

and the amount of time that the persons involved were regarded as unclean (see Baumgarten, 1995) can be used to demonstrate the complexity of the agreements and disagreements between Targum Pseudo-Jonathan and rabbinic texts and the Dead Sea Scrolls (see Hayward, 1992).

Haggadic elements. In some cases, haggadic elements contained in targumim have parallels in the Dead Sea Scrolls. Aramaic texts (the Genesis Apocryphon, for example) as well as Hebrew texts (such as *Jubilees*) include such details in their rewritten biblical narratives. Many parallels between the Dead Sea Scrolls and the targumim may be explained by the suggestion of a common oral tradition. Authors of several of the Qumran texts seem to be familiar with such a tradition of transmission. Perhaps some scribes and functionaries of the communities were even engaged in the active transmission of such targumim. The existing witnesses demonstrate that at least the scribes who copied them had access to written targumim.

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TEACHER OF RIGHTEOUSNESS. The sobriquet *Teacher of Righteousness* is given in the Dead Sea Scrolls to the individual who is commonly believed to have played the decisive role in the formation and early history of the group, assumed here to be Essene, that lies behind the scrolls. His role was no doubt of some importance, but the information provided about him in the scrolls is in fact quite limited. References to the Teacher of Righteousness are confined to the Damascus Document, Peshar Habakkuk (1QpHab), Peshar Psalms^a (4Q171), Peshar Psalms^b (4Q173), and Peshar Micah (1Q14). These references are frequently cast in figurative language and are opaque in their meaning. In consequence, the Teacher of Righteousness remains a somewhat shadowy figure.

"The Teacher of Righteousness" has become the accepted translation of the Hebrew expression *moreh ha-tsedeq* (e.g., 1QpHab v.10), which forms the sobriquet; the variants *moreh tsedeq* (CD i.11; xx.32) and *moreh ha-tsedaqah* (1QpHab ii.2) also occur. The Hebrew expression can also be translated as "the right teacher," that is, the "true" or "legitimate" teacher, but in either case, the use of this name is a reflection of the authority that this individual was thought to possess. The sobriquet itself probably derives from *Joel* 2.23 ("for he has given you the early rain for your vindication [*ha-moreh li-tsedaqah*]), which—in line with the view that the words of the prophets were mysteries, the true meaning of which referred to the end time—was applied by the Qumran group to their own age and interpreted to mean "for he has given you the teacher for righteousness." Other names given to this individual are "the unique teacher" (CD xx.1, 14; where in both cases the Hebrew perhaps should be emended to read the "teacher of the community"), "the interpreter of the law" (CD vi.7), and "the interpreter of knowledge" (4Q171 i.27).

Appearance of the Teacher. One of the most important passages concerning the Teacher of Righteousness occurs in column i of Cairo manuscript A of the Damascus Document. According to this passage (CD i.3–ii.1), 390 years after he had given Israel into the hand of Nebuchadrezzar, king of Babylon—that is, after the beginning

of the Babylonian exile in 587 BCE—God caused “a plant root” to spring from Israel and Aaron. The passage continues:

And they (the “plant root”) considered their iniquity and knew that they were guilty men; but they were like blind men and like men who grope for the way for twenty years. And God considered their deeds, for they sought him with a whole heart; and he raised up for them a Teacher of Righteousness to lead them in the way of his heart. (CD i.8–11)

The passage goes on to describe the opposition that the appearance of the Teacher aroused from a group led by a figure called “the scoffer.”

The emergence of the Teacher of Righteousness is presented in this passage as the second stage following the emergence of a reform group or movement that initially was overwhelmed by feelings of guilt and uncertainty concerning “the way” of God’s heart, that is, uncertainty as to how the law should properly be observed. For the author of the Damascus Document this period of uncertainty was brought to an end by the intervention of the Teacher of Righteousness, but it is apparent from the continuation of the passage (CD i.13–ii.1) that his intervention was a source of controversy, which focused on the question of the proper observance of the law, and that not all those who belonged to the plant root accepted the instruction of the Teacher and became his followers. So much seems clear, but beyond this the passage raises a number of problems of interpretation.

Firstly, it is not clear what reliance should be placed on the designations *390 years* and *20 years*. The 390 years is in the first instance a symbolic figure, which has been taken from *Ezekiel* 4.5 where it represents the years of punishment of the house of Israel. But the use of the figure in the Damascus Document cannot have been totally divorced from reality. Three hundred and ninety years from the start of the exile would bring us to 197 BCE, but there are reasons to think that the author may have underestimated the length of time from the start of the exile by some decades. It has in any case been plausibly argued that the emergence of the plant root is to be linked to the reaction of conservative Jews to the Hellenization of Judaism and particularly to the series of events that began in 175 BCE with the removal from office of the legitimate high priest, Onias III, and the conversion of Jerusalem into a Greek city, events made possible only by the ever-increasing involvement of Antiochus IV Epiphanes in Jewish affairs. The twenty years during which the plant root was overcome by feelings of guilt and uncertainty, where “twenty” looks like a round figure, would adjust the chronology of the appearance of the Teacher of Righteousness to around the middle of the second century BCE.

Secondly, the identity of the plant root remains uncertain. The group has often been identified with the “company of Hasideans” (*Hasidim*), who are mentioned in *1 Maccabees* 2.42 and 7:13 and *2 Maccabees* 14.6, but we know too little about the Hasideans to make this identification very helpful. According to the so-called Groningen Hypothesis, the origins of the Essene movement are to be traced to the apocalyptic tradition within Judaism in the late third century BCE, and the plant root represents the Essene movement itself.

Finally, it is a matter of dispute whether the opposition provoked by the appearance of the Teacher of Righteousness caused a split within a broad movement that led ultimately to the emergence of the groups we now know as the Essenes and the Pharisees or whether it caused a split within the Essene movement itself. Thus it is a matter of dispute whether the Teacher of Righteousness should be regarded as the founder of the Essenes or of a splinter group within the Essenes. What is clear is that the clashes between the Teacher of Righteousness and those who opposed him centered on the law.

The broad lines of the events from the time of the exile to the appearance of the Teacher of Righteousness are confirmed by a parallel passage in CD v.20–vi.11. The appearance of the Teacher, here called the Interpreter of the Law, is mentioned separately after the description of the raising up by God of a group concerned for the proper interpretation and observance of the law. It is true that it is not made clear that the appearance of the Teacher of Righteousness occurred at a second stage, but there is also nothing in this passage to exclude this possibility. The centrality of the issue of how the law should be observed is emphasized by the name given to the Teacher of Righteousness, but here there are only hints of the opposition aroused by his teaching.

In one place the Damascus Document refers in a promise of blessing to those “who obey the Teacher of Righteousness” (CD xx.32); but of greater significance are the references to the “gathering in,” that is, the death, of the Teacher of Righteousness (CD xx.1, 14). The death is presented as having occurred relatively recently, and since the composition of the Damascus Document can be dated to approximately 100 BCE, this enables us to place the career of the Teacher of Righteousness in the second half of the second century BCE.

Opposition to the Teacher. The information given in the Damascus Document can, to some extent, be supplemented by the references to the Teacher of Righteousness in the *pesharim*, although a number of these are too fragmentary to be of much help. *Pesher Psalms*^a (4Q171 iii.15–17) refers to the role of the Teacher of Righteousness as the founder of a community, and *Pesher Habakkuk* (1QpHab viii.1–3) states that his followers will be

saved from judgment "because of their suffering and their faithfulness to the Teacher of Righteousness." Two other important passages in Peshar Habakkuk (1QpHab vii. 1-5; ii.7-10) describe the Teacher as the one to whom God made known the true meaning of the words of the prophets. Disputes between the Teacher of Righteousness and a group led by "the Liar" are mentioned in Peshar Habakkuk (1QpHab ii.1-3; v.9-12); Peshar Psalms^a (4Q171 i.26-ii.1); "the Liar" is no doubt to be identified with "the scoffer" of the Damascus Document (CD i.14), and the disputes are no doubt to be related to the controversy caused by the arrival of the Teacher of Righteousness among the group represented by the plant root. Finally, three passages mention the Teacher of Righteousness in relation to a figure called "the Wicked Priest," who is presented as the opponent and persecutor of the Teacher and his followers. Peshar Habakkuk (1QpHab xi.4-8) states that the Wicked Priest pursued the Teacher to his place of exile in order to "confuse" him and his followers on Yom Kippur (that is, the Day of Atonement according to the calendar reflected in the scrolls); often it has been assumed that the place of exile was Qumran, but this can be no more than an assumption. Peshar Psalms^a (4Q171 iv.8-10) refers to an unsuccessful attempt by the Wicked Priest on the life of the Teacher and perhaps to a law that the Teacher had sent to him, and Peshar Habakkuk (1QpHab ix.9-12) states that God gave the Wicked Priest into the hand of his enemies "because of the iniquity committed against the Teacher of Righteousness and the men of his council."

There are good grounds for thinking that the Wicked Priest is to be identified with Jonathan, who held the office of high priest for the period 152-143 BCE, and this fits in with the view that the career of the Teacher of Righteousness should be dated to the second half of the second century BCE. According to the Groningen Hypothesis, Peshar Habakkuk refers not just to one wicked priest, but to a series of wicked priests (from the Maccabean leader Judah to Alexander Jannaeus, ruler from 103 to 76 BCE). If this theory were correct, it would enable us to relate the passages in Peshar Habakkuk referring to the Teacher of Righteousness to particular high priests, and thus to place the life of the Teacher on a more precise chronological basis; but the suggestion of a series of wicked priests may not be convincing.

The teacher described in Peshar Habakkuk and Peshar Psalms^a is called "the priest." It has been argued that in postexilic literature *the priest*, used as a title, means "the high priest," and in light of this and of other considerations, it has been further argued that the Teacher held the office of high priest and functioned in that office in Jerusalem between the death of Alcimus in 159 BCE (1 Mc. 9.56) and the appointment of Jonathan in 152 BCE (1

Mc. 10.18-21). The suggestion that the Teacher of Righteousness was deposed from the office of high priest in 152 BCE by Jonathan is attractive and would explain the hostility between the Teacher and the Wicked Priest.

The Teacher as Author of the Scrolls. Apart from some passages that have survived in too fragmentary a form for much to be made of them, the references mentioned above constitute the only references to the Teacher of Righteousness; the picture of the career of the Teacher that they enable us to reconstruct is fairly limited. The situation would be different if we could be certain that the Teacher of Righteousness was the author of any of the Qumran writings that have over the years been attributed to him: the Rule of the Community (1QS), the Rule of the Congregation (1Q28a), the War Scroll (1QM, 4Q471, 4Q491-496), the Hodayot (1QH^a, 4Q427-432), the Temple Scroll (11Q19), and Miqtsat Ma'asei ha-Torah (MMT^{a-f} 4Q394-399). However, it is highly improbable that the Teacher of Righteousness was the author of the Temple Scroll, which was almost certainly pre-Qumranic in origin, and while for most of the other writings just mentioned, nothing prevents the view that the Teacher of Righteousness was their author, nothing in these writings enables us to associate any one of them specifically with him. The case of MMT is of particular interest: on the one hand, this document provides valuable information on the specific issues concerning the interpretation of the law that led to the formation of the group behind the Qumran manuscripts; on the other hand, it makes no reference whatsoever to the Teacher of Righteousness. However, there is perhaps a rather stronger case for the view that the author of the Hodayot, or at least of the so-called Teacher Hymns, was the Teacher of Righteousness.

The Teacher Hymns are a group of hymns within the Hodayot that are marked by a strongly personal character. The author presents himself as the persecuted and exiled leader of a community that he regards as utterly dependent on his leadership. He recognizes that his leadership is a source of controversy, but at the same time he makes very strong claims to authority for his teaching, which he had received under divine inspiration. The nature of these claims is such as to suggest that the author could well have been the Teacher of Righteousness who is mentioned in the Damascus Document and the *pesharim*. However, even if this is so, it is quite a different matter to try to use the details contained in these poetic compositions, which are cast in biblical language and make constant use of biblical imagery, to reconstruct a biography of the Teacher of Righteousness.

Identification of the Teacher. Over the years there have been numerous attempts to identify the Teacher of Righteousness with a known historical figure, ranging from Onias III, the high priest deposed from office in 175

BCE, to John the Baptist, Jesus, or James, the brother of Jesus. The Christian identifications are ruled out by the fact, among others, that the oldest manuscript of the Damascus Document (4Q266) and the manuscript of Peshar Habakkuk (1QpHab), which together form the two most important sources of information about the Teacher of Righteousness, date from before the Christian era, while none of the Jewish identifications has proved convincing. The view that the Teacher of Righteousness held the office of high priest between the death of Alcimus and the appointment of Jonathan has a good deal to be said for it; but it is unlikely that we shall ever be able to identify the Teacher with a known figure.

CD v.20-vi.11 refers to the decrees issued by the Interpreter of the Law as remaining valid "until there appears the one who shall teach righteousness at the end of days." The Hebrew expression is similar to, but not identical with, the one regularly translated as "the Teacher of Righteousness." It has been argued that the figure whose appearance is still expected in CD v.20-vi.11 was identified with the historical Teacher of Righteousness, who in later parts of the Damascus Document and in the *pesharim* is always referred to as a figure of the past. This is, however, quite unlikely because the individual in CD v.20-vi.11 who corresponds to the Teacher of Righteousness in an introductory section of the Damascus Document (CD i) is the Interpreter of the Law. It is equally unlikely that (CD v.20-vi.11) provides evidence that the Teacher of Righteousness was expected to reappear after his death, because there is no hint of such an idea elsewhere in the scrolls. Rather, the passage refers to the expectation of a messianic figure, whose role as a teacher would be the counterpart to that of the historical Teacher of Righteousness. As such, this messianic figure is to be regarded as a priestly figure and should almost certainly be identified with the one elsewhere described as the Messiah of Aaron.

[See also Cairo Genizah; Damascus Document; Hodayot; Interpreter of the Law; Liar; Messiahs; Miqtsat Ma'asei ha-Torah; Pesharim; Peshar Habakkuk; Secrecy; Suffering; Suffering Servant; and Wicked Priest.]

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TEFILLIN. See Phylacteries and Mezuzot.

TEMPLE. Only in rare cases do Qumran texts mention the "house of the Lord" or "house of God" (Work with Place Names, 4Q522 8.ii.4; Temple Scroll^a 11Q19 iii.4, xxix.3, xxx.4, xxxii.11). Far more common is the designation *miqdash* ("sanctuary").

Heavenly Sanctuaries. The concept of the heavenly sanctuary, mentioned in Enoch^a (4Q201 iv.7), lies behind the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice (particularly 4Q400-