

# THE PRIEST ANOINTED FOR BATTLE

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## 1. Introduction

The reason why I undertook to study the theme 'The priest anointed for battle' was that while studying texts having to do with the Messiah, Son of Joseph, often called the Anointed for Battle §1 §\*, I repeatedly came upon rabbinic texts which also dealt with the one 'Anointed for Battle', but which seemed to deal with another person, a priest. Although scholars, who had previously noted this phenomenon were certain that the texts dealt with two different persons having the same title,<sup>2)</sup> I felt that the texts should be examined in a more thorough way to determine whether or not there existed an organic relation between the traditions about the two persons.

It soon became clear that the texts dealing with the priest Anointed for Battle §2 § exhibit several interesting features, the most important being perhaps that the texts are inherently eschatological in character and that the texts dealing with the §1 § often seem like foreign in their respective context.

Being unaware of any study devoted to the Priest Anointed for Battle (hereafter = AB), my initial task is, then, to collect the text material and, thereafter, to search for systematic relationships between the texts. I believe it best to start with the title and the position of the AB and then to pass over to his functions. Once this is completed, I will widen the scope of this study and look for non-rabbinic texts dealing with similar phenomena. Only then will I put critical questions to the rabbinic texts.

## 2. Presentation of the Rabbinic Material – Tannaitic Texts and the Talmudim

### 2.1. *The title and position of the Priest Anointed for Battle*

1. The most usual rendering of the title is: '(the One) Anointed for Battle' §1§. The full title is probably 'The Priest Anointed for Battle' §2§.<sup>3)</sup> Sometimes the texts mention only the 'priest' §3§, although the context makes it clear that the word refers to the AB.<sup>4)</sup> The words §4§ apparently also denote a title: 'The Priest of (the) Battle Formations',<sup>5)</sup> although most follow DANBY's translation of M Sota VIII, 2:

(1) These all hearken to the words of the priest *concerning the ordinances of battle,*<sup>6)</sup> (*my italics*)

That translation is awkward, especially in the Sifre Debarim texts. Furthermore, this rendering implies that the AB also had to do with the actual organisation of the battle formations, a conclusion not evidenced in the texts dealing with his functions. If the words are considered, however, to be a title, the difficulties disappear. All that is implied is that there is a connection between the priest and the battle formations; the kind of connection does not become clear until we read the texts themselves. It is, therefore, much simpler to regard the words as a title. This raises a new problem: it is not self-evident that the AB and the »Priest of the Battle Formations« are identical, at least not in all the texts. Neither is it clear that they designate two different persons. Permit me, therefore, to limit myself here to the title and to later return to the matter of identification.

## 2. Sota 42a relates the position of the AB:

- (2) Our Rabbis taught: »And the priest shall come forward and address the army (people)« [Deut 20,2] Can every priest who wishes [do it, that is, address the people]? The Word teaches [Deut 20,5]: »And the officers shall say«. As the officers [act] on account of an appointment, so the priest [acts] on account of an appointment.

I could say: »[Why not] the High priest?« There is an analogy to [the situation of] the officer. As the officer has someone appointed above him, so the priest has someone appointed above him. Likewise it is with the High priest, who has the King over him. He speaks about his office.

I could say: »[Why not] the chief of the priests (the Segan)?« The Segan was not appointed. As it is taught: Rabbi Hanina, the Segan of the priests, said: »What is the Segan of the priests appointed for? If there occurred [a reason] to disqualify the High Priest, he [the Segan] served in his place.«

In the preceding Mishnatext (M Sota VIII, 1) the priest in Deut 20,2 was clearly identified as being the AB.

The gemara quoted above speaks of an *appointed* §§§ priest. It is therefore clear that the AB was not thought of as just any priest, but was considered as being specifically appointed to (or consecrated for) his service. It would be natural to assume that his was a specific office with particular duties and obligations (which I consider later).

The title 'The Priest Anointed for Battle' indicates, that he was solemnly anointed for his office. There is, though, no evidence of any person ever having been consecrated with oil for this 'office'.<sup>7)</sup> B Keritot 5b and B Horayot 11b state that only the kings of Juda and the high priests were anointed with the oil of anointment §§§. When, therefore, MAIMONIDES, in his Book of Temple service writes: »At all times, only a High Priest, a priest anointed for war, and Kings of the House of David were anointed with this oil«,<sup>8)</sup> he cannot adduce any textual evidence to support the claim that the AB belonged to this exclusive group. But, on the basis of his title, it is perhaps justified to assume that he was considered as *worthy* to be consecrated with the oil of anointment. The fact that according to tannaitic traditions the flask with the oil of anointment together with several other important vessels disappeared or were hidden after the destruction of the first temple<sup>9)</sup> indicates that there never existed any AB properly consecrated for his office. When the AB was appointed

to and consecrated for his office, as well as the duration of his service are all open to questions. MAIMONIDES supposes that he was appointed when a war started.<sup>10)</sup> The duration of his service is unknown and could have been for the length of the war, for a certain period or for life, to mention a few possibilities.

The *rank* of the AB is mentioned several times, together with a short discussion of some of his rights and prerogatives. Horayot II, 10 ranks the priests in the following way:<sup>11)</sup>

- (3) A [high priest] anointed with the oil of anointment precedes the [high priest who has been installed] with a larger number of garments. A [high priest who has been installed] with a larger number of garments precedes the [priest] anointed for battle. And the [priest] anointed for battle precedes the segan ...

Thus the AB stood very high. As, in fact, there were no high priests consecrated with the oil of anointment, the AB occupied the second highest priestly rank, second only to the high priest. The texts, however, show that the rabbis were in reality uncertain concerning the rank of this priest. B Yoma 72b-73a<sup>12)</sup> describes the relation between him and the high priest.

- (4) When R. Dimi came [from Palestine] he said: In the garments wherein the high priest officiates, the [priest] Anointed for Battle officiates, as it is said: *And the holy garments of Aron shall be for his sons after him* [Ex 29,29], i.e., for him who comes after him in greatness [of office]. R. Adda b. Ahabah, some say Kadi, raised an objection: One might have assumed that the son of the Anointed for Battle succeeds him in service, even as the son of the high priest succeeds him in service [73a] therefore the text reads: *Seven days shall the son that is priest in his stead put them on, even he who cometh into the tent of meeting* [etc.] [Ex 29,30], i.e., he who is worthy of entering the tent of meeting. Now if this were the case, then he too would be fit [to enter the tent of meeting]? – R. Nahman b. Isaac said: This is what it means: Whosoever was mainly anointed for the [purpose of] the tent of meeting, that excludes him who was anointed mainly for Battle.

The following objection was raised: The Anointed for Battle officiates neither in four garments, like a common priest, nor in eight like a high priest? – Abaye said: Would you render him then a common man? Rather: Neither like a high priest, for the sake of preventing ill-feeling; nor like a common priest, because 'one promotes to a higher degree of sanctity, but one must not degrade'. R. Adda b. Ahabah said to Raba: But there is a Tanna who pays no attention to the prevention of ill-fee-

ling, yet according to him, he does not officiate? For it was taught: In the following points a high priest differs from a common priest: the bullock of the priest anointed; and the bullock due in case of [unwitting] transgression of any commandment; the bullock of the Day of Atonement; the tenth of the *ephah*; he does not unbind his hair, nor rend his clothes. But he [the high priest] tears his garments from below, and the common priest tears his from above; he must not defile himself for his [deceased] relatives; he is under obligation to marry only a virgin; is prohibited from marrying a widow; causes the slayer to return; as *onen* [mourner] he may offer up a sacrifice but may not eat or take a share thereof; he receives his portion first and takes first part in the offering [of the sacrifice]; he officiates in eight garments; is exempt [from a sacrifice] for [an unwitting transgression of] defilement relating to the Sanctuary and its hallowed things, and the whole service of the Day of Atonement is legitimate only when performed by him. All these [laws] apply also to priests consecrated by a larger number of official garments, with the exception of the bullock to be offered up for the transgression of any commandment. All these apply to the high priest who has passed from his high priesthood, with the exception of the bullock of the Day of Atonement and the tenth of the *ephah*. All these things do not apply to the priest Anointed for Battle, with the exception of five matters mentioned in that portion of the section: he does not unbind his hair, nor rend his clothes; nor defile himself with any [deceased] relative; is obliged to marry a virgin; forbidden to marry a widow; and causes the slayer to return – according to R. Judah; whereas, according to the Sages, he does not cause him to return.<sup>13)</sup> Whence does he [the Tanna] consider [the question of] enmity [to arise]? Only with regard to one of similar rank. But with one of inferior rank he does consider it. [---]

When Rabin came, he said: This was stated with reference to the time when he is consulted. Thus also was it taught: The garments which the high priest wears when he officiates the Anointed for Battle wears when he is consulted. (The words within square brackets are –with the exception of the Bible-references – found in the translation.)

After some discussion, the decision is reached that only in connection with the consultation of the Urim and Tummin is the AB allowed to wear the eight garments of the high priest. This decision rests on the assumption that, when the Urim and Tummin were to be consulted, it was possible to go to the AB – an assumption that has no scriptural foundation, since, according to the Old Testament, only the high priest wore the Urim and Tummin.<sup>14)</sup>

The uncertainty with regard to the rank of the AB is reflected also in connection with the relation between him and the *Segan*. In B Nazir 47b (middle) we read:<sup>15)</sup>

(5) They [the scholars] asked: Which one of the Anointed for Battle or the *Segan* takes precedence? Does the [priest] Anointed for Battle take precedence, because he is fit for war, or does the *Segan* perhaps take precedence, because he is fit for the [Temple]-service?

Come and hear! It is taught: There is no difference between the Anointed for Battle and the *Segan* with the exception that if they were going on the road and were to find the corpse of an unknown person [whose burial therefore was obligatory], the Anointed for Battle would become defiled, but not the *Segan*. Is it not taught that the Anointed for Battle precedes the *Segan* [T Horayot II, 10]? Mar Zutra said: As to the saving of his life the Anointed for Battle takes precedence. What is the reason? Since the many depended upon him. But as to uncleanness the *Segan* takes precedence, since it is taught: Rabbi Hanina ben Antigonos says: Why did they ordain the *Segan* for the high priest? Because, if he [the high priest] became disqualified, then he [the *Segan*] steps in, and serves in his place.

This short investigation shows that there is reason to doubt that the AB, despite his title was installed by way of anointment. The rank of the AB is as I have shown very high, second only to the High Priest. However; when one considers the uncertainties in connection with the relation both to the high priest and to the *Segan*, and when one considers that the AB apparently had no liturgical functions, one begins to wonder whether this specific office – §1§ – filled by a specific person ever existed. If we assume, reasonably enough, that the purpose of the lists of ranks was to show the order of precedence with regard to the Temple service, why, then, was a rank enumerated, which had no connection with the service?

I will now turn to the next phase of my investigation: the description of the functions of the AB.

## 2.2. *The functions of the Priest Anointed for Battle*

According to the texts, the main functions of the AB are to give the oracle, to decide who is exempted from taking part in the battle, and to make the speech of encouragement.

### 2.2.1. The oracle-giving

Asking the oracle was a fixed moment in the holy war.<sup>16)</sup> Divine communication took place mostly in dreams, prophetic oracles, or through the Urim and Tummin.<sup>17)</sup>

In Judg 7, 13ff the oracle in connection with a war was given in the form of a dream. According to the texts the Lord often communicated with the prophets through dreams.<sup>18)</sup> Thus the different forms of divine communication could blend. That prophets were consulted when a war was planned or had broken out is well-known in the Bible.<sup>19)</sup> The Urim and Tummim was also used to this purpose.<sup>20)</sup>

According to Lev 8, 7f the high priest wore Urim and Tummim in his garb so that he who wished to consult them went to the high priest.<sup>21)</sup> Apparently the use of Urim and Tummim ceased after the destruction of the first temple.<sup>22)</sup> When, therefore, a baraita in B Yoma 73a (the end) informs that even the AB gives the oracle, it says at the same time that he does so in the garment of the high priest.<sup>23)</sup>

It is difficult to know whether the rabbis thought the oracle-giving to be the prerogative of the AB alone, or if it was a part of the duties of the high priest as well. The short discussion in B Sanhedrin 16a (the end)<sup>24)</sup> shows that the rabbis believed that in pre-exilic times the AB participated while the high priest administered the oracle:

(6) Said R. Abbahu: scripture states [Num 27,21], *And he shall stand before Eleazar the Priest [who shall inquire for him by the judgement of the Urim before the Lord. At his word shall they go out and at his word they shall come in, both he and all the children of Israel with him, even all the Congregation]. 'He', refers to the King; 'And all the children of Israel with him' to the Priest anointed for the conduct of war; and, 'all the Congregation,' means the Sanhedrin.*

We note that the AB in this connection has taken over a task formerly belonging to the high priest. But since this task is still, formally, that of the high priest because the Urim and Tummim is part of his clothing the only way for the AB to give the oracle is to don this garb.

### 2.2.2. The exemption from duty to take part in the battle

In M Sota VIII, 7 it is stated that the foregoing deals with a battle of free choice. But in a battle waged in a religious cause *all* had to participate. There were, therefore, at least two kinds of wars. Only in the first kind did the possibility of exemption exist and it was the AB who had the important duty to decide who could go and who must remain.

In this context men of military age are divided into three categories: 1. Those who stay at home. They do not go to the camps at all. They are free from all duties in connection with the war. 2. Those who are mobilised. They go to the camps but are later exempted from participating in the actual battles. These may then return home, but have the duty of providing food for the troops and repairing the roads. 3. Those who are mobilised and remain to fight the battles.<sup>25)</sup>

1. To the first group belong those who had built a house, dedicated it, but not yet lived a full year in it; those who had planted a vineyard but used its fruit for less than a year; those who had engaged a woman, consummated the marriage, but not yet been married with her for a full year. These laws are based on Deut 24,5, a verse, which deals only with a man who has married a woman but is extended to apply to those who have built a house and planted a vineyard as well.<sup>26)</sup>

Since the individuals of this group do not even move away from their places of habitation, they would, presumably, have successfully proven their right to be exempted. If the proper authority was situated in the place of habitation, there would be no problems, since the persons would be known to the authorities. If, which seems more probable, since it would diminish the risk of bias, the proper authority ruling on the application for exemption was situated in the camps, where the soldiers assembled, some sort of evidence would be needed to prove that the individual in question should indeed be exempted from coming to the camp.<sup>27)</sup>

2. To the second group belong those who had built a house, but not yet dedicated it; those who had planted a vineyard, but not used the fruit of it; those who had engaged a woman, but not yet married her; and those who were afraid of the coming battle.<sup>28)</sup> The Biblical foundations for these rules are found in Deut 20,5-8.

While in the Biblical text it is the 'officers' §7§ who speak about the exemptions, in the rabbinic texts it is the AB. In Mishna Sota as well as in Sifre Debarim<sup>29)</sup> it is the 'Priest of the Battle Formations'. In Tosefta and T Babli it is the AB.<sup>30)</sup> The T Babli gives precise information:

(7) Our Rabbis taught: *'And the officers shall speak'* [Deut 20,5] – it is possible to think that this refers to their own words; but when it states, *'And the officers shall speak further'* [Deut 20, 8], behold this is to be understood as their own words; so how am I to explain *'And the officers shall speak'*? Scripture alludes to the words of the priest Anointed for Battle. So what was the procedure? A priest speaks [the words] and an officer proclaims them [to the army]. One [authority] taught: A priest speaks [the words] and an officer proclaims them; another taught: A priest speaks [the words] and a priest proclaims them; while yet another taught: An officer speaks [the words] and an officer proclaims them! – Abaye said: What, then, was the procedure? From *'When ye draw nigh'* down to *'and the officers shall speak'* [Deut 20,2-4] a priest speaks and a priest proclaims. From *'and the officers shall speak'* down to *'and the officers shall speak further'* [Deut 20,5-7] a priest speaks and an officer proclaims. From *'and the officers shall speak'* [Deut 20,8] onwards an officer speaks and an officer proclaims.<sup>31)</sup>

It should be kept in mind that the major subject of the (Mishna) passage is the question of which passages are to be read in the holy language (Hebrew). When, therefore, there is made a distinction between 'speak' and 'proclaim' the meaning is that 'speak' refers to a portion read in Hebrew, while 'proclaim' refers to a translation into the vernacular.

The individuals belonging to the second group were also expected to bring some kind of evidence with them. This could either be in form of witnesses or a document from the place of habitation. Those who »were afraid«, however, could obviously not bring forward their evidence until immediately before the impending battle. In this case the evidence was to be seen on the person himself, his symptoms of fright.<sup>32)</sup>

As examples of declared wars Raba enumerated the conquests of David, which, according to Raba, were actually preventive wars.<sup>33)</sup> Apparently the act of leaving Israel and entering foreign soil had some significance. The rabbinic tradition knows, indeed, of *two* speeches made by the AB, one at the border, and the other immediately before the battle.<sup>34)</sup> This indicates the importance put on leaving the land of Israel. According to this tradition, the individuals who belonged to the group permitted to return home, were to attend to the speech made at the battle formation. YADIN believes that it is more probable that this group was already exempted at the border, since it

was pointless to retain them so long and then release them immediately before the battle.<sup>35)</sup>

Those who were fearful and fainthearted would, however, not be allowed to return until the last possible moment, that is, in connection with the speech to the armies in battle formation. The evidence was then for everyone to see: the trembling and anguish of the soldier in question. He would not be allowed to fight at the side of the other men, since his fright could be contagious and be a risk to the battle-spirit of the entire army.

Our texts follow the above with a lengthy discussion about the correct definition of the general terms employed in the rules: What kind of structures is meant with 'house'; what kind of activity is meant with 'building'; what is a 'vineyard', 'planting'; under what circumstances are the words 'engage a woman' valid, etc.? This discussion does not concern us here, since it does not deal with the AB, but with the correct ways of categorizing.

3. There are no special texts in this context about the third group, those who actually fight in the battle. This may well be because the main problem to be considered was the exemption.

### 2.2.3. The speech of encouragement

The single duty which Deut 20,2-9 assigns to the priest mentioned there, the speech of encouragement, is thus according to the rabbis only one of the duties of the AB. It is not an unimportant duty. On the contrary, it plays a central role in the theory of the holy war in that its purpose is to infuse in the soldiers courage and confidence by assuring that the Lord is on their side and goes with them into the battle.

Rabbinic tradition preserves the actual words of the speech of encouragement only in the Mishna and in Sifre Debarim in a slightly different form. The following quote is from the Mishna Sota VIII, 1 according to DANBY's translation:

(8) When the Anointed for Battle speaks unto the people he speaks in the Holy Language, for it is written [Deut 20, 2f], *'And it shall be when ye draw nigh unto the battle, that the priest shall approach this is the priest anointed for the battle) and shall speak unto the people (in the Holy Language), and shall say unto them.'*

*Hear, O Israel, ye draw nigh unto battle this day*

against your enemies – and not against your brethren, not Judah against Simeon, and not Simeon against Benjamin, for if you fall into their hands they will have mercy upon you, for it is written [2 Chron 28, 15], *And the men which have been expressed by name rose up and took the captives and with the spoil clothed all that were naked among them, and arraged them and shod them and gave them to eat and to drink and anointed them and carried all the feeble of them upon asses and brought them to Jericho, the city of palm trees, unto their brethren: then they returned to Samaria.*

Against your enemies do ye go, therefore if you fall into their hands they will not have mercy upon you.

*Let not your heart be faint, fear not nor tremble, neither be ye affrighted* [Deut 20,3]. *Let not your heart be faint* at the neighing of the horses and the flashing of the swords; *fear not* at the clashing of shields and the rushing of the tramping shoes; *nor tremble* at the sound of the trumpets, *neither be ye affrighted* at the sound of the shouting; *for the Lord your God is he that goeth with you* [Deut 20,4].

They come in the strength of flesh and blood, but ye come in the strength of the Almighty. The Philistines came in the strength of Goliath. What was his end? In the end he fell by the sword and they fell with him. The children of Ammon came in the strength of Shobach. What was his end? In the end he fell by the sword and they fell with him. But not so are ye, *for the Lord your God is he that goeth with you, to fight for you.*

The speech is a skilful blend of Biblical and non-Biblical material. The appearance of a speech is kept up all the time.

The Mishnaic-rabbinic version stresses the fact that it is a real and cruel enemy they are facing – that they cannot count upon mercy from the foe, which would be the case if they fought their brethren. This underlines the exhortation to fight with all their might. Nevertheless, they are not to be afraid, since God goes with them to fight for them. A couple of examples of God's saving acts in the past are given.<sup>36)</sup>

In comparison with the Mishnaic version that in Sifre Debarim<sup>37)</sup> contains some extensions and some omissions. The extensions consist mainly of an added section with scriptural proof about the kindness shown to their brethren in war (Judg 21,3; 2Chron 28,8-11). The omission consists mainly of the section giving examples of God's saving acts in the history of His people.

### 3. Presentation of Other than Rabbinic Material

Until now I have given a rather comprehensive presentation of the rabbinic material dealing with the AB. I have avoided lengthening this presentation by analyzing the texts or comparing them with each other. I have permitted myself only a few comments on how poorly the AB fits the context where the rabbis try to place him, e.g. the list of priestly ranks.

I will now attempt to cast the net farther and look for other than rabbinic texts dealing with similar phenomena. I will choose the functions of the AB – oracle-giving, granting exemptions from military service, the speech of encouragement – as the criteria for selecting examples. This will, of course, enable me to restrict myself to texts which are clearly influenced by Deut 20,2-9, of which I have found only two: parts of the War-Scroll of Qumran and 1 Maccabees.<sup>38)</sup>

#### 3.1. The War – Scroll of Qumran

It is unnecessary for me to give a presentation of the War-Scroll or of the study of it. For that purpose there exist several easily obtainable commentaries and surveys.<sup>39)</sup>

The connection between 1 QM, 1Macc and the AB-texts through Deut 20,2-9 has been known and commented upon ever since the study on 1 QM began.

##### 3.1.1. Analysis of texts

Our starting point in 1 QM is X, 1-8:<sup>40)</sup>

(9) [...] [1.] our camp, and to beware of every unseemly evil thing, and who told us that Thou art in our midst, O great and terrible God, to make spoil of all [2.] our enemies before us. He has<sup>41)</sup> taught us from of old unto *all* our generations, [3.] saying [Deut 20,2-4]:

'When ye are come nigh unto the battle, the priest shall stand up and speak unto the people, saying, Hear, O Israel, ye approach this day unto battle against your enemies: fear not and let not your hearts faint, [4.] do not tremble, neither be ye terrified because of them; for your God goeth with you, to fight for you against your enemies, to save [5.] you'.

And our provosts shall speak to all those prepared for battle, the willinghearted, to hold fast through the might of God, to turn back all [6.] the faint-hearted, and to hold fast together, all mighty men of valour.

And it was Thou who<sup>42)</sup> hast s[spoken] by the hand of Moses, saying [Num 10,9]:

If 'there cometh a war [7.] in your land against the enemy that oppresseth you, then ye shall blow an alarm with the trumpets, and ye shall be remembered before your God, [8.] and ye shall be saved from your enemies' -<sup>43)</sup>

The character of the text is difficult to ascertain. It starts, apparently, as a prayer to God. This is seen mainly from the sentence: "that Thou art in our midst, O great and terrible God" §8§ and from the phrase: "And it was Thou who hast s[spoken] by the hand of Moses" § 9 § with the main verb restored.

The section is, however, dominated by three examples of what 'he' (probably Moses) has taught 'us': 1) that "the priest shall stand up and speak unto the people [...]" (Deut 20,2-4); 2) that "the provosts shall speak to all those prepared for battle"; 3) that "ye shall blow an alarm with the trumpets" when the war starts.

Of these examples we are already acquainted with the speech of encouragement (1) and the exemption from battle (2). The exemptions from battle here, however, take a different form from the one with which we are familiar. Here it is the *provosts* who take the responsibility, as in the Biblical text, but the reasons for exemption are almost completely left out. Of Deut 20,5-8 only the last verse is represented in 1 QM X, 5-6: "to turn back the faint-hearted". Furthermore we see that the provosts are also to encourage those who take part in the battle. In this way the duties of the provost at least partially overlap with the duties of the 'priest'. The text mentions in addition to these two instances the sounding of the trumpets - a feature of the war we hitherto have had no reason to take up. But, as is well-known, the trumpets do play a significant part in 1 QM.

Two of the examples - (1) and (3) - are given in form of quotations, while the relation of the second to the Biblical source is very general. Since the beginning of the prayer is lost, the relation between our examples and the foregoing text remains obscure. The quotation from Deut 20,2-4 is not itself explained but forms a support for the foregoing sentence - especially the words about God's presence in the camp finding a support at the end of the quotation (Deut 20,4).

I now turn to another text in 1 QM, which is often considered in connection with X, 1-8, namely 1 QM XV, 1-XVI, 1:

(10) [1.] For it is a time of trouble for Israel [1, a time pre-ordained] for battle with all the nations. And the lot of God is in eternal redemption, [2.] but annihilation for all nations of wickedness.

And all those [prepared] for battle shall go and encamp over against the king of the Kittim and all the army [3.] of Belial that are gathered unto him for a day [Of vengeance] through the Sword-of-God.

#### Section 23

[4.] The chief priest and his brother [priests] and the levites shall stand up and all the men of the Serekh with him, and he shall read in their hearing [5.] the prayer for the appointed time of batt[le], as is written in the boo[k] Serekh 'Itto, including all the texts of their thanksgivings. In that very place he shall array [6.] all the formations, as writ[ten] in the Book of the Wa[r]. Then the priest destined for the appointed time of vengeance by the agreement [7.] of all his brethren shall walk along and strengthen [their hands for the battl]e, and he shall solemnly declare:

Be ye strong and courageous and be men of valour, [8.] fear not, nor be ye dismayed [and let not your hearts faint] do not tremble, neither be ye terrified because of them, be not [9.] turned back nor [flee from them]. For they are a wicked congregation: in darkness are all their deeds, [10.] and unto it is their desire. [they have made lies] their refuge, their might is like unto smoke that vanisheth away, and all their assembled [11.] multitude [is as chaff that passeth away, and it shall become] a desolation, and shall not be found. All their creatures of evil intention shall quickly wither away [12.] [like a flow]er! in ha[rvest] time. But ye be courageous and] be strong for the battle of God, for this day is an appointed time of battle [13.] [unto Go]d against all the [nations, and strife of judgemen]t against all flesh. The God of Israel is raising His hand in His wondrous [might] [14.] against all the spirits of wick [edness. The battalions of the mi]ghty angels are girding themselves for battle, [and] the array[s of the sa]ints [15.] [are pre]paring themselves for a day of [vengeance ...] [16.] the God of I[srael] [...] [17.] to remove Bel[ial...] [18.] in his perdition (OR: hell) [...]

#### Column XVI

[1.] until every source [of uncleanness] is come to an end. [For] the God of Israel has called a sword upon all the nations, and through the saints of His people He will do mightily.

#### Section 24

[2.] All this disposition they shall carry out on that [day] in the place where they stand over against the camp of the Kittim. Afterwards the priests shall blow for them the trumpets [3.] of remembrance.<sup>44)</sup>

It is convenient to divide the above section into four parts: 1. XV, 1-2a – a description which comprises only nominal sentences; 2. XV, 2b-3; XVI, 2-3a – a narrative that forms a frame around section 23. The narrative continues after XVI, 3a, but I have not found it necessary to continue the quotation; 3. XV, 4-7b – a narrative which describes parts of the ritual of the holy war; 4. XV, 7c-XVI, 1 – a speech delivered by the priest destined for the appointed time of vengeance.

A comparison between this text and Deut 20,2-4 shows, despite the obvious differences a certain structural affinity. Part 1. and 2. in our text, which describe the imminence of war, correspond to the brief notion in Deut 20,2: ‘When ye are come nigh unto the battle’. Part 3. corresponds to the short note on the activity of the priest, and part 4. corresponds to the speech of encouragement by the priest.

A counterpart to the exemptions from the battle is completely absent. It is noteworthy, however, that the narrative frame mentions the sounding of the trumpets in the immediate context of the speech of encouragement (XVI,2-3a; cf X,7-8; Num 10,9).

Although part 3. above corresponds to the notice about the priest in Deut 20,2, we note that in the 1 QM-text *two* persons are presented: the chief priest and the priest destined for the appointed time of vengeance. Since it is the latter who makes the speech, he should be compared with the priest in Deut 20,2 and with the AB. Note that he has a specific title §10§, which has no verbal similarity with the title of the AB, but which nevertheless conveys the impression that there may be a similarity in function. This priest walks to and fro before the already organised battle formations and strengthens the soldiers by making a speech.

The speech is quite different from the one in Deut 20,3-4, although here again there are some structural similarities. The speech in 1 QM XV, 7c-XVI, 1 begins with a string of exhortations and admonitions to be brave and not fearful.<sup>45</sup> The hearers should not be fearful, he continues, because the enemies are the wicked congregation. They “desire unto the deeds of darkness”, and shall therefore wither away. The third section contrasts ‘you’ – the hearers – with the wicked congregation. The priest exhorts his hearers again to be courageous, since God is with them and raises His hand “against all the spirits of wicked[ness]”. The first and the third parts have counterparts in Deut

20,3-4, but not the part which describes the enemy. In contrast to M Sota VIII, 1 the speech in 1 QM XV, 7ff can in no way be considered as a midrash upon Deut 20,2-4. There are, it is true, several lacunae in the text of the Scroll. Nevertheless, we should expect it to contain some allusions to God’s mighty acts in the history of his people. The fact that no such allusions are detectable makes it an unusual speech of encouragement.

I now turn to the third text in 1 QM which is usually referred to in connection with the AB: 1 QM VII, 8-14a

- (11) [8.] When the battle formations are deployed over against the enemy, formation opposite formation, there shall go forth from the middle interval into the space between the lines seven [9.] priests of the sons of Aaron, clad in garments of white byssus: a linen tunic and linen trousers, and girt with a linen girdle of twined byssus, blue, [10.] purple and scarlet, and a brocaded pattern, cunningly wrought, and turbaned headdresses upon their heads, *these being* garments for battle, and they shall not bring them into the sanctuary. [11.] The one priest shall be walking along in front of all the men of the line, to strengthen their hands in battle. In the hands of the six *others* shall be [12.] the trumpets of summoning, the trumpets of remembrance, the trumpets of the fanfare, the trumpets of pursuit, and the trumpets of withdrawal. When the priests go forth [13.] into the space between the lines, there shall go forth with them seven levites carrying seven ram’s horns, and three provosts from among the levites walking in front of [14.] the priests and the levites.<sup>46</sup>

The text is a narrative with inserted lists of clothes and trumpets.

We see that the situation is the same as or similar to the one described in XV, 2-3. 4-7; XVI, 2-3a. Nothing is, however, expressly said about the general background. The chief priest is not mentioned, but this omission could be due to the soldiers’ already being in the battle formations, that is, the text could describe the situation *after* the chief priest has organised the battle formations (cf 1 QM XV, 5-6a).

The ‘one priest’ §11§ in line 11 performs the same acts as the priest destined for the appointed time of vengeance, with the exception of the speech of encouragement. He walks before the battle formations and strengthens them. Even the vocabulary and phrases are similar. The persons do not, however, have the same titles. In VII, 11 he is called the *one* priest, perhaps to underline that he belongs to the group of seven



priests (cf line 8-9a, and the number six in line 11).

Note that in this text also the trumpets play a role; note also the stress laid upon the clothes the priests are wearing, everyone clad in the same way.

The above mentioned texts are not the only ones in 1 QM dealing with speeches of encouragement. There is also the following text:

#### (12) Section 25

[9.] When [Belial] girds himself for assistance to the Sons of Darkness, and the slain among the skirmishers begin to fall, according to God's mysteries and to test thereby all those destined for battle, [10.] the priests shall blow the trumpets of summoning for another formation to go forth as a battle reserve, and they shall take up position between the lines, [11.] while to those engaged in battle the priests shall blow a signal to withdraw. Then the chief priest shall come forward and stand in front of the formation, and shall strengthen [12.] their heart through [the might of God and] their hands for His battle.

#### Section 26

[13.] And he shall solemnly declare:

[God inquires in justice, and] the heart of His people He tests with judgement (OR:legitimately). Not [without cause] have your slain [fallen]. For ye have understood from of old [14.] the mysteries of God [...] to unique ones [15.] according to their deserts [...]

#### Column XVII

[1.] and He shall render their retribution like the burning [of wood (?), and they shall be] those tested in the crucible. He shall sharpen His weapons, and they shall not become blunt until [there come to an end all nations] [2.] of wickedness. But ye, remember ye the judgement [of Nadab and Abihu, the sons of Aaron, through whose judgement God hallowed Himself in the sight [of all the people; but Eleazar] [3.] and Ithamar He preserved for Himself for a covenant [of the appointed times of et]ernity.

#### Section 27

[4.] But ye, be ye strong and fear them not, [for] their destiny is for chaos and their desire is for the void, and their support is as if it had not [existed]. They do not [know that from the God] [5.] of Israel is all that is and that will be, and He [will annihilate Belia] in all future times of eternity. Today is His appointed time to subdue and to humble the prince of the dominion [6.] of wickedness. He will send eternal assistance to the lot to be redeemed by Him through the might of an angel: He hath

magnified the authority of Michael through eternal light [7.] to light up in joy [the house of I]srael, peace and blessing for the lot of God, so as to raise amongst the angels the authority of Michael and the dominion [8.] of Israel amongst all flesh. And justice shall rejoice up on high, and all sons of His truth shall be glad in eternal knowledge. But ye, sons of His covenant, [9.] be ye strong in God's crucible, until He shall lift up His hand and shall complete His testings through His mysteries with regard to your existence.

#### Section 28

[10.] And after these words the priests shall blow for them a signal to array the battalions of the formation.<sup>47)</sup>

In this text the *chief priest* makes the speech. The verbs used in connection with his activity are a blend of those connected with him in XV, 4-5 (§12§; for §13§ cf Deut 20,2) and of those used to describe the actions of the priest destined for the appointed time of vengeance in the immediate context (§14§ and §15§; §16§).

As regards the speech, the first part is concerned with the projected setback in the war. The second part, however, takes up the encouragement-theme. We recognize the usual verbs of encouragement and admonition against fear together with a description of the insignificance of the enemy. This is followed by a section where the chief priest emphasizes god's might and promises God's help through His servant Michael. This speech also contains no reference to God's saving acts in history.

Later on, in XVIII, 5-6, the chief priest is again reported to make a speech. In this case, however, it is not a speech of encouragement, but a hymn of thanksgiving, directed to God. I therefore omit that text here.

#### 3.1.2. Comparison

Let us compare once again the texts quoted above from 1 QM. I will not make a thorough comparison, only point to some important details. I will start with the title and position of the person who corresponds to the AB and continue with his functions, thus laying the foundation of a relevant comparison with the rabbinic texts.

1. In two of the texts – (10) and (12) – the 'chief priest' §17§ is expressly mentioned as taking part in the action, while the 'priest destined for the appointed time of vengeance' §10§ is men-

tioned in (10) and (11). The identity of the person who utters the words of text (9) is not possible to ascertain. Neither is it easy (or even possible) to infer the identity of the person, on account of the difficulty in arriving at any certainty as to the genre of the text. Nevertheless, text (9) mentions one added class of persons taking part in the activities we are dealing with, namely the 'provosts' §7§, who turn back the faint-hearted.

The 'chief priest' is certainly to be identified with the high priest. That he is called 'chief priest' and not 'high priest' §18§ as was usual i Hasmonean times and afterwards alludes perhaps to some hidden polemics against the Hasmonean high priest.<sup>48)</sup>

The title 'priest destined for the appointed time of vengeance' is mentioned explicitly only in XV,6. That this person is identical with the 'one priest' in VII, 11 has been demonstrated above. Since the priest is mentioned only in these texts, not much can be inferred with regard to his position. From the title we infer that he is 'destined' for 'the appointed time of vengeance', the words belonging clearly to an eschatological frame of reference.<sup>49)</sup> In VII, 8f. 11 we read that he is one of seven priests of the sons of Aaron, all apparently of the same rank. In XV, 6f we read that the priest was destined "by the agreement of all his brethren" §19§, and here I agree with the comment of JONGELING:

Le prêtre en question n'a pas une fonction permanente par laquelle il est distingué des autres. Il se trouve en égalité avec ses frères, mais il est désigné par eux tout pour cette tâche spéciale.<sup>50)</sup>

The 'provosts' are mentioned, in VII, 1.14.16 as well as in X,5. In VII, 14 the text contains an important addition. The text speaks here about three provosts *from the levites*, so probably also in VII, 16. Thus they are not priests, but functionaries of a lower degree.

There seems to be a kind of contradiction between text (10) and text (12) in that the chief priest in (12) is given the same task as the priest destined for the appointed time of vengeance in (10) and (11). The difficulty is not solved by declaring that the chief priest is identical with the other priest; there is no support for such a solution in text (10).<sup>51)</sup> Neither is it solved by positing the two texts in different literary strata, since 1 QM XV-XIX is generally held to be a unity.<sup>52)</sup> The simplest solution is that the

texts (10) and (12) describe different phases of the war, and that the chief priest is expected to go forward himself after a setback in the war.

The provosts are said not only to turn back the faint-hearted, but also to speak to "all those prepared for battle, the willing-hearted, to hold fast through the might of God" §20§. It is not altogether clear what is meant by the phrase

'holding fast through the might of God'; which probably refers to some kind of encouragement. The same root §14§ is used when speaking about the encouragement given by the two priests mentioned above. Nevertheless, one should probably not consider the activity described in X,5f to be the same as the activity performed by the priests, which, apparently, was of a more formal and ritual nature.

2. Nowhere in the texts (or anywhere else in 1 QM) do we read about asking or giving the oracle.<sup>53)</sup>

Exemptions from the duty to take part in the battle are mentioned briefly in X, 5-6, where the *provosts* are told to turn back the faint-hearted. It is noteworthy that those who had built a house, planted a vineyard or engaged a woman are not mentioned at all, neither in column X, nor at the beginning of column VII where we are told about the persons who are allowed to enter the camp and about those who are not.<sup>54)</sup> In column VII the rules concerning those who are forbidden to enter the camp are based on rules concerned with the purity of the camp.<sup>55)</sup> There could be several reasons as to why the rules of Deut 20,5-7 are not applied. It could be because the warriors were so well prepared that the need did not arise; because the members of the congregation lived a communal life in celibacy; because the force was an expeditionary force consisting of picked men; or the reason could be that Deut 20,5-7 seems to speak about the situation when the army begins to move, while 1 QM often speaks of the battles themselves or of a situation immediately before a battle.<sup>56)</sup>

Only two of the texts contain something which could be called a 'speech of encouragement' - text (10) and (12) (I do not count text (9), since Deut 20,2-4 is a part of another speech, and functions as an example for something else). A 'speech of encouragement' is a speech made before the battle formations prior to an impending battle. The speech can be made after a setback in the war, as in text (12), but would

thereby, of course, precede a new battle. The address contains at least some words of encouragement and/or admonitions not to be fearful, and an assurance of God's will to assist in the battle (cf Deut 20,3-4). These two traits are present in text (10) and (12). It seems, however, *not* to be necessary to add a section containing descriptions of God's saving acts in the earlier history of his people. Although Deut 20,3-4 is short and easy to incorporate into a speech of encouragement, it does not seem to have had a decisive influence when the speech in text (12) was formed. Its presence in text (10) is more prominent.

In text (10) and (12) the speech of encouragement is conjoined with the sounding of trumpets. The remaining texts – (9) and (11) – also indicate this combination, although only indirectly. In text (11) we do not know for sure that the speech was made. But if we assume that the phrase 'to strengthen their hands in battle' (VII,11) entails the speech of encouragement, then it serves as a witness that such was the case.

### 3.2. *The First Book of Maccabees*

The most relevant passage in 1 Macc for this study is 3,42-60. For the sake of convenience I quote the entire passage according to the translation of the New English Bible:

(13) 42. Judas and his brothers saw that their plight had become grave, with the enemy encamped inside their frontiers. They learnt, too, of the commands which the king had given for the complete destruction of the nation. 43. So they said to one another, 'Let us restore the shattered fortunes of our nation; let us fight for our nation and for the holy place.' 44. They gathered in full assembly to prepare for battle, and to pray and seek divine mercy and compassion.

45. Jerusalem lay deserted like a wilderness; none of her children went in or out. Her holy place was trampled down; aliens and heathen lodged in her citadel. Joy had been banished from Jacob; and flute and harp were dumb.

46. They assembled at Mizpah, opposite Jerusalem, for in former times Israel had a place of worship at Mizpah. 47. That day they fasted, put on sackcloth, sprinkled ashes on their heads, and tore their garments. 48. They unrolled the scroll of their law, seeking the guidance which Gentiles seek from the images of their gods. 49. They brought the priestly vestments, the firstfruits, and the tithes; they presented Nazirites who had completed their vows, 50. and they cried to Heaven: 'What shall we do with these Nazirites and where shall we

take them? 51. Thy holy place is trodden down and defiled, and sorrow and humiliation have come upon thy priests. 52. And see, the Gentiles have gathered against us to destroy us. Thou knowest the fate they plan for us; 53. how can we withstand them unless thou help us?' 54. Then the trumpets sounded, and a great shout went up.

55. Judas then appointed leaders of the people, officers over thousands, hundreds, fifties, and tens. 56. As the law commands, he ordered back to their homes those who were building their houses or were newly wed or were planting vineyards, or who were faint-hearted. 57. Thereupon the army moved and took up their positions to the south of Emmaus, 58. were Judas thus addressed them: 'Prepare for action and show yourselves men. Be ready at dawn to fight these Gentiles who are massed against us to destroy us and our holy place. 59. Better die fighting than look on while calamity overwhelms our people and the holy place. 60. But it will be as Heaven wills.'

The text is a composition of narrative, direct speech and poetry. Vv 42-43 describes the reaction of Judas and his men to the danger represented by the enemy forces in their midst (cf 3,38-41). In v 44 an assembly gathers, its tasks are specified. V 45 is an inserted piece of poetry. Vv 46-54 continues the description of the assembly. The paragraph contains a cry to God (vv 50b-53) which can hardly be called a prayer. Note the sounding of the trumpets in 54!

We then read about the appointment of officers and of the returning of men who need not take part in the battle (vv 55-56). After the now constituted force has moved away (v 57) Judas, the leader, makes a speech to his men (vv 58-60).

I leave v 45 out of consideration here, since it is a clear insertion with only a superficial connection to its context.

We have, then, a historical narrative about the gathering of an assembly in the face of impending danger, a narrative which shows an obvious affinity with and dependence upon earlier Biblical texts, above all 1Sam 7,5-12 and Deut 20,2-9. The dependence on (or affinity with) Deut 20,2-9 is seen in the following features:

a. The statements in 1Macc 3,42 concerning the nearness of the enemy-forces and the gravity of the danger have their counterpart in Deut 20,2.

b. The measures taken in 1Macc 3,55f have their counterpart in Deut 20,5-9. They even have

their foundation in this text (cf the *kata ton nomon* in 3,56).

c. The speech made by Judas in 1Macc 3,58-60 is, however, not a proper speech of encouragement, since it does not contain a notion of encouragement. It is perhaps best described as an exhortation to be brave. Hence it is not an exact equivalent to the speech in Deut 20,3-4. A more exact equivalent is indeed found in 1Macc 4,8b-11:

(14) 8. Judas said to his men: 'Do not be afraid of their great numbers or panic when they charge. 9. Remember how our fathers were saved at the Red Sea, when Pharaoh and his army were pursuing them. 10. Let us cry now to Heaven to favour our case, to remember the covenant made with our fathers, and to crush this enemy before us today. 11. Then all the Gentiles will know that there is One who saves and liberates Israel.'

This is a speech of encouragement made in front of the battle lines immediately before the battle. It contains an appeal not to be afraid and, in order to encourage the soldiers, an assurance that God will help today as he has helped before (cf Deut 20,4, where God's presence in the camp is stressed). Thus all the important elements in Deut 20,2-9 are in fact represented in the texts quoted from 1Macc. We note that these texts contain several other elements, above all the detailed description of the gathering at Mizpah, but for the moment I prefer not to consider them.

In the texts (13) and (14) it is *Judas* who appoints the officers, organizes the exemptions from taking part in the battle and makes the speeches mentioned in them (3,58-60; 4,8b-11). He thereby fulfills the function of both the priest *and* the officers in Deut 20,2-9. What about oracle-giving, which, as we have seen, constitutes one of the functions of the AB? On the face of it 1Macc knows nothing about oracle-giving, but there is actually one instance here where a ceremony is depicted which could be considered as an equivalent to the asking of the oracle. I refer to the strange rite described in 3,48 of unrolling the scroll of law "seeking the guidance which Gentiles seek from the images of their god". As it was not possible to ask the oracle in the prescribed way, it was necessary to find out the will of God in other ways, e.g. by reading in his revealed will – the Word.<sup>57)</sup> Nothing prevents us from assuming that Judas played an important role also in this

ceremony, although it cannot be said that he gave an oracle.

What is, then, the title and position of Judas? We know that Judas was a priest, since his father was a priest and his brothers became High Priests.<sup>58)</sup> We also know that Judas was the leader of the armed resistance against the Seleucids and their Jewish sympathizers, and that he from a Maccabean standpoint had a high position, indeed. In a real sense he is an 'Anointed for Battle'. But when we look for an explicit title for Judas, we find none. '*Makkebaïos*' is not a title, but a (nick)name. When the people mourned Judas they sang: 'How is our champion fallen, the saviour of Israel!' (9,21: *sozon ton Israel*). The phrase '*sozon ton Israel*' is hardly a title, but it shows the high regard in which he was held.

Anyone can see that there exists similarities between the texts from 1Macc and 1QM quoted above. OSTEN-SACKEN has made a detailed comparison between 1Macc 3,38-4,25 and texts from 1QM.<sup>59)</sup> Although he takes into consideration a broader spectrum of texts than I have done, his observations are relevant here as well.

OSTEN-SACKEN shows how every trait in 3,50-60 has a counterpart in 1QM, although not in the same order: a) 3,50-53 – the cry to God – has a counterpart in XV,4bf; b) 3,54 – the great shout and call of trumpets – has many counterparts in 1QM, as we already have observed above (e.g. VII,11; X,7; XVI,2f; XVII, 10); c) 3,55 – the appointment of leaders – has a counterpart in VIII, 6; XVI, 5; XVII, 10 (only indirectly); d) 3,56 – the exemption from duty to take part in the battle – has a counterpart in X,5f, both texts clearly dependent upon Deut 20,5-8; e) 3,57 – the encampment near the enemy – has a counterpart in XV,6ff.<sup>60)</sup> OSTEN-SACKEN demonstrates further the intimate relationship between 1Macc 4, 8-24 and texts in 1QM (VII-IX,9; XIV,2ff; XV-XIX), illustrating that the *order* between the elements is the same.<sup>61)</sup> But since I am not engaged in describing the actual fighting, I leave that matter out of consideration here and concentrate only on the speech of encouragement (1Macc 4,8b-11).

As the list shows, similar elements do not appear in the same order, nor do they have the same shape (with very few exceptions). A direct literary dependence is therefore out of the question. The similarities are, nevertheless, so numerous, that some kind of dependence must

be reckoned with, if only because they do not seem to be explicable solely as a result of the influence of the same Old Testament sources. OSTEN-SACKEN points out the strong liturgical elements in the texts and argues that there exists a possibility of a mutual dependency on 1Chr 20, where the war is described as a liturgy, in which Israel remains a passive observer of events. But in 1Macc and in 1QM Israel is very active. According to OSTEN-SACKEN Israel's aggressiveness in 1Macc and 1QM depends on the simple fact that in the time of the Maccabean wars the people for the first time in many generations, actively took part in military activity.<sup>62)</sup>

For OSTEN-SACKEN the practises and experiences of the wars of the Maccabees clearly stand behind the rules of 1QM. I am doubtful; the elementary fact that 1QM is couched in an eschatological frame, whereas 1Macc is not, makes it improbable that the group that produced 1QM should be identified with those behind 1Macc.<sup>63)</sup>

I now turn back to the rabbinic texts in an effort to understand some aspects of them in the light of the texts from 1QM and 1Macc presented above.

## 4. The Title of the 'Anointed for Battle'

### 4.1. *The title – an insertion*

As we have seen the usual rendering of the title in the rabbinic texts is: '(the One) Anointed for Battle' §1§. At the beginning of this study I suggested that the words 'the Priest of Battle Formations' §4§ be regarded as a title.<sup>64)</sup> Against the background of the selections from the War-Scroll this becomes even more plausible. Those texts call our attention to the battle formations,<sup>65)</sup> and the word §21§ occurs several times in (10)-(12): a) the chief priest "shall array all the formations", and the priest destined for the appointed time of vengeance "shall walk along [the formations]"; b) "the one priest shall be walking along in front of all the men of the line"; c) "Then the chief priest shall come forward and stand in front of the formation".<sup>66)</sup>

If we consider the title 'the Priest of Battle Formations' in the light of Deut 20,2-4 and of the War-Scroll it seems quite probable that it is older than the title 'Anointed for Battle'. It is also worth noting that the former title does not appear in the later texts which I have examined,

that is, in the gemara. I therefore suggest that the title '[Priest] Anointed for Battle' §2§ appears in tannaitic times and takes the place of an older title, presumably the 'Priest of Battle Formations', which survives in very few cases.<sup>67)</sup> A decisive argument in favor of this conclusion is that a close examination of M Sota VIII, 1 shows that *the title of the AB has been inserted in the text and should therefore be considered as secondary.*

Chapter VII explains why chapter VIII of M Sota is included in the tractate. In M Sota VII, 1-2 are enumerated those texts which may be recited in any language (halakah 1, beginning with the paragraph on the 'Suspected Adulteress': Num 5,19-22), and those which must be rendered in the holy language (halakah 2). The words of the AB (Deut 20,3-4) belong to the latter group.<sup>68)</sup> The beginning of VIII,1: "When the Anointed for Battle speaks unto the people he speaks in the Holy Language" is therefore clearly redactional and thus secondary. And when the AB is mentioned immediately thereafter it is as an explanatory gloss to the word 'the priest' §3§ in the quotation from Deut 20,2. I find it reasonable to surmise that even the words 'in the holy language' §22§ in the following sentence are an addition made in the redactional stage.

According to EPSTEIN M Sota VIII-IX is basically from the time of Yohanan ben Zakkai. The midrash in chapter VIII begins after the phrase "as it is said" §23§ (VIII,1), which is thus the connecting link between the midrash and the mishnah. This midrash is from Roman times (on linguistic grounds), probably formed during or immediately after the war 66-73 a.D. The additions in VIII are: a) in VIII, 3 from "Rabbi Yehuda says" to the end; b) in VIII,5 the utterances by R. Aqiba, R. Yose ha-Gelili (except the words: "Wherefore the law was held ... because of his transgressions", which go back to Yohanan ben Zakkai) and R. Yose; c) in VIII,7 the utterance by R. Yehuda.<sup>69)</sup> I would also add to the list of additions the two phrases mentioned above. We have, then, in M Sota VIII basically a longish halakic midrash stemming from Yohanan ben Zakkai. In the course of transmission some elements have been added, and in the redactional stage the phrases containing the title of the AB crept in. One must therefore look elsewhere for the genesis of the title.

The midrash goes back, as we have seen, to Roman times. This conclusion does of course

not exclude the possibility of connections with earlier tradition. From a formal point of view this midrash is closer to the texts from 1QM than the texts from 1Macc. The midrash concerns itself with the understanding of the tora and with rules of conduct; the texts from 1QM also concern themselves with rules of conduct, albeit not in the form of a midrash. 1Macc narrates events. Further, the fact that the priest of the midrash is given the title 'Priest of Battle Formations' brings the midrash closer to the texts from 1QM than to the texts from 1Macc. On the other hand the texts from 1Macc mention explicitly the exemptions from the duty of participating in the battle, and their speech of encouragement is closer to that in the midrash than the speeches of encouragement in 1QM. Since the formal correspondences are more significant I find the midrash closer to the texts from 1QM than to the texts from 1Macc.

In *Tosefta* the situation is more complicated than in Mishna because the section dealing with those recitations which may be said in any language and those which must be said in the holy language is not constructed as clearly as its counterpart in Mishna. The transition from the text in the middle of T Sota VII,17 dealing with the paragraph of the king to the text dealing with the words said by the AB is very abrupt. Further, the *Tosefta* does not contain a speech of encouragement at all but starts with a midrash on the words concluding M Sota VIII,1. It is clearly secondary to the Mishna:

(15) *For the Lord your God will go with you* [Deut 20,4] – that is the name given to the Ark, for it is said [Num 31,6]: *Moses sent out this force, a thousand from each tribe, with Phinehas* – it takes that Phinehas was Anointed for the Battle. *The holy vessels* [Num 31,6] – that is the Ark, for it is said [Num 4,20]: *But they shall not enter to cast even a passing glance* etc. There are those who say: These [the holy vessels] are the priestly vestments, for it is said [Ex 29,29]: *And the sacred vestments*. 18. R. Yehuda ben Laqish says: There were two Arks, one that went out with them to the battle, and one that dwelt with them in the camp. In the one that went out with them was the Book of Torah, for it is said [Num 10,33]: *and the Ark of the Covenant of the Lord went before them*, etc. And the one that dwelt with them in the camp, was the one in which were [kept] the tablets [of the law] and the fragments of the tablets [of the law], for it is said [Num 14,44]: *neither the Ark of the Covenant of the Lord nor Moses moved with them out of the camp*.

It is obvious that this text offers an explanation of Deut 20,4 that differs from Mishna's some-

what cryptic ending of Sota VIII,1: "This is the camp of the ark". Perhaps the above should be understood as an expansion of the Mishna's text. In any event, it is important to note that the title of the AB occurs only in this 'expansion', whereas the priest of battle formations has a more natural place immediately afterwards, and in VII,22.

The AB is identified with Pinhas, the son of the high priest Eleazar. I will return later to this interesting detail.

When we note that *Sifre Debarim* 192-198 is, as EPSTEIN says, dependent upon the Mishna,<sup>70</sup> it becomes evident that M Sota VIII is primary in relation to the other tannaitic texts. The other rabbinic texts about the AB are understandable, once the title §1§ is combined with this Midrash. The title of the AB is thus a foreign element in the early rabbinic texts dealing with Deut 20,2ff.

#### 4.2. *The title – its origin and milieu*

When I first discussed the position of the AB (2.1.), I stressed the fact that the rabbis were uncertain as to the rank of the AB. He seemed out of place in the lists of ranks. Nevertheless, the AB *was* inserted in the lists and he *was* given a high rank. The following questions now arise: When did the title §1§ come into use and why was the person bearing it given so high a rank? As a corollary one can pose an additional question: Why was the title tied to a priest? To the best of my knowledge there are, at the moment, no certain answers to these questions. I must, therefore, limit myself to a few reflections and educated guesses.

1. Apparently the title 'Anointed for Battle' did not come into use until some time after the end of the Jewish War 66-73. Otherwise there would have been no need to insert the title into an existing midrash. Had it come into use during the war, it would have been quite natural to use it in the midrash from the beginning.

2. According to my understanding the title AB came into use in connection with the second revolt of the Jews against Rome, i.e. during or immediately after the Bar Kosba war. My reasons are mainly the following: a) It is reasonable to assume that the title appears in connection with a war; the war of Bar Kosba is more likely than the rising against Trajan (115-117) which took place mainly outside of Palestine, and had

uncertain effects upon Palestine.<sup>71</sup> b) The earliest additions to the midrash are the utterances by R. Aqiba and his pupil Yose ha-Gelili.<sup>72</sup> R. Aqiba's involvement in the war is well-known. Indeed he went so far as to proclaim Bar Kosba as the Messiah.<sup>73</sup> Both of these arguments indicate that the first period of growth (and, therefore, of use) of the chapter took place during or immediately after the Bar Kosba war. The last stage of growth took place at the time of redaction when the utterances of R. Yehuda were inserted<sup>74</sup> as well as the phrases containing the title of the AB. The ease with which the insertion appears to have entered the text, and the fact that the title already had found its way into the ranking lists, show that it already had been in use for some time before the final redaction of the Mishna.

3. The title §1§ does not inherently presuppose a high rank, only a purpose: anointed for purposes of war. From the earlier texts quoted – (12) and (13) – we learn that the person who fulfils the functions accorded to the priest in Deut 20,2-4 has a high rank. The rank of the priest destined for the appointed time of vengeance is not clear. The rabbinic texts, though, confer a high rank on the AB. This may depend partly upon the tradition and partly upon the reality of the war of 132-135. It is known that a priest named Eleazar the priest, presumably Eleazar of Modiim, was one of the leaders of the war, fighting at the side of Bar Kosba.<sup>75</sup> There is, though, something remaining to be said about the identity of the AB.

4. The entire early rabbinic tradition concerning the AB ties his title to a priestly figure, with the priest who in a war had the task of making the speech of encouragement. But the connection between the title and the midrash of M Sota VIII is, as we have seen, secondary, and the other rabbinic texts are, in their turn, dependent upon M Sota VIII. It is, therefore, not out of place to wonder if cause exists to believe that the title of the AB initially belonged to a person other than the priest of the texts and that the title later was transferred to another person, that is, to the priest of our texts? The fact that I have formulated the question indicates that I find it meaningful to discuss it. I do not, though, maintain that clear and undisputable proofs are available.

At the beginning of this study I noted that there are several texts which concern them-

ves with the Messiah ben Joseph (=Mbj), in which he is called §1§. The scholars assure, however, that the persons carrying the same title §1§ are not identical.<sup>76</sup> We have now dealt at length with the AB in the early rabbinic texts and have shown that we need not assume an original connection between the title §1§ and the priest of the midrash. Hence the connection between the title §1§ of our texts and the Mbj is no longer farfetched. The above is not to claim a necessary identification of Mbj with the priest of the midrash.

Space does not permit a presentation of the texts concerning the Mbj and a discussion of them. I must therefore limit myself to some general remarks.

There is only one certainly tannaitic text which mentions Mbj, B Sukka 52a. The same *sugya* contains two additional paragraphs which mention Mbj, but they are of amoraic origin. Scholars have fastened attention to two details in connection with Mbj: the statement that he will die in battle and that he is from the tribe of Joseph (or Ephraim; the names are used promiscue). Many have attempted to elucidate the origin of the Mbj concept.<sup>77</sup> HEINEMANN points out that not all of the texts which mention Mbj know of his death. On the contrary, there seems to be a number of texts, which give the impression of a victorious Mbj. In some of these he is even called §1§.<sup>78</sup> HEINEMANN says:

We must therefore assume that the motif of the Messiah ben Joseph underwent, at some time, a radical transformation; and there can be no doubt that, if we know this legend in two versions, one of which tells only of the militant, victorious Messiah, while the other adds his death in battle, the one relating his tragic end must be the later one. Those sources which know nothing of the failure and death of this Messiah must reflect an earlier tradition, irrespective of the dates of the literary works in which they appear.<sup>79</sup>

According to HEINEMANN the tradition of the warrior Messiah must be earlier than Hadrian, because the transformation that took place did not occur until after the defeat of Bar Kosba; the title of this figure cannot have been other than §1§. HEINEMANN does not say it expressly, but it is his clear intention.<sup>80</sup> All this is highly relevant for this study. The general argumentation of HEINEMANN is sound, but his theory has lacked textual evidence for

an early dating of the tradition of the victorious warrior Messiah. As I see it, it seems possible to assign the title of the AB to this warrior Messiah, and that means that the theory of HEINEMANN gains strength and becomes more plausible. I am, however, still in doubt when it comes to dating the title to pre-Hadrianic times. That it originated in the war of 132-135 and denoted Bar Kosba and that it led a short life as a messianic title seems more probable.<sup>81)</sup>

Still one question remains to be dealt with, namely the question of the relevance of the identification of the AB with *Pinhas*.

As we noted above, in the text from Tosefta (15) the AB is identified with Pinhas, who is in fact the only historical person identified by the texts as a carrier of the title. This is highly significant since Pinhas was widely regarded as the typical zealot for the law. According to Num 25,6-13 God made a covenant with Pinhas and his descendants because Pinhas was zealous for His law. When Mattathias showed his zeal for the law in slaughtering an Israelite man who in obedience to the decree of Antiochus IV Epiphanes was going to offer a sacrifice, his deed was compared to that of Pinhas.<sup>82)</sup> The deed of Mattathias is pictured as the beginning of armed resistance against oppressors who wanted to destroy the Jews and their religion. There are no explicit connections between the

Zealots of the great Jewish War (66-73) and Pinhas in the extant texts, but HENGEL tries to prove that the rabbinic exegesis of Num 25 is an echo of such a comparison.<sup>83)</sup> According to my understanding the identification of the AB with Pinhas after the Bar Kosba war implies that the war intended is seen as a holy war, as a war in which there will be a need for zealotness for the law. The identification of the AB with Pinhas as well as several discussions about his functions presupposes a projection backwards in time. This may, however, also imply that the war in question was thought of as occurring in the end of times when the old order will be restored again.

5. I conclude with the following considerations: The title §1§ originated in the war of 132-135, and denoted Bar Kosba as the warrior Messiah. As a result of the failure of Bar Kosba the title could no longer be used in a messianic context. Instead of leaving the title out of use the rabbis tried to change its meaning by giving it a new context, thereby furnishing the title a new set of connotations. Thus the rabbis brought the title into contact with the midrash of M Sota VIII. This combination produced a whole series of rulings with regard to the position and function of the 'Priest Anointed for Battle'.

## Notes

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1. Cf *Ber Rabba* 1929, Par 99,2; *Bem Rabba* 1967, Par 14; *Schir ha-schirim zuta* 1936, to 4,11.
2. E.g. DALMAN 1888, 7; BILLERBECK 1924, 292 (n. 1); GINZBERG 1922, 345; APTOWITZER 1927, 109.
3. Cf M Sota VIII,1; Sifra Emor Par 2,7.
4. Cf e.g. B Sota 42a; Sifre Deb, piska 191.
5. Cf M Sota VIII,2; Sifre Deb, piska 193-196. In T

- Sota VII, 18 cod Erfurt reads: §24§. According to LIEBERMAN (1955 8, 686f) the reading is a mistake for §25§, which is quite reasonable.
6. Cf also BIETENHARD 1956, ad loc.
7. I do not count the notion that Pinhas was considered as the first. AB as relevant in this case. Cf T Sota VII,17; B Sota 43a.
8. Cf MAIMONIDES 1702, Book 8, treatise 2, chapter 1 (vol 3, pag 154b), quoted according to the translation by LEWITTES (MAIMONIDES 1957,44).
9. Cf B Keritot 5b; B Horayot 11b.
10. Cf MAIMONIDES 1702, Book 14, treatise 5, chapter 5 (vol. 4, pag 302a); cf also MAIMONIDES 1949, 224.
11. Cf also B Horayot 13a (middle); B Nazir 47b (up).
12. Here cited in JUNG's translation.
13. Cf M Horayot III, 4-5; T Horayot II,1.
14. Cf e.g. Num 27,1; Judg 20,27f; 1Sam 23,9-12; 30,7f.
15. Cf also B Horayot 13a (middle); B Taanit 31a presupposes the reverse order: the Segan first, then the AB.



16. Cf Judg 20,23.27f; 1Sam 7,9; 14,8ff; RAD 1965.
17. Cf 1Sam 28,6; MUSS-ARNOLT 1966, 384.
18. Cf Num 12,6; Jer 23,25ff; ENGNELL 1948, 385f.
19. Cf 1Kings 22,5ff; 2Kings 3,11.15f.
20. Cf Judg 20,27f; 1Sam 23,2-6.9-12; the ephod = Urim and Tummim in this context, cf GREENBERG 1971,8; MUSS-ARNOLT 1966, 384.
21. Cf Num 27,21; Judg 20,27f; 1Sam 23,9-12; 30,7f.
22. Cf Esra 2,63; Neh 7,65; MUSS-ARNOLT 1966, 384; GREENBERG 1971, 8; cf however 1Macc 4,46. For later Jewish tradition cf M Sota IX,12; T Sota XIII,2.
23. Cf the end of the quotation above: nr(4).
24. The quotation is according to SCHACHTER's translation; cf also B Yoma 73b.
25. Cf M Sota VIII,2-4; T Sota VII,18-20.22-24; Sifre Deb, piska 192-197.
26. Cf M Sota VIII,4; T Sota VII,20.
27. Cf YADIN in *Scroll* 1962, 65f.69f. Since the texts do not mention this problem, YADIN's view is inferential, but seems sound. The question is, however, if we are justified in drawing such implications from texts apparently dealing with future wars.
28. Cf M Sota VIII,2; T Sota VII,18-19.22-23; Sifre Deb, piska 192.194-197.
29. Cf M Sota VIII,2; Sifra Deb, piska 193-197, but see also the end of piska 193.
30. Cf T Sota VII,18; B Sota 43a.
31. Quoted according to COHEN's translation. The words within square-brackets are – with the exception of the Bible-references – found in the transl. Cf also Sifre Deb, piska 193 (the end); Y Sota VIII,1 (22a).
32. Cf Sifre Deb, piska 192; Y Sota VIII,9 (23a); YADIN in *Scroll* 1962,65f.
33. Cf B Sota 44b (up).
34. Cf T Sota VII,18; B Sota 42a-b. There exist, however, major discrepancies between the texts, even between different codices of Tosefta, with regard to the contents of the speeches. We are not yet in a position to clarify the matter.
35. Cf YADIN in *Scroll* 1962, 69 (n.5).
36. Cf 1Sam 17,4; 2Sam 10,16.
37. Piska 192.
38. The *Temple Scroll* mentions also Deut 20,2-9 in connection with its presentation of the war rules. Unfortunately there is a lacuna in the text due to the fact that the section is situated at the bottom of one column (61) and at the top of another (62). We have, therefore, only the Biblical text with no additions.
39. For a recent and valuable survey, see DAVIES 1977.
40. The quotation is almost verbatim according to RABIN's translation in *Scroll* 1962, 302ff. I have inserted the numbers of the lines within squarebrackets.
41. I follow here the interpretation of CARMIGNAC 1961, 107.
42. I follow here the interpretation of JONGELING 1962, 246f.257.
43. It is evident that the text fits awkwardly into its context (cf DAVIES 1977, 95.111f). I have therefore dealt with it as with an independent unit.
44. Quoted according to the translation of RABIN in *Scroll* 1962, 330-334. I have inserted the numbers of the lines within square-brackets.
45. This string overlaps partly with Deut 20,3; cf also 1QM X,3-4.
46. Quoted according to the translation by RABIN in *Scroll* 1962, 292. The italics are in the text, but I have inserted the numbers of the lines within square-brackets.
47. 1QM XVI,9-XVII,10, quoted according to RABIN's translation in *Scroll* 1962, 336-340. I have inserted the numbers of the lines within square-brackets.
48. Cf WOUDE 1957, 125f; YADIN in *Scroll* 1962, 207f; JONGELING 1962, 327. CARMIGNAC rejects this identification in text (10) and (12), and holds the chief priest to be identical with the priest destined for the appointed time of vengeance (1961, 118f.120), though without sufficient cause.
49. Cf VII,5; 1QS IX,23; X,19.
50. JONGELING 1962, 329.
51. Cf CARMIGNAC 1961, 118f.120; as against JONGELING 1962, 327; WOUDE 1957, 127-131.
52. Cf OSTEN-SACKEN 1969, 42f.48f.55f (with literature); BARDTKE 1972, 112.
53. The Temple Scroll, however, states explicitly that the king has the duty before he goes to war of consulting Urim and Tummim by the high priest, (58,18-21).
54. Cf VII,3-7.
55. Compare especially with Deut 23,11ff. Cf also OSTEN-SACKEN 1969, 220f; PLOEG in *Rouleau* 1959, 112-114 (with many Biblical parallels); YADIN in *Scroll* 1962, 70-75.
56. Cf VII,5; II,7-8; PLOEG in *Rouleau* 1959, 113.136.
57. Cf ABEL 1949, 69f; Judg 20,18.23.27f; 1Kings 22,5-28; 2Kings 3,11-20; 1Sam 14,18f.36f.41f; 23,9-12; cf also 2Macc 8,23; NELIS 1972, 105f; VAUX 1961, 349-353; STOLZ 1972, 21. The effort by BAR-KOCHVA (1980, 194f) to defend a reading, according to which in Mizpah they opened the books of the law on which the Gentiles had drawn the pictures of their gods (and so defiled the books), is not convincing; cf the remarks by ABEL to that kind of reasoning.
58. Cf 1Macc 2,1; 10,20f; 13,36.
59. Cf OSTEN-SACKEN 1969, 62-69; cf also YADIN in *Scroll* 1962, 59.68f; BAR-KOCHVA 1980, 350f.
60. Cf OSTEN-SACKEN 1969, 63.65.
61. Cf OSTEN-SACKEN 1969, 64f.
62. Cf OSTEN-SACKEN 1969, 66f.
63. Cf OSTEN-SACKEN 1969, 67-69. DAVIES (1977, 65f.123f) acknowledges these very general statements, but presupposes a very long literary development from the end of the second century B.I. to the first half of the first century AD.
64. Cf above p. 21.
65. Out of 46 occurrences of the word §21§ in Qumranic literature 43 appear in 1QM.
66. Cf XV, 5f,7; VII, 11; XVI, 11.
67. It now also becomes clear why the gemara in B Sota 43a (below) can refer to *two* priests, one who speaks and another who proclaims; cf text nr (7). The rabbis apparently believed that the AB and the priest of battle formations denoted two different persons.
68. In M Sota VII,2 §1§ is mentioned last, after the paragraph on the heifer, the neck of which is to be bro-

- ken (Deut 21,7f; §26§). The actual rules concerning the heifer come, however, not until after the chapter on the AB – as the beginning of the ninth chapter of M Sota. The reason for the change has been explained in various ways, but do not concern us here. ALBECK is probably right, when he says that the reason could be that the chapter on the heifer concludes in a way that rounds off the entire tractate much better than the ending of the eighth chapter (*Nashim* 1958, 231).
69. Cf EPSTEIN 1957, 43.401.403.406; BAR-KOCHVA supports the Roman dating with a short study on the military terms (1980, 351f). I must admit that I am not quite sure that it is possible to assign the entire anonymous midrash of M Sota VIII to Yohanan ben Zakkai. EPSTEIN is not able to connect more than one short statement in VIII,5 to Rabban Yohanan. From this, and from the fact that the speech of encouragement in VIII,1 undeniably reflects Roman influence, he concludes that the rest of the midrash as well emanates from Yohanan ben Zakkai. In 'A life of Rabban Yohanan ben Zakkai' NEUSNER seems to agree with EPSTEIN (1962, 107, n. 1), but in a later work 'Development of a legend' he does not refer to this text at all. I follow EPSTEIN mainly because I do not know of any alternative.
70. Cf EPSTEIN 1957, 403.
71. There is a discussion on whether there was fighting on Palestinian soil or not. The issue is still uncertain; cf SAFRAI 1976, 330; OPPENHEIMER 1977, 58-61; HERR, 1977, 67f.
72. Cf M Sota VIII,5.
73. There are, apparently, reasons to be cautious over against too enthusiastic claims on Aqiba's involvement in the war; cf ALEKSANDROV 1973, 435f.
74. Cf M Sota VIII, 3.7.
75. Cf SCHÜRER 1, 1973, 544; SAFRAI, 1976, 332.
76. Cf above p. 21.
77. I will not elaborate. HEINEMANN gives a succinct presentation and criticism of the most important theories (1976, 1-6); cf also MARTOLA 1979, 15-18.
78. Cf HEINEMANN 1976, 6f, with the texts; cf also p. 21 above and MARTOLA 1979, 16-18.
79. HEINEMANN 1976, 6.
80. Cf HEINEMANN 1976, 7-9.
81. It came back in use later, and denotes Mbj in amoraic texts.
82. Cf 1Macc 2,23-28.
83. Cf HENGEL 1961, 178-181.
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