

THE FEAST OF THE FIRST FRUITS OF WINE AND THE ANCIENT CANAANITE CALENDAR¹

by

JOHN C. REEVES

Rock Hill, South Carolina

A description of a festival termed the Feast of (the First Fruits of) Wine² encompasses practically two complete columns (XIX 11-XXI 10) of the so-called Qumran Temple Scroll (= 11QT). This festival possesses no historical antecedent in the biblical cultic calendar, although allusions to vintage festivals and ritual drinking activity in certain passages have attracted attention from time to time (notably Judg. ix 27, xxi 19-21; 1 Sam. i 3-18). This particular feast can happily be pinpointed upon the sectarian cultic calendar, thanks to information supplied within the scroll itself combined with corroborating evidence gleaned from some calendrical fragments which were published by J. T. Milik.³ The Feast of the First Fruits of Wine forms the middle portion of a one hundred and fifty day festival cycle devoted to the presentation of agricultural first fruits. The initial festival in this cycle, the Feast of the First Fruits of Grain,⁴ corresponds to the biblical Feast of Weeks (Shabu'ot),⁵

¹ This study was initially presented before the Hebrew Scriptures section of the Southeastern Regional Meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature at Charlotte, N.C. on 17 March 1990. I would like to thank Professors Jack M. Sasson and James C. VanderKam for their observations and comments upon earlier drafts of this essay.

² According to 11QT Temple (= 11QT) XLIII 7-8, the name of the festival was *me'ad htyres*. Its character as a first-fruits celebration follows from the description supplied by the text. All citations from the text of 11QT¹ rely upon Y. Yadin, *The Temple Scroll* (E. tr., Jerusalem, 1983).

³ J. T. Milik, "Le travail d'édition des manuscrits du désert de Juda", in *Volume du Congrès: Strasbourg 1956 (SIT 4)* (Leiden, 1957), pp. 24-5. See also idem, *Dix ans de découvertes dans le désert de Juda* (Paris, 1957), pp. 71-3; E. Vogt, "Kalenderfragmente aus Qumran", *Biblica* 39 (1958), pp. 72-7.

⁴ 11QT XLIII 6: *hg hbkarym idgn hhtym*.

⁵ 11QT XIX 9: *hg s/bw'et hie' w'hg hbkarym lzkron l'w'f'mj*. Cf. also Rockefeller E3.366 line 2 (*apud* Yadin, II, p. 150). Compare Num. xxviii 26; Jub. vi 21; *Perush Da'at Zeqenim mibba'ale hattosafot* to Deut. xxvi 11: *w'lk nqr' s'bw'et ywm hbkarym ...*

and in accordance with biblical prescription is celebrated on the fiftieth day after the priestly waving of the *šomer* (Lev. xxiii 15-16). The Feast of the First Fruits of Wine occurs fifty days after the grain festival, and the final festival of the cycle, the Feast of the First Fruits of Oil⁶ takes place when fifty additional days have passed after the dedication of the wine.

Actual calendar dates can be computed for these holidays on the basis of information contained within the book of Jubilees and the Qumran calendrical fragments published by Milik. From the former we learn that the initial first-fruits festival for the grain harvest was fixed upon the fifteenth day of the third month (Jub. xlv 4-5; cf. also xv 1). It is of course well known that the Jubilean method of reckoning is based upon a 364-day calendar which is at variance with other modes of calendrical computation practiced at that time. It is also certain that the Qumran sectarians endorsed the 364-day calendar advocated by the author of Jubilees.⁷ It is hence of particular importance that the Milik fragment confirms the authority of the 11QT cultic calendar at Qumran when it mentions a "Feast of Oil" being celebrated on the twenty-second day of the sixth month,⁸ a date which can be derived only by using the 150-day counting scheme of 11QT in conjunction with Jubilees' identification of the first feast in the cycle with the fifteenth day of the third month. Such a correlation can hardly be a coincidence, and thus one can calculate that the 11QT dating of the Feast of the First Fruits of Wine was the third day of the fifth month.

The festival offering itself is described in considerable detail. Each of the twelve tribes of Israel contributes one-third *hin* of "new wine" (*yay hds*) to represent the year's vintage. This wine is presented in sacrifice along with twelve rams. Next a burnt-offering of two bulls, one ram, and seven male lambs takes place, together with a sin-offering consisting of one male goat, all of which are

⁶ 11QT XLIII 9: *w'hyshr myem me'adw ...*, XLIII 10: *me'ad yem hqrb smn hds*. According to a calendrical fragment published by Milik (see n. 8 below), the name of the festival was *me'ad hsmn*.

⁷ Note 11QPs^a col. XXVII, line 6 and the remarks concerning the yet unpublished 4QMMT by E. Qimron and J. Strugnell, "An Unpublished Halakic Letter from Qumran", in *Biblical Archaeology Today* (Jerusalem, 1985), pp. 400-7. According to CD XVI 2-4, the Jubilees calendar was authoritative for the Damascus sect.

⁸ *b'srym w'srym bw me'ad hsmn* (Milik, *SIT 4*, p. 25); Vogt (n. 3), p. 76.

sacrificed together with their required cereal and wine accompaniments. This sacrifice is then followed by the ritual slaughter of fourteen rams and fourteen male lambs with their concomitant cereal- and drink-offerings. The designated priestly portions are consumed by those officials in the inner court of the Temple (11QT XX 11-12), and the remaining meat is prepared for public consumption in the outer court. One ram and one lamb are allocated to the priestly clan, to the Levites, and to each of the twelve tribes of Israel. The "new wine" is consumed along with the flesh of this final sacrifice, and henceforward the wine is released for use in both the sacral and secular domains for the space of a year. One is exhorted to celebrate this festival in a state of "rejoicing" (11QT XXI 8-9).⁹

As mentioned above, this festival has no parallel within the official lists of required feasts set forth at various places in the Pentateuch.¹⁰ Yadin accumulates some interesting material from later sources as diverse as Philo, Saadia Gaon, and Falasha practice that suggests a possible acquaintance with the peculiar liturgical calendar endorsed by 11QT.¹¹ However, the document almost universally recognized as demonstrating the closest ideological connections with the Qumran Temple Scroll is the assuredly sectarian book of Jubilees.¹² Thus it is not surprising that one would turn to

⁹ The exhortation to "rejoice" probably derives from Deut. xxvi 11a: *wsmht bkl hftch 'sr ntlk yhach 'lhyk wlbhytk*, where the preceding verses describe the ritual for the presenting of agricultural first-fruits. Note that the commentary of Rashi ad loc. includes "wine and oil" among the *bikkûrim* brought from Shabu'ot to Sukkot; see also Mekhilta, *Mishpatim* (H.S. Horowitz-I.A. Rabin, p. 335), and compare the Testament of Levi ix 14. Contrast however M. Terumo' XI 3: "Liquid *bikkûrim* (i.e., wine and oil) are not brought, only representative portions of the olives and grapes"; M. Hallah IV 11: "Joseph the priest brought the first-fruits of wine and oil, but they were not accepted." See also *Sifre Debarim* §297 (L. Finkelstein, p. 317, line 1). This dissension may reflect awareness of the prominent position of liquid *bikkûrim* among sectarian groups of the late Second Temple era. See also n. 42 below.

¹⁰ Exod. xxiii 14-17, xxiv 18-23; Deut. xvi 1-7; Lev. xxiii; Num. xxviii-xxix; cf. also Ezek. xlv 18-25.

¹¹ Yadin, I, pp. 119-22. See already J.M. Baumgarten, "4Q Halakah^a 5, the Law of *Hadash*, and the Pentecost Calendar", *Journal of Jewish Studies* 27 (1976), pp. 38-43.

¹² See especially B.Z. Wacholder, *The Dawn of Qumran* (Cincinnati, 1983), esp. pp. 41-62; idem, "The Relationship Between 11Q Torah (The Temple Scroll) and the Book of Jubilees: One Single or Two Independent Compositions?", in K.H. Richards (ed.), *Society of Biblical Literature: 1985 Seminar Papers* (Atlanta, 1985), pp. 205-16; G.J. Brooke, "The Temple Scroll: A Law unto Itself?", in B. Lindars

this complex text in order to search for a possible reference to the Qumran Feast of the First Fruits of Wine.

The narrative relating a vintage festival celebrated by Noah and his family immediately attracts one's attention, as it did Yadin's (vol. I, p. 110, n. 19):

And in the seventh week, in its first year, in this jubilee, Noah planted grape-vines on the mountain where the ark came to rest, whose name was Lubar, one of the mountains of Ararat. They bore fruit in the fourth year,¹³ and he protected their fruit and harvested it the same year in the seventh month. And he made wine from it, and placed it in a vessel, and kept it until the fifth year, until the first day, the new moon of the first month. And he observed that day (as) a joyful festival,¹⁴ and prepared a burnt-offering for the Lord — one young bull, one ram, and seven lambs each a year old — and one goat kid, that he might make atonement with it for himself and for his sons. And he prepared the goat kid first, and placed some of its blood upon the flesh that (was on) the altar which he had built, and all the fat he offered upon the altar, the place where he (would?) prepare the burnt-offering — the young bull, the ram, and the lambs. He (then) offered all their flesh upon the altar. And he placed all their sacrifices mingled with oil upon it, and then sprinkled the wine upon the fire which he had placed upon the altar, and (having) placed incense upon the altar, he offered a pleasing fragrance which would be acceptable to the Lord his God. And he rejoiced and drank the (new) wine, he and his sons with joy. (Jub. vii 1-6)¹⁵

This is a particularly interesting text whose main outline receives independent confirmation from another narrative source recovered from Qumran, the so-called Genesis Apocryphon (= 1QapGen).¹⁶

(ed.), *Law and Religion: Essays on the Place of the Law in Israel and Early Christianity* (Cambridge, 1988), pp. 36-40; J.C. VanderKam, "The Temple Scroll and the Book of Jubilees", in G.J. Brooke (ed.), *Temple Scroll Studies* (Sheffield, 1989), pp. 211-36.

¹³ Note that traditional Jewish sources state that Noah harvested his crop, prepared wine, and drank it on the very same day that he planted his vineyard. See *Bereshit Rabba* 36.4 (J. Theodor-Ch. Albeck, p. 338); Targum Pseudo-Jonathan to Gen. ix 20; *Pirke de Rabbi Eliezer* 23; Midrash Tanhuma *Noah* § 13; Tanhuma ed. S. Buber, *Noah* § 20; Ibn Ezra to Gen. ix 20.

¹⁴ Compare Josephus, Ant. 1, §140: ... θύσας ἐν εὐωχίαις ἦν "making sacrifice with festivities", a detail lacking in the biblical account.

¹⁵ Translated from the Ethiopic text edited by R.H. Charles, *Mashafa Kufälê or the Ethiopic Version of the Hebrew Book of Jubilees* (Oxford, 1895).

¹⁶ 1QapGen XII 13-16. See J.A. Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave I: A Commentary* (2nd edn., Rome, 1971), p. 56.

Following the devastation of the Flood, Noah begins to cultivate the vine and to produce wine. This is apparently the initial appearance of this substance in sacred history,¹⁷ and hence the actions which Noah performs in connection with this novel occupation assume paradigmatic importance for future generations. Upon harvesting his first crop, Noah does not immediately consume the wine that results from his labors, but rather waits until the onset of a festival day on which he can properly dedicate this particular product to the deity. The date of this festival is clearly stated in both Jubilees and in 1QapGen—it is the first day of the first month of the year.¹⁸

The discrepancy between the book of Jubilees (and 1QapGen) and 11QT in the dating of the vintage festival is blatant. Further incongruity becomes obvious when one examines the ritual preparations of Noah alongside the previously mentioned sacrificial offerings associated with the Qumran Feast of the First Fruits of Wine. Noah prepares and offers the sacrifice proper to the first day of the first month as it is almost exactly prescribed by the relevant section of 11QT,¹⁹ even with regard to the detail of preparing the sin-offering first.²⁰ One might initially conclude that Noah's festival is in fact primarily a festival celebrating the first day of the first month (as Yadin seems to recognize also), having only a coincidental relationship with the vintage rites, but this is hardly consistent with the care that Noah exercises in insuring the proper consecration of the wine. There is furthermore a pointed injunction placed in the mouth of Noah later within the same chapter of Jubilees:

Behold, you will journey forth and build cities for yourselves, and plant among them every (type of) plant which is upon earth, including every (type of) tree that bears fruit. Three years there will be that the fruit from any tree which is edible shall not be gathered. In the fourth year its fruit will be gathered and offered (as) first-fruits that it may be accepted before the Lord Most High who created

¹⁷ Note Tanhuma ed. S. Buber, *Noah* §20; Midrash Tanhuma *Noah* §14; compare Ramban to Gen. ix 20.

¹⁸ Jub. vii 2; 1QapGen XII 15: *hycm ha lš? hmyšy? ...*

¹⁹ 11QT XIV 9ff., plausibly restored by Yadin upon the basis of Num. xxix 2ff. Note R.H. Charles, *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament* (Oxford, 1913) II, p. 23; A. Caquot, "Jubilés", in A. Dupont-Sommer and M. Philonenko (ed.), *La Bible: écrits intertestamentaires* (Paris, 1987), p. 668.

²⁰ See Jub. vii 4; 11QT XIV 10-11, XXII 11. Note Yadin's discussion in vol. I, pp. 146ff., as well as J.C. Reeves, "What Does Noah Offer in 1QapGen X, 15?" *Revue de Qumran* 12 (1986), pp. 415-19.

heavens, earth, and everything. Likewise offer the fresh first-fruits of wine and oil (as) first-fruits upon the altar of the Lord that he might receive (it), and that which is left over the attendants of the Temple of the Lord will consume before the altar that receives (it). And in the fifth year²¹ make release in order that you may release it properly and correctly, and (by so doing) you will act properly, and all that you plant will flourish. Because thus did Enoch command ... (Jub. vii 35-8).

These lines provide a possible reason for the discrepancy in dating between Jubilees and the Temple Scroll. According to this explanation, the important information communicated by Jub. vii 1-6 is not that a vintage festival was celebrated by Noah on the first day of the first month, but rather that Noah waited until the fifth year after having planted his vines to enjoy their fruit. In other words, the vintage festival merely provides a narrative setting for Noah to expound the laws relating to *ʿorlā* and *neṭaʿ rbaʿi*.²²

It is clear that Jub. vii 36-7 provides an interpretation of the biblical commandment (Lev. xix 23-5) that underlies the institutions of *ʿorlā* and *neṭaʿ rbaʿi*.²³ Yet difficulties remain with this particular explanation. Noah in fact does not himself observe this prescription, reputedly commanded by Enoch, with regard to his initial harvest.²⁴ The festival described in Jub. vii 1-6 is concerned with the dedication of "new wine". The regulations transmitted in Jub. vii 36-7 explain how the produce of all fruit-bearing trees, including that of the vine and the olive, is properly consecrated.²⁵

²¹ The groundless emendation of Wintermute ("And in the seventh year ...") must be rejected. His translation is cited from O.S. Wintermute, "Jubilees", in J.H. Charlesworth (ed.), *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* (Garden City and London, 1983-5) II, pp. 70-1.

²² E.g., L.H. Schiffman, "The Sacrificial System of the Temple Scroll and the Book of Jubilees", in (n. 12), pp. 222-3, 227; VanderKam (n. 12), p. 228.

²³ "*ʿOrlah*-fruit is fruit which ripens upon a tree during the first three years after its initial planting, and it is forbidden for humans to eat it or to receive any benefit from it ..." (Ch. Albeck, "*mbwʿ lmskt ʿrlh*" in his *The Mishna* [Hebrew: *ššh sdry mšnh*] [Jerusalem and Tel-Aviv, 1952-9] I, p. 291). *neṭaʿ rbaʿi* denotes the special status of the fruits borne in the fourth year after planting, which according to normative halakhah, is consumed by its owners after its dedication in Jerusalem. See M. Maʿašer Shenī V 1-5; Josephus, Ant. 4 §§226-7.

²⁴ See Ch. Albeck, *Das Buch der Jubiläen und die Halacha* (Berlin, 1930), p. 33. Albeck points out that Noah did not offer his fourth-year fruits upon the altar as commanded in vii 35-6. He suggests that Noah waited for the fifth year so that both he and his family could consume the wine together, whereas only he himself would have been permitted to enjoy the fourth-year fruit, given his priestly status.

²⁵ In contrast to normative halakhah, Jub. vii 36 ordains that *neṭaʿ rbaʿi* is to be made over to the priests. This sectarian *serkh* is confirmed by 11QT LX 3-4

The latter passage apparently derives a general rule on the basis of the former specific ritual. Furthermore, no date for the offering of these first-fruits is supplied in Jub. vii 35-6, but if we accept the analogy of the preceding festival, it seems that the first day of the first month is implicitly recommended as the proper date for the dedication of the "first-fruits of wine". One cannot escape the conclusion that the festival celebrated by Noah is indeed a first-fruits festival for wine (and oil),²⁶ in addition to its inherent New Year's character, a first-fruits festival which is moreover distinct from the offering of the first-fruits of grain that is associated with the Feast of Weeks (Jub. vi 21; 11QT XIX 9).

Why is there this discrepancy in dating between Jubilees and the Temple Scroll? What possible reason could there be for a calendrical difference as fundamental as this one? An examination of some extant cultic calendars which come from the Palestinian region in the late second and early first millennia may possibly shed some light upon this enigma.

The ritual and sacrificial texts recovered from the second-millennium kingdom of Ugarit were initially consigned to the periphery of scholarly attention. The excitement over the justly important mythological tablets deflected interest from the more prosaic remains that recounted the minutiae of the daily cultus. The past twenty-five years, however, have witnessed a rekindling of interest in these informative texts, as illustrated by the recent publication of two comprehensive studies which collect and analyse the data pertaining to the ritual and cult observed at Ugarit.²⁷ Of particular importance for our present purpose are those texts which preserve explicit calendrical directives.

There are five ritual tablets from Ugarit that begin with such

and 4QMMT (cf. Qimron-Strugnell [n. 7], p. 401). Traces of this sectarian ordinance reappear in Targum Pseudo-Jonathan to Lev. xix 24, the commentary of Ibn Ezra ad loc., and later Samaritan and Karaite literature. See B. Beer, *Das Buch der Jubiläen und sein Verhältniss zu den Midraschim* (Leipzig, 1956), pp. 43-4; Albeck, *Jubiläen*, pp. 32-3; idem, "mbw² bmk² m²sr šny", in his *Mishna* (cf. n. 23 above) I, pp. 243-4.

²⁶ Also Caquot (n. 19), pp. 672-3.

²⁷ J.-M. de Tarragon, *Le culte à Ugarit* (Paris, 1980); P. Xella, *I Testi Rituali di Ugarit* (Roma, 1981). For earlier discussions, note the important study of B.A. Levine, "Ugaritic Descriptive Rituals", *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 17 (1963), pp. 105-11.

chronological indications,²⁸ and others that contain analogous information at certain places within the body of the ritual.²⁹ On the basis of these indications, a provisional liturgical calendar has been reconstructed (albeit without absolute certainty, since we do not possess the remains to restore a complete twelve-month cycle) and arranged according to what seems to be its proper order.³⁰ The sequences which survive upon the tablets are of course important for such reconstructive work, as are the meanings of the month-names themselves (when these can be discerned) alongside comparisons with later Canaanite, Hebrew, and Phoenician evidence.

The month which attracts particular interest in view of the texts of Jubilees, 1QapGen, and 11QT is the one labelled *yḥ. riš yn* "month of the first of the wine".³¹ This month is mentioned three times in the published sources, and apparently designates the time of year connected with the production of "new wine".³² Furthermore, scholars now designate this month as the first one of the Ugaritic liturgical calendar.³³ A closer examination of the most important text which describes the ritual associated with this month (*KTU* 1.41 = a conflation of *UT* 3 = *CTA* 35 and *UT* 173 = *KTU* 1.87 = *CTA* Appendice II)³⁴ generates an additional cor-

²⁸ *KTU* 1.46 = *CTA* 35 = *UT* 3 and its duplicate *UT* 173 = *KTU* 1.87 = *CTA* Appendice II; *Ugaritica* V 12 (RS 24.249) = *KTU* 1.105 and 13 (RS 24.253 = *KTU* 1.109; *Ugaritica* VII (RS 24.256) = *KTU* 1.112; RS 24.266 = *KTU* 1.119. List cited from Tarragon, p. 17.

²⁹ *KTU* 1.46 = *CTA* 36 = *UT* 9; *Ugaritica* VII (RS 24.250 + 259) = *KTU* 1.106. List cited from Tarragon, p. 17.

³⁰ E. Koffmahn, "Sind die altisraelitischen Monatsbezeichnungen kanaänisch-phönizischen identisch?", *Biblische Zeitschrift* NF 10 (1966), pp. 215-16; J.P.J. Olivier, "Notes on the Ugaritic Month Names", *Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages* 1 (1971), pp. 39-45; 2 (1972), pp. 53-9.

³¹ This meaning is confirmed by the expressions *arabḥēš kavani* (*Ugaritica* V 99:13 = RS 20.425) and *ITU.SAG.GEŠTIN.MEŠ = arabḥēš yāni* (*PRU* 6 107:11 = RS 19.25); cf. Xella, pp. 63-4.

³² *UT* 173 (*CTA* App. II = *KTU* 1.87):1; 1106 (*KTU* 4.142):32; 2012 (*KTU* 4.607):21. Cf. Tarragon, p. 18.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 18; Olivier, *JNSL* 2 (1972), pp. 54, 58-9; J.C. de Moor, *The Seasonal Pattern in the Ugaritic Myth of Baʿlu* (Kewlaer and Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1971), p. 59.

³⁴ For *UT* 3 (= *CTA* 35 = RS 1929 No. 3), see C. Virolleaud, "Les inscriptions cunéiformes de Ras Shamra", *Syria* 10 (1929), pl. LXIII; E. Dhorme, "Première traduction des textes phéniciens de Ras Shamra," *Revue Biblique* 40 (1931), pp. 39-41; H.L. Ginsberg, *Kitvei Ugarit* (Jerusalem, 1936), pp. 114-16. For *UT* 173, see A. Herdner, "Un nouvel exemplaire du rituel RS 1929, N° 3", *Syria* 33 (1956), pp. 104-12, and *CTA* App. II, pp. 136-8. Cf. also Levine (n. 27), pp. 105-7; Xella, p. 59.

respondence between the Ugaritic festival and the sacrifice reported of Noah in Jub. vii 1-6):

- 1 *b yrh. ris yn. b ym. hdt*
- 2 *šmtr. utkl. l il. šlmm*
- 1 In the month "First of the Wine" on the day of the new moon
- 2 Cut (or present) a grape-cluster for El as a *šlmm*-offering

This prescription establishes that on the first day of what is presumably the first month, a bunch of grapes³⁵ was dedicated as a symbol of the vintage to the deity. One might recall that, according to Jubilees, it is on the first day of the first month that Noah also celebrates his vintage festival. It is true that essential differences distinguish these two rituals. Noah is not described as presenting an *ʔeškôl* as part of his offering. Moreover, the Ugaritic offering for this day mentions no other accompanying sacrifices. Later in the text of the Ugaritic ceremony there is a possible allusion to an offering of "four[teen] pitchers of wine" which apparently took place on the fourteenth day of the same month.³⁶ This number "four[teen]", if accurate, is of interest in the light of that number's repeated occurrence in the ritual of the Feast of the First Fruits of Wine described in the Temple Scroll (fourteen rams and fourteen male lambs as a shared-offering). Interestingly, this same sacrifice is also commanded for the Feast of the First Fruits of Oil (see 11QT XXII 3, 11-14). It has been suggested that the author of 11QT borrowed this particular feature of the vintage ritual from the biblical ordinances that describe the daily burnt-offerings presented during the Festival of Sukkot (Num. xxix 12-34). According to this view, the author artificially connected this number with the sociological divisions of priests, Levites, and the twelve lay tribes (1 + 1 + 12). As one might expect, the fourteen

³⁵ *utkl* is presumably the same as Hebrew *ʔeškôl* "grape-cluster". See Virolleaud, "Nouvelles questions de vocabulaire ougaritique", *Comptes rendus du groupe linguistique d'études chamito-sémitiques* (= *GLECS*) 7 (1954-57), 5, 22; Herdner, *Syria* 33 (1956), p. 109; Tarragon, p. 43. Note M. Bikkurim III 1: *kyd mpryyn ʔ hbkrwym ywd ʔdm ltk šdhw urwʔ tʔnh škrh ʔškel škr rmuw škr qwšrw bmy wʔwrm hry ʔw bkwym*.

³⁶ *KTU* 1.41:22-3. Cf. *UT* 173:24; Herdner, *Syria* 33 (1956), p. 111 and *CTA* App. II, p. 137; Tarragon, p. 43; Xella, p. 62.

male lambs are featured in the description of the festal offerings for Sukkot contained in 11QT XXVIII 7, 10. No such number figures in the sacrifice prepared by Noah as recounted by Jubilees, but it is perhaps noteworthy that this initial vintage festival takes place on the fourteenth anniversary of God's command to Noah to begin construction of the ark.³⁷ According to Jub. vii 36, Noah's festival was established for the consecration of the first-fruits of both wine and oil, a remark that may explain the symmetry of those two separate holidays in the Temple Scroll.

On the basis of this information, one might postulate the following history of the vintage festival's development:

1. A vintage festival was originally celebrated on the first day of the first month of the year, as both the name of the Ugaritic month and the activities described in the surviving ritual indicate. Chronologically, this could have been expected to occur in the autumn rather than in the spring, a conclusion that is based partially upon observed agricultural patterns in the ancient Near East and partially upon early reports contained within the Hebrew Bible that mention the "Festival of Ingathering" (*hg hʔsp*) as taking place at *bʔt hšnh* (Exod. xxiii 16) or *tqwpt hšnh* (Exod. xxxiv 22).³⁸ The further association between *hg hʔsp* and wine (and oil) can possibly be deduced from passages like Jer. xl 10-12, whereas the clear connection of *hg hqsyw* with grain is evident in the calendar preserved in Exod. xxxiv. As de Moor has indicated, this division is confirmed by the so-called Gezer Calendar, which begins its listing with the "months of ingathering" (*yrhw ʔsp*) and retains a separate category (*qsyw*) for the grain harvest.³⁹

³⁷ Jub. v 22 states that Noah constructed the ark on the first day of the first month of the fifth year of the fifth week of the twenty-seventh jubilee (= 1307 A.M.). According to Jub. vii 1-2, the festival was celebrated on the first day of the first month of the fifth year of the seventh week of the twenty-seventh jubilee (= 1321 A.M.), an interval of precisely fourteen years.

³⁸ Note especially Deut. xvi 13; Mekhila, *Boʔ* (Horovitz-Rabin, pp. 6-7); J. Rosh Hashanah I 2 (6a); Ibn Ezra to Exod. xxxiv 22. See G. Dalman, *Arbeit und Sitte in Palästina* (Gütersloh, 1928-42) IV, pp. 368-9. See also A. J. Wensinck, "Arabic New Year and the Feast of Tabernacles", *Verhandelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen te Amsterdam, Afdeling Letterkunde Nieuwe Reeks Deel XXI* N^o 2 (Amsterdam, 1925), pp. 26-8; de Moor (n. 33), pp. 57-8. On the other hand, L. R. Fisher has argued that the Canaanite year began in the spring. See his "A New Ritual Calendar From Ugarit", *Harvard Theological Review* 63 (1970), pp. 485-501.

³⁹ De Moor p. 58. Cf. H. Donner and W. Röllig (ed.), *Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften* (Wiesbaden, 1962-4) I, p. 34.

2. With the adoption of the Babylonian calendar in the Second Temple period, a spring New Year's date was employed for festal reckoning,⁴⁰ which led to the renumbering of the months of the old festal cycle. The first month of the year in the new scheme was Nisan; the month designated in Ugaritic as *nš'ym* corresponded now to the seventh month or Tishri. Both the book of Jubilees and 11QT clearly presuppose the new order of reckoning,⁴¹ although they do not employ the Babylonian names for the months, probably for polemical reasons. It will be recalled that Noah harvests his grape-crop in the seventh month, an activity that would take place at the beginning of the first month under the ancient Canaanite system of reckoning. Noah however awaits the onset of the first month before consecrating his produce, an action that accords with the liturgical cycle endorsed in the Ugaritic (and presumably the later Canaanite) system. It seems likely that the curious chronology of Jubilees and 1QapGen reflects an element of religious conservatism with regard to both the date and the purpose of this traditional religious festival.

3. 11QT effects a separation of the Canaanite identification of the New Year and the first-fruits feast associated with new wine. This may reflect an internal priestly dispute over the true nature of this and other festivals—Jubilees appealing to the hoary example of antiquity for a continuity of practice; 11QT, perhaps sensitive to the pagan substructure of the rituals, endeavoring to establish these popular rituals on a more Judaic footing by bringing the first-fruits festivals for wine and oil into the orbit of the Feast of Weeks.⁴² The

⁴⁰ M. Rosh Hashanah I 1; Josephus, Ant. 1 §§80-1; Mekhila, *Bo?* (H. S. Horowitz-Rabin, p. 7).

⁴¹ Jub. ii 14, iii 9, 17. See Albeck, *Jubiläen* (n. 24), p. 49, n. 129. Interestingly, a reminiscence of the consecration of wine (and oil) at the time of the Canaanite New Year may be preserved in the regulations governing the separation of the "second tithe" found in Jub. xxxii 11-14 and 11QT XLIII 2-17. In both instances the prescribed consecration takes place within the temporal context of Sukkot (= *hg h'šp*).

⁴² According to M. Bikkurim I 3 (cf. M. Hallah IV 10), *bikkūrim* could not be presented before Shabu'ot. Such a prescription, if operative during the time before the composition of 11QT (cf. 2 Chron. xxxi 5-7), may explain why the Feasts of New Wine and New Oil take place after Shabu'ot.

Incidentally, M. Bikkurim I 3 recounts an interesting anecdote which may have bearing on the issue at hand. According to this mishnah, the men of *har s'bitim* once brought their *bikkūrim* prior to Shabu'ot, but their offering was rejected. Is it possible that these individuals were still observing the more ancient Canaanite

author of 11QT accomplished his purpose by constructing an artificial counting scheme modeled upon the celebration of the first-fruits of grain at Shabu'ot. The frequent biblical locution *dgn wtyrwš wyshr* may have suggested this particular strategy,⁴³ especially in the light of 11QT's clear identification of *dgn* with Shabu'ot (11QT XLIII 3, 6-7). The expression *dgn wtyrwš wyshr* may also have suggested the succession of the festivals themselves—first *dgn*, then *tyrwš*, and finally *yshr*.⁴⁴

custom? Note that Epiphanius lists a sect of Σεβουαίων (= *Sebu'im*) among the Samaritan groups known to him or his source (*Panarion* 10.2; 20.3.4).

⁴³ See 2 Chron. xxxi 5ff. (note the entire context, particularly v. 7); Hosea ii 10; Neh. v 11, x 40, xiii 5, 12; Num. xviii 12; Deut. vii 13, xi 14, xii 17, xiv 23, xviii 4.

⁴⁴ Cogently argued by VanderKam (n. 12), pp. 222-3. See also P.R. Callaway, "Extending Divine Revelation: Micro-Compositional Strategies in the Temple Scroll", in Brooke (n. 12), pp. 151-2; B.A. Levine, "A Further Look at the *Mo'adim* of the *Temple Scroll*", in L.H. Schiffman (ed.), *Archaeology and History in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Sheffield, 1990), pp. 63-4.