

and the early Augustan period. Most of the scroll describes the tactics of the skirmishing units, reflecting the fact that much of the eastern Roman army consisted of auxiliary units, and the fact that the vassal armies of the Roman Empire, including that of Herod the Great, were organized mainly on the auxiliary pattern.

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WEEKS, FEAST OF. See Shavu'ot.

WICKED PRIEST. The identification of the antagonist, whether as a single individual or multiple personalities, behind the disparaging epithet the *Wicked Priest* has preoccupied Qumran scholars from the beginning. It remains one of the central issues in the dating of the origin and history of the sectarian community. The historical figure most frequently identified as the Wicked Priest is the high priest Jonathan or his brother Simon Maccabee.

The appellation the *wicked priest* (*ha-kohen ha-rasha'*) occurs five times, four in Peshier Habakkuk (1QpHab viii.8, ix.9, xi.4) and once in Peshier Psalms^a (4Q171 1–10.iv.7–10). It is always understood in the titular sense and is a pun on the Hebrew *ha-kohen-ha-rosh* ("the high priest"). Two other partially mutilated phrases, "the priest who rebelled . . ." (1QpHab viii.16) and "the [priest] who . . ." (1QpHab ix.16) have likewise been interpreted as references to the Wicked Priest, even though a rebellious priest is not necessarily wicked, and there is a scribal error in the writing of the latter text.

The Wicked Priest and the Liar. It is now commonly held that "the Wicked Priest" and "the Liar" (or "one who drips lies"; 1QpHab x.9) are two separate enemies. The former is an illegitimate sacerdotal rival for the high priesthood and the other a teacher of the law who rejected the instructions of the Teacher of Righteousness as authoritative (Jeremias, 1963; Stegemann, 1971). Others, however, view the two as one and the same person (Vermes, 1994; Cross 1995).

The radically diverging interpretations primarily are due to the ambiguities within the relevant texts and the reconstruction of column i of Peshier Habakkuk. Despite the priestly and didactic meaning of their nicknames, what is said about the Wicked Priest and the Liar does overlap terminologically and exegetically. Vermes argues that the Wicked Priest was originally favored by the Qumran community when he was called by "the name of truth at the beginning of his elevation" (1QpHab viii.9) but was later known as "the Liar" when he fell from grace. The difficulty with this explanation is that, according to the passage in Peshier Habakkuk, the Wicked Priest's downfall was caused by his arrogance and greed, not his lies. Moreover, the word *truth* is not always juxtaposed to *lie*, as is seen in the Rule of the Community (cf. 1QS iii.13–

iv.26 and the opposition of the spirits of truth and iniquity).

However, in two other passages that refer to the Wicked Priest (1QpHab ix.16–x.5) and the Liar (1QpHab x.5–xi.2), respectively, the Pesher conflates the apparently distinct personalities in an exegetical exposition on the building of Jerusalem as a city of vanity. Here, the biblical woes of *Habakkuk* 2.9–11 and 2.12–14 provide a common context and an identity of punishment. If the Wicked Priest and Liar are separate individuals, then they do not always remain so in the mind of the Habakkuk Pesherist.

Another point of dispute that impinges on the relationship between the Wicked Priest and the Liar centers on the restoration of the badly mutilated first column of Pesher Habakkuk. There is a tantalizing reference to “the Teacher of Righteousness” (i.13). The lacuna preceding this phrase has sometimes been reconstructed to include a reference to the Wicked Priest (e.g., Horgan, 1979, translates: “[the interpretation of it: the wicked one is the Wicked Priest and the righteous one] is the Teacher of Righteousness”). This reconstruction is possible since the partially preserved *lemma* (“biblical citation”) of *Habakkuk* 1.4 describes the hedging in of “the righteous” by “the wicked,” and the Pesher writer is likely to have exploited this reading in the same way that the commentator on *Psalms* 37.32–34 saw “[the] Wicked [Priest]t” and the “[Teache]r of Righteousness” in the verse on the wicked watching the righteous in order to slay him (4Q171 1–10.iv.7–10).

This restoration, however, is no more than a possibility, since the author of the *peshet* does not always trade lexical opportunities in his biblical *lemma*. For example, in Pesher Habakkuk (1QpHab xii.10–14), the phrase *mry shqr* from *Habakkuk* 2.18 is open to an exegetical comparison with the Teacher of Righteousness. The consonants could be pointed as *môrê sheqer* and understood as “a teacher of falsehood,” but this was evidently not how the author of the *peshet* read it. The interpretation was an uninspired critique of idolatry, and the biblical phrase was probably read as “image (or fating) of falsehood.”

If the proposed restoration of column i of Pesher Habakkuk is accepted, then it may be argued that the Wicked Priest already figures from the beginning of the *peshet*. Column i would be a kind of preface that introduces the two opponents: the Teacher of Righteousness and his rival the Wicked Priest. Moreover, column ii of Pesher Habakkuk could be seen as a continuation of the preceding and the Liar (lit., “man of the lie”) as another sobriquet for the same antagonist. If this reconstruction is rejected, then the Wicked Priest appears for the first time only in column viii.

Identification of the Wicked Priest. There has been no shortage of suggested candidates for the historical personage behind the sobriquet the *Wicked Priest*. These identifications range from the high priest Onias III to Jesus and Paul, and one estimate places the total number of figures at over twenty.

The two most commonly discussed individuals are Jonathan (Milik, 1959; Vermes, 1994) and Simon Maccabee (Cross, 1995). Both identifications are based upon the equation of the Qumran community with the Essenes, a hypothesis that some scholars do not accept. Those who support the Maccabean theory argue that the formative period of occupation at Qumran (c.150 BCE) converges with the historical allusions to be found in the *pesharim* and in the Psalms of Joshua^{a-b} (4Q378–379; quoted in an anthology, that is otherwise biblical, called Testimonia [4Q175]). Apparently, the Qumran-Essene community viewed the illegitimate accession of non-Zadokites to the pontifical office as cause for separation from the Jerusalem cultus. Vermes, who favors one of the two Maccabean brothers, argues that the death of Jonathan is alluded to in Pesher Habakkuk (1QpHab ix.9–12), when it is said that God handed the Wicked Priest over to the hand of his enemies (*1 Mc.* 12–13). Cross prefers Jonathan’s brother Simon, since he sees in the allusions to “an accursed man” and his two sons in Testimonia from Cave 4 a reference to Simon and the deaths of his two sons, Judas and Mattathias, in Jericho.

Neither the Rule of the Community (1QS) nor the Damascus Document (CD) treats the supposedly illegitimate accession of the Wicked Priest as an issue, and one may ask whether the narrative of *1 Maccabees* has not had undue influence on the interpretation of the Dead Sea Scrolls. Some of the *peshet* interpretations do indeed have the semblance of coded historical allusions; however, the correlation of the characters and events can be challenged. For example, does the death of the Wicked Priest by a bitter affliction fit well with the sudden execution of Jonathan at the hands of Trypho? Is the building program mentioned in the Psalms of Joshua^{a-b} not more convincingly located in Jerusalem than in Jericho?

Other historical allusions have no correspondence to or are too general or more descriptive of another figure. It is often pointed out that the Wicked Priest pursued the Teacher of Righteousness to his house of exile on Yom Kippur and that this is indicative of a calendrical difference (1QpHab xi.4–8), but there is no external evidence of any Maccabean or Hasmonean high priest venturing to Qumran. The state of drunkenness described in Pesher Habakkuk (xi.12–15) is a more appropriate description of Alexander Jannaeus’s inebriation (Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities* 13.15.5, sec. 398) than of Jonathan or even Si-

mon's behavior. The latter and his two sons were killed by Ptolemy, Simon's son-in-law, when they were in a drunken stupor during a banquet in Jericho (*1 Mc.* 16.1–17), but it is unclear whether they were customarily given to drink. Yet other passages (e.g., 9.16–10.5) are so unspecific that they may apply to different high priests.

A Multiplicity of Wicked Priests. The problems in attributing all that is said about the Wicked Priest to one individual have led several scholars to posit a multiplicity of figures behind the insulting title. Apparently, Peshar Habakkuk calls more than one Maccabean and Hasmonean high priest wicked. Although anticipated by others (e.g., Brownlee, 1982), the most developed theory issues from the study of Adam Simon van der Woude (1982), who enumerates six high priests in strict sequential order in columns viii–xii of Peshar Habakkuk: Judas Maccabaeus (de facto; viii.8–13); Alcimus (viii.16–ix.2); Jonathan (ix.9–12); Simon (ix.16–x.5); John Hyrcanus I (xi.4–8); and Alexander Jannaeus (xi.12–xii.10). This theory is now incorporated into the Groningen Hypothesis, which views the Qumran Community and the Egyptian Therapeutae as daughter sects of the Essene movement (cf. García Martínez, 1988, on the origin and early history of the Qumran community and Lim, 1993, regarding some of its difficulties). [See Therapeutae.]

Peshar Habakkuk itself refers to more than one high priest in speaking of "the last priests of Jerusalem," whose gathered wealth and booty in the last days will be handed over to the army of the *Kittim*, namely, the Romans (1QpHab ix.4–7). This phrase is commonly interpreted to refer to the last Hasmonean high priests, including Alexander Jannaeus, "the furious young lion" of Peshar Nahum (4Q169) and possibly the Apocryphal Psalm and Prayer (4Q448). Moreover, the plurality of wicked priests is suggested by the irreconcilably different ways in which each figure comes to an end (by the hand of his enemies [1QpHab ix.8–12]; by the judgment of guilt [x.3–5]; and by bodily afflictions [xi.12–15]). [See Alexander Jannaeus; Hasmoneans; Jonathan (Hasmonean); John Hyrcanus; and Simon (Hasmonean).]

The Wicked Priest and the Teacher of Righteousness. In Peshar Psalms^a (1–10.iv.7–10) it is said that the Wicked Priest spied on the Teacher of Righteousness and tried to murder him on account of the precepts and laws that the latter had sent to him. Most likely, "the precepts and laws" here refer to the document known as Miqtsat Ma'asei ha-Torah (MMT, 4Q394–399), a letter that discusses twenty or so differences of law, as initially proposed by Qimron and Strugnell, 1994. Accordingly, the Wicked Priest was originally considered legitimate by the Qumran community before he changed his religious allegiances, and the Teacher of Righteousness, writing as

head of the community, sent this letter to him. Mention is also made of a third group, which has been interpreted as a proto-Pharisaic group.

Whether MMT can support such a reading depends in large part upon the correct identification of its genre. If it is a real letter, then it is odd that it should begin with the enumeration of a calendar when no chronological issue is subsequently discussed. Perhaps it is better to describe it as a formal epistle of the kind that typifies the exhortative treatise or sermon. Whatever the relationship of Peshar Psalms^a to MMT, it is believed that at some point the Wicked Priest did seek to kill the Teacher of Righteousness, though it is unclear whether the attempted murder was successful.

[See also Liar; Miqtsat Ma'asei ha-Torah; Peshar Habakkuk; Peshar Psalms; and Teacher of Righteousness.]

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WILES OF THE WICKED WOMAN. Six fragments in early Herodian script have been ascribed to a sapiential-poetic work termed *Wiles of the Wicked Woman* on the basis of the theme of the first fragment and of similar motifs in fragments 3, 5, and probably also 6. The first fragment is of considerable length (eighteen lines) and bears a strong resemblance to *Proverbs 7* in that it describes a female who is a dangerous seductress of pious men. There is, however, one fundamental difference. In *Proverbs 7* it is (as in *Prv. 5* and 6.20–35) indeed the foreign woman who represents a danger for the upright and wise man with, however, an additional connotation: the attitude in favor of the foreign woman is seen as the antithesis of a life lived in accordance with wisdom. Wiles of the Wicked Woman (4Q184), on the other hand, represents the female figure as much more than a temptation to lead a life contrary to the tenets of wisdom; she has become, rather, the personification of an antagonistic group, and the central controversy has evolved into the author’s concern for the correct fulfillment of the entire Torah. The implacable nature of the controversy reflected in this work is characterized by dualistic traits. It is no longer simply a question of morality but that of the right or wrong observance of God’s will in general and in its details reflects a symbolism much nearer to the old biblical concept of idolatry as adultery and fornication than to the moralistic attitude of normal wisdom literature. [See Wisdom Texts.] The sapiential motifs of this moralistic variety, as they are attested in *Proverbs 5–7*, underwent, then, in *Wiles of the Wicked Woman* a theological transformation whereby they were applied to group controversies of a fundamental character. Those portions of *Wiles of the Wicked Woman* that offer a reproach concerning effective rhetoric (4Q184 1.1–2) and misleading advice

(cf. 4Q184 1.14–15) point perhaps to the same people who in other texts appear as followers of the “Man (or Preacher) of Lies.” Regardless of whether this group should be seen as a forerunner of the later Pharisees (Amusin, 1986), what is obvious is that *Wiles of the Wicked Woman* reflects fundamental group dissensions and a perceived deception on the part of a group of antagonists.

It is difficult to establish a date for the controversy behind these polemics, as they are generally applicable throughout a long stretch of time after the initial rift. It is, however, not impossible that their first application dates back to the controversies in Judea in connection with the events immediately before and during the reign of Antiochus IV, when, according to the Damascus Document (CD i), the people went astray because of the propaganda of a certain person who, along with his followers, abandoned a position that the “Teacher of Righteousness” still tried to defend.

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WISDOM TEXTS. The presence of the biblical wisdom books at Qumran is indicated by the fragments of *Job* (4Q99–101), *Proverbs* (4Q102–103), *Ecclesiastes* (4Q109–110), and *Ben Sira* (2Q18 and 11QPsalms^a, 11Q5 xxi.11–17; xxii.1), along with Targums of *Job* from Caves 4 and 11 (4Q157; 11Q10). Although it has long been acknowledged that there are wisdom elements in the Rule of the Community, Hodayot, and other core Qumran texts, the Qumran library includes other Jewish wisdom texts from the Second Temple period.

The most prominent literary form among the sapiential texts from Qumran is the wisdom instruction. In it a sage