ESCHATOLOGICAL "RAIN" IMAGERY IN THE WAR SCROLL FROM QUMRAN AND IN THE LETTER OF JAMES

ROBERT EISENMAN, California State University, Long Beach

In appraising eschatological themes and imagery at Qumran, surprising constructions emerge. Themes develop, when pursued, that provide new clues for ideas and motifs hitherto unsuspected or previously unknown. One of these themes is "rain" and eschatological "rain" imagery. When this theme is pursued, using Qumran imagery as a focus, a new set of ideologies emerges relating to the imagery of the Son of Man/Messiah "coming on the clouds of Heaven," first imagined in Daniel and picked up as a central construct in theology relating to the Gospel portrait of Jesus.[1] Another persistent theme that finds linkage to this cluster is the one of primordial rainmaker, a procedure associated with the whole apocalyptic complex of eschatological "rain" and "rain" imagery.

There are in the literature several such primordial rainmakers. The first immediately recognizable one is Elijah, which links the rainmaker concept to *redivivus* notions centering about his person, thereby tying the tradition to activities related to those of John the Baptist.[2] In fact, both Josephus and the Talmud are acquainted with the rainmaking tradition, as is in its own way the medieval *Zohar*.[3] In these, the notions of rain and Judgment are also linked to eschatological flood and the Noah tradition.[4] One possible ancestor of John the Baptist, or at least a parallel tradition line, is to be found in the person of Josephus's Onias the Just or the Talmud's Honi the Circle-Drawer.[5] This, in turn, links the tradition to "the Just"/"Just One" notation, which has interesting overtones with the relation of this tradition to the person of James the Just in early Church literature and brings this complex of themes full circle.[6]

The method of this discussion will be literary-critical, for it is only through a literary critical analysis and evaluation of relevant texts that the main lines of these various and interlocking eschatological notions emerge. There is no guidebook to these ideologies or, for that matter, to the terminologies related to them. In fact, the tradition may be a figment of the modern critic's imagination; however, the interlocking themes and notations are there, and through an analysis of their parallels and connections, a reconstruction may be achieved which comes to look something like an ideology.

[1] Matt. 24:30, Mark 13:26, 14:62, Dan. 7:13 f.; also note that *Pseudo-Epiphanius* 100 links this last to Zech. 12:10 about the descent of the Holy Spirit.

[2] Mal. 4:5, Matt. 11:14, 16:14, 17:10, Mark 6:15, 8:28, 9:11 ff., Luke 1:17 and 9:8 ff.

[*JNES* 49 no. 2 (1990)]

0022-2968/90/4902-0007$1.00.

[3] B. Ta'an 23a–b on M. Ta'an 3:8 (in fact, much of the tractate is concerned with it), j. Ta'an 66b, *Ant.* 14.22 ff., and *Zohar*, i,10a, 63a, and 67b.

[4] Cf. Matt. 24:37 ff.: "As with the days of Noah, so shall be the coming of the Son of Man," referring as well to the important motif evoking the 'passing of Heaven and Earth'.

[5] *Ant.* 14.22 ff.; b. Ta'an 22b–23a.

[6] For James, see Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History* (hereafter *EH*) 2.23.2 ff.; Epiphanius, *Haeres.* 29.3 ff. and 78.14; and Jerome, *Vir. ill.* 2.

According to rabbinic literature, Phineas was also linked to a *redivivus* tradition, and here, too, there is an allusion to rainmaking, i.e., closing the heavens and opening them.[7] Both are important motifs. Not only is it all but indistinguishable from the *redivivus* tradition associated with Elijah above, but it links the above complex of themes to the "Zealot" priestly tradition and that "zeal" which has become proverbial where Phineas's behavior is in question.[8] Elsewhere, I have associated this with the "Zadokite" (and possibly the "*Zaddik*ite") tradition,[9] a tradition which has strong links with the *redivivus* one alluded to in the presentation of John the Baptist in the Gospels. Both the Phineas and the Elijah *redivivus* traditions are priestly with some association with rainmaking. Elijah was also a miracle-worker. As such, he was taken up to Heaven alive in a kind of prefiguration of later "messianic" descriptions. Once again this ascent has strong links with "the Son of Man on the clouds of Heaven" theme, first evoked in Daniel and echoed, as we shall see, in materials present in the War Scroll from Qumran. The New Testament, too, associates the theme of primordial flood with the signs of the end, and such a flood, of course, has to be associated with Noah, again one of the first, if not the first, in the quasi-rainmaking tradition, but also an archetypical personality in the tradition of *Zaddik*-theorizing.[10]

I have dealt with this *Zaddik*-tradition to a certain extent elsewhere. Noah is perhaps the first identifiable priest/*Zaddik*. It is his sacrifice that ends the period of primordial flood and allows mankind once again to begin the consumption of flesh (with the provision that it be free from blood).[11] The *Zaddik*-tradition is, of course, strong in *Kabbalah* and picked up in *Zohar* tradition, i.e.,

> Noah was a Righteous One. Assuredly so after the supernal pattern (here the Primal Adam ideology intrudes). It is written, "the Righteous One is the foundation of the world," and the Earth is established thereon, for this is the Pillar that upholds the world. So Noah was called "Righteous" below . . . and acted so as to be a true copy of the supernal ideal . . . and embodiment of the world's Covenant of Peace (59b).

That this *Zaddik*-tradition was known in the Second Temple period is, also, hardly to be doubted, judging by its use in the New Testament's portrait of its Messiah, not to mention its use as a cognomen within the Messianic family itself, primarily relating to James the Just.[12] The implications of the "*Zaddik*" terminology for the person of

[7] The Chronicles of Jerahmeel 59.17/Ps Philo 48.1; cf. the twelve miracles associated with his in Sifre Numbers 131.

[8] Cf. Numbers Rabbah 21.3 and Numbers 26:6 ff.; also *Zohar*, iii, 214a.

[9] See my *Maccabees, Zadokites, Christians and Qumran* (Leiden, 1983), pp. 26 f., 36 f., and passim; note for Numbers Rabbah 21.4, Phineas too is a '*Zaddik*' as is Honi/Onias in Ta'an and Josephus.

[10] 2 Kings 2:11; cf. Luke 24:51 and Mark 16:19—in the latter his place in heaven is described "on the right hand of God," an allusion to coming Judgment. For Noah as the first *Zaddik*, see Gen. 6:9, coupled with an allusion to the "perfection" notation so important at Qumran and in the New Testament. Hebrew Ben Sira 44:17 starts its enumeration of "Pious Men" with "Noah the Righteous," anticipating succeeding such individuals in the *Hesed* and *Zedek* tradition; cf. the *Zohar*, i,66b comparing him to Elijah and Phineas and mentioning the "Covenant of Peace" associated with his name and 68b referring to him as *zaddik*.

[11] Gen. 8:20, 9:4 ff., particularly 9:44 ff. referring to "clouds," rain, rainbow, etc. The "blood" motif is particularly important where any associations with James are concerned, "abstention from blood" being an element in 'Jamesian' rulings and their reflection in 1 Cor. below and the Qur'ān; cf. also in CD iii. 6 and other "blood" imagery at Qumran. Cf. too the allusion to Noah's primordial sacrifice in *Zohar* i, 70a.

[12] See Acts 3:14, 7:52, and 22:14 on Jesus and Matt. 27:19, 24; cf. Joseph as "just" in Matt. 1:19 and Luke 2:25 and also James 5:6. For Matt. 5:49 in pursuance of biblical themes, the rain falls on the just and unjust alike. For James as "the Just One," see testimonies delineated above.

James is set forth in Eusebius/Epiphanius/Jerome exposition, probably based on Hegesippus.[13] In all cases, some extreme purity regulations were associated with it, as was a terminology having to do with "fortress" and/or "Protection of the people," if these two can be reckoned as separate designations.[14] In addition, the idea, first encountered in Proverbs that "the Righteous One is the pillar of the world" (as well perhaps as the *lamed-waw* tradition in rabbinic/kabbalistic literature on the number of Righteous Men necessary to uphold or keep the world in existence) is to be associated with James's role as "Pillar" of the Jerusalem Community, as in the Pauline allusion (Gal. 2:8) and related materials associating his removal with the destruction of Jerusalem.[15] The implication here, unlike the normal implication of early Church tradition, that of punishment upon the Jews,[16] is rather different, i.e., as in the *Zohar* evocation of "the *Zaddik*-the-pillar-of-the-world" above, to a certain extent echoed in the Gospel of Thomas,[17] once the shield (*Maʿoz* at Qumran) was removed, the city could no longer remain in existence (like Sodom and Gomorrah at the time of the second *Zaddik* in Genesis presentation, Lot, and the world at the time of the flood—here Noah's role as first *Zaddik* should not be overlooked).

Rainmaking itself is not unassociated with the theme of eschatological flood. One of the most interesting characters in the rainmaking tradition, aside from Elijah and the *redivivus* tradition associated with his person, is Honi the Circle-Drawer or, as Josephus refers to him, Onias the Just. Not only does the person of Honi bring the tradition down to the Second Temple period, it also associates the tradition with what we are signaling as the developing *Zaddik*-tradition, "the Just" being a cognomen usually associated with certain priestly individuals in this line, from the saintly Simeon the Righteous in Ecclesiasticus and rabbinic tradition to James, the subject of this discussion. For these purposes, James's priestly attributes are not inconsequential, nor are those of the Righteous Teacher at Qumran, another *Zaddik*. Here it emerges that rainmaking involved some characteristics perhaps associated with Noah's original primordial priesthood/eschatological function as a quasi rainmaker, i.e., the flood appeared against the backdrop of his soteriological "Perfection" and "Righteousness." "Perfection" and "Righteousness" are two very basic Qumran doctrines, as they are to a certain extent in the Matthean presentation of Jesus—another of these soteriological *Zaddik*s with priestly functions as in Hebrews' presentation.[18]

One might add that in Avot de Rabbi Nathan 4:4, one of the concomitants to proper Temple service is rain coming in its season. Such an allusion cannot help but have links to what goes under the name of "the Zadokite Covenant," also associated with a "Covenant of Peace" attached to Phineas's name in Ben Sira and 1 Maccabees,

[13] Eusebius, *EH* 2.23.8 ff. and Epiphanius, *Haeres* 78:7–14.

[14] Prov. 10:25; Eusebius, *EH* 2.23.7 and 3.7.8; Epiphanius, *Haeres* 29.4; cf. *Zohar* on Phineas, iii, 218a–b, where the "Protection of the People" mentioned in Eusebius/Hegesippus is alluded to.

[15] For "pillar" in *Zohar*, see i, 59b and iii, 222a; cf. an assortment of related allusions in 1QH, i.11, ii. 5, iii. 37, iv. 3, vi. 17 ff., vii. 8 ff., viii. 22 ff., ix. 28 f., etc., including "foundations," "fortress" (*migdal*), and "strength" (*maʿoz*).

[16] Eusebius, *EH* 1.1.2, 2.6.4, 2.6.8, and passim.

[17] *Gospel of Thomas 12,* including the telltale "pillar"-type reference to "heaven and earth," also in *Zohar* allusions, the New Testament above, and b. Taʾan on Isa. 45:8 below.

[18] This soteriological approach to Jesus is based on Isa. 53:11 (also a *zaddik*-text) and "justification" theorizing based on it in combination with texts such as Hab. 2:4 and Gen. 15:6. For the priestly implications, see Heb. 5:1 ff., 7:11 ff., 7:22 ff., and variously coupled with "perfection" ideology, see 9:11 and 12:24.

the Zadokite Covenant as in Ezekiel's presentation having to do with proper Temple service.[19] Elsewhere, we have already associated the priest/*Zaddik* tradition with an esoteric understanding of the Zadokite Covenant of the kind delineated to a certain extent at Qumran.

Onias's position is not unlike the position of James. Just as James would seem to have been stoned to death in 62 C.E. just prior to the fall of the Temple, so Honi/Onias the Just was stoned just prior to Pompey's assault on the Temple in 63 B.C.E. Onias prefigures James in other ways, not the least of which being that a fall of the Temple followed their individual deaths (again the *Zaddik*-tradition involving some "Protection of the people"—one of James's epithets—would appear to be operative to some extent here). If early Church accounts are to be credited, in both instances establishment figures send representatives to the two *Zaddik*s asking them to condemn a seditious undercurrent; in both cases, their refusal culminates in their stoning. In addition, there is the rainmaking tradition attached to their persons.

Circle-drawing, of course, is one of the mechanisms of rainmaking. There is some indication that the followers of Josephus's *Banus* or his "Essenes" followed a variation of this mechanism on the Sabbath, since they were unwilling to go outside a certain perimeter for defecation.[20] Furthermore, we hear in Talmudic accounts that two grandchildren of this Onias, one referred to as Hanan or Hanin *ha-Neḥba*ʾ, i.e., "the Hidden," also appear to be associated with the rainmaking tradition, a connection which, therefore, would appear to have been carried down by Honi's descendants. This Hanan or Hanin has sometimes been associated with John the Baptist, and if nothing else, there is also a "hidden" tradition associated with both John the Baptist and Jesus.[21] The "Hidden" tradition is another interesting one, which in some way appears to have resurfaced in Shiʿite Islam in association with another doctrine, "the Primal Adam," known among the Ebionites and perhaps before. It, too, has some *redivivus* characteristics, this one linked to Jesus' own person, i.e., Jesus was "the Second Adam" (cf. 1 Cor. 15:45). The Qurʾān, for its part, is very much aware of "the Primal Adam" tradition and knows the doctrine that Jesus is "the Second Adam"—what we will also associate presently with the terminology of "the Son of Man."[22] One should note that for Shiʿite (and even Sunnite) Islam, Jesus and the Mahdi—in Twelver Shiʿism the Mahdi is the last Imam—are *both* expected to return at the end of time. Nothing could better illustrate the Shiʿite notion of "the Hidden Imam" than this.

Also associated with Honi's heirs is a "Rip van Winkle" tradition which finds expression in another grandson of Honi, Abba Hilkiah, who in fact appears to have been active around the time of James. This individual, too, whoever he may have been, was a rainmaker, and the stories about him sound vaguely like the stories associated with James in Epiphanius's curious retelling, i.e., children are sent by the

[19] Ben Sira 45:23 f. and 1 Macc. 2:26, 53; cf. also *Zohar* 66b. For b. Taʾan 22b the prophet Habakkuk is one of these primordial circle-drawers/rain-makers! Cf. too James's vow not to eat, or presumably do anything else, until he "sees Jesus" in Jerome below.

[20] *War* 2.147 f.; *Vita* 11.

[21] B. Taʾan 23af./j. Taʾan 66b (including a Rip van Winkle tradition relating to one of Honi's heirs), Luke 1:24, Protevangelium of James 18:1, and Qurʾān 19:22; cf. also Noah in the *Zohar*, i, 63a and 67b.

[22] Qurʾān 2:31 ff., 3:33 ff., and 3:59 (cf. 6:86 designating Jesus, John, Zechariah, and Elias as "Righteous"). See also Paul in 1 Cor. 15:22, 45 and Epiphanius in *Haeres* 30.3 for the "Ebionite" presentation of this key notation.

Jerusalem Establishment to him to ask him to make rain. In both stories, such establishment representatives are treated very gruffly by the putative rainmaker. Of course, the theme of being requested to do things by the presumably Pharisaic/Sadducean/Herodian Establishment is a motif in all traditions associated with James, as earlier with the person of Honi.[23]

This brings us to the core of my presentation of the two references to eschatological "rain" in both the letter associated with the name of James and the War Scroll at Qumran. Where the latter is concerned, this moves into imagery, first evoked in Daniel, of the Messiah coming on the clouds of Heaven, and this cannot be separated from the use made of this imagery in New Testament presentations of "the Son of Man." Seen in this way, "the Son of Man" is another variation of "the Second Adam" ideology so important in Ebionitism or Jewish Christianity, "Man" and "Adam" presumably being interchangeable. This leads us into James's reported proclamation in the Temple of the imminent return of "Jesus" or "the Messiah," i.e., "the Second Man," at the behest of Establishment representatives, reported variously in all early Church traditions (including the Pseudoclementines), which provokes the riot ending in his death, another basic element in all early Church accounts.

Epiphanius tells us that James was a rainmaker, a most peculiar bit of information, whether a figment of his imagination or real, since rainmaking, as we have seen, was associated with the *Zaddik* tradition. James too is, of course, a *Zaddik,* and the terminology is prominent among his cognomens. Eusebius through Hegesippus appears to use this epithet as a substitute even for his name itself; see allusions such as "Justus is praying for you," etc. (in this context, it should be remarked that in Roman catacombs "Justus" and "Zadok" are synonymous appellations). The material leading up to the allusion to rainmaking in the Letter of James (an allusion to be found not uncoincidentally in no other New Testament letter or document) follows the condemnation of the individual or process being referred to as "the Tongue" (3:5 ff.). I have already remarked that the use of this genre of condemnation is generically parallel to similar Qumran condemnations of adversaries of the Righteous Teacher/*Zaddik* at Qumran, for example, the "Spouter," "Comedian," or "Liar."[24]

There follows the condemnation of "fornication," so often associated with James's name and again a favorite theme at Qumran (4:4), as well as "making the world your friend," which I have elsewhere identified as anti-Pauline.[25] The "friend" terminology is extremely important in the light of the emphasis on Abraham as "the friend of God" in James 2:23 and CD iii 2 ff., an emphasis which continues on into Islam, presumably transmitted by the Ebionites.[26] This is explained in terms of "the Enemy," terminology also important in Jewish Christianity (presumably applying to Paul; in Islam "the Enemy of God" is similarly dubbed "the *Dajjāl*"—"the Joker" or "the Comedian." He precedes the return of Jesus and the Mahdi), i.e., just as the unnamed interlocutor makes the world "his friend," so he will be considered "the Enemy of God" (4:4). The implication is clear and harks back to the earlier description of Abraham as "the friend of God" coupled with aspersions on "the Empty Man," who presumably also

[23] Cf. *Ant.* 14.22 f. with *Haeres* 78,14 and b. Ta'an 23a–23bf. Also see *EH* 2.23.10 for the Scribes and Pharisees coming to James; Matt. 3:7, to John.

[24] See my *Maccabees,* p. 42 and *James the Just in the Habakkuk Pesher* (Leiden, 1986), pp. 15, 52 f., etc.

[25] See again my *James,* p. 58.

[26] CD iii. 2 and Qur'ān 4:125, etc.

cited Abraham to justify his salvation by faith doctrine, i.e., Abraham exemplifies his "friendship" with God in being willing to sacrifice his principal son. James 2:21 ff. cites this as the example *par excellence* of "faith working with works." It is striking that this peculiar example of works finds a parallel expression in Josephus's description of the last stand of the extreme "Zealots"/*Sicarii* on Masada, who are willing to sacrifice their children.[27] That this "Enemy" terminology was already current in Paul's lifetime and was not unknown to him can be inferred from his use of it in Gal. 4:16 (paralleling New Testament evocations of the same terminology in the anti-Pauline "Parable of the Tares," Matt. 13:26 ff.).

Here follows in James 4:7 the evocation of the Greek "Diabolo," which not unlikely has some linguistic relationship to the Hebrew "Belial" so common in Qumran usage and corrupted in Paul's "Beliar" (2 Cor. 6:15), but this is beyond the scope of our study. Also of interest here in this linguistic circle of words is the Islamic "Iblis," used in conjunction with allusions to a supernatural Adam. Leading up to the evocation of being a "doer of the Law," which is at the heart of the key interpretation of Hab. 2:4 in the Habakkuk *Pesher* and important in discussions of faith in Paul (and probably James 2:5 ff.), is the condemnation of slandering a brother (4:11—another activity Paul indulges in rather promiscuously in Acts, Galatians, Corinthians, etc.). This theme is a strong one in the Community Rule, and the punishment for it set forth there is expulsion from "table fellowship" and non-cooperation with such an individual in works and purse.[28] In the letter of James, the emphasis on "doing" continues, again paralleling the Habakkuk *Pesher,* leading into the condemnation on "the Rich" and "Riches." As with the condemnation of "fornication," the condemnation on "the Rich"/"Riches" is another of "the three nets of Belial" in CD, iv–v and another known theme in James's life. In this all-important presentation in CD, iv–v, the third "net" is "pollution of the Temple," which is an important element of Paul's evocation of "Beliar" in 2 Cor. 6:16, a passage with unmistakable doctrinal connections to Qumran. Elsewhere, I have linked this "pollution" theme to James's condemnation of "food"/"things sacrificed to idols," another strong theme in Paul's Corinthians correspondence, strong too in the Temple Scroll in relation to "pollution of the Temple" (xlvi–xlvii), and later appearing once again in Qurʾānic dietary regulations along with another Jamesian element repeatedly reported in Acts, "abstention from blood."[29]

Not only is this condemnation on "the Rich" the climax of the letter, it is linked to a condemnation of those who killed "the Just"/"Just One"/"Righteous One." This, of course, is the Jamesian riposte to the Pauline aspersion in 1 Thess. 2:14 that "the Jews killed the Messiah"; in James, more appropriately, it is "the Rich," a pregnant allusion, too, in relation to the James's own death and probably that of the Righteous Teacher in 1QpHab and 4QpPs37. It has important implications where the high priests and Herodians in this period are concerned.[30] At this point, the eschatological "coming of the Lord" is proclaimed in James 5:7 f. and linked to the coming of "rain."

[27] *War* 7.340 ff. and 386 ff.

[28] 1QS, vi. 15 ff. and viii. 20 ff. There are different degrees or murmuring and slandering—the worst being against the authority of the community.

[29] *James,* pp. 88 ff.; Acts 15:20, 15:29, 21:25—also in 1 Cor. 8:1 ff., 10:19 ff., 2 Cor. 6:16, Rev. 2:14 f.; cf. Qurʾan 2:172, 5:3, and 16:115.

[30] The problem of "Rich"/"Riches" is strong in *Ant.* 20.7.3, 20.9.2, 20.9.4, and *War* 2.427 (on turning "the poor against the rich" and burning the debt records).

This will have strong overtones with the presentation of the coming of the Messiah in Judgment together with all the Heavenly Host in columns xi f. and xix in the War Scroll below, where the all-important evocation of eschatological "rain" also occurs.

This allusion in James also has strong links to the proclamation associated with his person in the Eusebius/Hegesippus presentation of the events leading up to his death, i.e., "Why do you ask me concerning Jesus the Son of Man (also possibly "the Second Adam"). He is now sitting in the Heavens on the right hand of great Power and is about to come on the clouds of Heaven" (here, again, cloud imagery from Daniel is linked to evocation of eschatological Judgment). The stoning of James and the fall of Jerusalem follow (i.e., "the *Zaddik*-the-Pillar-of-the-world" ideology echoed in Origen's insistence that Josephus stated that Jerusalem fell because of the death of James, not of Jesus).[31] James 5:7 cautions "patience until the coming of the Lord" and equates this coming with the coming of "rain." This theme of "patience" is also strong in the Habakkuk *Pesher* preceding the all-important "Jamesian" analysis of Hab. 2:4—what I have elsewhere identified as the "delay of the *Parousia*" (this in exposition of Hab. 2:3 related, as here in the Letter of James, to "doing the Law" or "doers of the Law"). The Habakkuk *Pesher*, too, ends on a similar note of hopeful patience and expectation of an eschatological last Judgment on all idolaters and evildoers on the earth.

This theme of patience in expectation of divine Judgment continues throughout the remainder of chapter 5 of the Letter of James until the evocation of Elijah's rainmaking miracle in the course of an allusion to the prayerful supplication of "the Righteous One" in 5:17. Of course, just this kind of prayerful supplication is referred to in the Eusebius/Jerome/Epiphanius/Hegesippus presentation of all the supplication James as "Righteous One" did in the Temple asking for forgiveness on behalf of the people (here possibly in the Holy of Holies or the Inner Sanctum) until, unforgettably, "the skin on his knees turned to camel's hide." I have discussed this allusion and tied it to a *Yom Kippur* atonement James may have made in his role as high priest of the "opposition" alliance.[32]

Here Elijah, a predecessor in the priestly *Zaddik/redivivus* tradition (and a man with "the same kind of feelings" as James and his community—James 5:17 f.), is portrayed as being of such power that his prayer could both cause rain to cease and then fall again. The implication of this to the power attributed to James in his role as priest/*Zaddik* is obvious. The interval between these two events is denoted as the pregnant one of three and a half years (5:17), a period important also for Daniel's eschatological framework. It should be noted, when discussing eschatological notions of chronology and final apocalyptic events, that this was also the interval between James's death in 62 C.E. and the outbreak of the uprising against Rome in 66 C.E., which was no doubt seen in some circles as the beginning of this process of eschatological final Judgment.

The evocation of Daniel's Messiah coming on the clouds of Heaven at this point in Hegesippus/Eusebius is, in this context, crucial, as is Josephus's claim of the import of the Messianic "Star Prophecy" to the uprising against Rome, picked up by Roman

[31] *Contra Celsum* 1.47, 2.13, and *Comm. in Matt.* 10.17.

[32] *Maccabees*, pp. 38, 44 and Eusebius, *EH* 2.23.6 and *Haeres* 29.3 and 78.13. Jerome in *Vir. ill* parallels Epiphanius with James actually in the Holy of Holies!

historians and important to Vespasian's pretensions and those of the Flavian line (as it was to become in probably not unrelated Christian presentations).[33] We shall see that the evocation of eschatological "rain" in the War Scroll at Qumran also grows directly out of a citation of "the Star Prophecy" and in evocation of final Judgment, the coming of the Heavenly Host on the clouds of Heaven.

If we turn to the passages relevant to this theme in the War Scroll, we find ourselves in a similar (if for the modern mind somewhat alien) environment. The relevant materials are to be found in column xi f., recapitulated and repeated in column xix and in a number of allusions and images in columns leading up to these. After movement from "the camp in the Desert of the Nations" (see Matt. 2:22's "Galilee of the Nations") to "the camp in the Desert of Jerusalem" and the outlining of battle order and slogans (cols. i–vii), we come to a central doctrine in the War Scroll's presentation, purity, i.e., no boy or woman or person who is blind, crippled, afflicted, blemished, etc. will be allowed in the camps (similar preoccupations are represented in the Temple Scroll where the city of the Temple is at issue—the camps being a possible wilderness and/or tabernacle prelude anticipating the process of purification of the Temple). We are told that only the "Perfect in Spirit" prepared for "the Day of Vengeance" (the Day of Judgment) will be accepted:[34] no one "who is impure . . . for the Holy Angels are enlisted with their hosts" (vii.10). This need for absolute ritual purity in the camps is, therefore, necessary because the final apocalyptic War against all the evil ones on the earth was to be effected with the intervention of the Heavenly Host—thus the stringent purity regulations.

Since it is "the battle of God" which is being fought, "the priests shall trumpet from afar, so as not to approach the slain and become defiled with uncleanness . . . . They shall not profane the anointment of their priesthood with the blood of the nations of vanity." In the camps, they shall be "kept from all pollution and evilness," for their "God goes with them to fight for you against your enemies that He may deliver you" (x. 4—Deut. 20:2–4 repeated in Num. 10:9. The reference to "deliver" is important, particularly, as we shall see, when weighed with other persistent evocations of "*yesha*^{c}"/"*yeshu*^{c}*a*" ariations).[35] Evoking "works and mighty works" (the analogue to similar language in the New Testament) and Daniel's "*Kedoshim*'/"Saints," i.e., "the Saints of the Covenant," the War Scroll makes its first reference to the Heavenly Host, i.e., "the Angels of Holiness," "the Spirits (parallel to "*Jinn*" in Islam) and the

[33] *War* 6.312 ff. following on an earlier allusion to a "star" (289); cf. New Testament variations in Matt. 2:2 ff. When Josephus presumably applies the prophecy to Vespasian in 3.400 ff. he actually seems to call himself a "messenger of good tidings." Cf. Suetonius, *The Twelve Caesars*, 10.4 and Tacitus, *The Histories*, 2.78 ff. and 5.13.

One should note that in describing the signs and portents relating to this prophecy and the fall of the Temple, Josephus mentions Jesus b. Ananius, who prophesied the fall of Jerusalem around the time of Albinus's governorship and continued doing so for seven and a half years. This is not without relevance to the tradition connecting James's death with the fall of Jerusalem in Origen and Eusebius, itself related to a Jewish Christian oracle connected to "the Pella flight" tradition. The seven and a half years mentioned here is the *exact* length of time between James's death and the fall of Jerusalem (just as the three and a half years above is that between his Messianic proclamation/death and the outbreak of the war).

[34] Vii. 5 f.; cf. Luke 21:22, Rom. 12:19, 2 Thess. 1:8, etc. and numerous parallel Qur^{3}ānic allusions.

[35] X. 4. The term is also evoked at critical junctures of the Damascus Rule; e.g., viii. 43 and 57; cf. Josephus's description of the false prophet proclaiming "the tokens of their *deliverance*"—the *precise* words of the scroll at this point—preceding the destruction of the Temple in *War* 6.286 above (italics mine).

dominion of the Holy Ones." These images are connected with an evocation of "clouds," presumably referring to specific reference to the Heavenly Host coming on the clouds of Heaven later in the document. Here occurs another of these all-important evocations of "Adam" (x. 14, presumably "the Primal Adam"), and, by implication, if the two can be differentiated, the parallel ideology of "the Son of Man" also associated with proclamations related to James. This leads into the messianic imagery of col. xi.

Alluding to the "name" ("name" and "naming" are particularly important in key columns of CD, as they are in Acts, Kabbalah, etc. As the Qur'ān would have it, probably through Ebionitism and the Primal Adam ideology, "God taught Adam all the names")[36] and David (xi. 2—important as a forerunner/progenitor of the Messiah), we encounter a variation of the Pauline "salvation by grace" ideology, i.e., "salvation"/"deliverance" ("*yeshu'a*"—again the Hebrew links to the *name* "Jesus" should not be overlooked) has been "through thy grace (*ḥesed*) and not through our works" (xi. 3). Allusion to "grace" against the backdrop here of the usual Qumran emphasis on "works" requires explanation. Presumably the situation of divine intervention in apocalyptic Holy War engendered a more reverential approach. Unlike parallel New Testament ideologies, however, the allusions here are always physical and actual, not spiritualized—the New Testament reversing Qumran doctrine in a systematic and clearly discernible fashion, i.e., whereas at Qumran the apocalyptic final war is immediate and real; in Pauline variations, this is transformed into intimations of personal and heavenly salvation. Evoking "power" (cf. parallel New Testament allusions such as "the right hand of Power"—Matt. 22:29, 24:30, 26:64, 28:18, etc.) and once again "works and mighty wonders"; since this is a "messianic" passage, the "Star Prophecy" is now cited in its entirety to be expanded upon at length in the quasi-*pesher* to follow. This "Star Prophecy" is cited upwards of three times in the extant Qumran corpus, testimony to its overwhelming importance there. Just as the Habakkuk *Pesher* can be seen as revolving around an exegesis of Hab. 2:4, so the War Scroll can be seen as a long discourse revolving around the climactic evocation of Num. 24:17–19 at this point in col. xi.

Josephus cites this prophecy, as we have seen, as the moving force behind the uprising against Rome, thereby providing it with a *firm* 60–70 C.E. *Sitz im Leben*, having already alluded to it previously in his designation of Vespasian as Messiah. Talmudic sources testify to a similar currency, again claiming that Yohanan b. Zacchai (not Josephus) applied it to Vespasian. Roman authors also pick up the allusion, testifying to its currency in this period. Here we are provided with the all-important Qumran exegesis of this critical prophecy. If there was any doubt that in the minds of the exegetes this prophecy related to Messianism and the Messiah, Qumran confirms it by following it up immediately with an exposition using the words, "by the hand of your Messiah." This develops, as we shall see, into an evocation of eschatological "rain" where final apocalyptic Judgment is invoked. Not surprisingly, "Belial," too, is directly invoked (as we have had "Diabolos" at this point in the Letter of James, "Iblis" in the Qur'ān in the context of a Primal Adam-like ideology, and "Beliar"

[36] Qur'ān 2:31 ff.; cf. Acts 2:21, 38, 3:6, 16, 4:7, 10, 12, 17 f., etc., and CD ii. 11 ff. and iv. 4 ff. "Name" usage is very strong throughout the War Scroll; cf. xi. 3 and xii. 2.

amid a flood of Qumran-type allusions in 2 Cor. 5–6). To this Messianism in the War Scroll is tied the language familiar from the Sermon on the Mount of "the Poor" and "the Poor in Spirit," not to mention the use of this terminology in Ebionite tradition and probably following this, the tradition emerging in the medieval *Zohar*.[37]

Here, as in *The Zohar*, "the Messiah" places himself among "the Meek" and "the Poor" (in this section "the Poor in Spirit" and "those bent in the dust"). The miracle that will be wrought is likened, as in Isa. 43:16 f., to what was done to "Pharaoh and to the captains of his chariots in the Red Sea." The Language of "kindling" and burning is used, as in parallel New Testament passages about John the Baptist: "Thou shalt kindle the Poor in Spirit and they shall be a flaming torch in the straw to consume ungodliness and never cease till evil is destroyed" (cf. Matt. 2:10 f.: "the fire is in the fan and the straw ready for the burning"). That this is something equivalent to the Last Judgment or "the House"/"Decree of Judgment," referred to variously in the Habakkuk *Pesher*, particularly in the course of *eschatological* exegesis of Hab. 2:4, is hardly to be doubted.[38] Here and in the Habakkuk *Pesher*, this "Judgment" is to be rendered/pronounced by "the Elect," identified in CD iv. 2 in exposition of the key Ezek. 44:15 passage with "the sons of Zadok" and here connected to repeated evocations of "the Poor" (also prominent in parallel sections of the Habakkuk *Pesher*). The enemies, too, at this juncture, as in these parallel sections of the Habakkuk *Pesher*, are "the Kittim"—once again demonstrating the basic circularity of all these accounts.

This great Judgment is pictured throughout the remainder of col. xi into col. xii and with it the Noahic/Phineas "Covenant of Peace" (also important in the *Zohar* materials cited above). Again "name" imagery is evoked in conjunction with allusion to "the Elect of thy Holy People" (i.e., CD iv's "sons of Zadok"), coupled with an allusion to "the Elect of Heaven." Now consciously utilizing allusions from crucial eschatological sections in Daniel, the "*Kedoshim*" are grouped with "the Angels . . . mighty in battle" in a perfect exposition of final apocalyptic Judgment. Referring to actual divine or messianic intervention, the text continues: "Thou wilt fight with them

[37] Matt. 5:3/Luke 6:20, Rom. 15:26, and the famous Gal. 2:10 (cf. James 2:2 ff.). In *Zohar*, iii, 195 on Numbers (i.e., "the Star Prophecy"), King David/the Messiah "placed himself among the Poor . . . the Pious . . . and . . . those who are ready to sacrifice themselves . . . for the sanctification of God's name" (n.b. evocation of "the name" again).

[38] Cf. 1QpHab, v. 4, viii. 1 f. (in exegesis of Hab. 2:4), x. 3, xii. 14, and xiii. 2 f. Jerome, for instance, to pursue this theme of "clouds," "rain," "deliverance," and Judgment/"Son of Man coming on the clouds of heaven," reads Isa. 45:8 relating to "the clouds pouring down Righteousness" and "*yesha*^{c}"/salvation (cf. CD viii. 43 above), as "let the clouds *rain down the Just One*." For him in *Vir ill* 2, James makes a vow not to eat until he will "see Jesus"; these are basically the same words of the last sentence of the exhortative section of the Damascus Rule (viii. 55 ff.): "Thy Judgments upon us . . . who have listened to the voice of the Righteous Teacher and have not abandoned the laws of Righteousness; they shall rejoice and their hearts shall be *strengthened*, and *they shall triumph over all the sons of the earth*. God will *forgive them* and they shall *see his salvation*, because they took refuge in his holy *name*" (emphasis mine).

For b. Ta^{3}an 6a–6b, also evoking Isa. 45:8, "the day on which rain falls is as great as the day on which heaven and earth were created" (n.b. the evocation of "heaven and earth" again) or "the Torah was given." "No rain falls unless the sins of Israel have been forgiven" (with relevance to the twin motifs connected to James's person of rain-making and an atonement for sin). But more interesting, b. Ta^{3}an 5b evokes the word "*yoreh*" in pursuance of this theme, meaning "former" or "spring rain" (not "torrential"). But this is *exactly* the allusion used to refer to "the Teacher" in CD vi. 10 f. and viii. 36 f. above, which has long troubled scholars. Here, then, we not only have a play on "teaching" (i.e., that knowledge that comes down from above), but also on "rain."

from Heaven . . . the Angelic Host are numbered with your congregation . . . the Spirits (Islamic "*Jinn*" again) are with our footmen and horsemen."

At this point the imagery shifts to "cloud" imagery because the ambiance is that of Daniel's "Son of Man coming on the clouds of Heaven" (note that the passage began with evocation of the messianic prophecy, David, and the "Messiah"), and in this context eschatological "rain" imagery is now used. In this case, the framework is definitively that of Daniel, which is emphasized with the words, "they (the Heavenly Host with the Messiah) are as clouds of dew over the earth, as *a shower of rain shedding Judgment* on all that grows on earth" (emphasis mine). This eschatological allusion to "rain," tied as it is to evocation of the Last Judgment and the Son of Man coming on the clouds of Heaven is pivotal. It clarifies and is a key to a whole complex of apocalyptic imageries.

It is followed by the allusion, "Arise Mighty One (possibly even "be resurrected"),[39] smite the nations, thine adversaries and devour the flesh of the Sinner with your sword (certainly the Messiah here) . . . . Sovereignty shall be to the Lord and everlasting dominion to Israel." Six more columns follow recapitulating the imagery already encountered and adding to it, including allusion to "Belial," "Light," "Darkness," "works and mighty wonders," "Judgments," "thy Salvation" (note the linguistic connection again to the name "Jesus"), "the Poor in Spirit," "the Perfect of the Way," "the Day of Vengeance," "the Saints of the people," "the Kittim," "the power of God," "the burning" (cf. the extensive Qurʾānic use of this language), "everlasting Light," "Righteousness," "Truth," "Knowledge," the Jamesian "keeping the Covenant," "the Kingdom of Michael in the midst of the gods and the realm of Israel in the midst of all flesh" (cf. Pauline and kabbalistic notions of Heaven above and Jerusalem below), and "the gates of Salvation." This last allusion has particularly strong relevance to the question asked of James in early Church tradition, as reported by Eusebius/Hegesippus: "What is the *gate to Jesus*?" (emphasis mine) and the response: "He is coming on the clouds of Heaven with all the Mighty Ones." Once again, the intrinsic relationship of such materials to Daniel and these passages in the War Scroll is inescapable.

These sections culminate in a second evocation of eschatological "rain":

> Our Sovereign is Holy and the King of Glory is with us . . . they are *as clouds, clouds of dew covering the earth* and *a shower of rain shedding Judgment* on all that grows there (emphasis mine).

Here we find the crystallization of all these kinds of eschatological rain, flood, and final Judgment imagery. At Qumran, it is tied not only with the all-important "Star Prophecy" so intrinsic to events having to do with 66–70 C.E. and perhaps beyond, but also with Daniel's "Son of Man," so important in New Testament exposition as well, "coming on the clouds of Heaven" to render final eschatological Judgment on all the

[39] The use of this root *ʿ-m-d* at Qumran is a curious one. It is used in the course of eschatological exegesis of Ezek. 44:15's "sons of Zadok" in CD iv. 4 and iv. 11 f. relating to former and present generations at "the end of time." It is used in reference to the three famous evocations of "the Messiah of Aaron and Israel" in viii. 24, xii. 23 f., xiv. 18, and "the *Yoreh ha-Zedek*" in vi. 10 above. Certainly in Ezek. 37:10 the reference is to resurrection. This is true, too, in Dan. 12:13, which uses "the last days" exactly as in CD vi. 10 above, and is almost an exact parallel for this reference. But it is also true in Lamentations Rabbah ii. 3.6 and *Zohar*, i, 62b in exposition of Dan. 12:13. *Zohar*, iii, 222a on Phineas expanding Ezek. 37 also uses "stand" in precisely this vein.

sons of men. In James 5's evocation of rainmaking, paralleled too in early Church accounts of James as a rainmaker and describing his "Messianic" proclamation in the Temple as well, we probably have an allusion to the intercession of the *Zaddik* (also probably alluded to pejoratively in Josephus's aspersions on "imposters"/"deceivers"/"magicians")[40] in his role as "rain" and Judgment-making forerunner setting this final eschatological process in motion.

[40] *War* 2.258 f., 264, 6.288 ff. and *Ant.* 20.167 ff.