of the death of the righteous. Rather than fall into the same error as his enemies who reckon he deserves the misery he suffers (v.7), the pious ones are exhorted not to abandon him (v.3) to the whims of his enemies. Even his close friend (מִשְׁפָּת) lifts his heel against him (v.9). As the righteous ones gather in support around the persecuted one who was unjustly imprisoned in Ps. 142:7, so should they remain steadfast in supporting him on his sickbed despite the ill wishes of his enemies. If those instructed aren't mindful of the teaching, then they may fall into the trap of assuming that God's servant deserves the misery he suffers as the result of some sin. They will, in

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10 Use of parables in מִשְׁפָּת compositions often have an eschatological thrust. Sifre. Deuteronomy. Piska 53; Midrash Tanhuma 10:16 on Gen. 43:14, p.265-68 on mercy.
11 For an interesting application of this concept, see S. Schechter. Documents of Jewish Sectaries. ed. Harry M. Orlinsky. The Library of Biblical Studies. Text A, p. 63f. Also allusions to Ps.78 as a review of the lessons of history, remnant motif, and the seekers of smooth things; so Ps. 55.
essence, be deaf and blind, unable to recognize God's anointed one or His hand in history.¹²

Psalm 45, which is obviously a difficult text in light of its wide range of interpretations, may be understood in the context of its arrangement in the Psalter. Psalms 41-45 depict the cry for the new exodus, truth, justice and release from oppression within the context of the new teaching on theodicy.¹³ Psalm 45 as a gospel (dbr jy) is a fulfillment text of these messianic expectations and is written in the form of an allegory. The superscription entitles this psalm as a song of the beloved (ydvdh) and suggests a nuptial relationship between God as King and the people of Jerusalem. In contrast, Weiser and Mowinckel assert that it need be understood as a profane piece, a literal wedding ceremony.¹⁴ The daughter symbolizes the people of Jerusalem, the so-called people of the land (my h ישׂ) who remained when the elite were deported to Babylon.¹⁵ In contrast to the God-alone party, of which the sons of Korah may through their writings claim to be part, they worshipped other gods and idols. As a result, upon the return of the faithful remnant to Jerusalem, the daughter is adjured to attend and hear the words of the teacher (psalmist or should we now say mšr?), He charges the people of Jerusalem to forget their own people and their father (v.10), then the king (God of Israel) will fall in love with your beauty. This is clearly a call for them to abandon idol worship and worship God alone.

¹² The use of this motif in both the Synoptic and Fourth Gospels should be obvious. See Mark 4:14, Matthew 13; Luke 8:1f and John 12:37-50.
¹⁴ Contra Mowinckel, vol. 1, 73 and Weiser, 361, I classify Psalm 45 as an allegory and interpret it in the same fashion as the Song of Songs. The wedding, so to speak, is between the king (the God of Israel) and the people of Jerusalem. See Midrash Tchillim, 449f; 2 Sam:4-16. Compare to Ps. 89.
¹⁵ M. Smith, 99-147.
according to the curriculum of the mishna which includes the fate of the righteous, their intimacy with God and the return to Jerusalem.\textsuperscript{16}

\textbf{Descriptions of God:}

- Mighty One (gvr)
- ride forth victoriously
- let your right hand display awesome deeds
- throne will last forever
- scepter of justice will be the scepter of your kingdom

\textbf{Descriptions of the Anointed One:}

- love righteousness and hate wickedness
- God has set you above your companions (gvr) by anointing you with the oil of joy
- robes are fragrant with myrrh and aloes and cassia from palaces adorned with ivory
- at your right hand is the royal bride (gvr) in gold of Ophir

\textsuperscript{16} See Sifre. Deuteronomy, Piisak 10, referring to the fate of the righteous: their faces will resemble seven joyous things: the sun, moon, firmament, stars, lightning, lilies and the lampstands of the Temple. This links the superscription of Ps. 45:1, For the Chorister Upon Stsp (lilies) with Daniel 12:3, where the righteous will shine like the firmament and the stars forever. Also, Pesikta de Rab Kahana, p. 97.
Some Concluding Remarks About the Maskil Psalms

The technical term *maskil* as found in the Psalter may be understood as a teaching device which was possibly developed and certainly utilized by Levites who lived during the time of the Babylonian exile through the return under Zerubbabel and the early restoration. That which the Levites sought to convey was a new spiritual teaching concerning theodicy. That is, why do the righteous suffer and what do they effect through continued suffering and possible martyrdom? The *maskil* psalms in the form of *tehillot*, i.e., the laments 42-45, 44,54-55, 74 and the thanksgiving psalms, 32 and 45 express the polar opposites of hope and despair. Clearly, one way to reconcile apparent rejection and defeat with the promises of God to the righteous is to focus one’s aspirations on the world to come.\

The Levites who identified themselves in some cases as the sons of Asaph and the sons of Korah also concerned themselves with the earlier prophecies about the Davidic dynasty. In light of their current situation of exile and oppression, how do they reconcile their plight with the promises through the prophets on behalf of the God who cannot lie? Perhaps one option for the exiles would have been to abandon that which they thought was true before the destruction of Jerusalem. This might have been particularly valid if they were pious individuals who didn’t feel they deserved the same fate as those who clearly transgressed the Law and precepts.

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17 See P. Berger, The Sacred Canopy, Ch.3.
The pious ones, however, who could be identified as the audience for whom these psalm compositions were intended, chose to remain steadfast despite their suffering and oppression. These servants of God were challenged by the psalmists to remain faithful and to continue to hope in the promises made to David and to Israel (Psalm 89).

The ms'kyl as a teaching method was designed to capture the existence of polar opposites that cannot be reconciled without divine teaching/enlightenment, i.e., the suffering of the just, slander of the righteous, imprisonment and even death, existing simultaneously with the reality of God’s continued involvement in their history.

Relevant to our understanding of the development of this teaching method is the phenomenological side that gave rise to it. Similar dynamics may have been catalysts for the prophetic psalms in Deutero-Isaiah, possibly the companion pieces to the ms'kyl psalms. It is also possible to extrapolate in order to see the development of the ms'kyl in the book of Daniel and other apocalyptic literature, as well as the DSS.

To summarize our findings on the ms'kyl during this primary stage of its unfolding, we may conclude the following:

- the ms'kyl in the Psalter is a teaching device which certain Levitical groups used to address their particular audience, which engaged in an advanced level of spirituality;

19 Asaph himself and the sons of Korah were described by the Chronicler as visionaries (Isa ).
• the /modal may also refer to the wise teachers of this type of wisdom;  
  • the didactic tools used in the /modal form included parables, the *'sry form,  
    riddles, hymns and laments which were presented in veiled language usually  
    without reference to specific individuals or historical events;  
  • the themes of the /modal included the wicked of the nations, the wicked of  
    Israel, spiritual blindness and the suffering of the righteous expressed as polar  
    opposites; the return to Jerusalem, the cult in the Temple, the expected son of  
    David, deliverance, salvation, justice, retribution and restoration of divine  
    order.

With this initial groundwork having been laid, let us turn to the book of Daniel in order to  
explore the world and teachings of the /modal.

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20 Compare to the wisdom in Proverbs. The /modal is unique in its presentation, themes and audience.
The Maskilim of the Psalter: Proto-Apocalyptic?

After analyzing some of the vocabulary and motifs in the preceding psalms, one would be remiss in not further discussing the apparent relationship between these pieces and some apocalyptic literature, particularly IV Ezra. The problem is, however, that apocalyptic as a literary genre is traditionally tied to the Maccabean revolt and to the Hasidean circles of the 2nd century BCE. Stone asserts, and rightfully so, that this was not a sudden development and that it obviously had a pre-history of some sort. He, however, places the birth of apocalyptic around the 3rd century BCE, during which time the Books of Enoch were written. This speculation of a pseudo-scientific kind existed in Jewish circles in Jerusalem and Judah.

The antiquity of the first and third parts of the Book of Enoch means that by the third century BCE at the latest, this speculative learning existed in Jewish circles; yet it seems amply clear that such interests as these were beyond the pale for the transmitters of biblical literature.

Stone denies an earlier provenance for apocalyptic literature, at least in Jewish circles, because he doesn’t see any biblical sources for it. Rowley asserted that apocalyptic is a child of prophecy. Still, others argue that apocalyptic is merely a foreign adaptation of Persian dualism. Von Rad maintained that apocalyptic has its roots in the wisdom tradition. One of the difficulties that emerges is the manner in which the genre is defined. Clearly, apocalyptic literature is far from the rational and logical compositions in Job, Proverbs and the Wisdom of Solomon. What, then are the common characteristics, if

2 Ibid.
3 Ibid., 42.
5 Ibid.
6 Ibid., 16-17.
any, of apocalyptic literature? The Society of Biblical Literature’s Genre Project rendered this definition of common traits:

A genre of revelatory literature with a narrative framework, in which a revelation is mediated by an other worldly being to a human recipient disclosing a transcendent reality which is both temporal insofar as it envisages eschatological salvation and spatial insofar as it involves another supernatural world.  

Within this genre are subtypes commonly divided into those with an historical emphasis and those involving cosmological speculation along with other worldly journeys. Although there exist many variations on these themes and not every apocalyptic composition contains all the traits mentioned, each piece does embody a generic framework or *Rahmengattung.* That is, the framework or paradigm inherent in each piece defines a particular view of the world. With this paradigm is provided a means for viewing the problems of life, i.e., the suffering of the righteous, why the evil prosper, etc. In addition, all apocalypses involve a transcendent eschatology that looks for retribution beyond the bounds of history in the world to come. A critical component in apocalyptic literature, contends Collins, is mysticism in which the visionary is engaged in attaining a supernatural revelation, understanding of the heavenly world and insight into eschatological judgment. Let us hearken back to the discussion on the *mskh* psalms. It has already been proposed that the *mskh* psalms as a genre are the product of the prayer and visionary experiences of the members of certain Levitical guilds that may have been particularly active during the time of the Babylonian exile through the early years of the Restoration. These Levites were described as visionaries (*hzk*), and, as such, were involved in mystical practices of some sort. Beyond their commitment to purities and

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sanctities, prayer and music, we know very little of their actual discipline which made them receptive to divine inspiration. What we have, however, is evidence of the concerns of the communities illustrated in the *mīšyāl* compositions. Hanson argues for a provenance of apocalyptic literature during the late 6th century BCE and goes so far as to identify the polemics which existed that gave rise to it. For the purposes of this part of the analysis, the critical point is that Hanson supports the idea that apocalyptic literature is conventicle literature and primarily a scribal phenomenon. The purpose of the literature is to shape the reader’s (or hearer’s) imaginative perception of a situation and to lay the basis for whatever course of action it exhorts, i.e., martyrdom, military action, civil disobedience, etc.

What was delineated in the previous section was primarily specific vocabulary and themes of interest to the Levitical guilds which composed them. Although the pieces are varied and speak of a number of distinct issues, some common traits may be identified. First, none of the pieces provide any facile answers to the questions posed. Most of the compositions speak of the plight of the suffering of the righteous in contrast to the apparent prosperity of the wicked. In addition, two psalms recount specific events in the history of the Jewish people, along with commentaries about how, at those times, people responded. Next, the psalmist ponders about the promises made to David and to Israel through the prophets in light of his current situation and cannot resolve it in his mind. In fact, he has reached a crisis in which what he believes in his heart through faith cannot be logically reconciled in light of what he sees occurring around him. Again, no simple

10 Ibid., 9.
11 B. Schramm, 174-84. This subject of parties and politics will be discussed in the historical section.
answers are given. The psalmist invites the hearer to enter into the experience of trying to
resolve this crisis in his own mind. What remains, then, of a didactic nature is the manner
in which one is to respond. Rather than allowing rational and logical conclusions to
determine whether he has resolved the dilemmas successfully, he is encouraged to enter
into the psalmist’s way of thinking and respond appropriately. This appropriateness of
response is based on the notion that the psalmist received his understanding through the
inspiration of the Holy Spirit. That is, in essence, what the term 

\( \text{m\&} \) suggests, as has
been previously discussed.

Because there are many variations on the theme of apocalyptic literature, how does one
determine where these compositions would fit? We’ve discussed the main traits of the
\( \text{m\&} \) psalms. What we should mention, then, is the fact that most of the pieces, except
Psalm 89, contain few references to angelic beings and the heavenly world. It should be
stressed, however, that the \( \text{m\&} \) psalms and phenomena are the products of
transpersonal (mystical) prayer, and as such should be understood as having some
correspondence to the heavenly realms. There are no reports of ascension or transport.
Within the corpus of apocalyptic literature exists at least one composition which bears
resemblance to the \( \text{m\&} \) psalms, namely, IV Ezra.

Ezra questions the justice of God in light of the current crises he witnesses, i.e., the
destruction of the temple. Ezra enters into the seeing (\( \text{s\&} \); perhaps best understood as the
understanding and perception) of the angel, and, as a result, is able to comprehend from
the angel’s point of view. After resolving this crisis, Ezra becomes a mediator of
revelation for the rest of the people. One of IV Ezra’s main themes is to demonstrate and teach the inability of human wisdom to fully comprehend the dynamics of daily life, not unlike the dilemmas and polarities present in the Ṣēlīm psalms.

IV Ezra 4:22-24

Pray tell me, O Lord, why has the faculty of perception been given to me? For I did not mean to inquire about the ways above, but rather those things we experience daily:
  Why Israel is subjected to abuse by the nations...
  The law of our fathers rendered ineffective...
  For we leave this world like grasshoppers
  Our life is like a vapor.

Ezra’s initial questions remained unanswered, like those presented in the Ṣēlīm psalms, but his attention was diverted from the distress of the present to prospects of the world to come. Ezra discovers that the judgment of God or His purposes is beyond human comprehension. 12 It is clear that the Ṣēlīm psalms have traits in common with certain types of apocalyptic literature, particularly IV Ezra, that reflects the Rabbinic Rahmengattung of the destruction of the Second Temple in 70 CE. Contra Stone, apocalypses of a distinct type distinguished by their preoccupation with theodicy formulated in highly theological terms and placed after the destruction of the Second Temple, it has been demonstrated that the proto-apocalyptic compositions known as Ṣēlīm were known during the time of the exile and the early years of the Restoration. 13 It is even possible that these compositions served as models for the later Rabbinic apocalyptic material written in response to the fall of Jerusalem in 70 CE.

12 Recall the response of those who witnessed the suffering servant in Isaiah 53:12 and the manner in which people responded to the suffering one in Psalms 41, 42-43, 44, 52-55, 88, 89 and 142.
13 Stone, 42.
The Maskilim in Daniel

In the previous section, the mas'ikl has been identified as both a form of Hebrew poetry and a title for the wise Levitical teachers who lived during the time of the Exile through the early years of the Restoration. These teachers along with their theological bent and disciplines continued to exist into the Persian and Hellenistic periods. The book of Daniel preserves narratives and reports of dreams, visions and the interpretation of Scriptures that were the product of the mas'iklym who lived during these later periods. Not a prophetic book, Daniel is included among the Ketubhim in the MT. The stories of Daniel and his companions served, at least in part, to edify and to encourage diasporan Jews to remain faithful, not only to the commandments, but also to those precepts (ḥag y ṣ) that set them apart as Jews from the population.

Scholars generally divide Daniel into two distinct parts, i.e., Chapters 1-6 and 7-12. Collins assigns a provenance of Babylon for chapters 1-6, partly due to the use of Persian and Akkadian loan words in the text.¹ In addition, because of the problems encountered by the authors, namely, the exiled Jews’ interaction with gentile governments, institutions and culture, it is reasonable to conclude that these issues were of some relevance to the tradents’ own experience. It is likely that chapters 7-12 were composed in the throes of persecution and strife during

167-164 BCE, but before the rededication of the Temple and before the news of Antiochus IV Epiphanes' death.²

The author(s) of Daniel had a strong orientation toward the temple cult and concern over the fate of the sacred vessels.³ This information would support the theory that the נְבָיִים, who composed the pieces eventually compiled into the book of Daniel, were Levites.⁴ As was already discussed, the teaching methodology and praxes used by these Levitical guilds were quite distinct from the wisdom tradition of Proverbs. In fact, one might classify the נְבָיִים psalms as proto-apocalyptic. The following summarizes the most salient points of the נְבָיִים of the Psalter.

- described as seers (יהוה), as opposed to wise men (יהוה);⁵
- obedient, even unto death; early martyrs; connection to the suffering servant in Deutero Isaiah 53:12; the teaching thereof;
- cautious about all forms of syncretization;
- persecuted from within by fellow Jews and from without by non-Jews;
- adhered to the promises regarding the Davidic monarchy and messianic expectations;
- utilized the teaching method of נְבָיִים form with veiled language,
parables, riddles, *tehillot* (lament and praise/thanksgiving) in which the
classic polarity inherent in the *mēskyl* were illustrated (fool versus
those enlightened by the Holy Spirit);
- cried for deliverance, redemption and salvation from gentile
  oppression;
- speculated about the personal eschatology of the righteous one
  (*qiddq*);
- desired to rebuild the temple and re-established the cult to the exact
  specifications made by God;
- purities, sanctities and vows.

In the book of Daniel, perhaps the most cited passages pertaining to the person of the
*mēskyl* are 12:1-3.

v.1 At that time, Michael will arise, the great prince who stands over your
people. There will be a time of distress such as had not been from the
beginning of the nation to that time.
At that time, your people will be delivered; everyone who is found written
in the book.

v.2 Many of those who sleep in the dusty earth will awake, some to
everlasting life and some to reproach and everlasting disgrace.

v.3 The wise will shine like the splendor of the firmament and those who lead
the many to righteousness like the stars forever and ever.⁶

Clearly, the concepts about the *mēskyl* teachers and the theology embraced by them have
evolved since the time of the composition of psalms. Herein, the teachers are concerned
about the End Times and the resurrection of the dead to eternal blessedness or to eternal

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⁶ Although it is beyond the scope of this thesis to give justice to the many interpretations made on the
above cited verses, a few have been included. See Sifre Deuteronomy, Pista 10. R. Simeon b. Yohai said,
"In the future, the faces of the righteous will resemble seven joyous things: the sun, the moon, firmament,
stars, lightning, lilies (Ps. 45) and the lampstand of the Temple." R. Simeon b. Menasya said, "Who is
greater, those who love or those who cause others to love? The righteous will be exalted like the stars;
reproach. What are the other concerns of the mškylym in Daniel? How do they describe themselves and how do they characterize their opponents?7

This chapter will sketch the world of the mškylym by identifying key vocabulary and motifs which illustrate the polarity between the wise teachers and their opponents. Although a span of not less than a few hundred years separates the book of Daniel from the mškyl psalms, there are many points of overlap between them. These coincidences will be noted in the analysis.

7 It is beyond the scope of this thesis to fully analyze the methodology, theological and political agendas of the mškylym in Daniel. In addition, the importance of the differences between the Greek translations and MT cannot at present be explored. We will merely sketch a sample of the salient points as related to this thesis.
The Opponents of the Maskilim in Daniel

The wicked or enemies of the protagonists in the book of Daniel can be grouped into two main categories: those who are Jews, yet hostile to this sect, and the gentile kings and their administration. Daniel 1-6 depicts a rather conciliatory relationship between the pious exiles and their gentile kings. For example, King Nebuchadnezzar is described as being so impressed with the wisdom of Daniel, Hananiah, Mishael and Azariah that he made them members of the royal court (1:18-20). Chapters 7-12, however, describe the gentile kings and their kingdoms as beasts full of ruthlessness and destruction.

Evidently, the gentile administrators, i.e., the viziers and satraps, were not always content with having Jews as their peers in the government bureaucracy. As such, there exist narratives in Daniel describing incidents of slander and libel levied by the Chaldeans against the pious Jews.

Thereupon at that very time, Chaldean men came forth and defamed the Jews.

( literally, they ate their winks ἔτη ἐπαγαώσαν).

Daniel 3:8

The Chaldean men plotted against the Jewish ἰσιδορία, because they knew the Jews were innocent of being negligent in their duties toward the government or of any wrongdoing. For that reason, they concocted false charges against them. The opponents were fully cognizant of the fact that the pious ones would not bow down before the golden statue, so they cunningly plotted their ruin. Let us recall that the root ūšš may be understood as either one who is cunning or one who is wise (and righteous). Again, we have an
illustration which beautifully demonstrates the double meaning of the ἀσκύλ. Moreover, the theme of slander is a familiar one; one which we witnessed in Psalms 52-55. Now, we must factor into this equation the ending of this narrative. The pious Jews, i.e., the ἄσκυλον, were called to martyrdom by being thrown into the fiery furnace (3:17-18), since they refused to bow down to idols. The king was astonished by what he witnessed (v.24).8 The men were walking around unharmed in the midst of the fire and there was also one with them who appeared like a divine being (v. 25). The end of the tale describes the king’s issuing a decree that anyone who blasphemes the God of the Jews will be dismembered and his house made into a refuse heap (v.29).

In Daniel 6, a similar situation is presented. Again, the government officials, viziers (σάτραπης) and satraps (στραταρχής) cunningly plotted against Daniel. Since they could not find fault with Daniel’s performance in his position or in his integrity, they engaged in libel (ἐλαχίστος) against him.

The viziers and satraps were trying to find fault with Daniel with respect to affairs of state, but they could not find any fault or corruption, because he was truthful.

Daniel 6:5

Eventually, those who tried to defame Daniel received the same fate as they had in mind for him (6:25).

And then the king spoke and sent for the men who had defamed Daniel and had them thrown into the lion’s pit and their wives and children.

Daniel 6:25

8. Compare Isa. 53:12 where those witnessing the suffering servant are astonished (ἐμαθεί).
The lesson in this case is similar to that of chapter 3; namely, that God protects those who obey His statutes and precepts even unto death. At this point in Daniel (ch.1-6), it seems as though the *mashlym* were still hopeful of being vindicated and/or delivered by God from danger. In the latter part of the book, however, the *mashlym* were warned that some of them would stumble (ykt), despite their insight. Therefore, Jews in exile are encouraged to persist in those deeds which separate them from their gentile neighbors, even if it means the threat of death, for God abandons not the righteous.\(^9\)

The authors also draw attention to the issue of the arrogance of the gentile kings who try to elevate themselves to the level of the gods. These kings are the so-called fools of the book of Daniel, because they fail to acknowledge their limitations as mere men and neglect to recognize that the God of Israel is also God of all humanity and ultimate ruler over all kingdoms. King Nebuchadnezzar was judged by God and was stripped of his power.

The decision is announced by messengers, the holy ones declare the verdict, so that the Most High is sovereign over the kingdoms of men and gives them to anyone he wishes and sets them over them the lowliest of men.

Daniel 4:17

Through humility, acts of mercy (*gnyt lṣdylym*) and recognition of the Judge who reigns supremely over all earthly judges, King Nebuchadnezzar could be redeemed.

At the end of that time, I Nebuchadnezzar, raised my eyes toward heaven and my sanity was restored.

Daniel 4:34

\(^9\) Compare to the stories of Susanna (ch.13 in the Greek translations) and of Bel and the dragon (ch.14 in the Greek translations). Susanna is the victim of slander, in this instance by corrupt judges. Daniel was accused of being the slanderer in the story of Bel and the dragon. Both had outcomes of deliverance by God and the cunning plotters received the punishment intended for their victims ("measure for measure").
King Belshazzar exalted himself as well by profaning the temple vessels.

Belshazzar gave orders while under the influence of wine to bring the gold and silver vessels which Nebuchadnezzar, his father, had removed from the temple in Jerusalem, for the king and his nobles, his queen and his concubines to drink from them. They drank wine and praised gods of gold and silver, copper, iron, wood and stone.

Daniel 5:2-4

When the God of Israel passed judgment on him, King Belshazzar’s sentence was death (v. 30).

That very night Belshazzar, king of the Babylonians was slain and Darius the Mede took over the kingdom at the age of sixty two.

The vision reports in chapters 7 through 12 describe the End Times and the tribulations preceding them. A series of kingdoms described as various beasts would persecute the holy ones of Israel. In Daniel 7:7f, a fourth beast was described which was excessively terrifying, awesome and strong with immense iron teeth. One of the horns which emerged from this beast would be different from the rest with eyes like human eyes and a mouth speaking haughty words (pm mml lrbm). The verdict by the Divine Judge would be its destruction because of its haughty words (v.10). This so-called horn with the eyes and mouth would continue to arrogantly boast, wage war and prevail over the innocent until the Ancient of Days would come (v. 23f). Interestingly, the hope that the faithful are invited to share is that through supernatural means the God of Israel would ultimately cause the destruction of those kings and kingdoms which trampled upon them. The vision encourages them to persist in the commandments and precepts and to remain steadfast.

Nor does he deny the reality of the power and ruthlessness of the corrupt kings. He also doesn’t neglect to warn them that many may be killed at their hands. Nevertheless, their fate will be vindicated through the vengeance of God.
The following are additional exempla of corrupt and ruthless kings who wage wars of terror against Israel.\textsuperscript{10}

In the latter part of their reign, when rebels have become completely wicked, a stern faced king, adept in duplicity will arise. He will become mighty in power, devise astounding devastation and will succeed in whatever he does. He will prosper in whatever he does. He will destroy the powerful men and the holy people. He will cause deceit to prosper and he will consider himself superior (in his own mind). When they feel secure, he will destroy many and take his stand against the Prince of princes. Yet he will be destroyed, but not by human power.\textsuperscript{Daniel 8:23-25}

He will be succeeded by a contemptible one who has not been given the honor of royalty. He will invade the kingdom when its people feel secure, and he will seize it through smooth talk (\textit{bhλγγε}).\textsuperscript{11}

\textsuperscript{Daniel 11:21-22}

Descriptive of Antiochus IV Epiphanes, these passages elucidate his ruthlessness and cunning. The author makes a point of describing this king (and others) as full of deceit and engaging in smooth talk. In fact, one of the main points the author wishes to impart in this teaching is how those in the covenant of sanctity (\textit{bryt qdî}) may stumble and be led astray through deception and smooth talk. In order to survive these trying times, they are in need of wise teachers (\textit{māšłyym}) who may discern truth from falsehood and impart the true meaning of the signs of the times. Gleaning the meaning of the times, speculating about why the righteous ones of Israel are subjected to the dominion of evil gentile kings and understanding the truth about the Scriptures are among the concerns of the \textit{māškîlim}. The teachers and the masses whom they instruct show concern in Daniel, not necessarily for heavenly secrets and esoteric information, but for an understanding of where they are in time, why they are under the hostile dominion of foreign kings and how

\textsuperscript{10} Although it is beyond the scope of this thesis to identify each king, kingdom and source of strife in Daniel, this chapter will include exempla that best illustrate the polarity between the righteous of Israel and the wicked kings.

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they are to respond during this period in their history. As such, their concerns are in
agreement with those who wrote the *mššyly* psalms. As was discussed earlier, these pieces
could be classified as proto-apocalyptic, for they speculate about problems that the
community is facing and which have no easy answers. In fact, logic doesn't begin to give
them the needed insight. In the *mššyly* psalms, the dilemma or laments are not explained.
There were no curt answers rendered. However, the *mššyly* instructed the perplexed how
to respond, though their questions go unanswered. In Daniel, the dilemmas and laments
are not explained as to why they occur; however, the authors do carefully craft endings
which show eventual vindication for the righteous, including promises of the world to
come. Further, this insight is imparted through the agency of angelic intermediaries since
the perplexed person is unable to resolve the puzzlement of polarities in his own mind.
Thus, the many (*rhyym*) who are instructed by the *mššylyhm* are exhorted to put their trust
in the attributes of God, remain steadfast in their commitment to Him even unto death
and await the inevitable judgment of the evil and the righteous at the end of time.

The Maskilim as the Wise Teachers in the Book of Daniel

The protagonists of Daniel, the מָשָׁלוֹת, are portrayed as being in the midst of tension and conflict that proceeded from fellow Jews or from their foreign opponents. The narratives and dream reports illustrated the manner in which these pious Jews considered themselves separate and distinct from the foreign cultural and religious elements of their host nations. Typically, the fate of the pious ones (משומש) would be one of vindication or ultimately success due to their righteousness and steadfast spirit. The purpose, then, of these narratives is to encourage and uplift the spirits of the pious ones who find themselves in the midst of hostile foreign powers seeking their destruction due to their continued insistence on separation from gentile influence.

As was the case with the מָשָׁלוֹת of the Psalter, the protagonists of Daniel had unique qualities, theological and political concerns. As before, the מָשָׁלוֹת described themselves as having the insight to discern those things ordinarily hidden from the sight of men. That is, through the Spirit of God, they were able to understand the truth of certain matters, despite what may seem obvious to the five senses and the forces of reason. For that reason, the מָשָׁלוֹת through their insight could recognize the suffering servant (Isa. 53:12), expound riddles, discern the meaning of scriptures and unravel the essence of mysterious parables. When confronted with the reality of grave political situations affecting their theological aspirations, it was not surprising that this type of speculation would give rise to proto-apocalyptic thinking, as was discussed. The reality of foreign rule and power, the seemingly unrealized expectations for the restoration of the Davidic
monarchy and the continued suffering of the righteous while the wicked prospered were
the dilemmas facing the มักยะผ์ of the Psalter.

The มักยะผ์ in the book of Daniel were antagonists toward the Chaldean wise men in
terms of their esoteric/mystical discipline(s). The mere fact that they are portrayed as
polar opposites might be indicative of the latter’s success in leading Jews astray. What
captivated the attention of the kings whom the wise teachers served? Based on the
narratives in Daniel, the soothsayers and magicians were not operating within the realm
of truth. On the contrary, according to the author(s), the Chaldean wise men were
completely inept in their attempts to discern and interpret the dreams of the king. In fact,
the king was often aware of their trickery and accused the sages of trying to flatter him in
order to preserve themselves (2:8-9). The Chaldeans were unable to penetrate the wall
that separates the realm of forms, figures and created matter from the eternal realm of the
divine. There is an important message here. The pious, righteous and penitent มักยะผ์
were sometimes granted revelations of things to come, heavenly mysteries (rz) and the
meaning of Scripture through the instrument of angelic beings and/or the Holy Spirit.12 If
that is the case, then the มักยะผ์ would assert, precisely what do the Chaldean wise men
believe they are seeing? They walk in darkness and lead others through their cunning to
the same dismal fate. In contrast, the มักยะผ์ through their continued piety, prayer life
and adherence to dietary laws were adept at deciphering mysterious writings, dreams and
their interpretations and Scriptural interpretation.13

12 J. Collins, The Book of Daniel: A Commentary. 159. Rz denotes an eschatological mystery, the mysteries
of the prophets’ words and cosmological mysteries.
Daniel and his peers were described in chapter one in terms of the qualities that initially captured the attention of the king.

. . . lads in whom there was no blemish (m bn kl m'vm), good looking (tny mt'h), possessing good insight into all wisdom (m'shklym bkl hkmn), knowers of knowledge (yd'y d'y) and discerning in insight (mnmy n't)

Daniel 1:4

God gave to them knowledge and insight into all the writings and wisdom. And Daniel was given discernment into all visions and dreams (tn h'lm).

Daniel 1:17

Compared to the Chaldean sages, the Jewish m'shklym were, according to the text, superior.

In every word of wisdom and discernment, the king found them ten times better than the dream interpreters and exorcists in his entire kingdom.14

Daniel 1:20

The matter which the king is asking is difficult and there is no other who can expound it to the king except divine beings whose dwelling is not with flesh.

Daniel 2:11

In addition, the author distinguishes Daniel himself from both his peers and from the Chaldean soothsayers as follows:

Daniel, whose name is Belteshazzar, in whom is the spirit of the Holy God, no secret is hidden from you.

Daniel 4:9

14 The Chaldean sages were described as follows: necromancers (ftrmym), astrologers (l'lym) and sorcerers (d'dlym). See Dn. 2:2 and 5:7.
Daniel and his peers were described as committed to a life of purity and sanctity.

Daniel resolved that he would not defile himself with the royal food and drink. Please test your servants for ten days: Give us nothing but vegetables and water to drink. Daniel 1:8, 12

What the author wants to teach is the polarity between the Chaldean necromancers, astrologers, and soothsayers compared to the pious מָלַיִם. According to Daniel, his ability to interpret dreams and visions comes through the Holy Spirit. His receptivity to divine inspiration is due to continued piety, adherence to the precepts of purities and sanctities and acts of mercy by interceding on behalf of his peers Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego to save them all from death (2:18). The Chaldean sages sought to deceive the king with flattery (2:8-9) in order to save themselves. They defile themselves with the food and drink of the king (1:13-14). Their purported ability to interpret dreams and visions is based on their own so-called intelligence or skill, not on the Holy Spirit. Therefore, when the God of Israel sent visions to the king, the only manner in which one could interpret it would be if He revealed it, as the revealer of mysteries (גֵּרָה) and as King of kings (מֶלֶךְ מְלָכִים).

When King Belshazzar, after he had defiled the temple vessels, saw the mysterious writing on the wall he summoned Daniel.

This man Daniel whom the king called Belshazzar, was found to have a keen mind and knowledge and understanding and also the ability to interpret dreams, explain riddles and loose knots. Daniel 5:12

This mysterious writing, מֶלֶךְ מְלָכִים and מֶלֶךְ מְלָכִים could not be read by the sages.

Daniel, as the מָלַיִם was able to decode the mystery and reveal the intended meaning of
the words. The puzzlement raises important issues regarding the script, the vocalization of the consonants and the order in which it is read. Daniel, through the Holy Spirit, was able to interpret its signification as the pronouncement of a verdict on King Belshazzar (5:26-28), which was death and an end to his reign.

In Chapter 9, Daniel prayed about the signification of the 70-year desolation prophesied by Jeremiah. During his prayer of lament over the current historical situation facing the Jewish people, Daniel is sent an angelic intermediary to explain the scripture.

He instructed me and said to me, "Daniel, I have now come to give you insight and understanding (נְוֵסֶף וְיָדִיעַ)."

Daniel 9:22

Daniel sought to understand how to interpret the Scripture and where he and his brethren were in the course of their Heilsgegeschichte. The interpretation of the appointed time was given in multiples of seven (9:25), as well as historical benchmarks which serve as signs of crucial times preceding the End.

Know and understand this: From the issuing of the decree to restore and rebuild Jerusalem until the Anointed One, the ruler, comes, there will be seven sevens and sixty-two sevens.

Daniel 9:25

In addition to recounting and interpreting the dreams of others, Daniel himself had dreams (בָּדַר) and required the assistance of divine beings in order to understand their signification. Chapters 7, 8, 10, 11 and 12 all concerned the End Times and the tribulations which immediately precede it. The role of the מְשַׁפְלֵים is to instruct the many (רְבִּים) in uprightness. The wise teachers, however, would suffer from persecution and from cunning individuals only pretending to be sympathetic.
Those who are wise (בְּנֵי עֵשָׁבָּהוֹן) will instruct many, though for a time they will fall (נָשַׁת) by the sword or be burned or captured or plundered. When they fall, they will receive a little help and many through flattery (אָמָל) will join them. Some of the wise will stumble, so that they will be refined, purified and made spotless until the time of the end, for it will come at the appointed time.

Daniel 11:33-35

The promise of blessedness is the response to the question of why the righteous teachers must suffer and is designed to comfort and exhort them to remain steadfast, even if it means death.

Those who are wise will shine like the brightness of the heavens and those who lead many to righteousness like the stars forever and ever.

Daniel 12:3
The Method of Interpretation

As was previously sketched, the *naskylomas* in Daniel, i.e., Daniel himself and his peers, were speculating about the political, sociological and religious situations of their day. This phenomenon of the prophet/visionary type who is seeking understanding about prior prophecies, their fulfillment and where the Jewish people exist in the course of history is not unlike that which we encountered in the previous section on the *naskylomas* of the Psalter. It has, however, been somewhat transformed into a new form of presentation, namely, the dream report and its interpretation. This form of symbolic dream is most commonly found in apocalypses; for example, 1 Enoch 83-84, 85-91; IV Ezra 11-12, 13; the Apocalypse of Baruch 35-47, 53-77 and Revelation 17. The technical term for the interpretation of dreams and scriptures is known as *peshar*? The *peshar* form is the means by which the details of a dream (symbolic or corporeal) are related to a situation or event.\(^{15}\) The teacher or exegete allegorically interprets the significant words or symbols of the dream. In addition, he uncovers the significance of dual meaning of key words and employs word splitting in order to uncover the mystery (rz) of the dream.\(^{16}\) According to Fishbane, the Biblical traditions adopted a system of mantology consistent with Near Eastern methodology.\(^{17}\) He describes a relationship and tension between the *traditum* and *traditio*. The *traditum* refers to an original prophecy or text and a *traditio* is its adaptation to a new situation or re-classification.\(^{18}\) Hence, the tradition occurs on a plane between heaven and earth in the realm of dreams and visions. As esoteric teachings, they would

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\(^{16}\) See Collins, 159; the term *apostasia* (rz) is a Persian loan word and occurs in the DSS to denote cosmological or eschatological mysteries of the words of his servants the prophets.

\(^{17}\) Fishbane, 512.
certainly not be part of the curriculum of the masses. What the m skl ym do, however, is convey the manner in which one is to respond to the difficult dilemmas which the pious faced during times of persecution and tribulation. Through the Holy Spirit, they were able to discern between truth and falsehood, the proper interpretation of Scripture through vocalization and word splitting. As such, the wise teachers were able to lead the pious through confusing times and through the myriad of false interpretations and deceit within the community and smooth talkers (*hlg*glf) from without.

18 Ibid., 513.
The Maskil at Qumran

As we have witnessed in the preceding sections on the mškyl psalms and the mškylm in the books of Daniel, there exists a pattern of continuity or a common matrix of traits applicable to them both. The term mškyl is frequently found in the extra-canonical works of the sectarian library at Khirbet Qumran, most notably the *Community Rule* (1QS), *The Songs of the Sacrifice of the Sabbath* (4Q400-407, 2Q5-6), the *Songs of the Maskil* (4Q510-511) and the *Thanksgiving Hymns* (1QH).¹

Thus far, two major streams of thought regarding the mškyl have been identified. First, the characterization of the individuals known as mškylm was delineated. Second, the attributes of the mškyl compositions were sketched. Referring once again to the mškylm of the Psalter, we recall that several of the compositions were attributed in their superscriptions to Levitical guilds, i.e., the sons of Korah and the Asaphites.² The remaining psalms in the mškyl collection were attributed to David, Heman and Ethan.³ The mškylm in the book of Daniel, to whom is attributed its authorship, have been tentatively identified as Levites, due to their concern for the Temple, sacred vessels, purities and sanctities.

The mškylm in both the Psalter and in Daniel are strongly conscious of polarity between themselves and their foes, some of whom are fellow Jews. In addition, as visionaries/

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¹ Although worthy of careful analysis, it is beyond the scope of this thesis to examine each composition for its relevance to the discussion. Instead, samples of the vocabulary and theology from each will be chosen and examined. *The Songs of the Maskil* will not be included in this analysis, but will be studied at a later date.

² See Psalms 42-45, 74 and 78. Consult the Appendix for the superscriptions in the LXX, MT and Targum.
seers (נביא), they serve as teachers enlightened by the light of the Holy Spirit in order to impart understanding to their communities, i.e., the Many (רבעם). Among their concerns were issues of theodicy, where they existed in the course of their Heilsgeschichte, the destruction of evil and the establishment of God’s kingdom and the fate of human souls both good and evil after death. In Daniel, the מָשָיִל as a mystic is further elaborated.

He received visions of divine mysteries in the night and had fellowship with the angels in order to interpret scriptures and visions concerning the End Times. The actual compositions entitled מָשָיִל, however, were described as תְהוֹלָט expressed either in lament or praise forms; riddles or parables. These pieces embodied the classic polarities of the characterizations of the foolish versus the wise and their respective posthumous fates.

In this section, that which will be explored is the question of whether there exist any signs of continuity between the earlier concepts of the מָשָיִל and the presumably later presence of the מָשָיִל in sacred writings as an individual and as a particular composition.

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1 See Psalm 32, 41, 52-55, 88, 89 and 142. Consult Appendix I for the superscriptions in the LXX, MT and Targum.

4 The משכילים in the Psalter, i.e., the Levitical guilds responsible for the composition of the משכילים psalms, were also described as seers. See the Appendix for the superscription on Psalm 78 in the Targum where Asaph is said to have composed the psalm under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit.
The Role of the Maskil At Qumran

Similar to the wise charismatic teachers of Daniel, the *maskil* at Qumran functioned as an instructor to the covenanters. The Rule of the Community (1QS) describes, among other things, the *Rahmengattung* concerning the reality of the nature of man. This paradigm manifests the same polarities present in the *maskil* psalms and in the book of Daniel; namely, between those led by the spirit of God and those walking in folly. Because of perceived peril facing the community from within and without, it was necessary for the members to be properly instructed. Thus, through the spirit of light and truth, the *maskil* was required to impart the wisdom of God’s intention to the community, each according to his understanding (1QS 9:14-15). The *maskil* was required to differentiate between the sons of light and the sons of darkness, by recognizing the spirit within them made manifest in their attitude and works.

The sons of light:

Spirit of meekness, patience, generous compassion, eternal goodness, intelligence, understanding, potent wisdom which trusts in all the deeds of God and depends on His abundant mercy; a spirit of knowledge in all the plans of action, of enthusiasm for all the decrees of justice, of holy plans with a firm purpose, of generous compassion with all the sons of truth, of magnificent purity which detests all unclean idols, of unpretentious behavior with moderation in everything of prudence in respect of the truth concerning the mysteries of knowledge.  

1QS 4:3-6

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1 Because the actions of man are subject to divine judgment, man is free to choose and is in effect the master of his own fate. Therefore, the concept of extra-biblical absolute dualism is not supported. See L. Frizzell, *The People of God: A Study of the Relevant Concepts in the Qumran Scrolls*. D. Phil. Dissertation. (Oxford University, 1974) 46.

2 Translations from DSSE unless otherwise noted.
These traits are the self-characterizations of the ideal members of the community.

Their actions, attitudes, liturgy, prayer and study were all designed with the intention of facilitating the development of these traits.

The sons of darkness were led by the spirit of deceit:
Greed, frailty of hands in the service of justice, irreverence, deceit, pride and haughtiness of heart, dishonesty, trickery, cruelty, much insincerity, impatience, much insanity, impudent enthusiasm, appalling acts performed in a lustful passion of filthy paths for indecent purposes, blasphemous tongue, blindness of eyes, hardness of hearing, stiffness of neck, hardness of heart in order to walk in all the paths of darkness and evil cunning.³

IQS 4:9-11

The idea of man’s being led by the two spirits is illustrated as follows.

And He created man in order to rule the world and created for him two spirits in order to conduct themselves until the time of His visitation: Behold, they are the spirits of truth (דַּבָּר) and of deceit (שָׁלֵש).⁴

IQS 3:18

In the hand of the Prince of Lights is dominion over all the sons of justice; they walk on paths of light. And in the hand of the Angel of Darkness is total dominion over the sons of deceit; they walk on paths of darkness.

IQS 3:20

In particular, the maskil psalms illustrate this kind of imagery, i.e., those who follow the light of God.

I will cause you to understand (דַּבָּר) and enlighten you (שָׁלֵש) in the path that you should walk.

Psalm 32:8

Send forth your light (וֹלֵ֖ת) and your truth (שָׁלֵשָׁ֨ם), let them guide me. Let them bring me to the mountain of Your holiness and to Your dwelling.

Psalm 43:3

³ Compare the vocabulary in the maskil psalms and in Daniel in the chapters entitled, The Maskil as Tehillot and the Maskilim in Daniel.
⁴ Translation mine.
Blessed be the people knowing and experiencing (yel' sh') the acclamation of the LORD. In the light of Your presence (š' r prwh) they will walk.

Psalm 89:16

In a similar, but less explicit fashion, the author of Daniel sets polarity between the Chaldean soothsayers, necromancers and exorcists and the pious Jewish mškylym.

May the name of God be blessed forever and ever,
Since wisdom and power are his alone.
It is He who controls the procession of times and seasons,
Who makes and unmakes kings,
Who confers wisdom on the wise,
And knowledge on those with discernment,
Who uncovers depths and mysteries, who knows what lies in darkness
And light dwells with Him.

Daniel 2:20-23

The Qumran covenanters envisioned their assembly as being the repository for the true interpretation of the Law and for the proper celebration of the feasts, according to their precise times (1QS 1:13-15). Therefore, if anyone does not choose to adhere to the Halakhah and the Torah of the community of the sons of light, he is walking in darkness. The same distinctions were made, however to a lesser extent, in the mškylyl psalms and in Daniel. The enemies of the pious ones were not only the gentile kings and kingdoms, but also fellow Jews who were seen as being both lax in scriptural interpretation and Halakhah and full of deceit.

The eternal fate of the sons of light and the sons of darkness is also contrasted.

Knowledge of the eternal consequences of the path which men choose is in itself a powerful lesson.
Sons of light at the time of the divine visitation:

Healing, plentiful peace in a long life, fruitful offspring with all everlasting blessings, eternal enjoyment with endless life and a crown of glory with majestic rainment in eternal light.  

(1QS 4:7)

Sons of darkness at the time of the divine visitation:

Glot of punishments at the hands of all the angels of destruction, for eternal damnation for the scourging wrath of the God of revenge for permanent error and shame without end with the humiliation of destruction by the fire of the dark regions. And all the ages of their generations they shall spend in bitter weeping and harsh evils in the abysses of darkness until their destruction without their being a remnant or a survivor among them.  

(1QS 4:12-14)

By distinguishing between the sons of light and the sons of darkness, the *Maskil* has the authority to admit into the rule of the community those who will truly embrace all its laws and precepts. Newly admitted members are warned not to be stubborn in their hearts by continuing to walk in darkness. They are adjured to adhere to everything that God loves and hate that which He has rejected (1QS 1:5). During the time of the Renewal of the Covenant, members of the community may be promoted or demoted and new members admitted. The *Maskil* is apparently the authority figure over the designation of the members' standing and lot. The precepts of the *Maskil* are delineated in 1QS 9:12-20 of the Rule of the Community.

He shall do the will of God according to all that has been revealed from age to age.

He shall measure out all knowledge discovered throughout the ages, together with the Precept of the age.

He shall separate and weigh the sons of righteousness according to their spirit.

He shall hold firmly to the elect of the time according to His will, as He has commanded.

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5 See Dn. 12:3 and p. 38 regarding the countenance of the righteous in a state of blessedness.

6 Compare the fate of the wicked in the maskil psalms 32, 52, 53, 55 and 78. See the fate of the wicked throughout the book of Daniel.
He shall judge every man according to his spirit. He shall admit him in accordance with the
cleoness of his hands and advance him in accordance with his understanding. And he shall love
and hate likewise.
He shall not rebuke the men of the Pit nor dispute with them.
He shall conceal the teaching of the Law from men of injustice, but shall impart true knowledge
and righteous judgment to those according to the spirit of each and according to the rule of the
age, and shall thus instruct them in the mysteries of marvellous truth that in the midst of the men
of the Community they may walk perfectly together in all that has been revealed to them. This is
the time for the preparation of the way into the wilderness, and he shall teach them to do all that is
required at that time and to separate from all those who have not turned aside from all injustice.

The .Maskil was a man of deep prayer and communion with the light of God. Through this
intimacy, coupled with strict obedience to God’s will, the .Maskil was able to perform the
duties of his station, the primary task being instruction to the sons of light. The
knowledge of the mysteries of God was to be withheld from those outside the
community. 7

The poetic and liturgical section at the end of the Evk H Yhd portrays the liturgical
functions of the .Maskil. Of critical importance to the Qumran covenanters were the proper
times for the celebration of feasts and for prayer. The heavenly luminaries served as a
type of cosmic clock and calendar that revealed God’s intention for time. Therefore,

7 See C. Newsom, “The Sage in the Literature of Qumran: The Functions of the Maskil.” In The Sage in
382.
concepts about and decisions made concerning the proper time for praise and worship had some correspondence to the position of the stars, the sun and the moon.  

At the commencement of the dominion of light, during its rotation and when retired to its appointed abode.
At the commencement of the vigils of darkness when He opens His store and stretched them upwards and in His rotation and when it retires before the light.
When the lights of the holy vault shine out when they retire to the abode of glory.
At the entry of the constellation in the days of the new moon together with their rotations during their stations renewing each other.
It is a great day for the holy of holies, and an omen of the opening of His everlasting mercies for the beginnings of the constellations in every future age.
At the commencement of the months in their constellations, and of the holy days in their sequence, as a reminder in their constellations.

IQS 10:1-5

Similar to the Levitical singers and musicians described by the Chronicler, the Mishyl evidently utilized the powerful combination of music and prayer as a vehicle for meeting God.

(...I will sing with knowledge and for the glory of God shall all my music be, the playing of the harp according to His holy order, and the whistle of my lips I shall tune to its correct measure.

IQS 10:9

With hymns shall I open my mouth and my tongue will ever number the just acts of God.

IQS 10:23

8 It must be stated, however, that one point of contention between the Qumranites and the parties worshipping in Jerusalem was the former's adherence to a solar calendar, while the latter (Sadducees and
Thus, the liturgical and pedagogical functions of the מַלֵּי tell to his relationship, at least conceptually, to the Levites of the Second Temple period. Among their activities included the composition and performance of liturgical pieces describing correspondence with the heavenly realms. This concept is also depicted in the מַלֵּי psalms, particularly Psalm 89.

In מַלֵּי Psalm 89, there exists language vividly describing the majesty and power of God as manifest in the heavenly realms. The author shows an awareness of the angelic realms in the heavens by reflecting on them and offers praise to God through prayer.

> And the heavens praise Your wonders, LORD, <br/>Yea, in the assembly of the holy ones. <br/>For who in the clouds of the sky can compare to the LORD? <br/>Who is likened unto the LORD among the angels? <br/>In the council of the holy ones, God is greatly feared, <br/>And He is awesome over all the ones surrounding Him. <br/>LORD, God of Hosts, who is mighty like You, LORD? <br/>And in Your faithfulness, You rule the ones surrounding You like the majestic sea. <br/>Psalm 89:5-9

In the DSS corpus exist several compositions and fragments attributed to the מַלֵּי. In particular, certain liturgical compositions entitled, Songs for the Sacrifice of the Sabbath, bear superscriptions which specify the particular Sabbath during which the songs were designed to be sung/recited. Because the compositions themselves are not entitled מַלֵּי, one would not expect that they would resemble the canonical מַלֵּי psalms either in form or content. However, due to the fact that the compositions are attributed to the מַלֵּי at Qumran, it is likely that their themes and vocabulary be reflective of the מַלֵּי's interests.

Pharisees) followed a lunar calendar.
C. Newsam's critical edition of *The Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* includes discussions on the angelology, references to the heavenly temple and, as she calls it, the Qumran context. In a skillful and thorough manner, Newsam emphasizes the ideological and phenomenological connections to the priestly program of Ezekiel. What this thesis will emphasize, however, is the signification of the psalms as the product of the Levitical Melkiy.

We have witnessed the manner in which the theology and *Rahmengattung* of the Melkiy has evolved since the Persian and Hellenistic periods by examining the canonical Melkiy psalms and the relevant ideas in the book of Daniel. A hint of their early interest in the heavenly realms and angelology was illustrated in the section previously discussed from Psalm 89. The book of Daniel is replete with references to angelic interpreters.

However, Daniel 3:52-56 is more closely related to the themes presented in Psalm 89.

May You be blessed Lord, God of our ancestors
Be praised and extolled forever.
Blessed be Your Glorious and Holy Name,
Praised and extolled forever.
May You be blessed in the Temple of Your Sacred Glory,
Exalted and glorified above all forever:
Blessed on the throne of Your Kingdom,
Exalted above all, glorified forever:
Blessed are You who fathom the abyss, enthroned on the winged creatures,
Praised and exalted above all forever:
Blessed in the expanse of the heavens,
Exalted and glorified forever.

The Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice are liturgical compositions describing the heavenly liturgy wherein the angels bless God. The Sabbath spirituality encompasses at least two areas: the enjoyment of the presence of God with a look to the fulfillment of the Eschaton

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10 Ibid.
11 The possibility of redaction by a later scribe cannot be ruled out.
and the pleasure derived from being at one with God’s creation. One is to imitate God by “resting” on the seventh day, which He Himself declared to be holy. As a day consecrated to the Lord and the life of the spirit, the Sabbath could indeed serve as a proclamation of belief in God as Creator and Ruler of the Universe in the Jews’ own act of obedience to His Will. Such a proclamation is a continual renewal of the covenant that God established with the Fathers: Abraham, Isaac and Jacob. Because of the call to reflect on nature as part of God’s creation, the pious Jew is enabled to contemplate the mysteries of eternal life and the revival of the dead as he sees the cyclical mechanism of rebirth in nature. All of creation (both animate and inanimate), each in its own manner, join in the exhalation of the Lord. More than a day of rest for slaves and even beasts of burden, the Sabbath serves to bring right order into the temporal realm so that man may prioritize every aspect of his life in the manner in which God intended and live according to His will.

The Qumran community entered into the Sabbath experience by adhering to the guidelines of prohibition concerning the thirty-nine classes of work. The Qumran covenanters desired to live in correspondence to and in communion with the angelic hierarchy in the heavenly realms. Therefore, in their estimation, strict adherence to and the discipline of Torah and Halakhah were essential in order to maintain their receptivity to communion with the angels and to the Holy Spirit.

Although the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice were identified as Shirot, these psalms attributed to the neshiy may serve a didactic purpose. Through the act of reciting or

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12 Part of the Song of Azariah, this text appears only in the Greek versions of Daniel.
singing the Shirot, the covenanters are actually engaged in a contemplative exercise, wherein they are invited to enter into the perception of the MShly. By implication, the MShly may have ascended to the heavens and witnessed the divine liturgy. According to Schiffman, the Shirot represent the earliest known post-Biblical Hebrew text containing mystical speculation about the divine throne. He denies that the Shirot describe an ascent, but are merely interpretations of Ezekiel and as such are not intended to bring on ecstasy. Newsom believes, however, that although the songs did not appear to have been designed as vehicles for the incubation of visions or of mystical ascent by individuals, the sophisticated manipulation of religious emotion in the songs would seem to have increased the possibility of ecstatic experience among some worshippers.

This is an interesting concept; namely, whether religious emotion can bring on the kind of ecstatic prayer that would yield visions of the heavenly realms, of angels or even the divine throne. Janowitz discusses this concept in terms of the ascent of mystics as ritual practice. Among the functions of language is its power to transform. One may in effect use words, particularly the divine names, in order to bring a thought into material existence.

In Rabbinic ascent texts, according to Janowitz, the ritual text presupposes the rite. In other words, that which the individual utters is actually accomplished. There are

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traditions that emerged within the esoteric tradition in Judaism during the early centuries of the common era which practiced ascent as a kind of magical/theurgical phenomenon.\(^{16}\) Although one cannot be sure unless specific texts regarding their discipline are found, it is unlikely, in my view, that the mystical praxes of the Mãškyîl and the covenants were of this type. Because the Hebrew First Book of Enoch was found among the caves at Qumran, we must consider the idea that the Essenes were seeking to ascend either spiritually/mentally or to be like Enoch in order to gaze on the heavenly hekhhalot and/or to participate in the divine liturgy. Because the Essenes lay claim to receiving the Holy Spirit, it is unlikely that they used magical adjuration techniques. Precisely how they effected this ascent remains elusive. Hints may be gleaned from Daniel and IV Ezra (and others) in which the mãškyîl-type enters into a mode of penitence through fasting and prayer. Schafer offers a reasonable explanation for the phenomenon:

\begin{quote}
One who ascends and participates in the heavenly liturgy really observes and then comes back to report on it...the purpose is to be an emissary of the heavenly event and then to incorporate the earthly community into the heavenly liturgy, thereby turning it into a truly cosmic event encompassing heaven and earth, angels and men.\(^{17}\)
\end{quote}

With that understanding in mind, we may more fully comprehend the phenomenon of the Shirot, i.e., the signification of what the Mãškyîl was attempting to capture in these songs and that which he endeavored to preserve by designating them liturgical pieces.

\(^{16}\) Ibid.
The following excerpt from among the many fragments of *Shirot* is from 4Q 400:2.

**Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice**  
4Q400:2

2. They are honored among all the camps of godlike beings  
and revered by mortal councils, a wonder  
3. beyond godlike beings and mortals (alike)  
   And they declare His royal splendor according to their knowledge and exult  
   [His glory in all]  
4. the heavens of His realm.  
   And in all the lofty heights wondrous psalms according to all  
   [their insight do they sing, and all]  
5. the glory of the king of godlike beings do they declare in the  
   habitations where they have their station. But  
6. how shall we considered among they? And how shall our  
   priesthood be considered in their habitations? And our holiness—  
   how can it compare with their surpassing  
7. holiness? What is the offering of our mortal tongue (compared)  
   with the knowledge of the angels?  

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18 Newsom, *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*, 110-111.
The Maskil Form in the Hodayot

Although the Ṣḥel is specifically named in only one of the Hodayot, Mansoor argued that he is indeed the author of the compositions.¹ Most compelling, however, is the theology and vocabulary of several Hodayot. The pieces resemble the Ṣḥel psalms in form and vocabulary.² In particular, the polarities between the suffering, righteous servants of God and their wicked, powerful persecutors are displayed.

I give you thanks, Lord, for your eye keeps watch over me.
You have freed me from the zeal of the sowers of deceit, from the congregation of the interpreters of smooth things.
You have freed the life of the poor person which they thought to finish off, pouring out his blood while he was at your service.

But they did not know that my steps come from you.
They have put me as a mockery and a reproach in the mouth of all the interpreters of trickery.
But you, my God, have freed the soul of the poor and needy from the hand of someone stronger than he; from the hand of the powerful you have saved my soul and at their taunts you have not let me lose heart so as to desert serving you from fear of destruction.

IQH 10:31-36

You have set me as a reproach and a mockery of traitors, foundation of truth and knowledge for those on the straight path.
On account of the offence of the wicked, I have been the target of slander in the mouth of violent men and the scoffers grind their teeth.
You have made me a laughing stock for slanders, the assembly of the wicked is roused against me, they roar like the turbulence of the seas when their waves beat and spew out ash and mud.
But you have set me like a flag for the elect of justice, like a wise sower of secret wonders to put to the test [all the men of] truth, to refine those who love learning.
To those who love fallacies I am a man of dissent, [but a man of peace] to all true observers.
I have turned into an ardent spirit against all the interpreters of smooth things.

IQH 10:10-15

¹ M. Mansoor. The Thanksgiving Hymns (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans) 1961, 45ff. The translations of the Hodayot are from Mansoor's work unless otherwise noted.
² Although it is beyond the scope of this thesis to fully analyze each piece, such a study is warranted. One composition will be discussed for common themes and vocabulary. Further, the placement of the actual placing together of fragments has come under scrutiny and scholars have debated over this issue. A limitation may be that fragments previously thought to belong together have been inappropriately joined, and, as a result, the translations may be in error. See the forthcoming volume XXIX of Discoveries in the Judean Desert by Eileen Schuller.
As was the case with the *mikhil* psalms, the *hodayot* embody polarities between those who are the fools and those who are enlightened by God. Unlike the *mikhil* psalms and the book of Daniel, the author describes the polarity between the holy angels and the Qumran covenancers who were mere mortals, and thus imperfect. In the DSS, as in Daniel and the *mikhil* psalms, the afflicted righteous are adjured to persevere in their faith even unto death, for their lot resides with the community of the angels in the heavenly realms. The *mikhil* in the *Hodayot* (13:8-14 and 3:19-24) describes the angels as among those created by God. They give glory to God by recounting His many victories. To them, He revealed that which no flesh had ever seen. Contrasted with the majesty and purity of the angelic host are the Qumran covenancers who understood themselves as being mere dust. The question of theodicy herein involves the question, why does God desire the men of the Qumran community to be among the lot of the angels? The *mikhil* speculates about the reality of his own mortality compared to the holiness of the angels. He cannot resolve the dilemma logically, but merely invites the hearers of his hymn to respond with thanksgiving to God for delivering them from the pit of Sheol.

All Thy works are Thou didst create them together with the host of Thy spirits and the congregation of [Thy Holy Ones]...[the firmament with] its hosts, together with the earth and all [that which cometh] out of it in the sea and in the deeps. And a perpetual charge for Thou didst establish them from of old, everlasting and the work of... They will recount Thy victory throughout Thy dominion for Thou didst show them that which no other flesh had seen before. And to create New things, to destroy the established things of old and to [establish] the beings forever for [Thou art a God everlasting]...and Thou wilt be Forever and ever and with the mysteries of Thy understanding [Thou didst] appportion (the tasks of) all these (things) to make known Thy glory. [And what is he, a breath of flesh to understand all these (things) and be enlightened by [Thy] great my[story of Thy Name]...and what is he, born of a woman, among [Thy] awe-inspiring [works].

1QH 13:8-14
I praise Thee, O Lord, for Thou hast redeemed my soul from the pit and from the Sheol of Abaddon;
Thou didst draw me up to an eternal height so that I may walk about in uprightness unsearchable and know that there is hope for him whom Thou didst fashion from the dust unto eternal foundation.
And a perverted spirit Thou didst cleanse from much transgression to stand in array with
The host of the holy ones and enter into fellowship with the congregation of the sons of heaven.
And Thou hast apportioned an eternal lot to man amongst the spirits of Knowledge, to praise Thy Name in exultation in community and to rehearse Thy wondrous deeds in the presence of all Thy works.
But I, a creature of clay, what am I? I kneaded with waters and for what am I esteemed? And what strength have I? For I have taken my stand in the domain of wickedness.

1QH 3:19-24

As previously discussed, the msėyōl psalms are sometimes presented as thyli and may be expressed either in the form of laments, praise or both. In addition, the msėyōl psalms illustrated the polarities of the author’s Rahmengattung, typically being the righteous and afflicted in contrast to the wicked persecutors. The above exempla display similar attributes to the msēyōl psalms, particularly with regards to the vocabulary. In addition, the polarities in Daniel between the protagonists and the antagonists reflect similar vocabulary, specifically regarding those who seek smooth things, slander and libel. As a teacher, the Mσyōl instructs the newly admitted covenaners and the more experienced members in the doctrine of the two spirits. He, as a model of piety, bears certain responsibilities in the transpersonal arena regarding prayer and the proper discernment and determination for the times of God’s feasts. He accomplishes the revealed will of God through the Holy Spirit. In order to remain receptive to the Holy Spirit, he is required to keep the laws of purities and sanctities and to follow the precepts of the Serek Ha Yahad. In addition, the liturgical role of the Mσyōl resembles that of the Levites, particularly with regard to the singing of psalms and the playing of musical instruments. In the roles of teacher, singer and seer, the Mσyōl fulfills the office of intercessor between
the earthly and heavenly realms. As such, the Mškył in Khirbet Qumran served in a manner that was similar to that of the mškyłym in Daniel and in the Psalter.

Thus, there exists continuity at the very least on the level of common vocabulary, themes and RahmenGattung amongst the mškyłym of the Psalter, the book of Daniel and in Khirbet Qumran.
Part II:

*The Historico-Traditional Elements*
In order to more fully comprehend the determinants which gave rise to both the *mishyāl* as a unique type of individual and as a type of composition, it is necessary to delineate key historical events and persons associated with its development. We will focus attention on the Second Temple period from the Persian through the Herodian epochs. Although it is beyond the scope of this thesis to identify and discuss every potentially relevant event and person of the Second Temple period, those deemed most important to the current study will be included. Not only will there be a study of the outer history of the period, but there will also be a discussion of some of the inner tensions that existed amongst groups within Judaism.

Common to all the major periods in Second Temple history is the paradigm which includes the high priest and the aristocracy, the host government bureaucracy, the plebians and the pious among them. Depending on the agenda of the high priest, he would either work to further assimilation of the Jewish people into the culture of the host government or focus his efforts on maintaining the particularly Jewish elements of law and religious observance. The relationships were dynamic ones and vacillated along with alterations in the leadership and balance of political power amongst rival nations. It must be understood that the periods of history chosen reflect the thesis already discussed in previous chapters. That is, the *mishyāl* psalms, the book of Daniel and the DSS of the
Qumran Community were all composed during the time in question. For that reason, we will begin the discussion of the historical elements with the end of the Babylonian and the beginning of the Persian periods.

In the year 587-586 BCE, Jerusalem fell to the Babylonians as the result of a long historical process. From the perspective of Nebuchadnezzar, the conquest of Judah was of no major importance. The signification of the event, however, was manifest in manner in which it was described as being an important part of the entire Heilsgeschichte of the Jewish people. The upper classes of Israelites, among whom were priestly and levitical people, were deported to Babylon and provided political and intellectual leaders to the administration of the monarchy. To varying degrees, the old traditions of Jewish life were maintained in Babylonia. Some Jews, of course, assimilated more than others into the host culture and economic system. While the deportation of many Jews and the destruction of the First Temple were considered catastrophic events in Jewish history, the people who remained in Jerusalem and Judah continued on in life.

Between 559 and 530, the Babylonian kingdom fell to the Persians under the leadership of King Cyrus. King Cyrus was perceived as being lenient and tolerant of the Jewish traditions and cult. He presented himself as a liberator who resettled exiles and rebuilt temples. Because of Cyrus’ reputation, Deutero-Isaiah and his followers who included heirs of the Davidic monarchy, Sheshbazzar and Zerubbabel, envisioned this transformation in power as indicative of the time for change. This alteration would

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1 Early dating of many of the messianic psalms was the view of Dahood, Kissane, Gerstenberger and Johnson. See bibliography.
facilitate their return to Jerusalem and the re-establishment of the Davidic monarchy as
the form of government in Judah and restoration of the temple cult headed by the high
priestly descendants of Zadok.

During Persian rule, Palestine was organized into a series of national states, commercial
cities and tribal systems.\(^3\) The national states consisted of Judah, Samaria, Megiddo,
Ashdod, Edom, Ammon and Moab. Along the coast existed a series of Phoenician urban
centers which were, however, not independent. The main tribal system was that of the
Arabs. The provinces or states were organized into distinct units, each of which was ruled
by a dynasty of governors, usually a local family.\(^4\) The governors had small courts that
imitated those of the satraps. These bodies stood at the head of small administrative
organizations. According to Nehemiah 3:9-17, the provinces were divided into parts or
\textit{pelektim}. The \textit{seganim}, Nehemiah 5:17, were in charge of small military garrisons and
were allowed to keep official stamps of the state in their possession. Like other provinces,
Judah had a governor, a bureaucracy, the right to strike coins and official stamps. In 530
BCE, King Cyrus fell in battle and was succeeded by his son, Cambyses II. According to
the Elephantine Papyri, the temple at Elephantine was likely built during this time by the
soldiers and wealthy civilians living there. During his rule, Cambyses II conquered Egypt
and annexed it into the Achemenid kingdom. He died in 522 BCE and a series of revolts
and power struggles in Persia resulted in the ascendancy of a new king, Darius.

\(^2\) M. Noth. \textit{The History of Israel} (London: A and C Black, 1960, 2\textsuperscript{nd} edition) 289 .
\(^3\) \textit{Cambridge History of Judaism: Introduction to the Persian Period,} vol. 1, ed. W.D. Davies and L.
\(^4\) Ibid.
Although King Darius was renowned for his military and political accomplishments of consolidating the Persian Empire, his reign was not devoid of its challenges. Darius managed to stifle an uprising by Nebuchadnezzar III, son of Nabonidus and later strengthened and extended the territory under the control of his kingdom into India and Eastern Europe c. 519. In 515, the Persians waged wars mainly in Anatolia and Greece. By 499 BCE, the Greek cities rebelled and there ensued a major confrontation between the Persians and Athenians. The Persians suffered their first serious defeat in 490 BCE and in 486 King Darius died.
During the rule of King Cyrus, those Jews anticipating the appointed time for their return to Jerusalem saw a reason to hope that the exile would soon be over. During the time of exile, those Jews who adhered to worship of the God of Israel alone, likely considered the synagogue as the center for worship, prayer as the sacrifice of the heart and instruction.¹ According to Smith, these groups drew on Deuteronomy, Jeremiah, Ezekiel and the prophets for their homiletic material. He identified two such groups, i.e., those who worshipped God-alone, followed Jeremiah’s teachings and were pro-Babylonian and those who followed Deutero-Isaiah’s teachings and were pro-Persian.²

Ezra described the first return under Sheshbazzar, the prince of Judah. As nasi, Sheshbazzar may have been regarded as the head of the judicial system or as head of a tribunal. Because of the relative permissiveness of the Persian king, the Jewish governor was able to rule his state according to Jewish law and custom. In turn, the governor represented the Jewish people to the Persian king in order to gain support for their interests and needs. Sheshbazzar returned with many of the temple vessels originally taken by Nebuchadnezzar when he plundered the temple. The fact that Sheshbazzar had these vessels in his possession was indicative of a certain authority and continuity with the past leaders. Sheshbazzar returned with a number of exiles that supported his agenda.

¹ M. Smith, *Palestinian Parties and Politics that Shaped the Old Testament* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1971) 99-110. I use Smith’s terminology of God-alone to describe a sect(s) which did not succumb to assimilation into the Babylonian culture and religion.
² Ibid.
of re-establishing the Davidic monarchy and rebuilding the temple. Reportedly, he was able to accomplish the laying of the foundation for the Temple.

Zerubbabel, son of Sheltiel, returned to Jerusalem, along with a number of Levites, priests, Asaphite singers, the sons of the gatekeepers (Korahites), the temple slaves and the sons of Solomon's slaves (Ezra 2). Accompanying Zerubbabel and instrumental in the success of his agenda was Joshua the high priest, son of Jehozadak, a descendant of Zadok. Based on Zechariah 6, it is possible that there might have existed some conflict between Joshua and his brethren and Zerubbabel and his company. The success of the rebuilding of the Temple and the re-establishment of justice in the land of Judah would depend on the existence of peace between the two of them and their both adhering to God's directions. It is likely that some issue of purity was of concern to Zechariah regarding Joshua (Zechariah 3). If Joshua would adhere to the precepts of the party, then he would be in charge of the temple and its staff. Zerubbabel would serve as the Persian-appointed governor of Judah.

Because of the collapse of order and control over the temple and all its functions, re-establishing or establishing order would be quite a challenge. There was obvious concern about the assimilation of the high priestly families into the culture and religion of the host governments and neighboring peoples. The Samaritan, Ashdodite, Edomite and Arab neighbors of the people of the land ('m hrrs) were particularly troublesome to the returnees. These groups tried to obstruct the rebuilding of the temple and tried to put an
end to the building activities.\(^3\) There were also conflicts between the priests and the Levites and amongst the various priestly and levitical families. Points of contention included purities, sanctities, tithes and sacrifices. That is, who would be allowed to offer sacrifices and approach the inner sanctum, particularly if the high priest were corrupt and unclean? What would be the role of the Levites? How much authority would they have? What about the laity with regards to judicial and cultic matters? What role, if any, would the Samaritans and others have in the governing body, cult and socio-economic spheres? Differing agendas and opinions pertaining to these matters caused great strife to the returning exiles. We must keep in mind that during the time of the exile, those who remained in Jerusalem along with their neighbors formed alliances for political and economical gain. These structures were in place when Sheshbazzar and Zerubbabel returned with their brethren full of zeal for the implementation of their divinely ordained program. This jockeying for power may have resulted in the persecution and eventual death of Zerubbabel and perhaps some of his brethren.\(^4\) The thesis of Smith that pits the God-alone group(s) against the syncretistic groups seems too simplistic to adequately define the tensions and conflicts of the time. Finkelstein more adequately describes the tensions in existence at that time. He differentiates between those plebians who were nationalists and those who were pacifists.\(^5\) Among the pacifists were the followers of Deutero Isaiah, Zechariah and Zerubbabel, the descendant of the Davidic monarchy. The nationalists favored the re-establishment of the Davidic monarchy and all the political, military and economic ideals which they formerly enjoyed. Thus, they resisted the idea of foreign domination, even if it was not hostile to their agenda. The nationalists were

\(^3\) Cambridge History of the Jews, 70.
\(^4\) Consider Psalms 52-55, 88, 41 and 142. See Part I.
willing to take up arms and fight what they would probably term, a holy war. ¹

Regardless of how lenient the Persian government might have appeared, they did, like any other empire, regard order, economic and military stability to be critical. The re-establishment of a Davidic monarchy with some degree of military and political independence could have been perceived as a threat to or rebellion against the Persian government. Recall that during the time of Cambyses II and Darius there occurred several uprisings within the empire. It is not hard to conceive that Zerubbabel, regardless of his personal intentions, may have been depicted as a zealous nationalist who intended to cause an uprising against the Persian government. ² The absence of a realistic opportunity to restore the monarchy influenced the emergence of the prophetic utterances of Haggai and Zechariah (1-8). ³ For Zechariah, the key to the establishment of some measure of religious autonomy under the Persian government would be manifest in the restoration of the Temple and in the authority of the high priest. The monarchy would be re-established only at some eschatological moment. For the present time, however, the reality of foreign rule and the threat of persecution greatly influenced their agenda. Concomitant to the temporary and seeming demise of the Davidic monarchy was the rise in the authority of the high priest. After the disappearance of Zerubbabel, the high priest Joshua was the first in a long line of successors throughout the second commonwealth. The priests, replacing the Davidic kings, became an important part of the aristocracy. ⁴ The priests were in

⁸ "Zechariah", by C. and E. Myers. In *AB*, vol. 6, 1061-1065.
⁹ Finkelstein, 508ff.
almost exclusive control over society. Their status and office were esteemed among
many, including those who were not of priestly lineage.\textsuperscript{10}

By the time of Ezra and Nehemiah (mid-fifth century BCE), we have clear evidence of
the nature of these conflicts as reflected in their writings. When Nehemiah, described by
Finkelstein as a nationalist, asked his fellow Jews to help rebuild the walls of Jerusalem,
Sanballat the Horonite, Tobiah the official of Ammon and Geshem the Arab accused him
of rebelling against the king (Nehemiah 2:19-20).\textsuperscript{11} They plotted to attack Jerusalem and
upset his plans. The Jews took up arms and continued the work, finally completing it on
the twenty-fifth of Ethul (in 445 BCE; v. 14), culminating in the celebration of Sukkoth
and the Covenant. Nehemiah faced many difficulties in implementing his program,
including the intermarriage of many Jews with foreign wives, the problems of trade on
the Sabbath and foreigners in the Temple. Ezra (458 or 398 BCE) faced similar
circumstances of difficulty with assimilation by the Jewish hierocrats and persecution
from the Samaritans (Ezra 4 and 9-10).\textsuperscript{12} A new phenomenon emerged during this time,
namely non-priestly families attempting to assume priestly and aristocratic authority.

Perhaps the best known of these families that were prominent during most of the Second
Temple period was the Tobitids. This family of wealthy landowners opposed the
rebuilding of the walls by Nehemiah, but failed to stop him. Tobiah the Ammonite had
close ties with Sanballat the Horonite, Geshem the Arabian and the Jewish aristocrats in

\textsuperscript{10} "The Jewish People in the First Century" in CRIANT. Vol. 2, 560.
\textsuperscript{11} Finkelstein, 508.
\textsuperscript{12} We cannot negate the reality of the problem of precise dating and reconstruction of the history of this
period. What we can do, however, is recognize the volatile situations that the exiles might have faced when
they returned to Jerusalem and encountered various opposition groups from without. From within, there
was considerable jockeying for power.
Jerusalem. When Nehemiah left Jerusalem for a time, Tobiah was assigned a chamber in the Temple. This suggests that the high priest was congenial to foreigners' involvement in the Temple, particularly if they were wealthy like the Tobiads. He was later expelled from the Temple precincts when Nehemiah returned. The Tobiad family and their descendants would continue to assert themselves into the priestly arena later in the Hellenistic period.

Third Isaiah further enhances our understanding of other conflicts among parties within Judaism during the early years of the Restoration. According to Hanson, Third Isaiah fostered attacks against the Zadokite restoration program of Ezekiel 40-48 and on priestly theology in general. The quarrel was between the priestly and prophetic groups. The priestly Zadokites emphasized the cult and tried to manipulate the deity through pagan superstition. The prophetic group, illustrated in Deutero-Isaiah consisted of visionaries and disenfranchised Abiatharite Levites who relied on God’s word and His direct intervention. Schramm, on the other hand, contends that what is being attacked in Third Isaiah is the syncretistic cult. The prophetic and hierocratic/priestly elements were basically fighting on the same side. The polemics of Third Isaiah closely resemble those of the pre-exilic prophets and these practices extended into the restoration period. This text, argued Schramm, was written by the gift of Babylon and against those who worshipped the God of Israel plus other deities.

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13 "Tobiads", in EZ, vol. 45, 1178-1180.
15 Ibid., 177.
What is apparent and of great importance as we move further in our study of the historical dynamics of the Second Temple period is the paradigm of the high priest and the aristocracy, the host government, the gentiles and the laity or plebeians. As was previously stated, these relationships were dynamic. If the high priest assumed a posture unfavorable to either the host government or the plebeians, then tensions would ensue, sometimes resulting in bloodshed. If the laity tried to assume too much authority either in matters pertaining to the judiciary authority of the priesthood or in matters of the Temple, then they would be subject to persecution. All the Jews, either priestly and aristocratic or poor and humble were often at the mercy of the host government bureaucracies which were not always congenial to their needs and desires. As we move through the major historical events of the Second Temple period, we will witness the ramifications of these relationships and the effects that foreign rule had on the people of Judah.
After the death of Darius, Xerxes I ruled for approximately twenty years (486-465 BCE). His rule was not devoid of challenges, as a number of revolts broke out in Egypt in 483. It was during this tumultuous time that Ezra reported a letter of accusation having been written against the inhabitants of Jerusalem (Ezra 4:6-23) ordering them by force to cease working on the rebuilding of the Temple. Babylon was separated into an independent unit from the Abar Nahara satrapy as the result of an uprising. In 480, Xerxes undertook an expedition against the Greeks and suffered defeats in the battles of Salamis and Mycale. As a result of the Battle of Eurymedon, the Persians were eventually driven out of the area of the Aegean Sea.

Xerxes I was murdered by his vizier, Artabanus who sided with Xerxes' son, Artaxerxes I Longimanus (465-424) in his bid for the throne. During the reign of Artaxerxes I Longimanus, the Egyptians rose in a rebellion led by Inaros, son of Psammetichus, and were aided by an Athenian fleet. In 455, the satraps of Egypt and Abar Nahara were able to crush the rebellion, also destroying the Athenian fleet. Megabyzus, the satrap of Abar Nahara, was driven from his post due to his rebellion against the king in 448. In 423, after having endured a series of challenges to his rule, Artaxerxes I died. This event was followed by new revolts in Media, Anatolia, and Syria. During the Peloponnesian War, the Persians met with success. The satraps Tissaphernes and Pharnabazus and the youngest son of Darius, Cyrus gave help to the Spartans against Athens.
The new king, Artaxerxes II Memnon was challenged by his younger brother Cyrus who raised an army and marched to Babylon where he (Cyrus) was killed in battle. At this time, the process of disintegration of the Persian Empire began. During this “war” between the two Persian brothers, the Egyptians rose again in rebellion until 396. In this revolt, the Egyptians destroyed the Jewish-Persian military colony at Elephantine and the Arab colony at Tell el Maskhuta. Pharaoh Nepherites I (399-393 BCE), the first king of the 29th dynasty from Mendes and the last king mentioned in the Elephantine records conquered at least the southern part of the Palestinian coastal region. His successor, Pharaoh Achoris allied with the Athenians and the Cypriot king of Salamis, Evagoras I. Between 385 and 380 BCE, the Egyptians and Cypriots were expelled from Phoenicia and Palestine by Abrocamus, satrap of Abar Nahara, and the satraps Pharnabazus and Tithraustes. By 366, the entire Persian Empire was endangered by the revolt of the satraps.

Under Pharaoh Tachos, the Egyptians occupied the coastal plain of Palestine and Phoenicia. Tachos’ nephew rebelled against him and forced him to surrender to Artaxerxes II in Sidon. Persian rule was gradually re-established in Abar Nahara as rebels were ousted. Attempts were made to re-conquer the Phoenician towns, but the rebellion by Tennes, King of Sidon and Pharaoh Nectanebo II could not be overthrown. By 338, Artaxerxes met his fate at the hands of Bagoas, a Persian satrap, who poisoned him. From 336-330, Darius III Kodamanus reigned as the last king of the Achemenid dynasty. In
332, the Persian Empire was under constant military threat by Alexander the Great and by 330, the empire was completely conquered by him.
The Jewish Communities from the time of Xerxes I to Alexander the Great

Because Zerubbabel reportedly disappeared only a short time after construction began on the rebuilding of the Temple, there existed a lack of strong leadership for the returnees. There was a national and religious slump, the problem of intermarriage with non-Jews, the plight of farmers oppressed by the landed oligarchy and conflicts within the judicial system. Circa 458, during Artaxerxes reign, a new wave of Jews left Babylon to resettle in Palestine. This exodus was headed by a strong political and religious leadership. Artaxerxes appointed Ezra to repair the Temple and to establish the laws of the Torah as the religious and social authority of the Jewish community. It is not entirely clear, however, as to why Ezra failed to achieve his aims. It is likely, nevertheless, that he met with the same resistance that Zerubbabel and his followers did some years prior to his arrival.

When Nehemiah arrived in Jerusalem c. 445, he undertook the rebuilding of the walls that were damaged possibly due to the revolt of Megabyzus, the satrap of Abur Nahara. He strengthened Jerusalem by increasing its population and by establishing watch groups that policed the city. Since the disappearance of Zerubbabel (possibly the 520s), the state of Judah was ruled by Samaritan governors. After overcoming significant resistance, Nehemiah was able to regain control of the area, thus paving the way for a permanent rift between Jews and Samaritans. The problem of intermarriage continued to be a source of strife. Manasseh, the brother of Jaddua the high priest, was married to Nicaea, daughter
of Sanballat. According to Josephus, the elders of Jerusalem were distressed about
Manasseh's marriage and his being able to approach the altar.² As a result, they ordered
Manasseh to either divorce his wife or not to approach the altar. Sanballat, however,
initially secured the permission of Darius for the building of a new temple. Political
tensions ensued between the Macedonians and the Syrians resulting in Alexander's reign
over the affairs of Jerusalem. Sanballat appealed to Alexander, securing the permission
necessary for building the temple on Mt. Gerizim. Several other priests and Levites
entangled in the same web of difficulties also fled Jerusalem. Circa 332, the Samaritans
abandoned the center at Jerusalem and established a separate temple on Mount Gerizim.

Nehemiah's problems, however, were not entirely due to the Samaritans. He had conflicts
with a group of aristocratic lay leaders that later developed into the Gerousia of
Hellenistic times. The Tobiiad family, which had aspirations for priestly and political
power, continued to challenge the norms for legal and religious authority. Due to these
conflicts, Nehemiah created the Great Tribunal, which according to Finkelstein, was
comprised of opponents to the contemporary priestly and aristocratic tribunal.³ The
Chronicler considered this body to be the successor of the royal tribunal of the First
Commonwealth (2 Chr. 19:5ff). Among those laws which the tribunal pledged to its
followers were the following: not to purchase goods from pagans on the Sabbath (Neh.
10:31); to outlaw intermarriage with pagans (Neh. 10:30); and to share tithes with the
Levites. The opposing council, that of the nobility, had no problems with intermarriage,
withholding tithes from the Levites, or purchasing goods from pagans on the Sabbath or

² Josephus, Antiquities of the Jews, Book 11, Ch. 8
any other day. Neither body was to have the power to decide every court case. They both, however, did contend for the power to decide cases in which there was a dispute or problem with applying the rule of law through the regular body. The jurisdiction of the aristocratic council was that of the Temple and that of the Great Tribunal was Jerusalem proper. Members of the council of the nobles consisted of the division of priests, the sons of Levi and the Israelites. The members of the Great Tribunal included among its ranks socially obscure scholars by trade or labor and some Levites. Due to the pietistic nature of the masbūl psalms, the Levitical composers would likely have belonged to this group. However, there exists some measure of confusion among scholars in trying to specify the political and religious groups of the day. There is usually a distinction made between the priestly/ aristocratic group(s) or Gerousia and the Separatists comprised mainly of lay scholars and some Levites. On returning to Judah, the followers of Zerubbabel and Joshua endeavored to establish the Davidic monarchy and the high priestly order of the sons of Zadok. Reportedly after this initial programme failed, there existed tensions between the Separatists and the Gerousia, the high priest of which assimilated into the philosophy and practices of the host government. What was the fate of those priestly and pious individuals who returned with Zerubbabel and Joshua? Ezra reports that he found Iddo the Seer, Zechariah and some of the Levites who returned with Zerubbabel and Joshua in Casiphia, the location of which is unknown. It is possible that a remnant of pious Zadokites who opposed the philosophy and practices of the Gerousia remained separate from the parties immediately connected with the Jerusalem Temple. They would likely have resisted the authority of the Great Tribunal called by Nehemiah, yet would not have supported the assimilation and intermarriage with foreigners of the high priests

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4 Ibid.
in Jerusalem. Therefore, it is not unreasonable to speculate that a separatist, pious and 
priestly movement existed during the time of the early years of the Restoration in 
opposition to the emerging group of lay leaders and the assimilationist high priests who 
were in the business of self interest. Finkelstein, however, explained the tensions among 
the sects differently. As was previously discussed, among the plebeians were those who 
considered themselves to be nationalists and those who were pacifists. The pacifists 
described as being the followers of Zechariah and Deutero Isaiah objected to Nehemiah’s 
plans for building the walls around Jerusalem.⁵ Nehemiah himself, according to 
Finkelstein, represented the nationalistic/zealous plebeians as was evidenced by building 
the walls.⁶ The high priesthood became the position to be desired. Although genealogy 
was an issue, the high priesthood was not exempt from the price of the highest bidder. 
Because the man in this position was the interface between the king and the Jewish 
people, his duties were full of dangerous politicizing. Understood within the greater 
context of Persian and early Hellenistic history, the high priest faced many challenges 
due to the political strife within the Jewish community and from without. If the high 
priest were a righteous and equitable leader, then the pious among the sons of Aaron and 
sons of Israel would generally support him. If, however, he disrespected or defiled the 
rules of Levitical purity and became engaged in assimilationist practices, then the pious 
would resist either by civil disobedience or by taking up arms.

⁵ Finkelstein, vol. 2, Appendix. 
⁶ Ibid.
This dynamic set of circumstances serves as a model for the entire Second Temple period. The individuals involved changed over the centuries as well as the balance of power among the Ptolemaic, Seleucid, Greek and Roman Empires. What remained the same, however, is as follows. First, there was always a remnant(s) that adhered to the idea of life under the Law of God. These pious groups were comprised of priestly, Levitical and lay stock. They may have had differences in their theology, Torah and Halakhah, but shared a common goal; i.e., the preservation of basic traditions and teachings of their forefathers. Second, there existed wealthy and powerful Jews, along with their gentile friends whose political and economic aspirations typically led them into close relationship with the bureaucracy of the gentile kings. Third, the element of foreign power and the influence it exerted over inner Jewish politics was and continues to this day to be a source of tension and confusion. These elements will be discussed as we study the manner in which they existed in the Hellenistic, Hasmonean and Herodian periods.

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7 For the purposes of this thesis, the historical analysis will end with the Herodian period.
After the death of Alexander the Great (323), the East was engrossed in the wars of the *diadochs* or successors that fought over the inheritance (323-301). In 301 BCE, the kingdom fell to Ptolemy I of Egypt. The territory remained under Ptolemaic rule until ~200 BCE. Until the reign of Antiochus III (223-187), the Ptolemies had the military advantage.

In 280 BCE, the first of several wars between the Ptolemies and the Seleucids occurred under Ptolemy II and Antiochus I. A series of four wars ensued between 274 and 217 BCE. In the Battle of Raphia, (217), Antiochus III was defeated by Ptolemy IV Philopater. Ptolemy V Epiphanes, however, was defeated by Antiochus III at the Battle of Panias, resulting in Palestine's being under Seleucid rule. Rome engaged the Seleucids in a series of negotiations between 200 and 194 BCE, but by 192, the Roman Empire declared war and defeated Antiochus III. The defeats suffered by the Seleucid Empire led Antiochus III to raise money by plundering the temples of the kingdom. During the reign of Antiochus III, Simeon II, a leading exponent of Hasidism, convened a Great Assembly. Noteworthy was the admission of plebeian scholars into the politically powerful *Gerousia*. The name of this legal body was changed from *Gerousia* to the *Bt Dn Hgdl* or *Synhedrion*. As a result of the new status of the plebeian scholars, tensions erupted among the priests, Levites and lay scholars. The priestly (assimilationist)
members resented the input, and resulting power of the plebeians.\footnote{Finkelstein, vol. 2, p. 573.} Seleucus IV (187-175), son of Antiochus III, was murdered by his minister Heliodorus.

During the rule of his successor, Antiochus IV Epiphanes (175-164), there existed a period of intense activity both politically and militarily. He wanted to accelerate the Hellenization process and took steps in order to accomplish this goal.\footnote{Ibid.} The High Priest Onias III, a zealot for the laws (2 Macc. 4:2), was deposed by his order and replaced by Jason. Jason, his brother, a supporter of Hellenism and the last in the line of the sons of Zadok, promised to raise more taxes for Antiochus IV Epiphanes.\footnote{E. Schurer, The History of the Jews in the Age of Jesus Christ. Ed. G. Vermes and F. Millar. Rev. English Edition (Edinburgh: T and T Clark, 1973)147. According to Josephus, Tacitus claimed that Antiochus IV Epiphanes wanted to take from the Jews their so-called superstitions and make them civilized. See Josephus, Antiquities of the Jews, Book 12, Chapter 6.} In addition, he changed Jerusalem into a polis, where the gymnasium replaced the Temple as the focal point for the city. Antiochus replaced Jason with Menelaus, a priest of the division of Bilgah, who eagerly supported his policies and promised large sums of money.\footnote{Crito, v. 2, p. 562.} He, in a sense, bought the position of high priest by offering money he extorted from the Judeans and the Temple treasury. Menelaus also cooperated with the Tobiads. While Antiochus was in Egypt fighting an uprising, Jason returned and retook Jerusalem. When Menelaus was killed, there was a decrease in the power of the house of Bilgah. In addition, the Tobiads' power decreased and they disappeared from the later history of Jewish Palestine.\footnote{\textit{Ibid.}} In 167 BCE, Antiochus Epiphanes forbade the observance of the Jewish religion in Judea. He threatened to impose the death penalty if Jews circumcised their children or observed the Sabbath. He forced the population to participate in pagan rites.
and to eat forbidden foods. The Temple was desecrated and rededicated to Zeus. When Onias IV, son of Onias III was prevented from taking over the high priesthood from Mencelaus, he escaped to Egypt. Contrary to Biblical tradition, he erected a temple in Leontopolis by the authority of Ptolemy Philometor (182-146). The large majority of Jews, however, remained loyal to their religion and at all levels people were willing to give their lives. This tumultuous period was a time of mass martyrdom. There were, however, those who fled to the desert to escape the wicked time of persecution.

Among those who fled to the desert were the groups led by the Hasmoneans and headed by Mattathias. In opposing the Seleucids, the resistant Jews had some support of foreign powers, i.e., the Romans and for a time, the Ptolemies and Nabateans. The plebeians, formerly described as the non-aristocratic, pietists of Persian times, became the Hasideans of the Hellenistic period. The sons of Mattathias, Jonathan and Simon, were military and political leaders of the resistance movement which was primarily in the form of guerilla warfare, civil disobedience and engaging in battle, if necessary on the Sabbath. As already discussed, other pacifist, pious sects disagreed with the guerilla warfare, resisting the king and defending themselves on the Sabbath. Judas the Maccabee led a series of revolts that ended in the rededication of the Temple in 164 BCE. The armed struggles of Judas and Simon had thus far led to success. However, Judas was defeated by Bacchides, Governor of Coele-Syria and Phoenicia. What became apparent was the futility of continued armed resistance of the nationalists against the Seleucids.

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5 Ibid., 566.
6 Finkelstein, vol. 2, p. 573. From these groups, the Pharisees and Essenes emerged. The character of these groups indicated that their predecessors had recognized membership, rules for admission and expulsion, a period of trial membership, recognized beliefs and leadership and methods for reaching party decisions.
Many members of the Hasmonean party were hunted down and punished, dying as martyrs along with their Hasidic supporters. The Hasidean survivors followed Jonathan, brother of Judas. Meanwhile, the high priest Alcimus, who represented the pro-Greek faction, destroyed the walls of the inner court. His death soon thereafter was seen as a result of Divine punishment. Some seven years after the death of Alcimus, the Maccabean party re-invigorated itself. The party must have been seen as a viable political force, for it became a source of contention between the two rival Seleucid kings.⁸

When Demetrius I and Alexander Balas bid against one another in the attempt to claim the Seleucid throne, they sought to manipulate Jonathan in order to gain his support. Demetrius gave Jonathan the legal right to raise troops and manufacture arms. Alexander Balas appointed Jonathan to the high priesthood and to the order of the King's Friends in 152 BCE. During this time, the Jewish parties became more tolerant of each other. After the murder of Jonathan by Trypho, the last of the five Maccabee brothers, Simon assumed the position.⁹ The Seleucid kings recognized the reality of their waning political and cultural power over the Jewish masses. For that reason, the kings assumed a conciliatory attitude toward the Maccabees and chose not to force Hellenism against the growing tide of Jewish nationalism.

Before Simon assumed the role of high priest and prince of the Jews (I Macc. 14:27), many of the original aims of the Maccabean party had been achieved. They were able to rid themselves of the assimilationists and assume the powers of government including the

⁸ Schurer, 176.
high priesthood. Simon, continuing the program of his brothers, was able to bring the Judean theocracy to a point of complete independence from the Seleucid Empire. Simon and his two sons, however, were brutally murdered by his cunning son-in-law, Ptolemy, strategos over the plain of Jericho. Although the Hasidean groups were united with the Maccabees in their quest for religious freedom and independence, there were those conservatives among them who opposed the Maccabees as high priests. Nevertheless, Simon was able to obtain the recognition of Judea’s freedom from the Seleucid King Demetrius II. The last great Seleucid king Antiochus VII Sidetes tried in vain to recapture areas previously lost and bring them under Seleucid control.

Under the reign of the Hasmonean John Hyrcanus I, the third surviving son of Simon, an expansionist policy was adopted and there was an attempt to solidify the Hasmonean dynasty and high priesthood. During Hyrcanus’ 30 year reign (134–105 BCE), there was a breach in the Hasmoneans’ relationship with the Pharisees and Hyrcanus became increasingly dependent on the Sadducees.

Hyrcanus waged war against Samaria and defeated them, despite the aid of the Seleucids and Ptolemies. Regarding internal affairs, Hyrcanus severed ties with Pharisaic ideology and adhered to the Sadducean agenda. Early in his career, however, John Hyrcanus had followed the precepts of the Pharisees. As Hyrcamus’ worldly ambitions became more apparent, the idea of the battle for religious freedom receded into the background. As a result, Hyrcamus’ platform resonated more with that of the Sadducees than the

* Josephus, Antiquities of the Jews, Book 13, ch. 2.
Pharisees. 10 Despite this rift and the resulting internal tensions, Hyrcanus was able to carry out an expansionist policy as well as maintain an independent Jewish state.

Hyrcanus' successor, Alexander Yannai, the brother of Aristobulus I, had to reach compromises with conflicting elements internally and externally in order to maintain some sense of order during his 27-year reign. As far as the Pharisees were concerned, Alexander Yannai was not qualified to serve as high priest. During a time of political weakness, the Pharisees rebelled against him. A civil war erupted resulting in the deaths of fifty thousand Jews.

Yannai's widow, Salome Alexandra (also the widow of Aristobulus I) had re-established close connections with the Pharisees and re-instituted those traditions that John Hyrcanus had abolished. The Pharisees became a political and religious force in the land. After her death, however, a civil war ensued due to the insurrection of Judas Aristobulus. Nevertheless, the reign of Salome (76-67 BCE) was considered a time of relative peace and prosperity. 11 After the death of Salome, war erupted between her two sons Aristobulus II and John Hyrcanus II. Antipater the Idumean interfered in the conflict by supporting Hyrcanus against Aristobulus. Antipater enlisted the aid of the Nabatean prince, Aretas and successfully defeated Aristobulus in battle. In addition, the Romans were involved with the conflict, because Pompey, the Roman commander, openly supported Hyrcanus. Aristobulus deposed his brother Hyrcanus from the high priesthood

10 The breach with the Pharisees was recorded by Josephus in Antiquities of the Jews, Book 13, Chapter 10.
11 Schurer, 231.
and from the kingship, however, Roman involvement would prove to be fatal to him. By 63 BCE, Jerusalem was under siege and eighty years of independence came to an end.
Under Ptolemaic rule as under Persian rule, there existed a particular administrative organization to each region. The administrators were usually of a similar ethnic background as their territory. A _strategos_, or governor, was appointed for each region and exercised both military and civil authority. In Jerusalem, the high priest and Council of the Elders served as a continuation of the _Gerousia_ from Persian times. The Zadokite priests held the office of the high priesthood for life and were regarded as the leaders of the nation and Temple. In addition, the high priest was responsible for the capital's security and water supply. Thus, the high priest occupied an important position, so much so that the position was often the goal of men not from a priestly family.

Within the Temple bureaucracy, the high priest often had rivals. The dynamic relationship between the king of the host government and the high priest vacillated depending on the agenda of each individual. At times, the assimilationist high priest was nothing more than a puppet of the gentile king. ¹ At other times, the pious high priest deftly tried to preserve the laws of the Jewish people, so as not to assimilate into the foreign culture. ² During Hellenistic times, the custom of the gentile kings was to give precedence to the _Gerousia_ over the high priest. This practice, however, shifted to the high priest during Hasmonean times. Periodically, the Great Tribunal convened during which time the foreign monarchy confirmed the ancestral laws of the Jews as the binding

¹ Including Jason, Menelaus and the Herodian high priests.
² Including Simon the Just I and II and Onias III.
code for the entire territory. Thus, they were empowered to compel the entire population of Judea to comply with the precepts of Torah and ban idolatry throughout the land. As was the situation with changes in leadership, the law of the land depended on who was in a position of authority.

During the reign of Antiochus III, there existed strife among some of the priestly families of influence. The house of Hakotz negotiated with Antiochus III in order to secure the rights of Jerusalem after the conquest. Eupolemos led the delegation sent to Rome by Judah the Maccabee. On the other hand, the house of Bilga succeeded in undermining the position of the lawful high priests and became a pillar of the Hellenization movement in the late second century BCE. When Simon served as Temple Governor and Menelaus as high priest, the non-priestly family of the house of Tobiad worked with them in an attempt to uproot the plan of Ezra/Nehemiah. In certain spheres of public life, the wealthy Tobiads usurped the authority of the high priest, and contributed to the escalation of class tensions.

Not every high priest followed suit. Although there was assimilation and corruption within the ranks of the high priesthood, there were those of priestly descent who resisted the vices of their brethren. The Zadokites shared their ancestral roots with the priests from the First Temple. Represented by Joshua, these priests returned from the Babylonian exile and re-established their authority in the Second Temple. The phenomenon of assimilation was an issue, even from the early days of the Restoration. The pious sons of Zadok, however, considered themselves to be the only ones capable of imparting the true
wisdom of the Torah (Ezekiel 40). Because these priests enjoyed the presence of the Holy Spirit, they were able to read into the divine Name its 72 forms of pronunciation and were aware of another mechanism for Torah interpretation. As a result, the priests understood a mystical side of the Torah that was inaccessible to the laity, including in their estimation, the Pharisees. The Sadducees, on the other hand, were likely the parent group of which the Qumran Essenes were part.

Although impiety and assimilation were among the foremost issues of the day regarding the high priesthood, there did exist, nevertheless, some high priests that were aware of the dangers inherent in the seemingly unbridled authority of the high priest. In 250 BCE, Onias III sought to limit the authority of the Temple Tribunal, because he feared the manner in which the Gerousia interpreted the law.

Among those who opposed both the assimilationist Sadducean high priests and the pious sons of Zadok were the Pharisees. The pre-Maccabean Pharisees were known as Ḥasidim. ³

The Pharisees or separatists existed as a distinct group as early as the fourth century BCE. ⁴ Unlike the sons of Zadok, the Pharisees used methods of Hellenistic based logic in order to interpret Scripture. Therefore, the Pharisees considered themselves capable of choosing their own criteria for worship, calendar and Ḥalakhah. Of primary concern to the Pharisees were issues of tithes and ritual purity. As such the ḫbrym associations

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focused on their strict observance. 5 Due to their concern for maintaining ritual purity, the ḫbrym shunned others for fear of transgressing and becoming impure. They were to avoid the am ha ares. 6 Within the main body of Pharisees were two divisions, i.e., the Shammaites and Hillelites. Traditionally, many legal points of contention between the two groups are illustrated in the Mishnah. Differences in methodology of Scriptural interpretation are reflected in the varieties of Midrashic and Haggadic literature.

However, the main opponents of the Pharisees during the Second Temple period were the Sadducees and were referred to as minim. 7 It is evident that the Pharisees, Sadducees and Essenes were estranged from one another and viewed the others with hostility and suspicion.

In Part I, the pious, poor and suffering servants of God were identified as the likely composers of the maḥzil psalms, the book of Daniel and several pieces in the DSS corpus. For that reason, it is logical to associate the maḥzilim with the plebeians and later with the Hasidim and Essenes. 8 There exist several theories about the ḫayyám of the Second Temple period. Lacocque understood them to be pacifists and non-militaristic. 9 Russell, on the other hand, identified them as the mighty warriors of Israel who joined the

6 Ibid.
8 Although the ʾhasidim were characterized in a specific manner regarding their agenda and theology, there were likely several groups which might have called themselves ʾhasidim. For that reason, a variety of groups ranging from pacifist to nationalist to priestly to laity might have called themselves the ʾhasidim of God.
Maccabees at the time of the Revolt (I Macc. 2:42). The relationship between the Hasmoneans and the ḫṣyḏyym was a dynamic one. On the one hand, all those who considered themselves pious opposed the religious persecution of Antiochus IV Epiphanes. The resulting revolt and establishment of the Hasmonean dynasty in theocratic Judea posed problems for many. Was the Hasmonean dynasty to be a permanent dynasty, thereby replacing God’s eternal covenant with the house of David? Were the Hasmoneans permitted to be high priests, even though they were not from a family of high priests? What would be the agenda of the Hasmoneans, i.e., would they seek to uphold religious freedom or were they attempting to develop Judea into a political power? Each descendant of Mattathias responded in a different manner. As we’ve noted, many of them were opportunists. As a result, the religious parties in Judaism previously described reacted accordingly. When the agenda was supported by the king, the Hasmonean dynasty received the support of the party. When, for example, the Maccabees’ worldly ambitions became more apparent (particularly under John Hyrcanus), many pious became disillusioned and despondent. Some of the ḫṣyḏyym petitioned Alcimus for peace, while others refused to compromise and abandoned the group. According to Bronner, the Essenes of Qumran were they who abandoned the group and withdrew to the desert. The Essenes considered themselves to be in the right, and their continued participation in the Temple cult according to the status quo would indicate their approval. Thus, their only choice would be to withdraw from the environs of Jerusalem and to cease participating in the cult.

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12 See 4QMMT in the Dead Sea Scroll corpus.
The Herodian Dynasty

From the time of Simon the Hasmonean (143–134 BCE), another influential family became involved in the affairs of Judea. The families of Malichus and of Antipas were Edomite converts to Judaism. Although the family of Malichus continued to challenge Antipas and his descendants, the dynasty of Antipas superseded the Hasmoneans in the area of local government.¹

During the civil war of Hyrcanus II and Aristobulus II, the Romans arrived in Syria, during which time the Romans forced the Nabateans to withdraw from Judea. There was a three-month siege on the Temple mount by the Romans in which thousands were killed, in part due to the fact that Hyrcanus let the troops in. The year 63 BCE marked the end of Hasmonean rule and Judea as an independent state. Aristobulus was taken as prisoner by the Romans.

Syria became a Roman province. Judea was reduced in size and made dependent on Sceaurus, the Roman governor of Syria (65–63 BCE). The large Hellenistic cities were freed from Jewish rule, but Idumea, Judea, southern Samaria, the settlements on the eastern bank of the Jordan and Galilee remained. Hyrcanus was left only in charge of the Temple and was stripped of his political power. Judea, then, was divided into districts and placed under separate aristocratic councils, but this plan was canceled by the decrees of Caesar.²

² Schurer, 269.
In 47 BCE, Caesar rewarded the reliability and usefulness of Antipater and Hyrcanus, while ignoring the claims of Antigonus (son of Aristobulus). Hyrcanus was named the high priest and ethnarch of the Jews, but lacked any real political power. Antipater, on the other hand, was granted Roman citizenship, tax-exempt status and was nominated procurator. The walls of Jerusalem were rebuilt as well as the places which Pompey had taken. Jews outside of Palestine (Asia Minor and Alexandria) were afforded their rights.

The sons of Antipater, Phasael and Herod were governors of Jerusalem and Galilee, respectively. Herod was in conflict with the Sanhedrin which could have resulted in a war; however, Sextus Caesar nominated him as strategos of Coele-Syria in order to pacify him. After the murder of Caesar in March 44 BCE, Cassius was master of Syria and the land of Israel. Herod and Antipater raised considerable funds to support his army. Herod’s loyalty was rewarded again with the position of strategos. Antipater met his ultimate fate by being murdered by Hyrcanus’ cupbearer who was bribed by Malichus.

Antigonus II, son of Judas Aristobulus II became king of Judea, thus re-establishing the Hasmonean kingdom. He used this opportunity to reclaim the throne with the aid of the Parthians who invaded Rome’s eastern provinces in 40 BCE. Hyrcanus and Phasael were taken as prisoners by the Parthians, but Herod escaped to Rome. As a result, the Romans made Herod king. With the aid of the Roman army, Galilee, Idumea and Samaria were recaptured. Jerusalem, however, was under siege for five months in 37 BCE. Antigonus II, the last Hasmonean to hold a seat in government, was executed.
King Herod served the interests of Rome and sustained a measure of security and order in the kingdom. His political status was dependent on the relationships cultivated with Augustus Caesar and Agrippa. Meanwhile, the Jewish Sanhedrin was divested of all real political power and replaced by a royal council that supported the program of Herod and ultimately of Rome. This new elite was composed of individuals among the Jewish diaspora in Egypt, Babylonia and the border areas of Palestine. Several families competed for control of the high priesthood. Among the high priests that were in power during the end of the Second Temple period included Jesus, son of Phiabi and Simeon son of Boethus, both of whom were from Egypt. The house of Boethus (Boethusians) joined with the Herodians and adopted the assimilationist practices of their priestly predecessors.

Herod the Great, an active builder and mighty Roman commander, had several wives and sons: Antipater, by his first wife; Alexander and Aristobulus by Mariamme the Hasmonean; and three additional wives, a Samaritan, an Alexandrian Jewess and a native of Jerusalem. Antipater executed his sons by Mariamme and by his first wife, because he thought that they were conspiring against him. He also murdered Mariamme the Hasmonean.

After Herod’s death in 4 BCE, Judea, Idumea and Samaria were left to Archelaus. Galilee and Perea were bequeathed to Herod Antipas and the northeastern part of the kingdom to

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3 *CRINT*, vol. 2, 597.
Phillip. Archelaus was only ethnarch, not king. Because his subjects were less than content with his rule, he was ordered to be removed from office.

In 6 CE, Judea existed as a Roman province. The authority of the Sanhedrin was limited to issues of religion and worship. Tensions increased in Judea, however, in part due to heavy taxes and the military presence of the Romans. Caligula, Roman Emperor (37-41 CE), believed himself to be divine and expected his subjects to recognize him as such. He desired a golden image to be set up in Jerusalem, but the order was not executed. From 41-44 CE, the status of Judea as a Roman province was annulled. Agrippa I, grandson of Herod and Mariamne the Hasmonean, served as king of Judea after the accession of Claudius. Agrippa was a skilled politician and demonstrated genuine concern for the affairs of the Jewish nation. He was regarded by the Jews more as a Jewish king, rather than a Herodian king, loyal only to the interests of Rome. After the death of Agrippa (44 CE), Judea was under direct Roman rule which led to a dramatic increase in messianic and zealous fervor, culminating in the Roman wars and the fall of Jerusalem in 70 CE.
The Roles of the Levites

The superscriptions of the msb'il psalms attributed several of the pieces to David. In addition, certain Levites were mentioned, namely, Heman, Ethan and Asaph. The sons of Korah were named as the authors of msb'il Psalms 42-45. These Levites were among those described in the books of Chronicles, traditionally dated by scholars to the third century BCE. The Chronicler himself is described as a Levite. It is likely that the msb'il psalms themselves pre-date the addition of the superscriptions that were the work of a scribal redactor familiar with the type of composition. The information in the superscriptions does give the researcher clues about those Levites who called themselves msb'ilym and enables one to better appreciate the Sitz im Leben to the psalms' composition.

The Levites, according to P, were those descendants of Aaron who were not among the firstborn. The firstborn were high priests, while the rest of the sons of Levi could not attain to the high priesthood. Ezekiel, however, substituted the sons of Zadok for the sons of Aaron. In both P and Ezekiel, the Levites did enjoy a certain sanctity and status within the Temple hierarchy. They are dedicated to God when substituted for the first born (Num. 3:40-5). In addition, the ceremony of purification performed over them offered the Levites as a wave offering before the Lord (Num. 8:5-22).

1 Psalm 32, 41, 52-55 and 142 are attributed to David.
2 Psalm 88 is attributed to Heman; Psalm 89 to Ethan; Psalms 74 and 78 to Asaph.
The tasks of the Levites were two-fold: performing abhodah for the tabernacle and all its appurtenances and mounting the guard (šmr). The Levites described by Ezra, however, were not considered a homogeneous group. In fact, there were separate classes of singers and gatekeepers who in reality were not classed among the true Levites. The lower Temple personnel were of equally lower economic and social status and owned no property. Not infrequently, these men were the descendants of the former Temple slaves (ntymm) or of men given unto the Temple (Ezra 2:43). Mowinckel argued that there exists evidence in Num. 16 descriptive of the rivalry between the priests and the singers, wherein the sons of Korah were denounced. The Korahites wanted to offer incense, but this work was the exclusive privilege of the priests. Nevertheless, the singers did achieve the rank of true Levites and were permitted to wear white linen garments. Further evidence of rivalry between the priests and Levites was identified by Fishbane. The debate concerned who would make the paschal offering. Originally, the laity had the role of paschal slaughter. In 2Ch. 35:6-11, the paschal offering was not made by the laity, but by the Levites. After the slaughter, the Levites apportioned the sacrifice to the local clan heads for distribution to the people. Thus, the ritual was performed in Jerusalem according to the Deuteronomistic law with the Levites playing a central role, but the clan heads retained the right to disburse the meat of the slaughtered animal to their family gatherings.

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4 M. Haran, Temples and Temple Worship. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978). In D, any Levite could become a priest if he is in the chosen place. Outside of the chosen place, he is considered an ordinary layman.
5 Age was a factor for eligibility. One had to be between the ages of 30 and 50 (Num. 4) or 25-50 (Num. 8:23-26) in order to mount the guard.
6 Mowinckel, vol. 2, p. 82.
7 See Flavius Josephus, Antiquities of the Jews. Book XX.
There was also considerable tension regarding who would draw nigh to God in the Temple. Fishbane identified Numbers 18 and Ezekiel 44 as illustrative of this conflict.

Numbers 18:1-7, 22-23

1. Aaron and his sons will bear the gild of the shrine and the guilt of your priesthood.

2. Draw brethren of the house of Levi nigh to you and they will join you and serve you.

3. They shall guard the watch of the tabernacle.

4. They shall be joined to you, but the strangers (nr) will not draw nigh.

5. The Levite shall perform the work of the tabernacle.

Ezekiel 44:9-16

1. No foreigner may enter the shrine.

2. No one except the Levites shall approach, since they bore the sin of Israel when they went after idols.

3. They shall be stewards in my shrine and they shall slaughter the holocaust and meat offerings for the people, since they served them before their idols and so bore their guilt.

4. They shall be appointed guardsman of the Temple and stand guard for all its work (mr mhnr).

5. The Levitical priests, the sons of Zadok, shall draw nigh to me and serve me and guard my watch.⁹

⁹ Fishbane, 137-143.
⁹ Ibid.
As with the previous example, Num. 18 was written as a response to the crisis of Korah and the fear of approaching the tabernacle. Thus, common Israelites were banned from the inner sanctum and would bear the guilt of those who encroach. Ezekiel 44 was written as a result of the paganization of the Temple which resulted in the laity’s being condemned for having allowed foreigners to serve them in their sacrifices and for appointing them as guardians of the shrine. The sons of Zadok had the exclusive right to advance toward the shrine and prohibited foreigners from approaching.

In addition to the duties previously discussed, the Levites served as teachers, preachers, scribes and cultic prophets. The table concluding this chapter delineates the roles of the Levites specifically mentioned in the psalm superscriptions as understood by the Chronicler.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reference</th>
<th>Clan and Individual Name</th>
<th>Duty</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I Chr. 6:15</td>
<td>sons of Levi: Gershon, Kohath, Merari</td>
<td>descendant of Moses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gershon (Ex. 2:22, Jg. 18:30)</td>
<td>In charge of achanistic shrine at Dan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kohath-Korah, Elkanah and Samuel</td>
<td>descendants appointed by David to be in charge of the sanctuary House of the Lord in Jerusalem</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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I Chr. 6:23ff
Heman-son of Kohath
Asaph- son of Gershom
Ethan-son of Merari

Sons of Merari-Shealalah
Sons of Asaph, son of Gershom-
Mattaniah, Gahai, Haseph, Besahiah,
Berachiah-son of Elkanah, son of Kohath
Obadiah- son of Jeduthun
*Lived in the towns of the Netophahites
(possibly the location of Caesarea)

Shallum, head of the sons of Korah
Akkob
Talmon
Ahuman

Phineas, son of Eleazar
Zechariah, son of Mesheleliah

Men were placed on four sides:
Six east
Six west
Six north
Six south
Chief gatekeepers

I Chr. 9:21

I Chr. 9:26
Served continuously in the
Temple
In charge of the chambers and
the treasuries in the sanctuary
house of the Lord; mount the
guard; in charge of keys, vessels
for worship, utensils, fine flour of
meal offering, spices for incense

I Chr. 9:31
Mattithia, first born son of
Shallum, son of Korah

Some of the sons of Heman, son of
Kohath

I Chr. 9:33
Singers, heads of the clans of the
Levites were living in the chambers and exempt from other service
because they were on duty day and night

The brethren of the Levites were in charge of the service of the Lord
Conclusions

The enigmatic technical term, ἑκλή, appears most frequently in the canonical psalms, the book of Daniel and is scattered among various compositions in the Dead Sea Scroll corpus. What has been studied is the signification of the ἑκλή, the root of which is ἱλ. As is the case with many Hebrew roots, ἱλ has a dual meaning; i.e., to be wise or enlightened through the Holy Spirit or a fool (ἠλ) trusting in the supremacy of his own human intellect. The translators of the MT into the Greek LXX understood the dynamics of ἑκλή, for they rendered it as syneseis.

Thus, the compositions entitled ἑκλή were designed to instruct or enlighten, not by means of rational or logical methodology, but by inviting the audience to enter into the contemplative mindset of the Levitical composer. The forms used to express these teachings included riddles, parables and prayers in the form of lament and/or praise. The ἑκλή themselves, whether in the Psalter, Daniel or among the DSS writings, share a common matrix of characteristics. The works all involve some measure of speculation about theodicy, including the suffering of the righteous contrasted with the prosperity of the wicked. Some ἑκλή compositions express the promises of God concerning David and his kingdom, speculation about the angelic realms and the mysteries of the Eschaton.

What is often apparent, however, is the tension portrayed in the pieces. The Levitical teacher, in order to more effectively illustrate his point, would set polarities within the composition. Typically, those polarities would include mortal man in contrast to the
heavenly angels in the Hodayot and the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice in the Dead Sea Scrolls; the God of Israel as King over all humanity in contrast to the earthly kings described as various beasts in Daniel; and the fool versus the wise in the Miq
cy Psalms. The composer often showed his confusion, indicating that he was perplexed and unable to find a rational solution to his dilemma. Rather than give a simple and short answer to the questions posed, the miq
cy would teach the manner in which the pious should respond. A similar phenomenon is encountered in apocalyptic literature, where the penitent of God would fast and pray, seeking answers to his concerns. Often an angelic interpreter would intercede and enlighten the pious into some heavenly mystery. Equally as often, however, his basic questions would remain unanswered, but his mindset would be transformed to the point that the original question no longer seemed as relevant. Because the miq
cy was instructed by the Holy Spirit, it was necessary for him to remain receptive to the purifying and enlightening power of God’s light. To do so required strict adherence to precepts of purities and sanctities. Coupled with the aforementioned disciplines is the element of sacred music, designed to elevate the intellect and will towards the things of God. As such, the miq
cy through liturgy, prayer and living according to the precepts of Levitical purity were engaged in mystical speculation. These mystical exercises gave rise to a form of Scriptural interpretation (⠗⠤⠔) radically different from the methodology employed among the schools of the Pharisees. The miq
cy were also described as seers or visionaries (⠾⠠⠎) and were capable of interpreting the visions or dreams of others. Those matters mysterious to all men were accessible to the Levitical miq
cy. As a result, the pious miq
cy served as a link between heaven and earth. The phenomenon of heavenly ascent, in order to witness the divine liturgy, was accepted and perhaps
practiced by the DSS community. It is therefore reasonable to connect this practice with the later reports of ascent and gazing into the heavenly realms with both Christian and Rabbinic literature.

The manner in which religious subgroups within Judaism coped with the external and internal situations of the day is reflected in their writings. As was already discussed, the maktûm in the Psalter, the book of Daniel and in the Dead Sea Scrolls had a particular ideology pertaining to their roles within the community, their community's relationship to the world at large, other sects within Judaism and to God Himself. The importance of having an understanding of Second Temple history is evident when trying to assess the historical circumstances that might have contributed to the rise of this proto-apocalyptic material.

The maskil-type compositions reflect the concerns of those 'hassidîm faced with the dilemmas encountered in living under foreign rule. The pious ones of God seemed to struggle with their faith and the promises of God as they had previously understood them. In the early years of the Restoration, those priests and Levites who accompanied Zerubbabel and Joshua to Jerusalem faced strong opposition from within the Jewish community by the nationalists and the assimilationists and from without by the Tobiads and other powerful families. Their messianic expectations of the re-establishment of the Davidic monarchy, the rebuilding of the Temple and renewal of the Temple cult were met with disappointment. This speculative thinking expressed in the maktûm psalms sometimes as praise, other times as lament demonstrates the depth of their struggle in
understanding God’s hand in history and in their personal and collective eschatology. They literally had to rethink their former views on suffering, death and the judgment of God. Similarly, the crisis of religious persecution brought about by Antiochus IV Epiphanes in 167 BCE caused the *mēkhēym* to again reflect and speculate about the signification of it all. Has God forsaken us? What happened to the promises made by the God of Israel to David? Why does God allow the Judean State and the Temple to be controlled by wicked and assimilationist high priests? Why do the wicked and powerful continue to prosper while the pious ones of Israel are slaughtered like sheep by the Seleucids? When will God vindicate our cause? Although many groups likely contemplated these same issues, the manner in which they chose to respond was varied, as was demonstrated by the Essenes’ withdrawal from Jerusalem to the desert. The same phenomenon occurred at various times under the Herodian dynasty, controlled by the Roman Empire. Except for the last twenty years of the existence of the Temple, the Herodian-appointed Boethusians were in control of the cult and served as high priests. Both the Pharisees and the Essenes of the Dead Sea Community continued, each in their own way, to resist succumbing to assimilationist practices. This resistance sometimes led to persecution and even to martyrdom, as was the case under Cambyses II and Antiochus IV Epiphanes of the Persian period. Speculating about the many quandaries faced by the pious of God fueled apocalyptic-type reflections among the *mēkhēym* wherein the persecuted are called to witness, if necessary, to the point of martyrdom. The reward of the evil and of the righteous is realized posthumously. Thus, the *mēkhēym* denied not the evil of his day, but reconciled the faith of the community with the ideas of eternal reward and punishment.
Future research into the mšly' should include a close look at New Testament writings, particularly the Gospel According to Matthew.\(^1\) The Gospel of Matthew beautifully illustrates mšly' themes of the foolish versus the enlightened and their respective fates. Chapter 13 focuses on the discourse of the parables and is pregnant with meaning for this discussion. The manner in which Matthew understood aspects of Levitical tradition and pedagogy yields important information about his background. Thus, this information confirms that which Luke reported; namely, that Matthew was a collector of the Temple revenue and a son of Levi (Lk. 5:27). Briefly, Jesus ministers to the people on the lakeside as he sat in a boat. He spoke to them in parables about the mysteries of the Kingdom of Heaven (Mt. 13:4-9). When questioned by his disciples regarding why he spoke to the crowds in parables, he explained that only his inner circle, his disciples, were granted the gift of understanding the *mystery*. Jesus did state, however, that those who had ears should listen (Mt. 13:9), implying that there may be some among the crowds who had been granted the gift of enlightenment by the Holy Spirit and could comprehend the meaning of the esoteric parables. These parables (mšš) were certainly not of the type encountered in wisdom literature, particularly Proverbs. They were of a different nature, pointing to the esoteric traditions within the circles of the mššy'm, particularly the Asaphites and sons of Korah. When Jesus explained to his inner circle why he spoke to them in veiled language, Matthew 13:14-15 quoted him as referring to the prophecy in Isaiah 6:9-10.

Listen and listen, but never understand!  
Look and look, but never perceive!

\(^1\) The book of Revelation, modeled to a great extent after the book of Daniel, should also be examined for patterns of thought and linguistic similarities to the mššy'm.
This people’s heart has grown coarse, their ears dulled, they have shut their ears tight; to avoid using their eyes to see, their ears to hear, their hearts to understand, changing their ways and being healed by me.

Jesus contrasted the state of the multitude with that of his disciples (Mt. 13:16-17):

But blessed are your eyes because they see, your ears because they hear! In truth I tell you, many prophets and upright people longed to see what you see and never Saw it; to hear what you hear and never heard it.

Jesus continued to teach these parables concerning esoteric matters pertaining to the kingdom of God. In addition, toward the end of this section, Matthew quotes the beginning of Psalm 78 attributed to Asaph the prophet:

I will speak to you in parables,
Unfold what has been hidden since the beginning of the world.

Following this verse, the teachings of Jesus turn to apocalyptic matters (Mt. 13:36-50) concerning the End Times. Matthew incorporates angelology into this section, as well as a verse of considerable importance to our study, namely, Daniel 12:3:

Then the upright (mēskylēm; dikaiol=NT) will shine like the sun in the kingdom of their Father.

Thus, we conclude this initial study with a sense of how expansive the relevant literature might be. The findings thus far on the mēskyl literature should serve as a point of departure for more in-depth research into the many areas it encompasses.
Appendix
Psalm Analysis: Varieties of Superscriptions

**Psalm 32 (31)**

MT: *Ḷḍṿ ḍṃḳỵḷ¹*
A Contemplative Lesson Attributed to David

LXX: *Eυνσαςας το Δαυιδ*
A Contemplative Lesson Attributed to David

Targum: *Ḷḍṿ ḍḳị ṇ¹*
A Lesson Carefully Crafted to Evoke Contemplation "Attributed to David.

**Psalm 41 (40) ²**

MT: *Lmnsh mzmr Ḷḍṿ ³Hy ṃḳỵl ³ḍ ḷ*
For the Conductor, an Instrumental Arrangement. A Psalm of David.
Blessed be the one who perceives (or enlightens about) the one who is poor and needy

LXX: *Eις το τελος, Φολμος το Δαυιδ*
For the Conductor, A Psalm Attributed to David

Targum: *Hy dṃḳỵl ³Hy ṃsḳn ³*
A Carefully Crafted Composition Designed to Evoke Contemplation
Concerning One Suffering and Poor
³Hy ṃḳỵl
Blessings upon the one who perceives (or instructs)

¹ The term *ṃḳỵl* in these superscriptions is translated as a contemplative lesson.
² The term *ευνσαςας* in these superscriptions is translated as a contemplative lesson.
³ The term *δκι* in these superscriptions is translated as a lesson carefully crafted to evoke contemplation, unless otherwise indicated.
⁴ Although this psalm does not bear a superscription identifying it as a *ṃḳỵl* psalm, the basic theme, as reflected in the opening verse, concerns the *ṃḳỵl*. As such, Psalm 41 is included in the list.
⁵ The Greek term, for the end (εις το τελος), corresponds to the MT of *lṃṣh* and is translated as for the conductor.
Psalm 42(41)

MT:  

Lmnsh mškyl lbn y krh
For the Conductor. A Contemplative Lesson of the Sons of Korah

LXX:  

Εἰς τὸ τέλος Εἰς συνεσίν τοῖς υἱοῖς Κορᾶ
For the Conductor. A Contemplative Lesson of the Sons of Korah

Targum:  

Lšbš bškl t r ydyhn lbn y krh
A Laudatory Anthem. Through a Carefully Crafted Lesson Designed to Evoke Contemplation by the Hands of the Sons of Korah.

Psalm 43(42)

MT:  

No superscription; occurs as a continuation of Psalm 42

LXX:  

Ψαλμὸς τῷ Δαβιδ
A Psalm of David

Targum:  

No superscription

Psalm 44(43)

MT:  

Lmnsh lbn y krh mškyl
For the Conductor. A Contemplative Lesson of the Sons of Korah
LXX: Ἐπὶ τῷ τέλος τοῖς υἱόις Κορὰς εἰς σύνεσιν Ψαλμὸς
For the Conductor. A Contemplative Lesson Attributed to the Sons of Korah.

Targum: L'Hsh la'dl' ydyhn dbny krh škl 'nv
A Laudatory Anthem in the Manner of David by Means of a Carefully Crafted Lesson Designed to Evoke Contemplation. Of the Sons of Korah.

Psalm 45(44)

MT: Lmnš ’l ṣnnym dbny krh mškył bvr ydyvt
For the Conductor. For Alternate Strains (or Upon Lilies) Attributed to the Sons of Korah, a Contemplative Lesson. A Song Concerning the Beloved.

LXX: Ἐπὶ τῷ τέλος υἱοὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἡσυχαστῶν, τοῖς υἱοῖς, Κορὰς εἰς σύνεσιν, Ἐσθὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀγαπητοῦ
For the Conductor. For Alternate Strains, Attributed to the Sons of Korah, a Contemplative Lesson. A Song Concerning the Beloved.

Targum: L'Hsh 'l ythy snhdryn dmšh d' r 'mwnw' h 'l ydhn dbny krh škl 'nv wtsbh' v w'wd' v
A Laudatory Anthem of the Supreme Justices of Moses. Composed by the Sons of Korah. A Carefully Crafted Lesson Designed to Evoke Contemplation and Praise and Thanksgiving.

Psalm 52(51)

MT: Lmnš mškył la'dl' bš’d g h’dmy wygd b’y wy’mr b’ év̄d l byl' ḥymlk
For the Conductor. Attributed to David, a Contemplative Lesson. When Doeg the Idumean came and told Saul and said to him, “David is gone to the house of Abimelech.”

LXX: Ἐπὶ τῷ τέλος συνέσεως τῷ Δαβίδ ἐν τῷ ἑλθείν Δαβίδ τὸν Ἱδουμαέων καὶ ἀναγγέλλαι τῷ Ιακώβ, καὶ εἰπεῖν αὐτῷ ἡλθεὶ Δαβίδ ἐς τὸν οἴκον Ἁβίμαλέως
For the Conductor. A Contemplative Lesson Attributed to David When Doeg the Idumean came and told Saul and said to him, “David is gone to the house of Abimelech.”
Targum: Lšbhyšd tv t yd v dwd
A Laudatory Anthem. A Carefully Crafted Lesson Designed to Evoke Contemplation in the Manner of David.

Psalm 53 (52)

MT: Lmnšh 9 mḥḥt mškyl lāvd
For the Conductor. A Contemplative Lesson Attributed to David, Upon Mahalath (in sickness)

LXX: ἔς ἡ τελος, εἰς συνέσεως τῆς Δαυΐδ, ὑπὲρ μακέλθ
For the Conductor. A Contemplative Lesson Attributed to David, Upon Mahalath (in sickness)

Targum: Lšbhyšd prṇt dršy'y'dy mpyn ṣm' dgyry's šk't ūv t yd v dwd
A Laudatory Anthem About the Retribution of the Wicked Who Profane the Name of the Lord. A Carefully Crafted Lesson Designed to Evoke Contemplation. By the Hand of David.

Psalm 54 (53)

MT: Lmnšh bngynt mškyl lāvd bb' ḫyyyn ḫmr l št hlv' dwd nsṝ'mn
For the Conductor. With Stringed Instruments (in a manner of derision). A Contemplative Lesson Attributed to David. When the Ziphites came and said to Saul, "Lo, is not David hid with us?"

LXX: εἰς τῇ τέλος, ἐν ᾫ μνοις συνέσεως τῆς Δαυΐδ ἐν τῇ ἐλαθίν τούς Ζηρίας τοὺς καὶ εἶπεν τῇ Σαουλ, οὐκ ἤδει Δαυΐδ κἂρουται παρ' ἡμῖν
For the Conductor, A Contemplative Lesson Attributed to David. When the Ziphites came and said to Saul, "Lo, is not David hid with us?"

Targum: Lšbhyšd ṣḥḥšd ūtv t r ṣ yd v dwd
To Praise in Exultation. A Carefully Crafted Lesson Designed to Evoke Contemplation. By the Hand of David.
Psalm 55 (54)

MT: Lmnsh bngynt msyly ldvd
For the Conductor. With Stringed Instruments (in a manner of derision). A Contemplative Lesson Attributed to David.

LXX: Εἰς τὸ τέλος, ἐν ὕμνοις συνεστῶς τῷ Δαυίδ
For the Conductor. A Contemplative Lesson Attributed to David

Targum: Lbsy l mly ysh btsk l yd dvd
To Praise in Exultation.
A Carefully Crafted Lesson Designed to Evoke Contemplation. By the Hand of David.

Psalm 74 (73)

MT: Msyly l’sf
A Contemplative Lesson of Asaph.

LXX: Εὐνέστεως τῷ Ασάϕ
A Contemplative Lesson of Asaph.

Targum: Skl tr l ydy d sf
A Carefully Crafted Lesson Designed to Evoke Contemplation. Attributed to Asaph.

Psalm 78 (77)

MT: Msyly l’sf
A Contemplative Lesson of Asaph.

LXX: Εὐνέστεως τῷ Ασάϕ
A Contemplative Lesson of Asaph.

Targum: Sk l drh kds l ydy d sf
A Contemplative Lesson through the Holy Spirit by the Hands of Asaph.
Psalm 88

MT: 

\[ \text{Syr mznr lbn ykr \ imnsh 'lmhlt l'nt mskyl hymn h'rhy} \]

A Vocal Composition with Musical Accompaniment Attributed to the Sons of Korah. For the Conductor, upon Mahaileth (in sickness) for Alternate Strains. A Contemplative Lesson Attributed to Heman the Ezrahite (native-born).

LXX:

\[ \text{'Ωδη Φαλμοὶ τοῖς υἱῶις Κορᾶ, εἰς τῷ τέλος, ὑπὲρ μαλεθ τοῦ ἀποκρι-} \]
\[ \text{θήναι συνεσεῖς Αἰμάν τῷ Ἰσραηλίτῃ} \]

A Song of a Psalm Attributed to the Sons of Korah. For the Conductor, upon Mahaileth (in sickness) for Alternate Strains. A Contemplative Lesson. Attributed to Heman the Israelite.

Targum:

\[ \text{Syr wtdyh} '4 *ydyhn dvny krh 'l ylt 'isbh 'stl tv 't ydy bhymn ygyv} \]


Psalm 89

MT: 

\[ \text{Msykyl l'yn h zryh} \]

A Contemplative Lesson of Ethan the Ezrahite.
Or A Contemplative Lesson of The Pillar from the East.\(^5\)

LXX: 

\[ \text{Συνεσεῖς Ἀθαμ τῷ Ἰσραηλίτῃ} \]

A Contemplative Lesson Attributed to Ethan the Israelite.

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\(^5\) yyn=MT; root= ytn; Targum translates as pillar of the world (brhm).

\( H \ zrh\=MT; \ compare \ hmrzrh=mzyh \ h=from \ the \ East \)
Targum:  שֵׁלֶשׁ שֵׁלֶשׁ יִדְּחַ מִרְגָּד יִדְּחַ דֶּרֶךְ דִּילֵם מַדְּנֵיִים
A Carefully Crafted Lesson Designed to Evoke Contemplation that is
Worded by the Hand of Abraham Of the East.

Psalm 142 (141)

MT:  מִשְׁלי לִדְּדָל בֵּית בְּנֵר הַשָּׁלֶחַ
A Contemplative Lesson Attributed to David. When He was in the Cave.
A Prayer.

LXX:  Συνέσθεσις τῷ Δαβίδ ἐν τῷ εἰσεῖ αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ σπηλαίῳ προσέχῃ
A Contemplative Lesson Attributed to David. When He was in the Cave.
A Prayer.

Targum:  שֵׁלֶשׁ שֵׁלֶשׁ יִדְּחַ מִרְגָּד בֶּן נָר יִדְּחַ שֶלֶךְ
A Contemplative Lesson Designed to Evoke Contemplation from the
Hand of David. When He was in the Cave. A Prayer.
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Primary Sources


Secondary Sources


Tools


