

From Qumran to the *Yahad*

*A New Paradigm of
Textual Development for
The Community Rule*

ALISON SCHOFIELD

BRILL

From Qumran to the *Yahad*

Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah

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To
Allen and Jane
Schofield

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ABBREVIATIONS AND SIGLA

The title abbreviations for journals, series, and other texts follow Alexander, Patrick H., et al., eds., *The SBL Handbook of Style* (Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 1999).

INTRODUCTION

Scholarship on the Dead Sea Scrolls has long focused on—and greatly debated—the site of Qumran, and understandably so. Here was the locus of archaeological discovery, where Roland de Vaux, the first excavator of the site, soon linked Qumran to the vast quantities of textual material found nearby. Thus the field of “Qumran scholarship” was born.

Now that nearly all of the Scrolls have been made available, including those from the prolific Cave 4, scholars have rightly begun to rethink many hypotheses established soon after the Cave 1 discoveries. Recent questions raised include: how should we re-read the Cave 1 Scrolls and revise our definition of “sectarian texts”?¹ Who really constituted the *Yahad* (“community”)? What do we truly know about the function of Qumran within the movement or is the site even connected to the Scrolls? These questions are being asked while new, and sometimes radical, responses are making their ways onto the shelf and into the public eye. At the very least, these new theories keep scholars of the Scrolls from resting too comfortably in consensus.

This study largely addresses the Qumran-centrism present in the study of the sectarian texts as a whole, and *The Community Rule* (*Serekh ha-Yahad*) in particular. It is well noted that aside from being discovered near Qumran, no Scroll definitively names the site, as the manuscripts do not offer us much in the way of specific names or places. Even the Classical historians, with only one or two exceptions, do not refer either to this site or to any single sectarian center.² Indeed, if the authors of the Scrolls were related to the Essenes, a conclusion held to in this study, then the portrait the historical sources paint of this sect is of a relatively diverse and integrated

¹ I continue to use the designation “sectarian text(s),” without quotation marks, for the lack of better terminology. However, one should recognize that this ambiguous label is problematic on a number of levels, discussed further, below.

² The only Classical authors who name a geographical center for the Essenes are Pliny the Elder (*Nat. Hist.* 5.73)—although the precise location of Pliny’s reference is debated—and Dio Crysostomos, who may himself have been relying on Pliny or on a shared source (*Dio* 3.2).

Jewish group. Further, recent archaeological findings link Qumran's material evidence to external sites, and some scholars increasingly argue that much of Qumran's literary material had external origins. Thus the challenges are raised to rethink the notion that we are dealing with a marginal, "monastic" community and to revise the Qumran-shaped lens through which we read the sectarian texts.

To address the methodological study of the sectarian texts, and by extension the *Yahad*, I use *Serekh ha-Yahad* (S) as a test case, examining the Cave 1 and Cave 4 evidence as a whole. In doing so, I find new ways to explain old dilemmas in what has been the most informative, yet enigmatic, of all of the Scrolls. But rather than simply deconstruct previous and valuable studies on S, this study builds upon them, offering a new paradigm that nuances earlier hypotheses rather than overturns them.

THE CASE OF *SEREKH HA-YAHAD*

From the earliest Cave 1 discoveries, S has been our primary informant about the authors of the Scrolls. From it, scholars formed early assumptions about the history, ideology and organization of the so-named "Qumran sect," and in circular fashion, often read those inferences back onto this and other sectarian texts.

It was not until relatively recently that the Cave 4 versions of S were published and available to illuminate—and frequently complicate—our understanding of the *Sitz im Leben* of S. These additional 10 copies exhibit significant textual variation among them such that we can no longer think monolithically about the history of this text or of those who composed it. As others have noted, the differences between 1QS and the most extant copies, 4QS^{b,d,e}, raise considerable text-critical and text-historical issues. These well-documented questions include: Why do the Sons of Zadok only appear in the early copy, 1QS, but are notably absent in the later copies, 4QS^{b,d}? What authority did the Many (*harabbim*) hold and when did they hold it? And how can S illuminate the evolution of the movement and its leadership in general?

Lingering Challenges

Many insightful studies have already addressed the problematic relationship between the S versions.³ Although differing in conclusions, most have so far understood the relationship between the various S manuscripts in terms of chronological development, locating the existing copies somewhere along a sequential continuum. Some, such as Philip Alexander and Paul Garnet, follow the paleographical dates of the copies and argue that 1QS represents an earlier S version than those from Cave 4 because it was copied before them.⁴ Alternately, some assume—*contra* the relative

³ For instance, see the prominent works by Sarianna Metso, such as “The Primary Results of the Reconstruction of 4QS^e,” *JJS* 44 (1993): 303-8; *The Textual Development of the Qumran Community Rule* (STDJ 21; Leiden: Brill, 1997); “The Textual Traditions of the Qumran Community Rule,” in *Legal Texts and Legal Issues: Proceedings of the Second Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies, Cambridge 1995* (ed. M. Bernstein, F. García Martínez, and J. Kampen; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 141-47; “The Use of Old Testament Quotations in the Qumran Community Rule,” in *Qumran between the Old and New Testaments* (ed. F.H. Cryer and T.L. Thompson; JSOTSup 290; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998), 217-31; “The Redaction of the Community Rule,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Fifty Years after Their Discovery: Proceedings of the Jerusalem Congress, July 20-25, 1997* (ed. L.H. Schiffman, E. Tov, and J.C. VanderKam; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, in cooperation with The Shrine of the Book, Israel Museum, 2000), 377-84.

See also Geza Vermes, “Preliminary Remarks on Unpublished Fragments of the Community Rule from Qumran Cave 4,” *JJS* 42 (1991): 250-55; “Qumran Forum Miscellanea I,” *JJS* 33 (1992): 299-305; Charlotte Hempel, “Comments on the Translation of 4QS^d I, 1,” *JJS* 44 (1993): 127-28; “The Community and Its Rivals According to the *Community Rule* From Caves 1 and 4,” *RevQ* 20 (2003): 47-81; “Interpretative Authority in the Community Rule Tradition,” *DSD* 10 (2003): 59-80; James H. Charlesworth and B.A. Strawn, “Reflections on the Text of Serekh ha-Yahad in Cave IV,” *RevQ* 17 (1996): 403-32; Paul Garnet, “Cave 4 MS Parallels to 1QS 5.1-7: Towards a *Serek* Text History,” *JSP* 15 (1997): 67-78; and Émile Puech, “Review of Sarianna Metso, *The Textual Development of the Qumran Community Rule*,” *RevQ* 18 (1998): 448-53.

⁴ Philip S. Alexander arranges the versions according to the chronological sequence of the copies, claiming that “all things considered, their [the copies’] chronological order should reflect the chronological order of the recensions,” in “The Redaction-History of Serekh Ha-Yahad: A Proposal,” *RevQ* 17 (1996): 437-56, esp. 438. Similarly for Garnet, the general rule that the shorter text is more original does not apply in the case of 4QS^{b,d} and of 1QS. Instead, he also believes that 1QS is closer to the original S version, or “common ancestor” to the versions, than 4QS^{b,d}, in this way, the chronological development of the versions parallels the sequential order of the copies. See Garnet, “Cave 4 MS Parallels to 1QS 5.1-7.”

paleographical dates of the manuscripts—that 1QS is a later, more developed *version* of S than 4QS^{b,d,e}, even though it was penned relatively early (*per* Geza Vermes, Markus Bockmuehl, Sarianna Metso and others⁵).

Metso, in her well-recognized work, has rightly begun to problematize any simple reconstruction of S's history and to think beyond a simple line of textual development.⁶ In her detailed hypothesis, which so far has best accounted for the complex connection between the S versions, she reconstructs three primary lines of textual tradition, represented by 4QS^e, 4QS^{b,d}, and 1QS. Metso maintains that both the 4QS^e and 4QS^{b,d} traditions appear to be shorter and, at times, run more smoothly; therefore, for her, the Cave 4 versions are earlier than 1QS even though they were copied later.⁷ Indeed, these Cave 4 traditions were expanded and eventually merged into 1QS, the latest, most up-to-date version. According to her, then, these lines

⁵ Vermes assumes that 1QS, with its references to the Sons of Zadok, represents a later period in Qumran's history. The sudden appearance of the Zadokites in this late tradition reflects what he believes to have been a later Zadokite *coup* in the community, one in which these high priests replaced the authority of the Many, in "Preliminary Remarks," 255; cf. also "Qumran Forum Miscellanea I"; "The Leadership of the Qumran Community: Sons of Zadok—Priests—Congregation," in *Geschichte—Tradition—Reflexion: Festschrift für Martin Hengel zum 70. Geburtstag* (ed. H. Cancik, H. Lichtenberger, and P. Schäfer; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1996), 375-84. Markus Bockmuehl also believes that the mention of the Sons of Zadok in 1QS reflects a later stage in community development, when community authority was more concentrated in the hands of the Zadokites and the regulations were stricter. Therefore, 1QS is later than 4QS^{b,d,e}, in "Redaction and Ideology in the Rule of the Community," *RevQ* 18 (1998): 541-60. Compare the prefatory remarks by Milik, who claims that the differences between 1QS and the Cave 4 versions can be explained as chronological or typological differences; for him, the text of 4QS^d is "indubitablement originale" and that of 1QS represents a later "recension paraphrasé et glossé" ("Numérotation des feuilles des rouleaux dans le scriptorium de Qumran [Planches X et XI]," *Sem* 27 [1977]: 75-81, esp. 78).

⁶ For example, see Metso, "The Primary Results of the Reconstruction of 4QS^e," *Textual Development*; "The Textual Traditions"; "The Use of Old Testament Quotations"; "The Redaction of the Community Rule"; and "The Relationship between the Damascus Document and the Community Rule," in *The Damascus Document: A Centennial of Discovery. Proceedings of the Third International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 4-8 February, 1998* (ed. J. Baumgarten, E.R. Chazon, and A. Pinnick; Leiden: Brill, 2000), 85-93.

⁷ See Metso's comments in *Textual Development*, 89-90 and "The Use of Old Testament Quotations." Cf. the similar conclusions by Vermes in "Qumran Forum Miscellanea I," 300-1.

of development, although diverging from a hypothetical original, still mutually influenced one another, presumably at Qumran (chapter two, below).

Yet one question remains outstanding: if the versions behind 4QS^e and 4QS^{b,d} were subsumed into 1QS, why do we find them in such late *copies*?⁸ It is difficult to explain why the outdated versions would have been copied alongside 1QS, particularly given that they are classified as Rule texts, ostensibly regulating community behavior. The paleographic dates of the copies run counter to Metso's and others' hypothesis that 1QS is the latest version. Indeed, this "late" version (1QS) was copied somewhere around 100-75 BCE (*per* Frank M. Cross; cf. the earlier date by N. Avigad),⁹ which is 25-75 years before 4QS^e (c. 50-25 BCE) and 50-100 years prior to 4QS^{b,d} (c. 30-1 BCE). In this reconstruction, then, we are forced into some chronological contortion to explain why "early" traditions are maintained in late copies.¹⁰ If the scribes at Qumran continued to

⁸ Metso's conclusions have been rejected by Alexander and Vermes, eds., *Qumran Cave 4 XIX: Serekh ha-Yahad and Two Related Texts* (DJD 26; ed. E. Tov; Oxford: Clarendon, 1998), 15. Devorah Dimant also points out the difficulty of explaining why such "early versions" would be copied so late, if indeed they were updated and expanded into 1QS, in "The Composite Character of the Qumran Sectarian Literature as an Indication of its Date and Provenance," *RevQ* 22 (2005-2006): 615-30, esp. 619.

⁹ Frank M. Cross, "The Paleographical Dates of the Manuscripts," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls. Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations. Vol. 1: Rule of the Community and Related Documents* (ed. J.H. Charlesworth, et al.; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1994), 57; "The Development of the Jewish Scripts," in *The Bible and the Ancient Near East: Essays in Honor of William Foxwell Albright* (ed. G. Ernest Wright; Garden City, NY: Anchor Books, 1965), 170-264, esp. 169-70. Note Cross's treatment of dating techniques in *The Ancient Library of Qumran*, 171-74, and more recently, in his entry "Paleography" in *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. L.H. Schiffman and J.C. VanderKam; New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 2.629-34. Cf. also N. Avigad, "The Paleography of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Documents," *ScrHier* 4 (1965): 56-87, esp. 71. He notes that the script of this scroll is similar to that of 1QIsa^a, although he prefers dating it slightly later than 1QIsa^a (c. 150 BCE).

¹⁰ Again, some try to address this glaring discrepancy by dating the versions according to the dates of the manuscript copies (Alexander, "The Redaction-History of Serekh Ha-Yahad"; Garnet, "Cave 4 MS Parallels to 1QS 5.1-7," etc.). Charlesworth hints at the same conclusion, although he does not directly state that the Cave 4 manuscripts represent a later version of 1QS, in Charlesworth et al., eds., *The Dead Sea Scrolls. Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations. Vol. 1: Rule of the Community and Related Documents* (Tübingen: J.C.B.

copy the 4QS^e and 4QS^{b,d} versions of S after they merged and updated them in 1QS, then the scribes must have felt compelled not only to *preserve* the old copies, but also to *continue to copy them* as is, when an updated version—with its penal code—was available and presumably in effect. With such a scenario, Torleif Elgvin concludes:

It is difficult to perceive why a small and closely-knit community would develop and keep largely different versions of the same documents...[or] to imagine such a complicated process of writing and transmission going on within the small scribal *milieu* at Qumran.¹¹

The present study leaves aside the assumption that each S copy was derived from another—as we know them—in genealogical succession and asks the following driving questions: Are there viable explanations for the diversity in the S material besides *chronological* development alone? Given the genre and legal material of this Rule text, is it likely that a shorter, earlier version of S would have been preserved *and recopied* at Qumran, when an expanded, up-to-date version was in effect? Is it exegetically sound to presume that all S versions originated in (and diverged within) a Qumran scribal circle, particularly in light of recent studies emphasizing the diverse origins of the Scrolls library?¹²

Mohr [John Siebeck], 1994), as noted by Bockmuehl, “Redaction and Ideology in the Rule of the Community,” 544.

¹¹ Torleif Elgvin, “The *Yahad* is More than Qumran,” in *Enoch and Qumran Origins: New Light on a Forgotten Connection* (ed. G. Boccaccini; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2005), 273-79, esp. 276.

¹² Devorah Dimant, for one, points out that many texts from the Qumran library probably originated from outside of the community because of their different underlying theological concerns, lack of expected sectarian language, and use of the Aramaic language (“The Library of Qumran: Its Content and Character,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Fifty Years after Their Discovery: Proceedings of the Jerusalem Congress, July 20-25, 1997* [ed. L.H. Schiffman, E. Tov, and J.C. VanderKam; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, in cooperation with The Shrine of the Book, Israel Museum, 2000], 170-76, esp. 174-76; cf. also “The Qumran Manuscripts: Contents and Significance,” in *Time to Prepare the Way in the Wilderness: Papers on the Qumran Scrolls by Fellows of the Institute for Advanced Studies of the Hebrew University, Jerusalem, 1989-1990* [ed. D. Dimant and L.H. Schiffman; Leiden: Brill, 1995], 23-58). Hartmut Stegemann agrees, in *The Library of Qumran* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1998), 136; as does Yaacov Shavit in, “The ‘Qumran Library’ in the Light of the Attitude towards Books and Libraries in the Second Temple Period,” in *Methods of Investigation of the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Khirbet Qumran Site: Present Realities and Future Prospects* (ed. M.O. Wise, et al.; New York, NY: New York Academy of Sciences, 1994), 299-317, esp. 301-2.

A NEW MODEL OF READING THE *SEREKH* VERSIONS

In this study I offer a new and broader paradigm through which we can address not only the textual evolution of S, but also the related text-historical problems. To do so, it is helpful to think outside of one “Qumran scribal tradition” as the source of the complicated textual development of S. Rather, my model reads the S versions as sharing a common core of material but reconstructs them as primarily diverging traditions without the unwarranted assumption that a limited group of scribes at Qumran developed all S traditions. Simply put, the three main versions, extant in 4QS^{b,d}, 4QS^e and 1QS, have undergone semi-independent development, with no one manuscript preserved for us clearly having been derived from another.¹³ In place of interpreting S’s textual development within a primarily—if not solely—chronological model, utilizing one that allows for both time and space better explains the continuity *and* diversity between versions.

METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

But how does one test this paradigm of textual transmission? My primary aim is not to prove this hypothetical construction, which would be impossible in the absence of further discovery; rather, I test it to see whether any body of evidence prohibits this broader reading. As with any theoretical model, the one at hand is comprehensively applicable and tested against a variety of data. Nevertheless, it is first necessary to hazard a few cautions.

Challenges and Limitations

Charlotte Hempel offers some valid criticism of current Scrolls scholarship.¹⁴ She confronts two unfounded biases commonly

¹³ Independently, Hempel has arrived at similar conclusions in, “The Literary Development of the *S* Tradition—A New Paradigm,” *RevQ* 22 (2006): 389-401; see also ch. 2, below.

¹⁴ Hempel, “Qumran Communities: Beyond the Fringes of Second Temple Society,” in *The Scrolls and the Scriptures: Qumran Fifty Years After* (ed. S.E. Porter and C.A. Evans; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), 43-53.

present: (1) Qumran-centrism, which has been present from the earliest stages of Scrolls research and (2) the related notion that we are dealing with a “fringe phenomenon.”¹⁵ She acknowledges the need for future studies that show that “the non-biblical literature discovered in the Qumran caves sheds light far beyond the confines of a small and isolated fringe group.”¹⁶ Both of these preconceptions are ripe for rethinking in light of new evidence, and the present study addresses both on a closer level. Yet beyond just offering critique, I would be at fault for not at least recognizing how difficult it can be to step away from tidy, even nostalgic, classifications. Previous notions that the Qumranites lived only on the periphery of Second Temple society have been attractive in their mystique, but not necessarily a conclusion naturally drawn from the texts themselves.

But first, methodologically the danger here is that one may try to harmonize the texts with the archaeological evidence and the Classical sources, doing little justice to any of the three bodies of evidence.¹⁷ Allowing the data from one source to influence the other skews the picture each can give us if allowed to stand on its own. Hempel notes that synthesizing archaeological and literary evidence:

¹⁵ For example, Hempel mentions recent works by Mark Boyce on the Admonition section of the Damascus Document (D) in, “The Poetry of the Damascus Document” (Ph.D. diss., University of Edinburgh, 1988), 390; “The Poetry of the *Damascus Document* and its Bearing on the Origin of the Qumran Sect,” *RevQ* 14 (1990): 615-28; cf. the summary of Boyce’s conclusions in A. van der Woude, “Fünfzehn Jahre Qumranforschung (1974-1988),” *TRu* 57 (1992): 1-57. Boyce argues that in general D reflects a more advanced stage of the Qumran sect, when members were finally allowed to intermingle with the regular population rather than live a segregated lifestyle. Hempel rightly points out, however, that there is no need to presume this “integrated” community of D was ever segregated in the first place (“Qumran Communities,” 46).

¹⁶ Hempel, “Qumran Communities,” 46.

¹⁷ This harmonization of the evidence is strongly rejected by Philip R. Davies. Oftentimes, scholars offer a faulty explanation of one text on the basis of another. For instance, one may interpret the D material based on the wicked priest, who is not actually mentioned in D but known only from the *pesharim*, noted by Davies, “How Not to Do Archaeology,” reprinted in *Sects and Scrolls: Essays on Qumran and Related Topics* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996), 79-87. See also Davies, “Redaction and Sectarianism in the Qumran Scrolls,” in *Sects and Scrolls: Essays on Qumran and Related Topics* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996), 151-61; *The Damascus Covenant: An Interpretation of the ‘Damascus Document’* (JSOTSup 25; ed. D.J.A. Clines, et al.; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1983); and “Who Hid the Scrolls, and When? Reflections on Some Recent Proposals,” *QC* 9 (2000): 105-22.

. . . is methodologically problematic since it encourages reading the results of one's study of one body of evidence into one's perception of the other. It is methodologically preferable to analyze the texts and the archaeological remains in their own right before attempting a synthesis.¹⁸

The peril of such harmonization is evident in the recent collapse of just such a "grand synthesis" of Qumran's origins, made relatively early based primarily on a few Classical sources, de Vaux's excavations, and the relatively little literary available at the time.

Yet, secondly, and perhaps equally problematic, is the epidemic of overly-focused studies, where theories are not tested outside of one particular discipline or where scholars hypothesize from only one set of data (textual, archaeological, etc.) and are frequently forced to resort to circular reasoning. All new hypotheses should be tested across different categories of evidence in a holistic way. One needs to find a satisfactory way to read the finished work, a way to move beyond uncritical loyalty to older theories. As in the sciences, research in the humanities should be driven by hypotheses asked and re-asked of the most current findings. In the case of S, many questions still remain and hopefully new questions will be raised.

Texts and History

Thirdly, and perhaps more importantly, the relationship between texts and history is problematic, and we would wreak heuristic havoc by assuming a one-to-one correspondence between texts and historical reality.¹⁹ As generally occurs in dealing with antiquity, our sources are limited. What we are left with are still-life pictures from a long history of diachronic development. That is to say, many of the

¹⁸ Hempel, *The Damascus Texts* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000), 63; she also notes that this faulty methodology has its analogies in "biblical archaeology," as already pointed out by W.G. Dever in "Palestine in the Second Millennium BCE: The Archaeological Picture," in *Israelite and Judaeon History* (ed. J.H. Hayes and J.M. Miller; London: SCM Press, 1977), 70-120, esp. 71-73. Davies offers similar critique in "How Not to Do Archaeology."

¹⁹ Phillip Callaway is one who completely rejects reconstructing history from texts ("Methodology, the Scrolls, and Origins," in *Methods of Investigation of the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Khirbet Qumran Site: Present Realities and Future Prospects* [ed. M.O. Wise, et al.; Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences 722; New York: The New York Academy of Sciences, 1994], 409-27); see also the recent suggestions in Metso, *The Serekh Texts* (London: T & T Clark, 2007), 69-70.

sectarian texts, including S, are composite works, having undergone extended periods of compilation and redaction. Certain pericopes may have themselves originated in various socio-historical *milieux*, thus complicating the historical picture that they paint as a whole. What we are left with is the result of a decision made by a final redactor. Nevertheless, this final product can be meaningful both in what the final redactor chose to include or not include and in what way. One should not get wrapped up too much into atomizing the text—extracting out interpolations or early material—and miss the fact that in the end version, the final redactor made specific choices, and that he²⁰ saw the text as a meaningful whole, given his time and place.

And, despite the dangers of reconstructing history, different categories of written material may be more valuable than others. The S material, with its penal code and descriptions of leaders and self-labels, would be more susceptible to change over time and place than other narrative literature and/or biblical material. Thus, it is detrimental to reject all genres together for what information they can offer about the *Yahad*, as S lends itself more naturally towards historical self-awareness than other types of contemporary Jewish literature.

Authorship versus Ownership

Much of the debate over the relationship between S and the history of the *Yahad* is in reality displaced discussion about the distinction between authorship and ownership. The question of who “authored” S is not necessarily the same as who copied or who possessed copies of S material.

In contrast to today, when we are armed with our copyrights and printing presses, the notion of authorship in antiquity was much more fluid. Except perhaps with the pseudepigrapha, the celebration of any individual author—genuine or otherwise—was an extraordinary case. In the words of Carol Newsom, texts in this period may even be spoken of as “community creations,”²¹ without one specific moment of invention. Instead, we encounter what must have been a unique

²⁰ Here I use “he” only given the probable social location of the author in this period.

²¹ Carol Newsom would argue that texts were the product of a community at large, in “‘Sectually Explicit’ Literature,” 175-79.

interplay between authoring a text and transmitting it, such that we may ask what creative contribution the copyist made to a text. To what degree did copying a manuscript equal participating in its literary development? In the case of S, abundant examples of secondary updating above the line and in the margins of IQS, for example, suggest a continuing active engagement with the text. This study, then, asks how different sociological forces would have shaped this development in slightly divergent ways.

What is the relationship between the owners and the authors of the Scrolls? We are at a disadvantage in modern times in that we can only wonder where those Scrolls passed before reaching the caves, as if we have missed the entire film, only to find a few final screen shots from its *denouement*. For whatever motive(s), the Scrolls were deposited in Qumran caves, but few would argue that they were all written there. Although the proximity of the caves (e.g. Cave 4) to the *khirbeh* as well as new ceramic and Instrumental Neutron Activation Analysis (INAA) evidence indicate that the caves were linked to the site (chapter five), nothing among the texts themselves argues for a single authoring source or “school.”

Some of the written material likely developed outside of the community, only to end up at Qumran over time or all at once. It is not difficult to see how Qumran itself could have functioned as some sort of Scrolls repository, where, in the words of Elgvin, it is possible that the “Yahad texts were used and transmitted at various locations in Judea, visitors or newcomers could easily bring their different versions with them to Qumran.”²² Freeze frames of textual traditions may have made their way into the Qumran library by the gradual influx of members or those moving between communities. Or, an explanation favored here, some sought refuge in the desert for themselves and their precious scrolls before the Roman destruction of 68-70 CE.²³

²² Elgvin, “The *Yahad* is More than Qumran,” 275-76.

²³ Several scholars now believe that many manuscripts came from diverse places, including Jerusalem and elsewhere. As far as the original *milieu* of the Scrolls, Davies mentions that Qumran is never mentioned directly in the Scrolls, but rather they refer more to Jerusalem than anywhere else (“Who Hid the Scrolls, and When? Reflections on Some Recent Proposals,” *QC* 9 [2000]: 105-22, esp. 111). In a related manner, Callaway reminds us that we often forget about how mobile texts were in antiquity, in “Methodology, the Scrolls, and Origins,” *Methods of Investigation of the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Khirbet Qumran Site: Present Realities and Future Prospects* (ed. M.O. Wise, et al.; New York: The New York Academy of

Advantages of the Current Study

A reevaluation of S is particularly timely given the recent availability of new Scrolls resources. At last, with most of the approximately 900 manuscripts published in scholarly editions and nearly the entire corpus available to us, we are in a position to reassess the place of the sectarian texts within the corpus as a whole. All copies of S and the *Damascus Document* (D), as well as other Rule texts, are at hand to illuminate the *milieu* and function of the S material. In addition, this study benefits from recently available reference works, such as Metso's handy edition of *The Serekh Texts*²⁴ as well as the complete concordance of all non-biblical Scrolls from Qumran, which has greatly aided in comparative studies.²⁵

Moreover, new archaeological publications and reassessments have better equipped us to discuss the archaeology of Khirbet Qumran. More specifically, nearly all of de Vaux's field notes and photographs are finally made available after an extended delay.²⁶ These, supplemented with some recent finds²⁷ and new INAA of the

Sciences, 1994), 409-28, esp. 414. As Callaway and others note, the discovery of a number of fragments of these Qumran-type manuscripts outside of Qumran indicate that the Essenes probably took some scrolls with them when they fled from the Romans. According to Charlesworth, it is certain "that some Essenes had fled to other areas, as is demonstrated by the discovery of an Essene scroll at Masada," in "The Origin and Subsequent History of the Authors of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Four Transitional Phases Among the Qumran Essenes," *RevQ* 38 (1980): 213-33, esp. 229. Nevertheless, such hypotheses lack sufficient confirming evidence. See also below, 1.4.1.3.

²⁴ Metso, *The Serekh Texts*.

²⁵ Martin G. Abegg et al., eds., *The Dead Sea Scrolls Concordance* (vol. 1: The Non-Biblical Texts from Qumran; Leiden: Brill, 2003).

²⁶ Unfortunately, Roland de Vaux passed away before his final reports on Qumran were published. Now, thanks to the work of Jean-Baptiste Humbert, Alain Chambon and others, much more has become available: Humbert and Chambon, *Fouilles de Khirbet Qumrân et de Ain Feshkha I* (Fribourg: Éditions universitaires, 1994); *The Excavations of Khirbet Qumrân and 'Ain Feshkha: Synthesis of Roland de Vaux's Field Notes* (trans. S.J. Pfann; Fribourg/Göttingen: University Press/Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2003); Humbert and Jan Gunneweg, *Khirbet Qumrân et de Ain Feshkha II: Études d'anthropologie, de physique et de chimie* (Fribourg: Academic Press, 2003).

²⁷ For instance, see Cross and Esther Eshel, "Ostraca from Khirbet Qumran," *IEJ* 47 (1997): 17-28; "Ostraca from Khirbet Qumran," in *Qumran Cave 4.XXVI. Cryptic Texts and Miscellanea, Part 1* (ed. S.J. Pfann, et al.; DJD 36; Oxford: Clarendon, 2000), 497-507.

origins of the Qumran pottery and scroll jars,²⁸ allow us to renew our quest to understand the relationship between the Scroll caves and the site of Qumran, while at the same time promising to keep the archaeological debate lively and dynamic.

Rethinking the Yaḥad

Any textual reconstruction of S is intimately related to the history of its authoring circle, the *Yaḥad*, which itself has been reconsidered in recent scholarship. Some have advocated for an earlier date of the *Yaḥad*'s founding than has previously been assumed.²⁹ Others have rightly begun to challenge the long-standing equation of the *Yaḥad* with Qumran proper, thinking in broader strokes about community formation. Advocating the latter, John Collins makes the following observation:

The assumption that the yaḥad refers specifically to the Qumran settlement underlies the widely accepted explanation of the differences between this “Manual of Discipline” or Community Rule and the Damascus Document. In the words of Geza Vermes, “The Community Rule legislates for a group of ascetics living in a kind of ‘monastic’ society, the statues of the Damascus Document for an ordinary lay existence”. . . The assumption that the yaḥad was a technical term for the

²⁸ Gunneweg and Marta Balla, “How Neutron Activation Analysis can Assist Research into the Provenance of the Pottery at Qumran,” in *Historical Perspectives: From the Hasmoneans to Bar Kokhba in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Proceedings of the Fourth International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 27-31 January, 1999* (ed. D. Goodblatt, A. Pinnick, and D. Schwartz; Leiden: Brill, 2001), 179-85; Joseph Yellin, Magen Broshi, and Hanan Eshel, “Pottery of Qumran and Ein Ghuweir: The First Chemical Exploration of Provenience,” *BASOR* 321 (2001): 65-78.

²⁹ Some argue for a date that well precedes the sectarian settlement at Qumran. Elgvin, for one, finds the origins of the *Yaḥad* to be c. 170 BCE, in “The *Yaḥad* is More than Qumran,” 274; those he cites who also argue for an earlier dating of the *Yaḥad* are Dimant, “Ha-historiah ‘al-peh khazon ha-khayyot,” *JSJT* 2 (1982): 18-37 [Hebrew]; Wacholder, *The Dawn of Qumran: The Sectarian Torah and the Teacher of Righteousness* (Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 1983); Menahem Kister, “Concerning the History of the Essenes: A Study of the Animal Apocalypse, the Book of Jubilees and the Damascus Covenant,” *Tarbiz* 56 (1986-87): 1-18.

‘Qumran community’ is probably shared by the majority of scholars in the field. Yet this assumption is without foundation in the Scrolls.³⁰

Collins proposes, as does Eyal Regev, that the *Yahad* should not be thought of as limited to the residents living at Qumran, but rather as a union of local communities, as is suggested in the reference to the *Yahad* living in “all of their residences” (1QS 6.1b-8).³¹ Along similar lines, Elgvin points out in a recent article a number of reasons why we should consider the *Yahad* to have existed prior to and in a greater geographical expanse than the community living at Qumran.³² Although differing somewhat in their conclusions, these studies give us fresh insight into the identity of the *Yahad* and therefore raise new questions about the origins and *Sitz im Leben* of S.

I have benefited from the fact that, independently, others have come to similar conclusions about the nature of the *Yahad* while I was testing these conclusions *via* S. Along these lines, Hempel has followed a similar impulse when looking at the Rule material, offering a broader way of thinking about its literary development (chapter three). For her, the S material may best be explained as a compilation of distinct literary traditions having undergone somewhat independent development.³³ Here I explore a similar model on close textual level.

“Great” and “Little” Traditions

But how do we understand the various expressions of community and religious traditions of this group that has so far been so mono-

³⁰ John J. Collins, “The *Yahad* and ‘The Qumran Community’,” in *Biblical Traditions in Transmission: Essays in Honour of Michael A. Knibb* (ed. C. Hempel and J. Lieu; Leiden: Brill, 2006), 81-96, esp. 82-83, citing Vermes, *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English* (London: Penguin, 1997), 26.

³¹ Collins, “The *Yahad* and ‘The Qumran Community’,” 85-88, and Eyal Regev, “The ‘Yahad’ and the ‘Damascus Covenant’: Structure, Organization, and Relationship,” *RevQ* 21 (2003): 233-62.

³² Elgvin makes a brief statement akin to the present study, concerning S and D: “with a differentiation between the *yahad* and the Qumran settlement, it is easier to comprehend the large textual differences that developed in the S and D traditions” in “The *Yahad* is More than Qumran,” 275.

³³ Hempel, “The Literary Development of the S Tradition—A New Paradigm,” *RevQ* 22 (2006): 389-401, esp. 400.

lithically considered? How do we reclassify what cannot have been a neat and tidy blip on the screen of early Judaism?

What I present here is in many ways my own individual model, but I have been particularly influenced by the “structure of traditions” approach from social anthropology. Robert Redfield has been an influential voice in the creation of this model, and by extension, in understanding how “great” and “little” literary and religious traditions are developed and transmitted.³⁴ Although not without its own critique,³⁵ Redfield’s analysis sets out to define the relationship between codified traditions, usually from cultural centers of complex societies (Babylon, Egypt, Jerusalem, etc.), and those of local-level communities, especially those on the periphery. He was particularly interested in how non-elite or rural communities received, appropriated, and reinterpreted these “lettered” traditions to fit their various forms of everyday life and praxis.

Redfield’s model has been usefully applied in Hindu and Islamic studies³⁶ but has not yet—to my knowledge—been applied to Judaism in antiquity. Some of his relevant analysis helps to explain how a codified system, such as the penal code of S, was transmitted from the center and how various receptive communities received and adapted these traditions for their own use. The questions which Redfield and his successors pose are: how did these types of codified systems trickle down from the educated elite and how were they applied to the lives of the average person? And, most importantly, how would such traditions evolve as they were in constant conversation with the hierarchical center(s)?

We do well to note that for the most part, Redfield was dealing with direct anthropological observation, rather than strictly textual

³⁴ Redfield, *The Little Community* (Chicago, Ill.: University of Chicago Press, 1961); *Peasant Society and Culture* (Chicago, Ill.: University of Chicago Press, 1961).

³⁵ Some insightful critique can be found in Robert Paine, “A Critique of the Methodology of Robert Redfield,” *Ethnos* 31 (1966): 161-72; cf. also J. Bodley, *Cultural Anthropology: Tribes, States, and the Global System* (Mountain View, Calif.: Mayfield Publishing, 2000); and K. Odner, *Tradition and Transmission: Bantu, Indo-European, and Circumpolar Great Traditions* (Bergen, Norway: Norse Publications, 2000).

³⁶ Bodley, *Cultural Anthropology*; Øystein S. LaBianca, “Great and Little Traditions: A Framework for Studying Cultural Interaction Through the Ages in Jordan,” in *Studies in the History and Archaeology of Jordan IX* (Amman: Jordanian Department of Antiquities, 2007), 275-89 and Odner, *Tradition and Transmission*.

evidence. Nevertheless, his model of transmission history can be usefully applied to S, encouraging us to think beyond simplistic, chronological development and to consider instead that the religious and legal traditions of the *Yahad* were dynamic, radiating out from and yet interrelated with the movement's hierarchy, in constant dialogue between center and periphery, or centers and peripheries. Indeed, in what I term a "radial-dialogic" model of development, a foundational core of S traditions and rules diversified and reinvented itself over time and place but was never completely isolated from the codifying center.

CHAPTER SYNOPSIS

One who takes on the formidable task of reexamining the complex S material cannot deal with just text- or redaction-criticism alone.³⁷ Rather, any new model should be tested across a variety of disciplines. Here I do so, querying all available evidence, even if incomplete, always with the intent to create a comprehensive working model.

Such a study, then, is driven by questions. First, where has nearly 60 years of scholarship brought us in our understanding of the *Yahad*? In chapter one, I explore how current social-scientific analyses of sects elucidate the *Yahad* "sect," and generally speaking, these studies prove to be useful aids in understanding sectarian community formation. This current scholarship challenges us to rethink any simplistic notions we may have had about a "Dead Sea Sect" and reaffirm that the identity of the *Yahad* is far from settled.

Secondly, how should new understandings of the *Yahad* affect our reading of the sectarian texts? In chapter two, I look closely at the test-case of S. Specifically, I compare four S traditions: (1) the tradition represented by the most-complete copy, 1QS; (2) the line of development represented by 4QS^b (4Q256) and 4QS^d (4Q258), considered to be of the same tradition in light of their close similari-

³⁷ Observe similar comments made by Charlesworth and Strawn, who claim that such textual studies need to combine evidence from studies in textual transmission (*Traditionsgeschichte*) with other disciplines (*Redaktionsgeschichte*, *Kompositionskritik*), in "Reflections on the Text of Serekh ha-Yahad," 407-10.

ties³⁸; (3) 4QS^e, an important alternate witness in its own right³⁹; and finally (4) some evidence from the more fragmentary copies when it is pertinent.

The most striking observation in my comparison is that there is considerable *overlap* between the manuscripts, which for the most part share similar organizational terminology and offer hints of a common core of early material.⁴⁰ Nevertheless, the differences between the copies are frequently cited, with a select few of these variants receiving much press. In response, I take this type of variant analysis to its logical extreme, systematically comparing all of the variants between 1QS and 4QS^{b,d,e}. What I find are a large number of what I term “ambiguous variants,” which cannot easily be derived from one manuscript to another by scribal error or intentional redaction. The sheer quantity of these ambiguous variants alone strongly supports the idea that these versions underwent semi-independent development. Similarly, their divergent orthographic systems and unique scribal marks also undermine the idea that they derived from the same scribal school.⁴¹

Thirdly, how does a broader reading of S accord with comparative evidence, or to put it succinctly, do we have analogous cases? In chapter three I first examine key terms of self-identification (e.g. *Yahad*, the Many, the Sons of Zadok, etc.) from both S and other

³⁸ The text of 4QS^{b,d} is nearly identical in their overlapping sections of preserved material, and they are significantly shorter than 1QS. Also, both are written in similar Herodian scripts, dated to the last third of the first century BCE and even are of the same physical appearance. However, this is not withstanding the fact that 4QS^b appears to contain part of nearly every section found in 1QS (except for that describing the two spirits, 1QS 3.13-4.26), while 4QS^d likely started with the equivalent of 1QS, col. 5, missing the corresponding text of 1QS 1-4. For a more complete discussion, see Metso, *Textual Development*, 74.

³⁹ 4QS^e inevitably plays into the discussion of our understanding of S’s textual history. For example, when compared to 1QS, 4QS^e contains a significant gap in the text around 1QS col. 9, an important section for Qumran messianism. That this copy lacks this key section may reveal that it stems from an earlier stage in the theological development of messianism. For a discussion of this passage, see Charlesworth and Strawn, “Reflections on the Text of Serekh ha-Yahad,” 425-26. Again, I have not chosen the manuscripts 1QS, 4QS^{b,d}, and 4QS^e necessarily for their “superior” text, but more practically because of their relative state of preservation.

⁴⁰ Observe the sound observations made in Hempel, “Literary Development of the S Tradition”; I would also like to thank Hempel for her private suggestions to me concerning this matter.

⁴¹ I engage only briefly with the debate about the existence of a “Qumran scribal school.” See 2.5.1.1, below.

Yahad texts, to reformulate a picture of community formation(s) across the corpus. Also, any geographical references are gathered from the Scrolls, including the mention made of מגוריהם (“their dwelling places”), multiple locations where moral and behavior regulations are said to apply to the *Yahad*’s members (1QS 6.1-2).⁴² These organizational and demographic self-identifiers paint no simple picture of community configuration.

The second half of chapter three focuses on comparative test cases, paying special attention to the D material. D enlightens us about the multifarious nature of the sectarian movement. Certainly, our notions of the Rule texts are changing, as we find out just how diverse a spectrum of S-related Rule material was available. The penal code is particularly instructive about how widely dispersed the Rule texts were, as we find overlapping codes in S, D and 4QMiscellaneous Rules, the latter containing both S- and D-related material. The continuity and discontinuity between these Rules suggest that they were appropriated in various settings and that they diverged accordingly. And yet, in what may be an analogous situation to some versions of S, these manuscripts eventually found their way into the Qumran collection.

But is my reconstruction tenable given what we know from other external sources? In chapter four, it becomes clear that the Classical accounts do not prohibit my hypothetical reconstruction. Indeed, if S originated in Essene circles, an argument held to in this study,⁴³ then the Classical sources describe diverse and populous sectarian associations, even those that regularly entertain members from neighboring communities.⁴⁴ Josephus mentions different orders of

⁴² This passage is called an interpolation by Metso, but in its final context, it is smoothly integrated into a passage about *Yahad* members. See both Metso, “Whom does the Term *Yahad* Identify?,” in *Biblical Traditions in Transmission: Essays in Honour of Michael A. Knibb* (ed. C. Hempel and J. Lieu; Leiden: Brill, 2005), 213-35 and Collins, “The *Yahad* and ‘The Qumran Community,’” below.

⁴³ See the recent synopsis of the Essene Hypothesis in Hutchesson, “The Essene Hypothesis After Fifty Years: An Assessment,” *QC* 9 (2000); Stegemann also takes a look at the historical development of this theory in “The Qumran Essenes—Local Members of the Main Jewish Union in Late Second Temple Times,” *The Madrid Qumran Congress: Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls Madrid 18-21 March 1991* (ed. J.T. Barrera and L.V. Montaner; Leiden: Brill, 1992).

⁴⁴ Describing 4,000 Essenes scattered about the land, both Josephus and Philo speak about them frequently traveling between communities. See, for instance,

Essenes, those who marry and those who do not, but insists that they maintain the same way of life and legal traditions (*War* 2.160), which may have included what he describes earlier as their oath to “preserve in like manner the books of their sect” (2.142). Even when read with the necessary skepticism, these and other historical records encourage one to expect a broader sociological background for S.

Finally, old and new archaeological findings are reviewed, including recent revisionist theories (chapter five). Ultimately I defend the position that the Scrolls and the site are related, but new hypotheses raise important food for thought. Recent INAA offers us unexpected findings about the provenance of certain ceramics from Qumran, including the so-called “scroll jars” and inkwells. These and other archaeological findings illuminate possible connections between Qumran and nearby sites; Jerusalem and Jericho, for example, are sites that maintained close ties to the Dead Sea community. Also, based on the analysis of stratigraphy, some argue that the sectarians settled at Qumran much later than previously supposed; they appear to have taken up residence there around the time 1QS was copied. With this in mind, we are forced to reconsider the assumption that all or even most of what must have been a long history of S’s redaction took place all at the site.

Conclusions are drawn here not only about how workable a new history of S may be, but also about how we “read the *Yahad*.” The implications of reading the sectarian texts—and therefore the S versions—through a broader interpretive lens are great and solve long-standing historical and textual issues within the sectarian manuscripts. By doing this, the ultimate goal is to generate more dialogue not only about the development of S, but concerning new interpretive possibilities about the Scrolls at large.

Every Good Person 12.85: “For besides that they all dwell together in companies, the house is open to all those of the same notions, who come to them from other quarters”; or *J.W.* 2.124-25: “Also, everything they have is at the disposal of members of the sect arriving from elsewhere as though it were their own, and they enter into the house of people whom they have never seen before as though they were intimate friends.”

CHAPTER ONE

THE *YAHAD* AND THE *SEREKH*: WHERE ARE WE NOW?

1.1 PREVIOUS STUDY OF THE *YAHAD* “SECT”

The *Serekh* is widely understood to be the charter sectarian text of the *Yahad*, so no study of it would be complete without making reference to two problematic terms: “sectarian” and *Yahad*, “community.” Both terms are often used but are frequently ill-defined as to how they relate to the authors of the Scrolls. This study begins, then, with a discussion of the label “sect” as it relates to Second Temple Judaism and whether it should be applied to the *Yahad*. Current social-scientific studies of sectarianism can inform our understanding of sectarian formation, and the results of these indicate that unlike modern connotations of a “sect,” the *Yahad* was not necessarily geographically isolated or peripheral to the *Judaisms* of its day as previously assumed. These studies, then, have important implications for our reading of the sectarian texts, and of S, in particular.

1.1.1 *The Problem with the “Qumran Sect”*

The authors of the Scrolls have long been labeled a Jewish “sect,” even before the discovery of the Qumran manuscripts. When medieval copies of the *Zadokite Fragments* (now the *Damascus Document*) were published in 1910, Louis Ginzberg immediately attributed these texts to an “unknown Jewish sect” (*unbekannte jüdische Sekte*).¹ Yet the term “sect” carries with it a wide range of meanings. Most definitions of a “sect” have employed in some way its etymological meaning of “to cut (oneself) off” from a mainstream group. The label itself conjures up images from its Christian roots, where it was first

¹ Louis Ginzberg, *Eine unbekannte jüdische Sekte* (New York: Hildesheim, 1922), 13, a work that later appeared in English with additional chapters as *An Unknown Jewish Sect* (New York: Jewish Theological Seminary, 1976).

used to label break-away or heretical groups from the established Church.

But the difficulty with using this term for the communities of the Scrolls² is that there was no normative Judaism in the Second Temple period, certainly not in the manner of a catholic Christian church or as there was after the rise of rabbinic Judaism. By labeling the *Yahad* a Jewish “sect,” then, scholars have vividly associated it with a radical, isolationist group that broke away from mainstream Judaism. The use of this label, then, has limited much of our conversation about the varieties of Judaism reflected in the Scrolls. Moreover, the previous equation of the *Yahad* with the “Dead Sea Sect” or the “Qumran sect” also established a geographical focal point for this “break-away” group, even further preempting any discussion about this movement as a potentially wide-spread and effective part of Jewish society as a whole.

Much of the impetus to identify early “sects” in Judaism comes from Josephus, one of our few historical sources of the period. He classifies the main Jewish movements of his day (Pharisees, Sadducees, Essenes, etc.) as ἄρσεις,³ usually translated “sect,” from which we later get the English term, “heresy.” But this term, which further evokes the “marginal” connotation, is an external label, not one with which any of these groups self-identify, not to mention that in listing the sects, Josephus must have been oversimplifying a much more complex situation. Later Talmudic literature alone recognizes that there were 24 such groups in Israel.⁴

Thus, it has been a modern impulse to classify the *Yahad* as a “sect” and to file it away into one of Josephus’s schematic categories. The debate over whether we should equate the Scrolls’ communities with Josephus’s Essenes is still a well-attended one but will never be fully resolved given the scarcity of evidence. Indeed, much of the ongoing debate about who wrote the Scrolls at the core reflects uncertainty over the modern labels we use. For we borrow labels

² I do indeed mean “communities” of the Scrolls, an idea that will be further developed below.

³ *War* 2.119, 122, 124, 137, 141, 142; *Ant.* 13.171; *Life* 10. Cf. also Hippolytus *Ref.* 9.18; Epiphanius *Pan.* 10-11, 19; Hegesippus *Hypomnemata*, in Eusebius *Eccl. Hist.* IV 22.7.

⁴ David Flusser compares and contrasts the descriptions of the pre-70 Jewish sects in Josephus and the Rabbis, in *The Spiritual History of the Dead Sea Sect* (Tel Aviv: MOD Books, 1989), 302.

from antiquity but know very little about what “Essene” or “Sadducee” really meant in practical terms; in reality, they could have been anything from small religious movements to socially active political parties.⁵

This study tries to move beyond the limitations of the terminology and will prefer the self-identifying term, “*Yahad*,” rather than the more subjective “Qumran Sect,” “Dead Sea Sect,” or even “Essene,” whenever possible. Although this study follows the consensus that the *Yahad* was related to the Essenes, the precise nature of that relationship remains unclear (see below, chapter four).

1.1.2 *The Social-Scientific Study of Second-Temple Judaism*

Social scientists and scholars of religion have begun to broaden their definition of a “sect” to fit a number of different social and historical contexts.⁶ Bryan Wilson, for one, finds it misleading to identify a sect only in terms of its antithetical relationship with a normative church.⁷ Rather he, as well as Rodney Stark and William Bainbridge,

⁵ For an example of how malleable the term “sect” can be, Stegemann proposes that the groups usually labeled as sects, the Pharisees, Sadducees and Essenes, are best described as religious “parties” because they were somewhat elitist and because there were no other secular parties at the time. He also assumes that they were tightly regulated and carefully controlled the admittance of new member (*The Library of Qumran*, 139). But in this, he generalizes about the Sadducees and Pharisees based on what we know about the Essenes, for we have little indication that other contemporaneous groups also had tight admission procedures or regulations. Further, even though a group such as the Essenes was highly organized, it does not mean that they had a political function or could not have been a religious organization.

⁶ Note the many ways in which a “sect” has been defined, especially in non-Western cultures, in Albert Baumgarten, *The Flourishing of Jewish Sects in the Maccabean Era: An Interpretation* (JSJSup 55; ed. J.J. Collins and F. García Martínez; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 5-6.

⁷ Note especially Rodney Stark and William S. Bainbridge, *The Future of Religion: Secularization, Revival and Cult Formation* (Berkeley: UC Press, 1985), 23. In the modern study of religion, then, the term “sect” often assumes the existence of an established church to which a sect is contrasted. Ernst Troeltsch was one of the first to set up this church-sect typology. See his foundational but problematic work, *The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches* (New York: Macmillan, 1932), 1.328-49; and the more recent *Protestantisches Christentum und Kirche in der Neuzeit* (Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 2004). In his view, a sect is a group which stands in opposition to an established church both on theological and behavioral grounds. But, as Benton Johnson has already noted (“On Church and Sect,” *Ameri-*

rightly find the nature of sects to be more complex. Not every religious branch is a sect; members of a sect are still defined by their opposition to prevailing views, even to the point we might call them revolutionary.⁸ But there are various ways in which they define themselves against the religious Other(s). Wilson has recognized up to seven different types of sectarian groups based on the group's relationship with its surrounding society, a typology which can be useful in understanding Judaism of the late Second Temple period.⁹

Two of Wilson's categories, "introversionist" and "conversionist" sects, have already been applied to the *Yahad*, but I would argue that this ancient phenomenon does not fit neatly into any one of his categories. The *Yahad* may best be described as a combination of an "introversionist" group, withdrawing from the world in order to pursue purity, and a "reformist" sect, one that seeks simultaneously to alter the present world guided by revelation, while at the same time exhibiting characteristics of a "utopian" group. The latter

can Sociological Review 28 [1963]: 539-49), when classifying such a group, it is first necessary to point out the specific environment to which it is related, the degree to which the group rejects its host environment, and finally, whether the distinction holds up under analysis with comparative groups ("On Church and Sect, 542). Nevertheless, his rubric is of limited use in classifying non-Christian groups.

⁸ See especially the classic study on sect and cult formation, in Stark and Bainbridge, *A Theory of Religion* (ed. D. Wiebe; New York: Peter Lang, 1987), 121-53. Bryan Wilson also points out that it is misleading to define a sect only in terms of its antithetical relationship with a normative church. Rather he has found the nature of sects to be more complex and has created a working classification of seven different kinds of sects, depending on the sect's relationship to society as a whole. Among these different types, some have recognized at least two which are useful in identifying Second Temple Jewish sects ("reformist" sects and "introversionist" sects), in Wilson, "An Analysis of Sect Development," in *Patterns of Sectarianism: Organization and Ideology in Social and Religious Movements* (ed. B. Wilson; London: Heinemann, 1969), 22-45; and *Magic and the Millennium: A Sociological Study of Religious Movements of Protest Among Tribal and Third-World Peoples* (London: Heinemann, 1973), 16-26.

⁹ He names: (1) the *conversionist* sect, who seek emotional transformation now but with the expectation of salvation in the future, (2) the *introversionist* sect, who seek purity and withdraw from the world, (3) the *revolutionist* sect, whose members await divine destruction of the present social order, (4) the *manipulationist* sect, who attempt to control the evil forces of the world by transforming their theological orientation, such as in the case of the Gnostics, (5) the *thaumaturgical response*, whose sectarians claim special dispensation for the healing of specific ills, (6) the *reformist* sect, who try to alter current society guided by divine revelation, and (7) the *utopian* sect, who reject revolutionary means but still seeks to align the world with divine order, in Wilson, *Magic and the Millennium*, 23-26.

attempts to align the world with divine order. To support classifying the *Yaḥad* as reformist, a label that has not yet to my knowledge been applied to the Scrolls' sect, one need only to recall *MMT* as a specific example of how its authors engaged with the "outside" world in an attempt to "realign" it, so to speak. There is a strong conservative flavor to the group's self-understanding, as it saw itself as the "righteous remnant" (cf. "the chosen ones of favor," בחירי רצון, 4Q418 81, 10), each one being called to "return with all his heart and soul to every commandment of the Law of Moses" (1QS 5.8-9) (cf. elsewhere the play on words with שבי ישראל as the "returnees/penitents of Israel").

But following Pieter Craffert, in order to engage with Wilson's schema, we need to reevaluate the "goodness of fit" of his or any other contemporary model.¹⁰ Certainly, using Wilson's classification of sects, which many scholars of Early Christianity have already done,¹¹ can illuminate certain aspects of community formation not considered previously, but its usefulness is limited to making only general observations. Wilson pays less attention to the socio-historical environment within which a specific group is set and does not account for the dynamic relationship of religion *vis-à-vis* ethnic identity, such as applies to Jews in this period. Also, any critique of Wilson's taxonomy of sects should point out that he does not analyze the type of interaction or relationship with the "deviant" group and the parent movement. Although he describes the various ways sects can position themselves in relation to the rest of society, he says very little about their relationship to their mother religion or any other religious groups. Indeed, as we will see with the *Yaḥad*, much of their very self-identity materializes through a continuing dialogic interaction with the Jewish Other(s).

¹⁰ Pieter F. Craffert, "An Exercise in the Critical Use of Models: The 'Goodness of Fit' of Wilson's Sect Model," in *Social Scientific Models for Interpreting the Bible: Essays in the Context Group in Honor of Bruce J. Malina* (ed. J.J. Pilch; Leiden: Brill, 2001), 21-46.

¹¹ Note how Bruce J. Malina critiques the use of such models for the Jesus movement, in "Patron and Client: The Analogy behind Synoptic Theology," 4 (1988): 2-32; "Early Christian Groups: Using Small Group Formation Theory to Explain Christian Organizations," in *Modeling Early Christianity: Social-Scientific Studies of the New Testament in Its Context* (ed. P.F. Esler; London: Routledge, 1995), 96-113; cf. again, Craffert, "An Exercise in the Critical Use of Models."

1.1.2.1 *Definitions of Jewish Sectarianism*

Social-scientific understandings of the phenomenon of sectarianism have diversified, and some recent studies have been profitably applied to the study of Second Temple Judaism¹²—although not without difficulty. Holding to a strict, modern definition of a sect, Shemaryahu Talmon denies that sects could have existed in Judaism in antiquity; this is a misapplication of a modern label onto a time when no normative religion existed.¹³ Rather, he prefers to label them more neutrally as the “Community of the Renewed Covenant.”¹⁴ On the other extreme, Lawrence Schiffman claims that Jewish sectarianism was widespread during the Second Temple period. He understands a sect to be a splinter group, but keeping in mind the specific characteristics of Second Temple society, he classifies a sect by its “religious ideology that may develop the characteristics of a political party in order to defend its way of life.” Therefore, all Jewish groups during this period qualify as sects, “regardless of size or importance,”¹⁵ because religion and politics were so integrated. From both theorists, we are reminded of how much this debate really centers on one’s own definition of “sect.”

A mediating position, and a more useful one, is to focus on the role of boundary marking in the self-understanding of Jewish movements, including that of the *Yaḥad*. Albert Baumgarten, for one, constructively incorporates social-scientific theory in his study of sectarianism in this period, offering a nuanced definition of a sect in this cultural context. He recognizes that sects, including the *Yaḥad*,

¹² In 1921 in *Antike Judentum*, Max Weber was one of the first to apply sociological method to the study of Judaism (cf. also *Ancient Judaism* [trans. Hans H. Gerth and Don Martindale; Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1952]), and Louis Finkelstein did so later specifically with the study of the Pharisees (*The Pharisees: The Sociological Background of Their Faith* [2 vols.; Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1938]). But note that Günter Stemberger challenges the usefulness of sociological method when studying Second Temple Jewish sects in *Jewish Contemporaries of Jesus: Pharisees, Sadducees, Essenes* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1995).

¹³ This view was already held by D.S. Russell (*The Method and Message of Jewish Apocalyptic* [Philadelphia: Westminster, 1964], 22), who denies that the owners of the Qumran library were a “sect” because there was no orthodoxy from which the “sectarians” could separate.

¹⁴ Shemaryahu Talmon, “Qumran Studies: Past, Present, and Future,” *JQR* 85 (1994): 1-31.

¹⁵ Lawrence H. Schiffman, *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls* (New York: Doubleday, 1995), 72-73.

do not need a “normative religion” against which they draw their identity. Rather, a “sect” in this period is:

... a voluntary association of protest, which utilizes boundary marking mechanisms—the social means of differentiating between insiders and outsiders—to distinguish between its own members and those otherwise normally regarded as belonging to the same national or religious entity.¹⁶

Baumgarten further accounts for the multifaceted expressions of Judaism at this time by examining the different ways a sect can establish boundary markers against the larger community, and yet he does not forget that they still identified with the larger group. He concludes that sectarianism flourished during this period because many segments of Judean society dissented against the Hasmoneans, who they felt had not adequately counteracted increasing Hellenism in that period. The disappointment of various communities, coupled with increasing literacy, urbanization and eschatological hopes during this period, fueled the disassociation of these groups from contemporary Jewish Hellenizers.¹⁷

The phenomenon of the *Yahad* may be understood in a similar manner, namely, as a Jewish movement that incorporated ideological “boundary markers” in just this way. While they defined themselves against the Jewish Other(s), at the same time they imagined themselves in continuity with the substance of Jewish history and tradition, (re)conceptualizing themselves as a microcosm of true Israel. They appropriated a remnant theology, envisioning themselves as a righteous remnant after the exile (CD 1.3-5a; 4Q418 81, 10) and present themselves as if they were all of Israel, again encamped in the wilderness (CD 12.23-13.7; 1QS 2.19-22a; 1QM 3.13-4.17, etc.). In this way, they, like those at Sinai, were the recipients of special revelation (CD 3.13-16a). Yet at the same time they reject (many of) their Jewish kinsmen (cf. *MMT*), as not all were qualified to be true

¹⁶ A. Baumgarten, *Flourishing of Jewish Sects*, 7.

¹⁷ Baumgarten’s study of sects in the Second Temple period (*Flourishing of Jewish Sects*) is not a comparative survey, although he regularly supplies comparisons with other sectarian groups, from medieval Karaites and Christian sects in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England to Jewish sects in Israel today. But he is concerned mainly with the social context(s) of sects in this period. He investigates the factors mentioned above, as well as the power vacuum created following the lapse of Seleucid control, all factors which would have influenced the formation of the Scrolls’ communities.

Israel. They simultaneously marked out terminological boundaries between themselves and the Jewish Other(s), whom they defined descriptively as the “Men of the Pit” (1QS 9.16-18), “Seekers after Smooth Things” (the Pharisees; e.g. CD 1.18), “the Scoffer(s)” (e.g. CD 1.14), “the Scoffers who are in Jerusalem” (4Q162 2.6), “Prophets of the Lie” (4QH^a 4.16), “the Liar” (1QpHab 2.2, 5.11), etc. In this regard, I should also mention the acceptance and rejection of the calendar as a primary way in which the *Yahad* set up its boundary markers with the rest of “wayward Israel.”¹⁸

Thus my definition of a sect is a group which identifies with and simultaneously sets up ideological boundary markers against a larger religious body, a definition resembling that of Shaye Cohen. According to Cohen, sectarian members distinguish themselves from a larger religious body by focusing on their claim of absolute truth; a sect “asserts that it alone embodies the ideals of the larger group because it alone understands God’s will.”¹⁹ The *Yahad* would certainly have identified themselves as this special group. They were caught in the give-and-take dialogue of tradition versus transformation, unable to break from the past but with the ability to reappropriate and revise scripture and covenantal promises for their specific future. In this way, they tried to persuade others to agree with their tenets, even to the point of denying those who rejected them a place in the world to come (cf. E.P. Sanders’s “soteriological exclusivism”).²⁰

¹⁸ The calendrical texts assume a solar calendar, in contrast to the luni-solar calendar used elsewhere (and harshly criticized in *Jubilees*); see VanderKam, *Calendars in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Measuring Time* (New York: Routledge, 1998). Yet some of the calendrical texts still engage with the luni-solar text by way of coordinating dates, showing that the authors had a continuing concern with the praxis of the larger Jewish community.

¹⁹ Shaye J.D. Cohen, *From the Maccabees to the Mishnah* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1987), 125. Under his definition, even the Samaritans qualify as a Jewish sect.

²⁰ This idea of the *Yahad* underlies E.P. Sanders’s methodological study of Second Temple religions. He distinguishes a “sect” from a religious “party” during Judaism in this period. For him, a sect holds on to a soteriological exclusivism. Whereas a party tries to persuade the larger group to agree with its tenets, a sect actually denies members outside of the smaller group any hope of salvation (cf. MMT). Thus, only the Dead Sea sectarians were truly sectarian, and the Pharisees and Sadducees he classifies as a “party” (*Paul and Palestinian Judaism: A Comparison of Patterns of Religion* [Philadelphia: Fortress, 1977], 425-26).

For our purposes, the question is whether or not this type of religious revisionism required the *Yaḥad* to withdraw socially or geographically from Jewish society at large.²¹ Anthony Saldarini would answer in the negative. In his classification, a sect is a religious-based organization which deviates from society at large, but frequently exercises greater political influence in doing so.²² Drawing from parallels with Hellenistic voluntary associations, he finds sects in Second Temple Palestine to be not just groups built around doctrinal views, but active units within society at large, oftentimes effecting important societal transformation.²³ Assessing the relationship between sects and society, he notes:

. . . the inadequacy of descriptions of the first century which imagine the Pharisees, Sadducees, Essenes and Jesus as isolated religious groups debating matters of belief. Political and religious life were one and . . . any claim concerning Jewish teaching or behavior had major ramifications in all quarters of life and society.²⁴

²¹ Davies stresses that any group defined as a sect must set up “ideological boundaries.” Thus, the community behind the D constitutes a “sect” because (1) it marks ideological boundaries between itself and the rest of Israel, (2) it lives out those boundaries by socially and even geographically segregating itself, and (3) it claims to be the true “Israel.” But it is unfounded to assume that the community of D geographically segregated itself from the rest of society as a sect, as Davies does, in “The ‘Damascus’ Sect and Judaism,” in *Sects and Scrolls: Essays on Qumran and Related Topics* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996), 163-77.

²² A number of interrelated and overlapping factors must have influenced sectarianism during this period, one of which was increasing Hellenism. Hellenistic voluntary associations sparked the formation of counter groups, such as the Pharisees, Sadducees and the Essenes (cf. similar remarks by Morton Smith, “Palestinian Judaism in the First Century,” in *Israel: Its Role in Civilization* [ed. M. Davis; New York: Harper, 1956], 67-81; Henry Fischel, “Story and History: Observations on Greco-Roman Rhetoric and Pharisaism,” in *American Oriental Society Middle West Branch Semi-Centennial Volume* [ed. D. Sinor; Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University, 1969], 83; as noted in Saldarini, *Pharisees, Scribes, and Sadducees in Palestinian Society*, 68). But Saldarini rightly rejects any attempt to identify the *Yaḥad* of the Scrolls with the *koinon* of Greek associations, as Bruno W. Dombrowski tries to do (“*Hayahad* in 1QS and to *Koinon*: An Instance of Early Greek and Jewish Synthesis,” *HTR* 59 [1966]: 293-307).

²³ Even though he defines a sect as an active and influential group, he denies that the Pharisees and Sadducees were sects in the traditional sense. Rather each is best thought of as a “school of thought.” But in other places, however, Saldarini calls the Pharisees a “political interest group,” which tried to influence Jewish religious, social and political life, as well as the Sadducees, even though they are less attested (*Pharisees, Scribes, and Sadducees in Palestinian Society*, 74-75).

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 73.

As Saldarini points out, a person's religious affiliation had significant impact upon one's political and social involvement in the broadest sense. Thus, within his paradigm, he finds no reason to believe that the Essenes were any less politically or socially active than the Pharisees or Sadducees. Even those living at Qumran were part of greater Jewish society and, contra Sanders, very likely held political influence. To be a Jew was to function actively within Jewish society: even "those who disagreed with the Temple authorities, like the Qumran community, were still within the social boundaries of Judaism and an influence to be reckoned with."²⁵

I concede that by setting up ideological boundary markers from the rest of Jewish society the *Yahad* movement did not necessarily have to withdraw themselves politically or geographically, particularly because there is evidence that they still embraced much of Jewish identity and praxis. Nor did they reject the Jerusalem Temple to the degree first assumed in Scrolls scholarship. Saldarini's social reading of early Palestinian society rightly reminds us that within the social context of the Scrolls, one's religious and political identities were usually closely intertwined.²⁶ Although perhaps overstated, his emphatic point that the Essenes were integrated into Jewish society counteracts common ideas that this group existed only on the periphery of society. Theoretically, his thesis is attractive for the present theory that the *Yahad* was active beyond Qumran, but the underpinnings of his claims rest too much on the Classical sources, which bring their own problems.²⁷

In sum, under this broader definition, the *Yahad* qualifies as a "sect" because it used ideological boundary markers to set itself apart from other Jews of their time ("all of the peoples," 4QMMT^d 14-21, 7). But while explicitly disassociating themselves from the

²⁵ Ibid., 5-6.

²⁶ Despite his otherwise thorough treatment, Saldarini does not adequately address the Essenes. He lumps them together with other groups that had strong political purposes and attempted to effect social change, but we have little positive evidence the Essenes followed suit. Indeed, Scroll evidence indicates that their actions were interested in inward transformation and walking a "path" of perfect legal purity (cf. Wilson's *conversionist* sect, in *Magic and the Millennium*, 23-26).

²⁷ Saldarini also overlooks other internal evidence from the Scrolls. He gives little notice to the role of lineage or heredity (whether real or perceived) as a factor in the formation of social groups. This, at least outwardly, played a role in the rise of the Sadducees, whose name derives from Zadok, and possibly also with the Scrolls' communities.

Jewish Other, they simultaneously created their identity *contra* them, establishing themselves as foils to the errant Jews. Alongside Cohen's description of a "sect," the *Yaḥad* maintained boundaries that centered on the claim to absolute truth, or perhaps it is more precise to say the privilege of unique revelation. Nevertheless, as mentioned, the term "sect" is problematic as it is loaded with anachronistic and Christian connotations and will be avoided here in favor of the terminology of a Jewish "movement" or, preferably, "*Yaḥad*."

1.1.2.2 *Comparative Analyses of the Yaḥad*

Recently Regev has challenged the idea that the *Yaḥad* was equivalent to the Qumran community, finding it rather to refer to a collective of small, scattered communities ("councils") in various locales, somewhat akin to the proposal offered here (below, 1.2.1.1).²⁸ He arrives at his conclusions partly through comparative analysis of the *Yaḥad* with modern-day sects, such as the Shakers, Hutterites, Mennonites, and the Amish, and in his classification of the *Yaḥad*, he appears to be influenced by Wilson's category of introversionist sects.²⁹ He describes the formation of branches as a key social phenomenon within all of these sects. Using the modern-day Hutterites as an analogous case, he comments that they:

... tend to keep their members in small-scale communities. The most distinguishable example is the "branching" of the Hutterite colony. Hutterite colonies form new colonies, called "cell colonies," when the population reaches a maximal size of 120-150 persons. This procedure enables them to make biological growth without losing the small, manageable face-to-face character of their domestic group, but demands redistribution of capital and authority.³⁰

These types of comparative conclusions should be made cautiously, as they are drawn from a different time and cultural context, but for what they are worth, they provide some insight into the demograph-

²⁸ See his discussion of the S and D communities, in Regev, "The 'Yaḥad' and the 'Damascus Covenant'"; "Comparing Sectarian Practice and Organization: The Qumran Sects in Light of the Regulations of the Shakers, Hutterites, Mennonites and Amish," *Numen* 51 (2004): 146-81; and *Sectarianism in Qumran: A Cross-Cultural Perspective* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2007).

²⁹ As Wilson puts forth in "An Analysis of Sect Development," 22-45, although Regev does not make this connection explicit.

³⁰ Regev, "Comparing Sectarian Practice and Organization," 176.

ical logistics of sect formation.³¹ Regev notes other overlapping similarities between the *Yaḥad* and these modern communities in terms of admission procedures, confessional practices and disciplinary measures, all of which partly elucidate formative features of the *Yaḥad*.³²

As an aside, Regev misses what I consider to be an even closer and surprising parallel found with the *Yaḥad*: a reformist movement known as the House of Aaron, which seeks to purify the greater Christian (and in this case, Jewish) communities it both rejects and embodies at the same time. In *Recreating Utopia in the Desert*, Hans Baer observes that this group grew from depression era Mormon Utah, understanding themselves to be true priests of Zion.³³ Space limits our discussion, but it is interesting to note that the members of this millennialist group find themselves to be the descendants of the lineal priests of Israel. Founded in the 1930s by a charismatic leader, Maurice Glendenning, this group divides itself up into the general membership (the Levites), the upper leadership (those descendants of Aaron), as well as their High Priest, or spiritual leader, who is said to be of Zadok and the leader of their general community council (=70

³¹ Another example of this type of comparative work can be found in Wilson, "Millennialism and Sect Formation in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries," in *Apocalyptic in History and Tradition* (ed. C. Rowland and J. Barton; London: Sheffield, 2002), 212-32.

³² But one should keep in mind, particularly when using problematic terminology such as "sect," there is no such entity or quality of a "sect" that exists by itself. Rather, a sect is always qualified as something in relation to or contrasted with another religious experience. Therefore, when Regev compares the Mennonite "sect" to that of the *Yaḥad*, he should be mindful that the mechanisms by which each so define themselves are different. Simply put, the Christian groups deviate from a more "normative" religious experience than that which Jews would have reacted against during the Second Temple period.

Regev points out a number of similarities between these communities and the *Yaḥad*. The Shakers have a graduated admission procedure, and both the Shakers and the Amish regularly participate in communal confession, a "public ritual of social importance that was derived from a special socio-religious ideology and atmosphere characteristic of all these introversionist sects" ("Comparing Sectarian Practice and Organization," 152-54, 162). Lastly, he finds that these sects enforce discipline using several common sanctions (cf. the *Yaḥad*'s penal code material), enforced by social shunning, *ibid.*, 158.

³³ Hans Baer, *Recreating Utopia in the Desert: A Sectarian Challenge to Modern Mormonism* (Albany: The State University of New York Press, 1988). See also, Jamie Buckingham, "Streams in the Desert: A Visit to a Unique Charismatic Community," *Charisma Magazine* (1998): 28-31, 86-88.

men from the general membership). From personal observation of this community, I have found a number of highly analogous features in the ways in which they offer a sectarian challenge to both modern Christianity and Judaism, by which its members lay claim to true priestly lineage (=the “righteous remnant”) and at the same time understand themselves as part of the restoration of true Israel in the last days.

For our purposes, what is most curious is that by establishing claims of pure priestly lineage and special revelation (found in the revelatory writings of their founder, entitled *The Levitical Writings*), this movement broke away from mainline Christianity, and some of them withdrew into the remote desert of rural Western Utah to establish a settlement committed to egalitarian and communitarian ideals. Their remote desert commune of c. 150 inhabitants, Eskdale, functions as a purity center for the movement at large, one where members live in the highest state of purity, engage in constant communal worship, and share all personal belongings. Yet the rest of the members of the House of Aaron continue to live in what they term as “branches” in the nearby cities of Salt Lake City and elsewhere, where members simultaneously financially support and look to the high priestly leadership in the desert center, their Levitical “city of refuge.”³⁴

Again, the analogies from the House of Aaron are chronologically and geographically distant from Qumran; phenomenologically, these results are interesting nonetheless. Further study of this and other millennialist groups could flesh out some of our studies of sectarian formation in the future.³⁵

³⁴ See as well www.houseofaaron.net.

³⁵ For instance, questions could be posed about the role of a charismatic leader, such as the Teacher of Righteousness, in the founding of the movement (after the “twenty years they were like blind men groping their way, CD 1.9-10) and whether or not we can call the Teacher of Righteousness a “founding prophet” in the sense of other charismatic founders. Similar questions are asked by Talmon, in “The Essential ‘Community of the Renewed Covenant’: How Should Qumran Studies Proceed?,” in *Geschichte-Tradition-Reflexion. Festschrift für Martin Hengel zum 70. Geburtstag* (ed. H. Cancik, H. Lichtenberger, and P. Schäfer; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1996), 323-52, esp. 343.

1.1.3 *The “Yaḥad” and the Essenes*

But can current sociological analyses really inform us about the demographics of the *Yaḥad*? Much of what we already claim to know or can know about the *Yaḥad* in truth comes from the Classical sources, which I treat in detail in chapter four. Apart from the primary source of the Scrolls, Josephus, Philo and others provide some rare secondary glimpses of Jewish movements of late Second Temple Palestine. So any analysis of the demographics of the *Yaḥad*—and by implication its literature—must necessarily engage with current theories about one recorded group: the Essenes.

1.1.3.1 *The Yaḥad and the Essene Hypothesis*

E.L. Sukenik was the first to connect the Scrolls found in the Judean desert with those known elsewhere as the Essenes. In 1948, not long after he encountered the first Cave 1 manuscripts, Sukenik published his conclusion that *Serekh ha-Yaḥad* was “a kind of book of regulations for the conduct of members of a brotherhood or sect.” Drawing from the Classical sources, he connected this brotherhood with the Essene movement, claiming that the entire cache of manuscripts “belonged originally to the sect of the Essenes, for, as is known from different literary sources, the place of settlement of this sectarian group was on the western side of the Dead Sea, in the vicinity of En Gedi.”³⁶ Thus we find the birth of the Qumran Essene hypothesis.

This proposal triumphed early in Scrolls scholarship. Others have fully traced the development of the Essene hypothesis elsewhere,³⁷

³⁶ The “different literary sources” which Sukenik mentions are those of the Classical writers. However, only Pliny (and later Dio Chrysostomos) connects this sect to the area on the western side of the Dead Sea (see 4.4 and 4.5.1, below). Therefore, it was likely from Pliny’s account that Sukenik connected the Essenes with the Scrolls (*Megillot Genuzot* 1 [1948]: 16; cf. Stegemann, “The Qumran Essenes,” in *The Madrid Qumran Congress: Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls, Madrid 18-21 March, 1991* [ed. J.T. Barrera and L.V. Montaner; Leiden: Brill, 1992], 83-166, esp. 83-84). The founding of the Essene hypothesis is discussed in Norman Golb, “The Problem of Origin and Identification of the Dead Sea Scrolls,” *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 124 (1980): 1-24, where he includes his English translation of Sukenik’s article.

³⁷ See the recent synopsis of the Essene Hypothesis, in Hutchesson, “The Essene Hypothesis After Fifty Years”; and also Wido Van Peursen, “Qumran Origins: Some Remarks on the Enochic/Essene Hypothesis,” *RevQ* 20 (2001): 241-

so only a few relevant comments are necessary here. By the early 1950s, a number of scholars had espoused an Essene connection in the first books and articles on the Scrolls, such as those by William H. Brownlee,³⁸ André Dupont-Sommer³⁹ and Vermes.⁴⁰ De Vaux was an important proponent of the Essene hypothesis. After he began excavating Khirbet Qumran in 1951, de Vaux affirmed that this site was not only associated with the library of the Scrolls, but also that it was the primary settlement of the Essenes from as early as the middle of the second century BCE.⁴¹ Eventually this Qumran-Essene hypothesis was adopted with slight variation by all of the international team working on the Scrolls after 1953.⁴² We find it, for instance, underlying J.T. Milik's *Dix ans de découvertes dans le désert de Juda* (1957), *The People of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (1959) by John Allegro, and also in the works of Cross, one of the strongest advocates of the Essene origins of the Scrolls.⁴³ Cross's—and

53. Stegemann also takes a look at the historical development of this theory, in "The Qumran Essenes," 83-88.

³⁸ William H. Brownlee, "A Comparison of the Covenanters of the Dead Sea Scrolls with Pre-Christian Jewish Sects," *BA* 13 (1950): 50-72; and *The Dead Sea Manual of Discipline: Translation and Notes* (BASORSup 10-12; New Haven: American Schools of Oriental Research, 1951).

³⁹ André Dupont-Sommer, *Observations sur le manuel de discipline découvert près de la mer Morte* (Paris: Maisonneuve, 1951).

⁴⁰ Vermes, *Les manuscrits du désert de Juda* (Paris: Desclée, 1954).

⁴¹ His official reports can be found in, "Archéologie," in *Les grottes de Murabba'at* (DJD 2, 1961), 1-63; *L'Archéologie et les manuscrits de la Mer Morte* (London: Oxford, 1961); and in the updated, English version, *Archaeology and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (London: Oxford University Press, 1973). See also Stegemann's discussion of de Vaux's early claims, in "The Qumran Essenes," 86.

⁴² It is amusing to note that in 1958 John Strugnell claimed, "We must now take the identification of the Qumranites and Essenes as proved" ("Flavius Josephus and the Essenes: *Antiquities* XVIII.18-22," *JBL* 77 [1958]: 106-15, esp. 107).

⁴³ In *The Ancient Library of Qumran*, Cross adamantly maintains that the people behind the Qumran sect were definitely the Essenes. He elsewhere gives this oft-cited account:

The scholar who would 'exercise caution' in identifying the sect of Qumran with the Essenes places himself in an astonishing position: He must suggest seriously that *two* major parties formed communistic religious communities in the same district of the desert of the Dead Sea and lived together in effect for two centuries, holding similar bizarre views, performing similar or rather identical lustrations, ritual meals and ceremonies. He must suppose that one, carefully described by classical authors, disappeared without leaving building remains or even potsherds behind; the other, systematically ignored by classical sources,

other's—wholehearted acceptance of the Essene hypothesis,⁴⁴ undergirded by Pliny's reference to the Dead Sea Essenes, encouraged subsequent scholars to narrow their focus on the remote location of Qumran as the center of the Essenes and their literature.

1.1.3.2 *Rejection of the Essene Hypothesis*

For thirty years following the Scrolls' debut, few scholars seriously challenged the Essene hypothesis,⁴⁵ yet by the 1990s, a small circle began to question the Essene connection, primarily challenging the Essene character of the literature.⁴⁶ Of this group, Schiffman has

left extensive ruins, and indeed a great library. I prefer to be reckless and flatly identify the men of Qumran with their perennial houseguests, the Essenes.

In "The Historical Context of the Scrolls," in *Understanding the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. H. Shanks; New York: Vintage, 1993), 20-32, esp. 25.

⁴⁴ Cross has contributed a classic tenet of the Essene hypothesis, namely that the Essenes descended from the Hasideans, or *Hasidim*, but eventually broke from them over disagreements between the Hasideans and their leader, the Teacher of Righteousness, withdrawing from Jerusalem and Jewish society. This would fit the evidence from 1 Maccabees (2:42; 7:13-14), which states that the Hasideans first supported the Maccabean revolt, but later broke from its leadership, in "The Early History of the Qumran Community," in *New Directions in Biblical Archaeology* (ed. D. Freedman and J. Greenfield; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1976), 70-89. The Hasidean component of the Essene hypothesis has been espoused by others; see J.T. Milik, *Dix ans de découvertes*; Stegemann, *Die Entstehung der Qumrangemeinde* (Bonn: Privately published, 1971); Martin Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism: Studies in their Encounter in Palestine during the Early Hellenistic Period* (London: SCM Press, 1981); and finally, Vermes, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Qumran in Perspective* (London: SCM Press, 1994). But see the challenges raised in Davies, "Hasidim in the Maccabean Period," *JJS* 28 (1977): 127-40; and Stemberger, *Jewish Contemporaries of Jesus*.

⁴⁵ An exception to this statement would be the early work by Cecil Roth, "Why the Qumran Sect Cannot Have Been Essenes," *RevQ* 3 (1959); and G.R. Driver, *The Judaean Scrolls: The Problem and a Solution* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1965). Both Roth and Driver argue that the sectarians were Zealots. Also, J.L. Teicher proposed that they were an early Christian sect ("The Dead Sea Scrolls: Documents of a Jewish Christian Sect of Ebionites," *JJS* 2 [1951]: 67-99).

⁴⁶ Charlesworth adds in an ambiguous footnote, "The reader deserves to know that some excellent scholars are questioning the attribution of Essene to Qumran," in *Jesus and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. D.N. Freedman; New York: Doubleday, 1992), xxxvii, n. 14; for more examples, see the review of the evidence in VanderKam and Peter Flint, *The Meaning of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Their Significance for Understanding the Bible, Judaism, Jesus, and Christianity* (New York: HarperCollins, 2002), 239-54. For a recent challenge to Cross and the Essene hypothesis, note Hutchesson, "The Essene Hypothesis After Fifty Years," 28-34.

been a prominent scholar. Through his work of the last decade, he concludes that a small faction of Sadducean priests founded what would become the Dead Sea Sect; for him, the presence of some Sadducean-type *halakhah* indicates that those behind the Scrolls were Sadducees.⁴⁷ Yet some overlapping similarities are expected among the various Jewish movements of the day, and a few Sadducean parallels only point to their shared early traditions.⁴⁸

These new (counter-)theories have encouraged scholarly dialogue and a healthy reassessment of the Classical evidence, yet none convincingly overthrows the theory that the Scrolls' communities were Essene in nature, due to substantial similarities between the Scrolls and the Classical accounts. Further, these recent assessments highlight the important role that legal traditions played in the shaping

⁴⁷ For example, see Lawrence H. Schiffman, "Halakhah and Sectarianism in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls in their Historical Context* (ed. T. Lim; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 2000), 123-42; and *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls*. Also still very useful is his earlier work *The Halakhah at Qumran* (SJLA 16; ed. J. Neusner; Leiden: Brill, 1975). Note, however, that he was not the first to make this connection. The French scholar I. Lévi identified those behind D as Sadducees even before the discovery of the Qumran library ("Un écrit sadducéen antérieur à la destruction du Temple," *REJ* 61 [1911]: 161-205); cf. the nice historical review of the "Sadducean theory" in Davies, "Sadducees in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Sects and Scrolls: Essays on Qumran and Related Topics* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996), 127-38.

⁴⁸ Others have rightly pointed out some weaknesses in Schiffman's arguments, highlighting that other beliefs espoused in the Scrolls are opposite to those known to be Sadducean. VanderKam offers a more nuanced view. Those at Qumran could hardly be Sadducees "because their theological stances are at times diametrically opposed to theirs (e.g. on fate, on angels). Rather they were Sadducean in their legal views, and those views were also accepted, it seems, by the people termed Sadducees in the sources," in his forward in Saldarini, *Pharisees, Scribes, and Sadducees in Palestinian Society*, xxiv-xxv; see also VanderKam, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Today* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1994), 93-95; and "The People of the Dead Sea Scrolls," *Svensk Exegetisk Årsbok* 63 (1998): 129-46. Sanders has also emphasized that some diverse views would be expected in the Scrolls as many commonalities must have existed between all Jewish groups at that time, in "The Dead Sea Sect and Other Jews: Commonalities, Overlaps and Differences," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls in their Historical Context* (ed. T. Lim; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 2000), 7-43, esp. 33-35. Sanders prefers to explain the differences in the library as being intra-Essene, rather than positing the existence of a different sect or sects behind the Qumran library. He attributes minor *halakhic* differences to different "sub-groups" of the Essene party, such as the community behind the *Damascus Document*.

of community identity, a defining issue in my discussion of the penal codes (see also chapter three).⁴⁹

1.1.3.3 *Modifications to the Essene Hypothesis*

Recent modifications to the classic Essene Hypothesis nuance our understanding of the relationship between the Essenes and the S and D communities, respectively, laying the foundation for the present study. First, Hartmut Stegemann proposes that the Essene movement was of much wider influence than the marginal group said to have lived at Qumran.⁵⁰ Adhering to the basic tenets of the traditional Essene hypothesis, he believes that Teacher of Righteousness mobilized a number of groups who were persecuted by Jonathan to make the primary “Jewish union” of the time, excluding only a few who remained in Damascus and those loyal to Jonathan’s priesthood (the Pharisees and Sadducees). The purpose for founding this union was to represent the entire community of Israel and to instruct them continually in the law. His overarching historical reconstruction is tenuous at best,⁵¹ but Stegemann makes some valid points about the potential influence of the Essenes. At a minimum, he highlights the ways in which advocates of the Essene hypothesis have focused too much on Qumran and thereby limited our discussion about the Scrolls’ communities.

The Groningen Hypothesis

Other studies about the origins of the *Yahad* have focused on its possible “parent movement,” such as the so-called “Groningen

⁴⁹ Schiffman raises awareness of the important role that sectarian “*halakhah*” should play in the debate about the Scrolls, in “Pharisaic and Sadducean Halakhah in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls,” *DSD* 1 (1994): 285-99.

⁵⁰ Stegemann, *Die Entstehung der Qumrangemeinde*; “The Qumran Essenes”; *The Library of Qumran* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1998); and “Die Bedeutung der Qumranfunde für die Erforschung der Apokalypitik,” in *Apocalypticism in the Mediterranean World and the Near East* (ed. D. Hellholm; Tübingen: J.C.B. [Paul Siebeck], 1983), 495-530.

⁵¹ Stegemann relies heavily on Josephus, who records the number of 4,000 Essenes in Palestine. However, when compared with the 6,000 Pharisees that Josephus mentions as also living in the land at this time, the Essenes appear to be relatively numerous, in “The Qumran Essenes—Local Members of the Main Jewish Union in Late Second Temple Times,” in *The Madrid Qumran Congress: Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls, Madrid 18-21 March, 1991* (ed. J.T. Barrera and L.V. Montaner; Leiden: Brill, 1992), 83-166, esp. 90.

Hypothesis,” advanced by Florentino García Martínez and Adam van der Woude.⁵² Building upon the classic Essene hypothesis, they claim that the larger Essene movement had its roots in the Palestinian apocalyptic tradition of the late third and early second centuries BCE and that the Qumran community descended from this movement but was not identical to it. Moreover, the Qumran community broke away from the larger Essene sect relatively early, even before the Antiochene crisis, usually cited as the time the group came into being.

Although the Groningen hypothesis has been received favorably by many,⁵³ some have voiced their reservations and suggestions for further refinement.⁵⁴ This is not the place to evaluate the hypothesis as a whole, but to note that many aspects dovetail nicely with the proposal found here. First, García Martínez distinguishes between non-Biblical works from the Qumran sect and those going back to a parent Essene movement, thereby explaining different perspectives found in the texts. There are some methodological difficulties in the criteria he uses to distinguish between these two groups of texts. It is difficult to find clear criteria for his choices, and it seems unwise to extract so precisely the origin of texts from the “mother” or “daugh-

⁵² Florentino García Martínez and A. van der Woude, “A ‘Groningen’ Hypothesis of Qumran Origins and Early History,” *RevQ* 56 (1990); García Martínez and Julio Trebolle Barrera, *The People of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Brill, 1995); García Martínez, “The History of the Qumran Community in the Light of Recently Available Texts,” in *Qumran between the Old and New Testaments* (ed. F. Cryer and T.L. Thompson; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998), 194-216.

⁵³ Davies calls it “generally sound” (“The Birthplace of the Essenes: Where is ‘Damascus’?,” *RevQ* 56 [1990]: 503-19, esp. 513). Hempel says although the “methodological observations of García Martínez in the ‘Groningen Hypothesis’ and subsequent publications are very helpful,” she has a number of reservations about the implications of this hypothesis with respect to the classification of the Scrolls (*The Laws of the Damascus Document* [STDJ 29; ed. F. García Martínez and A. van der Woude; Leiden: Brill, 1998], 5).

⁵⁴ Compare Mark A. Elliott, “Sealing Some Cracks in the Groningen Foundation,” in *Enoch and Qumran Origins: New Light on a Forgotten Connection* (ed. G. Boccaccini; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2005), 263-72; Hempel, “The Groningen Hypothesis: Strengths and Weaknesses,” in *Enoch and Qumran Origins: New Light on a Forgotten Connection* (ed. G. Boccaccini; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2005), 249-55; Benjamin G. Wright, “One ‘Methodological Assumption’ of the Groningen Hypothesis of Qumran Origins,” in *Enoch and Qumran Origins: New Light on a Forgotten Connection* (ed. G. Boccaccini; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2005), 286-90.

ter” sect when both came from a shared intellectual heritage.⁵⁵ Nevertheless, although he assigns the S versions only to the latest, “Qumran” period of literary creativity, his study opens the possibility that the S material had earlier roots, in whole or in part, than during the *Yahad*’s settlement at Qumran.

Secondly, the advocates of this hypothesis find the origins of the larger Essene movement and the founding of Qumran to be two events, a distinction that will factor into our understanding of the origins of S. For them, Qumran was settled when the Teacher of Righteousness led a splinter group out from the parent movement of Essenes after differences had developed over the calendar and the timely celebration of feasts, temple worship and purity. According to their chronology, this break took place during the rule of John Hyrcanus (134-104 BCE).⁵⁶ For our purposes, such a scenario raises the possibility that some S material was already composed before the founding of Qumran (discussed in 5.1.1.1), leading us to conclude that their ideological consciousness of existing as the *Yahad* preceded the settlement of Qumran.

Gabriele Boccaccini probes the roots of the Qumran community in a way similar to that espoused in the Groningen Hypothesis, but instead of locating the background of the Essenes in the Palestinian apocalyptic tradition, he finds it rather to be in 1 *Enoch* and its constitutive circles.⁵⁷ *First Enoch* along with other Enochic texts such as *Jubilees*, *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* and 4 *Ezra* embody a broader worldview for what he terms “Enochic Judaism,” to be distinguished from “apocalyptic” Judaism.⁵⁸ But like García Martínez and van der Woude, he rejects the idea that the Qumran

⁵⁵ Hempel challenges their claim that one can distinguish between works or parts of composite works from the Essene period and those of the “formative period” of the splinter group (*The Laws of the Damascus Document*, 5).

⁵⁶ A. van der Woude adds that the Teacher of Righteousness’s opponent, the “Wicked Priest,” mentioned in the *peshet* material, identifies a succession of priests from Judas Maccabee to Alexander Jannaeus, rather than just one opponent, in “Wicked Priest or Wicked Priests? Reflections on the Identification of the Wicked Priest in the Habakkuk Commentary,” *JJS* 33 (1982): 349-59.

⁵⁷ Boccaccini says that his hypothesis “confirms and clarifies” the Groningen Hypothesis, specifically espousing the idea that Qumran and Essenism are two distinct phenomena (*Beyond the Essene Hypothesis: The Parting of Ways between Qumran and Enochic Judaism* [Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1998], 192).

⁵⁸ Van Peursen points out that the “parent movement” posited in both the Groningen Hypothesis and Boccaccini’s Enochic Judaism was not as pervasive as the phrase itself suggests, in “Qumran Origins,” 252.

Community was identical with the Essene movement at large; rather it was a dissident, radical offshoot of that movement.⁵⁹ This widespread Enochic/Essene Judaism, then, existed side-by-side with the specific Qumranic form of Essenism even after the destruction of the Temple in 70 CE.

His reconstruction leaves open questions. For instance, why would a Zadokite group emerge from an anti-Zadokite movement?⁶⁰ I would also agree with Michael Stone who comments, “the movement from tendencies of thought discerned in the analysis of texts to the positing of the existence of otherwise unattested social groups is fraught with peril.”⁶¹ Boccaccini does not sufficiently heed the unknown variables present when probing so early into the historical and intellectual origins of the sectarians,⁶² but his interdisciplinary approach and his efforts to broaden the historical lens through which we view the Scrolls’ movement are to be praised. He, García Martínez and van der Woude open the possibility that the *Yaḥad* had deeper intellectual roots than previous thought and that some of their

⁵⁹ Drawing from the work of Paolo Sacchi, Boccaccini identifies an apocalyptic tradition built around certain conceptions of good and evil; he believes that such intellectual and ideological roots formed the core of a distinct Jewish faction. He claims:

That this apocalyptic idea was the motivating power behind a distinct party in second temple Judaism is testified by the Enochic documents, which were continuously reassembled over time into a single collection . . . Since 1 Enoch is the major literary accomplishment of this party, it is not unsuitable to use the term ‘Enochic Judaism.’

In, *Beyond the Essene Hypothesis*, 13. Compare also the recent English translation of Sacchi’s work on Enochic Judaism, *Jewish Apocalyptic and Its History* (JSPSup 20; trans. W.J. Short; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997).

⁶⁰ Note a similar critique by Corrado Martone, “Beyond *Beyond the Essene Hypothesis*: Some Observations on the Qumran Zadokite Priesthood,” in *Enoch and Qumran Origins: New Light on a Forgotten Connection* (ed. G. Boccaccini; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2005), 360-65, esp. 361.

⁶¹ Michael E. Stone, “The Book of Enoch and Judaism in the Third Century B.C.E.,” in *Emerging Judaism: Studies on the Fourth and Third Centuries B.C.E.* (ed. M.E. Stone and D. Satran; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1989), 61-76, esp. 66, also cited in Van Peursen, “Qumran Origins,” 247.

⁶² Nor should he assume that a literary tradition can be uniformly identified with an otherwise unknown “party,” a term that carries with it religious and political connotations. In another work, Boccaccini makes a forced distinction between “Zadokite” Judaism and Enochic/Essene Judaism, disregarding many Zadokite elements in the literature of the Scrolls (*Roots of Rabbinic Judaism: An Intellectual History, from Ezekiel to Daniel* [Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2002]).

early written traditions may have had a wider distribution or history before and beyond the Qumran community. Nevertheless, attempting to partition up the Scrolls according to four identifiable sources is problematic, and no direct internal evidence supports the idea that S was composed during the final “Qumran stage” of the sect.⁶³

1.2 RETHINKING THE *YAHAD*

1.2.1 *Further Revision to the Identification of the Yahad*

The “standard model” of interpreting S presupposes that it was authored by and applied to those living at Khirbet Qumran.⁶⁴ Following this model, most have assumed that the *Yahad* is synonymous with the community residing here. Recently, however, a few have rightly begun to challenge this understanding of the *Yahad*.

1.2.1.1 *Eyal Regev*

Regev, for one, examines the communities behind S and D with what he calls a functional approach. He studies the structural organization hinted at in the texts and discovers two very different hierarchical arrangements in S and D.

First, he addresses the audience of S. For him, the *Yahad* was composed of a union of a few small and local communities (cf. “all of their dwelling places,” 1QS 6.2) which he takes to be synonymous

⁶³ Van Peursen summarizes the similarities of Boccaccini’s theory and the Groningen Hypothesis, including their treatment of the “sectarian texts,” in “Qumran Origins.” I would point out that a problem with their specific classification of texts (Qumran, Pre-Qumran, general Essene, etc.) is that they do not properly distinguish between genres. The *Yahad* could have authored works of a more narrative or literary type (rather than Rule texts or other legal material), where no *Yahad* “sectarian” terminology appears, nor would have been expected.

⁶⁴ Speaking of S, Wise, Abegg, and Cook briefly note the possible presence of “local chapters” within the organization of the *Yahad*. They contradict the “standard model” of associating *The Community Rule* with the community living at Qumran and claim that “the work itself refers to various groups or chapters scattered throughout Palestine. Therefore it did not attach specifically to the site of Qumran...” However, they note only that the group behind S functioned like a “philosophic academy,” and they say little about what the organization may have been or how it may have shaped the development of the S material. See *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A New Translation* (San Francisco: Harper San Francisco, 1996), 123.

with “every place where there are ten men of the Community Council” (1QS 6.3). Thus the Community Council is the general name for each local community; only the Many, a subgroup of the *Yaḥad*, had governing power and was the central authority of the entire *Yaḥad*.⁶⁵

Regev concludes that, at first glance, the community structures behind S and D resemble each other—S was organized around subgroups just like D was organized around its “camps.” But further inspection reveals that they differed greatly in hierarchical organization. Based on somewhat scant literary evidence, then, Regev asserts that the *Yaḥad* of S was an organization of autonomous, democratic communities with no definite leader, whereas the members of the Damascus Covenant were ruled by authoritative leaders. Thus, D represents a more hierarchical—and therefore more developed—community, and in somewhat circular fashion, he then concludes that D is later than S. Regev says:

The organization and structure of the two sects, the relationship between their penal codes, and the paleographic dating of the 4Q fragments support the claim that *S* preceded *D*. *D* was not a direct continuation or adaptation of *S*, but an entirely different movement, which adopted certain precepts and concepts from *S* and revised them extensively.⁶⁶

Regev’s reconstruction fails to adequately account for the other functionaries mentioned in S, such as the Sons of Zadok (1QS 5.2) or what role the Inspector (מבקר) would have played in S (6.12, 20), who himself may have been related to the Sage (משביל, 9.12-19). Yet notwithstanding, he is innovative in his proposal that the *Yaḥad* is not synonymous with Qumran. Certainly, as he points out, the D material overlaps S, such as in its penal code. However, D was not a chronological replacement of S, nor did its authors take and revise certain S material to make an “entirely different movement.” Indeed, as he himself notes, that would make the presence of so many copies of D at Qumran surprising and, in my view, speaks against such a clear-cut rift between the D and S communities.

⁶⁵ Regev does not agree with the scholars who find these two groups to be semi-interchangeable. Rather, Regev lists a number of instances where he conjectures that the “Council” was a local body subject to the central governing powers of the *rabbim*. However, these passages are not as clearly defined as he wishes them to be (“The ‘Yaḥad’ and the ‘Damascus Covenant’: Structure, Organization, and Relationship,” *RevQ* 21 [2003]: 233-62).

⁶⁶ Regev, “The ‘Yaḥad’ and the ‘Damascus Covenant,’” 262.

1.2.1.2 *John Collins*

More recently, Collins has appealed to a broader interpretation of who constituted the *Yahad*. Neither for him is the *Yahad* equivalent to the Qumran community; instead it encompasses a much larger movement, which he affirms is that of the Essenes. He believes we unnecessarily limit ourselves if we do not allow for different forms of communities behind the audience of the Scrolls. For him, the *Yahad* is an umbrella organization of communities, such as Josephus describes living in every town (*War* 2.22). He bases much of his argument on IQS 6.1-8 (“all their residences”), which “clearly envisions several small ‘cell’ communities, with a minimum membership of ten.”⁶⁷

Collins’s reconstruction summons the old debate about who constituted the Community Council, for a few lines after the passage describing how they shall behave in “all their residences” (IQS 6.2), the text mentions “every place where there are ten men of the Community Council...” (6.3). Space limits our treatment of the issues here, but suffice it to say that Collins reads the passage to say that this subgroup of men came “from the Community Council” (emphasizing the partative *mem*); the ten men are not coterminous with the Council. The Council he equates with the larger *Yahad* itself.⁶⁸

However, S mentions another elite subgroup of fifteen, twelve men and three priests, who are distinguished by their special knowledge and keeping of the law (IQS 8). According to Collins these fifteen men were also a subgroup from the (Council of the) *Yahad* but were not equivalent to the *Yahad* itself (contra Metso).⁶⁹ They were probably an “elite fifteen” who were said to go into the wilderness to prepare the way (IQS 8.12-16), as it is described in S, but the *Yahad*’s Council must have already existed for them to be chosen from it for such a duty.⁷⁰ For him, S was an arrangement of many communities (Community Councils), similar to those reflected in D (the “camps”).

⁶⁷ Collins, “The Yahad and ‘The Qumran Community,’” 85.

⁶⁸ He claims that *Yahad* and the Council of the *Yahad* are interchangeable in the admission procedure in IQS 6.13-23.

⁶⁹ Collins, “The Yahad and ‘The Qumran Community,’” 88-89. But contrast Metso in “Whom does the Term *Yahad* Identify?,” 224.

⁷⁰ Collins, “The Yahad and ‘The Qumran Community,’” 105-6. He goes so far as to say that the *Yahad* equals the entire Essene movement, which he associates with the Scrolls’ communities.

He rightly notes that the S material is later, as it has a more developed entrance procedure, etc., but Collins glosses over some of the complexities in the relationship between D and S to say merely that they are “two orders of Essenes [who] represented different options within the sect, not dissenting factions.”⁷¹ He notes that D itself envisions two groups of Essenes, one of which was the S community, or those “who walk in perfect holiness,” mentioned in CD 7 and indirectly in Josephus.⁷²

His proposal has been met with some skepticism from Metso,⁷³ and much of their disagreement centers around 1QS 6.1-8, which Metso would dub an interpolation. This issue is raised again in chapter three in our discussion of terminology, but I may mention here that even if it was an interpolation, it was done at a relatively early stage of community formation (it is represented in all extant S versions). And if a redactor inserted an earlier passage, it does not mean that the redactor himself did not believe this passage to be applicable to the present *Yaḥad* community formation. Indeed, by so meaningfully engaging with this passage, we should see it as an important part of the larger rhetorical strategy of the redactor.

⁷¹ Collins points out that differences exist between D and S because they reflect different forms of community. He mentions that D legislates for “camps,” in which members marry and have children, but it also describes the “Men of Perfect Holiness,” to which the other members are contrasted. Although he finds different forms of communities reflected here, he is careful to point out that we cannot posit any sharp break between the congregation of D and that of S, in “Forms of Community in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *Emanuel: Studies in Hebrew Bible, Septuagint and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honor of Emanuel Tov* (ed. S. Paul, et al.; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 97-111, esp. 92. Collins confirms that Josephus describes two harmonious branches of Essenes, who were “in agreement with the others on the way of life, usages, and customs” but differed only in respect to marriage (*War* 2.160).

⁷² Collins, “Forms of Community in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” 97-111.

⁷³ Metso has challenged many of Collins’s basic theses. First, she does not follow his construction of the term *Yaḥad* as consisting of small communities analogous to the “camps” of D. Rather she believes that a key passage from which Collins builds this argument (1QS 6.1-8) is an interpolation and represents earlier historical circumstances. The other “sub-group” in the *Yaḥad* that Collins describes, the elite group of fifteen, Metso believes is a theological symbol for the entire *Yaḥad* community. Therefore, it does not represent a sub-group within a larger umbrella organization, as Collins would like to see it (“Whom does the Term *Yaḥad* Identify?,” 231).

It is true that at times his reconstruction is a bit confusing as he seems to equate the quorum of the ten with the “elite fifteen.” And the Community Council cannot be the same as the *Yahad* itself, given other references made specifically to the Council.⁷⁴ But his reading of S raises many of the same questions as the study at hand, namely, who then was the group that went off into the wilderness and how do we then relate a multi-community *Yahad* with the D communities? I agree with Collins that a subgroup of the *Yahad* went off in a harmonious way to form a special community in the desert to live a life of special holiness (which he identifies as the “elite fifteen”), a move separate from the earlier founding of the *Yahad* itself. Collins’s (re)interpretation of the *Yahad* at a minimum challenges the narrow framework through which scholars approach S, and it raises questions important for our investigation, below.

1.2.1.3 *Torlief Elgvin*

Finally we should pay special attention to a recent article by Elgvin, where he comes to some insightful—if brief—comments related to the study at hand. Following Devorah Dimant, Menahem Kister, and B.Z. Wacholder, Elgvin dates the founding of the *Yahad* to c. 175-150 BCE but specifies that it was likely closer to 170 BCE.⁷⁵ He arrives at his conclusions primarily from his work with the literary (sectarian) material; for instance, he finds that the early Enochic material attests to the presence of sectarian ideas much earlier than previously supposed, thus pushing the foundations for the *Yahad* back in time.⁷⁶

⁷⁴ Collins, “The Yahad and ‘The Qumran Community,’” 90. For instance, note that the Community Council is contrasted with what appears to be the entire community (“the Assembly”) in IQSa 1.26-27.

⁷⁵ Elgvin, “The *Yahad* is More than Qumran,” 273-74. Others offer similar early dates for the *Yahad* (Dimant, “Ha-historiah ‘al-peh khazon ha-khayyot”; Kister, “Concerning the History of the Essenes”; and Wacholder, *The Dawn of Qumran*).

⁷⁶ He emphasizes that the Animal Apocalypse (c. 164 BCE) alludes to the “new, elect and righteous group” (1 En 90:5-8)—most likely the parent group of the *Yahad*—which arises c. 199/98 BCE. He comments, “If we follow the version of the Animal Apocalypse, the appearance of this pre-Essene group should be set to the first decade of the second century B.C.E. With a twenty-year period passing before the rise of the Teacher (cf. CD 1:5-11), the founding of the *yahad* would happen circa 170,” in “The *Yahad* is More than Qumran,” 274.

Elgvin points out that the origins of the *Yaḥad* are considerably earlier than the founding of Qumran, especially as it has been revised by Jodi Magness to fall between 100-50 BCE. The implication here is that the sectarian texts would have had a longer history and therefore a wider distribution than could have happened at Qumran, a result which allows more time for the “complex editorial process of the S and D textual traditions, a process that took place before the end of Qumran period I.”⁷⁷ Indeed, he comes to his conclusions independently from the study at hand, but his findings parallel very closely those proposed here concerning the textual development of S.

1.3 A NEW MODEL OF READING S

1.3.1 *Implications for the Yaḥad texts*

Certainly these studies on the *Yaḥad* carry with them important implications for the genesis and transmission of S. In my own theory of S’s development, I incorporate an informative model from social anthropology that helps to explain the complex transmission and continual revision of (religious) texts and traditions.

1.3.1.1 *S and the Transmission of “Great and Little Traditions”*

An innovator in the field of social anthropology, Redfield developed a working model to study community formation within complex societies and, by extension, how communities developed and transmitted literary and religious traditions from the center to the periphery.⁷⁸ Although setting out to study small villages in rural Mexico, Redfield soon understood that in order to understand community formation in general, we need a complex, holistic model that assumes no “little community” develops in isolation from “great” cultural and religious centers from which it evolves.

Before applying any such model to the *Yaḥad*, I first acknowledge the dangers of using this model without evaluating its “goodness of fit.” First, given the era of his work, Redfield not surprisingly uses the pretentious social evolutionary terminology common with early

⁷⁷ Ibid., 275.

⁷⁸ Redfield, *The Little Community*.

scholars of society and religion, and his theories later received much-needed nuancing by his successors.⁷⁹ Secondly, for the most part, Redfield was dealing with direct anthropological observation rather than textual evidence when testing his theories; yet by his later years he became more interested in similar patterns of development within historical communities. Eventually, his model was used to study how Hindu and Islamic traditions evolved and diversified throughout time,⁸⁰ but has not yet—to my knowledge—been applied to Judaism in antiquity.

First, he finds that the “little” community (as opposed to the large, heterogeneous, and/or urban center) is rarely completely isolated from the city; thus, the periphery is more bound up with the center than one often thinks.⁸¹ Even the remotest of “peripheral” communities are dependent on the religious or cultural “center” at least on the level of economic interactions, trade, and political exchanges, etc., and along with these interactions comes the exchange of ideas. Therefore the “little” traditions of these communities should never be studied in isolation. That is to say, following Øystein LaBianca, who has already applied this cultural model to Transjordan throughout the ages, local heritage and local knowledge are only understood within the context of their connections to the “universalized collected heritage and knowledge,” or in conversation with its larger network.⁸²

But how does this model apply to the *Yahad*'s traditions? First, it can change our approach to studying the Qumran community, which has been based primarily on the “isolationist” model. Recent studies have already shown that the Scrolls represent a diverse background, and in chapter five we find that in terms of material remains, Qumran is proving to be less isolated from Jerusalem and nearby sites, as well as contemporaneous trends, than previously thought. Following

⁷⁹ Some insightful critique can be found in Paine, “Critique of the Methodology”; cf. also Bodley, *Cultural Anthropology*; Odner, *Tradition and Transmission*.

⁸⁰ Bodley, *Cultural Anthropology*; LaBianca, “Great and Little Traditions”; and Odner, *Tradition and Transmission*.

⁸¹ Cf. the remarks made by Harald Eidheim, “Robert Redfield,” *Ethnos* 25 (1960): 228-40.

⁸² I thank Øystein LaBianca for his very helpful personal suggestions in this regard, but note as well his “Great and Little Traditions: A Framework for Studying Cultural Interaction Through the Ages in Jordan,” in *Studies in the History and Archaeology of Jordan IX* (Amman: Jordanian Department of Antiquities, 2007), 275-89, esp. 277.

Redfield, we may think of this smaller site as being interrelated with the greater society, particularly Jerusalem, such that it was a “community within communities, a whole within other wholes,” for we cannot evaluate any community in isolation. But “to describe it completely we must reckon with parts of outside communities, or influences from communities that have their centers and their principal being elsewhere than in the village.”⁸³

Second, with this interaction came the exchange of ideas, and I would add, textual traditions, which followed the economic, religious, and other cultural interactions among communities. These literary and religious traditions permeated out from the cultural center(s) to where they are appropriated and adapted for use “on the ground level.” A community that was interacting with greater Jewish society must necessarily have been part of the dialogic exchange of ideas and literature.

Returning to Redfield, he invokes the great Egyptian centers of civilization and culture, or those of Mesopotamia, and their outlying centers in antiquity as examples of places where literary and religious traditions were codified. But what was the relationship between these centers of religion and culture, usually of the “reflective few,” and local level communities? In this case, Redfield is interested in how the “great” traditions that are cultivated and codified in the scribal schools and temples permeate and are appropriated and redefined on the ground level of the “largely unreflective many.”⁸⁴

Although he has not applied his theories directly to the Scrolls’ communities, we can imagine Jerusalem as a focal center, whereby a similar radial model of literary and ideological exchange took place. This radial model becomes more clearly illustrated by our archaeology discussion in chapter five, in particular, where we find, for example, that Qumran potters imitated Jerusalem pottery trends, refashioning them via the local workshop, and that new evidence shows that at least the clay of some of the otherwise quite unique “scroll jars” came from Jerusalem and Jericho. Also, the calendrical concerns reflected in the Scrolls also parallel a dialogic concern with

⁸³ Redfield, *The Little Community*, 114. He refers to Dr. Betty Starr, who maintains that we can only understand one (smaller) social entity along a continuum of integration with outside communities; for there must necessarily be an intermingling between differentiated activity fields of town and country, “big and little,” and an intermingling of two styles of life, in *ibid.*, 125, 131.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 42.

what was happening in Jerusalem; even though privileging the solar calendar (cf. *Jubilees*), the authors of the calendrical texts continue to correlate their dates with the luni-solar calendar of Jerusalem,⁸⁵ thus engaging with the Jewish center.

Drawing similar conclusions about wider-scale textual transmission in antiquity, Michael Wise notes that literature was exchanged between Hellenistic Egypt and Jerusalem and vice versa; he says:

Fair numbers of Semitic and Greek literary works circulated in the outlying villages of Judaea. Circulation will have been aided by the steady flow of literate people to and from Jerusalem. The priests participating in their courses would come to Jerusalem for periodic service in the temple and then return to their widely-scattered homes. Peasants and freemen would also frequent Jerusalem for religious or economic reasons.⁸⁶

But third, another important aspect of this exchange is that it is dynamic, where this literary and ideological exchange was constantly reinventing itself in conversation with the center(s). As we find with the *MMT* material, the authoring group defines itself through and against the current codifying authorities in the center (imaginably Jerusalem). But although they reject the current praxis of their opposition, they are still in dialogue with it, and they thereby find their own identity in what they *are not* or what they *do not* do. Further support for this type of intellectual and ideological exchange can be seen in the diverse origins increasingly identified in the Scrolls literature itself (below, 1.4.1), indicating that they were not as peripheral to Jewish society as previously supposed.

But a second level of radial-dialogic exchange can be seen on a smaller scale within the *Yahad* movement itself. Following Redfield, we could ask how these “great” religious traditions permeate from the priests and codifying exegetical activity and trickle down into the lives of the “ordinary” members.⁸⁷ Or in our case, how legal (Rule?) texts may have been transmitted and continually revised within the *Yahad* itself. In such a hierarchical organization, it seems logical to

⁸⁵ See above, n. 18.

⁸⁶ Michael O. Wise, “Accidents and Accidence,” in *Thunder in Gemini and other Essays on the History, Language and Literature of Second Temple Palestine* (JSPSup 15; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994), 143.

⁸⁷ Redfield examines religions, comparing Taoism as a philosophy with Taoism as it plays out in popular religion and the central Hindu traditions in India as they affected the lives and rituals of outlying communities (*The Little Community*, 51).

believe there was a center (whether at Qumran, Jerusalem, or elsewhere) from which codified legal and other religious traditions emanated out to recipient members, perhaps those who were “scattered throughout the land” (cf. Josephus, Philo). If so, how were these codified traditions, such as the Rule material, appropriated and used by various audiences?

1.3.1.2 *Application to the S Versions*

Chapter two illuminates how the S versions are best explained as following a radial model of textual development, where they shared core material but diverged in terms of their textual development. On the micro level, then, they share common origins, from which codified traditions must have radiated and were kept by various outlying communities. As we shall see, the Cave 4 witnesses 4QS^{b,d,e} attest to earlier versions that were most likely developed in different scribal circles than 1QS, and Jerusalem is one possible center from which early traditions radiated. However, we should be careful not to oversimplify what must have been a very fluid exchange. These traditions spread outward but remained in continuing conversation with the *Yaḥad*'s hierarchy. In chapter three we encounter a spectrum of penal material, for instance, that attests to just such a complicated history between D, S and 4QMiscellaneous Rules. The substance of these legal texts were transmitted outwardly, undergoing a process of dialogic redefinition, by which earlier traditions were updated for various communities. But these updated versions were not unknown at Qumran. Indeed this process explains why so many copies of D were found and possibly updated there (see chapter three).

1.4 IMPLICATIONS FOR THE QUMRAN COLLECTION

1.4.1 *The Character of the Qumran “Library”*

Given that the *Yaḥad* represented a wider movement than that housed at Qumran, we must reconsider the Qumran corpus as a whole, not just S. For nothing found so far guarantees that there was necessarily a Qumranic origin for all of the texts found in the caves.

1.4.1.1 *The Relationship between the Caves and the Site*

The conversation about the Scroll caves has shifted somewhat in recent years. Although it was first assumed that all of the Scroll caves were related to each other and to the Qumran site, recently a few have expressed some reservations or have divorced the Scrolls library completely from those living at Qumran.⁸⁸ Some or all of the Scrolls likely originated in Jerusalem, or elsewhere for that matter, but new INAA and other archaeological evidence confirms that the caves and site are related.⁸⁹

1.4.1.2 *Was the Corpus an Intentional “Library”?*

Before comparing the S copies from Caves 1 and 4, it is necessary to ask the larger question of how the Scroll caves themselves are related to each other. Dimant supports that there was a strong connection between them because: (1) the character and genre of the texts from all 11 caves were of a similar sort; (2) different copies of the same work were found in different caves; (3) all manuscripts are of similar date ranges and paleographical style; and (4) Cave 4 yielded copies of nearly all works found in the other caves.⁹⁰ Because so many texts (70%) were found in Cave 4, she maintains that it was the core of the library. But relative quantity does not necessarily bolster her case; it may be due to other historical or preservation factors.⁹¹

For Dimant, then, the collection of Scrolls constitutes an intentional library, rather than “a haphazard assemblage of disparate

⁸⁸ On one extreme, some scholars such as Karl Rengstorf, Norman Golb, Lena Cansdale, and now Yizhar Hirschfeld, believe the Qumran caves stored a library or several libraries from Jerusalem, in Cansdale, *Qumran and the Essenes: A Re-Evaluation of the Evidence* (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1997); Golb, *Who Wrote the Dead Sea Scrolls?* (New York: Scribner, 1995); Hirschfeld, *Qumran in Context: Reassessing the Archaeological Evidence* (Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson Publishers, 2004), 29-48; and Rengstorf, *Hirbet Qumran und die Bibliothek vom Toten Meer* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1960).

⁸⁹ That this cave is located so near the site is significant for Dimant and forms the lynchpin in her assertion that the collection of texts was related to the inhabitants of Qumran (“The Qumran Manuscripts,” 35-36, esp. n. 31).

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 30-31.

⁹¹ On the other hand, one could make the case that the relative care with which the Cave 1 manuscripts were covered and stored there reflects their importance over the haphazardly stored texts from Cave 4.

works.”⁹² Even though a variety of literary genres are represented, “the library of Qumran displays a remarkable homogeneity,” exhibiting a special literary and religious character.⁹³ The nature of this collection is that of a true library, rather than an archive, because it lacks any legal or administrative documents; its few non-literary texts probably originated elsewhere.⁹⁴ But, as she expects of a true library, it contains multiple copies of the same text, such as those of S.⁹⁵

In good company, I agree that the Qumran Scrolls represent a sectarian collection, or at least one that was intentionally compiled and generally reflects similar theological currents, even though the collection does exhibit some dissimilarity.⁹⁶ However, multiple,

⁹² Dimant, “The Qumran Manuscripts,” 32-33. Similarly, Boccaccini recognizes that the Scrolls belonged to a single collection without denying the heterogeneous nature of the entire library. First, the Scrolls were all composed during the same time period. In addition, both sectarian and non-sectarian manuscripts containing diverse ideas have been found in the handwriting of the same scribe. Even texts found in different caves have been written or copied by the same hand. He also supports Emanuel Tov’s claim that a distinctive orthographic system existed among some of the Scrolls, which allows us to identify which texts were produced by a single scribal school. Finally, Boccaccini claims that since the library contained multiple copies of the same work, the library most likely did not belong to one individual. The most reasonable assumption is that the owners of the Scrolls lived at Khirbet Qumran (*Beyond the Essene Hypothesis*, 54-55).

⁹³ Dimant, “The Library of Qumran,” 171.

⁹⁴ Dimant mentions 18 examples of letters, deeds and accounts (4Q342-60; 6Q26-29) but notes that they probably should be excluded from the library because they are all from uncertain provenance and their script is of a kind not found at Qumran. See “The Library of Qumran,” 171, n. 2.

⁹⁵ However, a “true library” need not *necessarily* keep multiple and/or variant versions of the same text. In general, she classifies all of the manuscripts according to three distinct categories. First, there are the biblical manuscripts, which make up approximately one-quarter of the collection; next, one-quarter of the manuscripts employ terminology connected to the Qumran community (“Community Texts”=CT) concerning their organization, practices, history and/or theology. Finally, she finds a third group of manuscripts marked by their lack of terms and ideas distinctive to the Qumran community (“Non-Community Texts”=NCT), a group which comprises about one-third of all manuscripts. She identifies all of the CT works, such as S, the *War Scroll* and D, as originating from the Qumran community, without opening the possibility of any external origins for the sectarian texts. See Dimant, “The Qumran Manuscripts,” 27-30.

⁹⁶ Newsom refutes Golb’s theory that the Scrolls were deposited by a diverse group of unrelated individuals by pointing out that the content and distribution of similar manuscripts between caves alone reflect an intentional collection (“‘Sectually Explicit’ Literature,” 169). Cf. Dimant, “The Library of Qumran,” 170-76; and

divergent versions of the same text, diverse content, multiple languages, and even different scribal systems make it unlikely that all texts were authored in a Qumran scribal circle.

1.4.1.3 *Possible External Origins of the Qumran Collection*

The present model proposes that S material was likely authored at least in part outside of Qumran. Increasingly, other scholars are also beginning to conclude that many or most of the “sectarian” texts originated from outside the *khirbeh*. In Stegemann’s assessment, the Qumran collection is Essene in character,⁹⁷ but he strongly affirms that “the great majority of the manuscripts offer the text of biblical writings or other works of pre-Essene tradition” and very little was composed during the actual existence of the Qumran community.⁹⁸ Yet for Stegemann, the Scrolls themselves were penned at Qumran such that the community there functioned as some sort of scriptorium for the rest of “the Essene communities in the cities and villages of Judea.”⁹⁹ There is little direct evidence for his model, and the sheer

also the discussion of the Essene sectarian nature of the library in Broshi, “Was Qumran, Indeed, a Monastery?,” 21-23. Compare as well the discussion in Shavit, “The ‘Qumran Library’ in the Light of the Attitude towards Books and Libraries in the Second Temple Period,” in *Methods of Investigation of the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Khirbet Qumran Site: Present Realities and Future Prospects* (ed. M.O. Wise, et al.; Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences 722; New York: New York Academy of Sciences, 1994), 299-317.

⁹⁷ He portrays the collection as a “strictly Essene library, in which there were no works of Sadducees, Pharisees, or, of course, pagan authors such as Homer or the Greek philosophers,” in Stegemann, *The Library of Qumran*, 84.

⁹⁸ However, the library, for him, is primarily a repository of relatively early texts, in Stegemann, *The Library of Qumran*, 136.

⁹⁹ In this way, Qumran was both the basis for the Essenes’ economic existence and also the locus of their educational system (*The Library of Qumran*, 83). Stegemann finds that scribal activity must have flourished at Qumran, and in explaining the types of scribal activity there, he finds four categories of manuscripts which reflect different types of activity: first, we have *master manuscripts*, which served as models for the preparation of subsequent copies, including the nearly complete copies of the Isaiah Scroll, *Hodayot*, and 1QS. Second, there were manuscripts used for *study*, usually found in multiple copies, such as the fragments of Psalms or Deuteronomy. Next are *items of current interest*, in which he correlates the actual number of copies preserved of a given work with the purported degree of interest in it. For instance, because there are only two extant copies of the *Temple Scroll*, he believes that it was of special interest only for a short time for community members. His final category is that of *worn-out manuscripts*. Similar to the circumstances

number of scribal hands attested for the relatively low population of Qumran would militate against his assessment.

As mentioned previously, the Groningen Hypothesis finds S to be a product of the final “Qumran stage” of literary creation. However, García Martínez and van der Woude make a valid point that, in general, being discovered among the Qumran Scrolls “is no guarantee of the Qumranic origin of a given work.”¹⁰⁰ In contrast to the theory offered here, they assume that only multiple, diachronic audiences existed behind the Scrolls; they do not consider the possibility of *synchronic* communities existing alongside that at Qumran. In other words, they deal primarily—if not exclusively—with authorship over time.

Thus, Dimant, García Martínez, van der Woude, Boccaccini and others believe that much of the Scrolls’ material may have been composed elsewhere, but what about where the texts were copied? To make claims about authorship, scholars must first distinguish between where a text was *composed* and where it was *copied*, the

surrounding the Cairo Geniza, older manuscript material must have been stored in rooms adjoining the library and preserved in multiple, usually poor-quality, copies.

Much critique could be made here, but suffice it to say that the fate of which manuscripts are preserved and their conditions cannot always explain a manuscript’s relative importance. We can observe that according to his classification, S, then, would have been of relatively high importance for the community.

¹⁰⁰ García Martínez and van der Woude, “A ‘Groningen’ Hypothesis of Qumran Origins and Early History,” *RevQ* 56 (1990): 521-41, esp. 525. They, like Boccaccini, nicely refine the idea that although the non-biblical texts generally appear to constitute a “unified Essene collection,” they still represent more than one physical sectarian body. However, they go beyond the assumptions of this study and distinguish between works or parts of works that go back to the Essene parent movement and those composed by the Qumran community. Although too boldly delving into the murky history of the Essenes, they contribute to an important methodological development which recognizes multiple audiences behind the non-biblical Scrolls, in García Martínez, “Qumran Origins and Early History: A Groningen Hypothesis,” *Folia Orientalia* 25 (1988): 113-36; García Martínez and Barrera, “The People of the Dead Sea Scrolls.” In a similar way, Boccaccini explains that various groups are behind the discontinuities within the Qumran library collection. According to him:

the presence of “biblical” material also made it apparent that not all the manuscripts could have been composed by the same group, a situation that suggested the presence of a plurality of communities behind the scrolls.

Boccaccini, *Beyond the Essene Hypothesis*, 53-54. Although his basic reconstruction would support our current proposal for S’s history, Boccaccini nevertheless hypothesizes that the Qumran community was very isolated from its larger parent movement, a schism the current author finds unconvincing.

latter activity being intrinsically tied to authorship. I treat the unusually large number of scribal hands below, but I can point out here one aspect to my theory: not only may some of the Scrolls' content have been *authored/redacted* elsewhere, but some of the copies themselves may have been *penned* elsewhere, eventually making it into the Qumran caves.

Elgvin and Shavit have underscored the likelihood that a substantial number of texts may have been brought to the community from the outside and deposited in the caves sometime before the destruction of Qumran in c. 68 CE.¹⁰¹ Shavit allows for this possibility, finding it “difficult to accept the view that the only place books were written or kept was the site of Qumran . . . [or] that Qumran was a central place of learning.”¹⁰² Indeed, he questions whether we can even call the Qumran Scrolls a library at all in the Hellenistic understanding of the institution; given his comparative studies, libraries, as such, presumably did not exist anywhere in Palestine (cf. Magen Broshi).¹⁰³

¹⁰¹ Elgvin, “The *Yahad* is More than Qumran,” and Dimant, “The Library of Qumran.” Other dates for the depositing of the Scrolls have been proposed, such as 63 BCE (Greg Doudna, “Redating the Dead Sea Scrolls Found at Qumran: The Case for 63 BCE,” *QC* 8 [1999]: 1-96; Ian Hutchesson, “63 BCE: A Revised Dating for the Deposition of the Dead Sea Scrolls,” *RevQ* 8 [1999]: 177-94). However, Kenneth Lönnqvist’s recent analysis uses numismatic evidence to challenge this early date. According to him, the three silver coin hoards from L.120 were buried sometime between 52/53 and 70 CE, probably right before the Romans came in 68 CE (*The Report of the Amman Lots of the Qumran Silver Coin Hoards: New Chronological Aspects of the Silver Coin Hoard Evidence from Khirbet Qumran at the Dead Sea* [Amman: National Press, 2007]). Nevertheless, the public availability of all of the numismatic evidence is limited and thus should be used with caution.

¹⁰² Shavit, “The ‘Qumran Library’,” 307.

¹⁰³ Shavit claims that had there been libraries as a Jewish public institution, we would have heard about them in Josephus and/or the rabbinic texts. He claims that we have no evidence for a library in Jerusalem, and in this, he counters Golb’s thesis that libraries existed in Jerusalem, from which texts were removed and hidden in the desert caves for safe-keeping. Shavit sensibly notes that we cannot impose categories from the Western tradition on Jerusalem at this time, but he assumes too much by claiming that the lack of evidence for a library is indeed evidence of their lack, in “The ‘Qumran Library’,” 302-7, esp. 303.

The ancient library of Alexandria, in contrast to the Qumran collection, was intended to be just such a comprehensive storehouse of knowledge from diverse sources. See the section on Lionel Casson’s section, “The Library of Alexandria” in *Libraries in the Ancient World* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), and J.H. Ellens, “The Ancient Library of Alexandria: The West’s Most Important Repository of Learning,” *BR* 13 (1997): 18-29, esp. 46.

Shavit offers three explanations for why multiple copies and diverse content were found among the Qumran caves: (1) Individuals who joined the Qumran community brought their individual texts and stored them there, so that these texts were not always an integral part of the Qumran library¹⁰⁴; (2) The library at Qumran was an integrated collection of “Jewish literary writing,” both of texts composed in the community and those originating outside, with the library functioning as a center of reading and study of a large segment of Jewish literature; finally, (3) the library was not the center of writing and copying, but for unknown reasons books from members living on the outside were sent to the Judean caves for storage and safekeeping.

Considering the last point, I would add that in light of the turbulent days before 68 BCE, it is most likely that some Qumran and other inhabitants brought their scrolls to the Judean Desert.¹⁰⁵ The Book of Maccabees records that scrolls were widely dispersed during wartime. During the time of the Maccabees, we learn that “every locality and community in the country” informed Judah that they lost their copies of biblical books during the war years and “in like manner Judah also gathered together for us all those writings which had been scattered by reason of the war that befell” (2 Macc 2:14-15).¹⁰⁶ Using analogy, Talmon proposes a similar scenario during the Roman invasion of 66-70 CE: “at Masada, fugitives carried parts of their cherished possessions to the desert stronghold where they sought refuge,” and similarly some manuscripts were brought to Qumran from outsiders fleeing the Romans.¹⁰⁷ Such a possibility is an alluring explanation for why we have so many D and S copies in the caves, but more evidence is needed to confirm this.

¹⁰⁴ We are reminded of Elgvin’s statement, “in a scenario where *yaḥad* texts were used and transmitted at various locations in Judea, visitors or newcomers could easily bring their different versions with them to Qumran,” in “The *Yaḥad* is More than Qumran,” 275-76.

¹⁰⁵ Talmon would concur, claiming that the Qumran collection was not a planned library, but one that reflects the scenario we know elsewhere when Scrolls and other written material was dispersed during times of war, in “The Essential ‘Community of the Renewed Covenant’,” 326.

¹⁰⁶ Following Talmon, in *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 328.

1.4.1.4 *Conclusions about the Nature of the Qumran Collection*

The Scrolls were not just a random assortment of Second Temple literature¹⁰⁸; neither can we conclude that it was intended to be a comprehensive library in the Hellenistic or modern sense.¹⁰⁹ The Qumran collection is better described as consisting of ideologically related texts, but at least some, if not a substantial portion, of the Scrolls originated outside of Qumran proper, either in content or in actual copies.

In general, the collection represents a “dialogic model” of literary exchange. Even though the *Yahad* did not collect all of the texts written by their Jewish fellows (cf. Maccabees, etc.), there is evidence that they were engaged with their contemporaries. In addition to Scrolls of specific sectarian interests (e.g. S), manuscripts were found at Qumran that also represented extrasectarian works, or works of broader Jewish literary interest (cf. *Enoch*, *Jubilees*, *Sirach*, the second edition of *Jeremiah*, etc.),¹¹⁰ even though classifying texts as “sectarian” or “extrasectarian” can be notoriously problematic.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁸ Collins remarks that the library reflects “a core group of interrelated texts, with overlapping terminology and common subject matter, which show that the Qumran corpus is not just a random sample of Jewish literature of the time,” in “Messiahs in Context: Method in the Study of Messianism in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *Methods of Investigation of the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Khirbet Qumran Site: Present Realities and Future Prospects* (ed. M.O. Wise, et al.; New York: New York Academy of Sciences 722, 1994), 213-29, esp. 213-14.

¹⁰⁹ When looking at the library as a whole, we find meaning not only in what was included in the collection, but in what was not. The texts that are notably absent from this collection indicate the groups to which the sectarians were opposed (Maccabees, etc.). But at the same time we should not overstate that the absence of evidence necessarily indicates the presence of a polemic.

¹¹⁰ Cf. Pierluigi Piovaneli, “Some Archaeological, Sociological and Cross-Cultural Afterthoughts on the ‘Groningen Hypothesis’ and the ‘Enochic/Essene’ Hypotheses,” in *Enoch and Christian Origins: New Light on a Forgotten Connection* (ed. G. Boccaccini; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2005), 366-72, esp. 371. This category can be difficult to date and assign to various *milieux* but has not stopped Boccaccini and the advocates of the Groningen Hypothesis from doing so.

¹¹¹ Traditionally, various classifications of the sectarian texts have been made according to their relative ideological distance from Qumran, but this endeavor is problematic in a number of ways, not the least of which is that it is built on the unclear assumption that Qumran was *the* sectarian site. Newsom also recognizes the difficulty in applying this label to individual texts from the Qumran library in “‘Sectually Explicit’ Literature,” 172-79. She aptly notes that we should keep a number of connotations in mind when distinguishing between “sectarian” texts and the rest of the Qumran library. First, “sectarian” may mean that it was composed by

The presence of these texts, in addition to those such as 4Q448, *Prayer for King Jonathan*, or *MMT*, attests to the fact that this group continued to engage in interdialogic exchange with other Jewish groups of their day.¹¹²

Yet, the intention(s) behind those who assembled and hid the collection remains ambiguous. First, the Scrolls as a whole do not appear to have been part of a *genizah*, as Sukenik supposes.¹¹³ Neither do they exhibit characteristics of a true “library,” where books were permanently stored and regularly accessed from the locations in which they were found. Rather, there is reason to believe that some or even most of the texts in the caves were so gathered in anticipation of the coming Roman destruction.¹¹⁴

a member of the Qumran community, a common designation. Secondly, it may include a category of “adopted texts,” which were read as sectarian regardless of original authorship, or thirdly, “sectarian” could be divorced from any particular author or community and simply designate a common rhetorical stance (‘Sectually Explicit’ Literature,” 172-73). Note that she finds the last category to be the most useful for classifying a text as “sectarian,” which seems to be the most reasonable criterion.

In identifying “sectarian texts,” Dupont-Sommer represents one extreme, saying that any non-biblical text found in a Qumran cave means that it was necessarily “sectarian” (here Essene) text (*The Essene Writings from Qumran* [Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, 1973]). Alternately, Stegemann has limited the *Yaḥad*’s texts to those which ascribe authority to the Teacher of Righteousness, contain rules for Qumran-dwellers, and/or whose terminology necessarily links them with the Qumran community, in “Die Bedeutung der Qumranfunde für die Erforschung der Apokalyptik.” Others have identified criteria for “sectarian” (=Qumran) works, such as Esther G. Chazon, in “Is *Divrei Ha-Me’orot* a Sectarian Prayer?,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Forty Years of Research* (ed. D. Dimant and U. Rappaport; Leiden: Brill, 1992), 3-17; or Dimant, “The Qumran Manuscripts: Contents and Significance,” above.

¹¹² Elgvin similarly remarks that “works such as the prayer for King Jonathan in 4Q448 (which preferably should be related to Janneus) point to open communication channels between Qumran and other Jewish streams long after the establishment of the *yaḥad*,” in “The *Yaḥad* is More than Qumran,” 278.

¹¹³ Yigael Yadin, *’otser hammegillot haggenizot* (Jerusalem, 1956). The care with which the Scrolls of Cave 1, in particular, as well as their relatively well-preserved state militate against such a designation (cf. Talmon, “The Essential ‘Community of the Renewed Covenant’,” 324).

¹¹⁴ Further exploration could be done as to whether the different caves may reflect different stages during which the Scrolls were hidden before the Romans arrived (cf. the method of deposit in Cave 1 vs. Cave 4). Stegemann creatively reconstructs the history of the Scrolls’ deposition based on they way the Scrolls were deposited in each cave, in *The Library of Qumran*, 80-85.

1.4.2 *A Theory of “Local Texts”*

Mention should be made of a theory, which may seem at first glance to be somewhat analogous to that proposed in this study, although its objectives, method and the texts it assesses are different; in this case it concerns the different versions of the Hebrew Bible. When multiple witnesses to the biblical text were discovered at Qumran, William F. Albright proposed a new theory of textual history based on the new manuscript evidence: he explained the differences in the biblical witnesses by suggesting that they developed in three geographically distinct communities: Egypt, Babylon and Palestine.¹¹⁵ His student, Cross, elaborated on his theory of textual development by further specifying these three main “text types” found in the Pentateuch.¹¹⁶ According to Cross, all three text types were present in or had been brought to Palestine before the assembly of the Qumran library. In this way, he explains the presence of different versions of the Bible among the Scrolls. Cross’s contribution to the study of the biblical text should not be underestimated; yet many have rightly criticized his theoretical division of the biblical material into specific categories as too restrictive.

Alternatively, Talmon has explained the various biblical versions by focusing on the socio-religious background of the scribe, rather than individual lines of textual tradition.¹¹⁷ Rather than finding just three “textual communities,” he claims there were various socio-religious groups, who eventually “authored” their own fitting versions of the biblical text. In his words:

¹¹⁵ William F. Albright, “New Light on Early Recensions of the Hebrew Bible,” *BASOR* 140 (1955): 27-33.

¹¹⁶ Developing his “local texts” theory, Cross identifies a Palestinian textual tradition of the Bible, which is best represented today by the Samaritan Pentateuch. Second, the proto-Masoretic text represents a different textual tradition, which must have arisen in Babylon among Jews there after 587 BCE. Finally, his third main text type arose in the Egyptian Jewish community, who left us a witness to this textual family in the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the Septuagint, in “The Evolution of a Theory of Local Texts,” in *Qumran and the History of the Biblical Text* (ed. F.M. Cross and S. Talmon; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1975), 306-20.

¹¹⁷ First, he has virtually eliminated the distinction between the “original” author and the copyist of the biblical manuscript, claiming that the copyist seldom—if ever—merely copied a scroll; rather, “he should be considered a minor partner in the creative literary process,” in “The Textual Study of the Bible—A New Outlook,” in *Qumran and the History of the Biblical Text* (ed. F.M. Cross and S. Talmon; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1975), 321-400, esp. 381.

Only a tradition, which achieved the status of *textus receptus* within a socio-religious community that perpetuated it, was handed down: the Samaritan Hebrew Pentateuch in the Samaritan community, the (proto)Masoretic text in Judaism, the Greek translation in Christianity. All others went out of use and were not anymore transmitted.¹¹⁸

Neither Cross's nor Talmon's approach to the biblical text sufficiently accounts for the plurality of biblical manuscripts found at Qumran. A more encompassing explanation of textual variety better explains the different versions. Emanuel Tov, for one, expands on Cross's attribution of text types, agreeing with the idea that we can identify geographically isolated lines of textual transmission but rejecting the three-fold text type explanation.¹¹⁹ Ultimately, Eugene Ulrich constructs an even broader and more realistic model for understanding textual plurality and variety, acknowledging that different biblical versions were continually revised in new religious or social contexts.¹²⁰

¹¹⁸ Talmon, "Old Testament Text," in *Qumran and the History of the Biblical Text* (ed. F.M. Cross and S. Talmon; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1975), 1-41, as cited in Talmon, "The Transmission History of the Text of the Hebrew Bible in the Light of Biblical Manuscripts from Qumran and Other Sites in the Judean Desert," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Fifty Years after their Discovery: Proceedings of the Jerusalem Congress, July 20-25, 1997* (ed. L.H. Schiffman, et al.; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, in cooperation with The Shrine of the Book, Israel Museum, 2000), 40-50, esp. 50.

¹¹⁹ Tov offers more categories with which to classify the biblical material, in "Hebrew Biblical Manuscripts from the Judaean Desert: Their Contribution to Textual Criticism," *JJS* 39 (1988): 5-37; *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible* (Minneapolis, Minn.: Fortress Press, 1993); "Groups of Biblical Texts Found at Qumran," in *Time to Prepare the Way in the Wilderness: Papers on the Qumran Scrolls by Fellows of the Institute for Advanced Studies of the Hebrew University, Jerusalem, 1989-1990* (ed. D. Dimant and L.H. Schiffman; Leiden: Brill, 1995), 85-102.

¹²⁰ Keeping in mind that the composition of scripture was a process, occurring in various stages, Ulrich finds that different literary editions developed into any given book. Each literary edition was the result of an author or scribe who revised the text in light of a new religious or social context. Sometimes these new editions were well accepted and replaced the previous edition; others were not as widely received. Thus, by the end of the Second Temple period, Jews must have known variant literary traditions for many of the books of the Hebrew Bible. These traditions, considered synchronically, Ulrich describes as text types, and he identifies them by their large-scale patterns of variants, in *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Origins of the Bible* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1999), 17-120, etc.

All of these scholars raise one valid question that applies to our study of the S material: what is the relationship between different socio-historical communities and the development of authoritative text(s)?

It is generally true that texts developed in divergent ways—if even minor ones—in different social locations by the various scribes who copied them.¹²¹ Nevertheless, the theory at hand differs from the earlier “local texts theory” in a number of ways. First and foremost, we are dealing with a different genre of material. Instead of testing the various categories of biblical material, our theory tests a more limited genre of sectarian texts, including their legal material, which was more susceptible to evolve with actual changes in community structure and regulation. Indeed, the penal code and self-descriptive terminology of the *Yahad*’s Rule material was bound to reflect more closely the changing historical circumstances of the *Yahad*. Secondly, the point should not be to assign specific geographical locations to particular texts or versions of S—nor could we even do so confidently. Finally, with the *Yahad*’s creations—or with the biblical versions—we should always assume that there was a plurality of overlapping traditions, of which we only have “snapshots” preserved from a diachronic continuum of development. In my reading of the S tradition, I never presume that S, as an amalgam of traditions, ever developed in isolation, such as Cross assumes for his delimited biblical textual families.¹²² Rather S is marked by its dialogic interdependence on traditions represented elsewhere (4QMiscellaneous Rules, 4QOrdinances, etc.).

1.4.3 *The Qumran Scrolls: Authorship versus Ownership*

In our quest to understand S and the larger corpus, we should keep in mind the distinction between ownership and authorship. That a single community owned, or collected, these texts is not to assume

¹²¹ See similar reasoning in Tov, *Textual Criticism*, 186. Some of these differences would also be attributed to scribal error or insufficiently controlled copying.

¹²² One of the strongest critiques of his theory is that at Qumran a mixture of text types was found side-by-side, in Palestine proper, contradicting his isolationist explanation for variants. Refer also to *ibid.*, 187.

that they authored them. Nothing found among the Scrolls argues for a single author or a single source for the manuscript copies.¹²³

A study of the S versions raises a larger question about composition in ancient Palestine: what do we mean by seeking the “author(s)” of a text? As recognized by others, communities in antiquity did not have the same notion of individual authorship, such as is found in modern society. Except in the unique cases of the pseudepigrapha, the celebration of an individual author—genuine or otherwise—was an extraordinary case. Rather, some have argued that texts were more of a community creation.¹²⁴ If they are a product of a community or even of what we may call a “school,” then we cannot speak about one specific moment of invention.

Instead, we encounter a unique dialogue between the process of authoring (and redacting) a text and transmitting it. What creative contribution—if any—did a copyist make to a text? To what degree did copying a text inevitably equal participating in its literary development? Evidently, a notable amount, as there does seem to have been somewhat fluid lines between author and copyist. For instance, in chapter two, I consider how the scribe(s) who left the secondary emendations to S participate in its authorship. This study of S, then, takes into account that the S material evolved continually and dynamically within different copying contexts.

1.4.3.1 *Scribes and Schools*

Are there identifiable “scribal schools” behind the Scrolls? Estimates vary as to how many different scribes actually penned the collection, but in any case, the numbers are surprising. Anywhere from 150,¹²⁵ to Golb’s likely over-inflated 500,¹²⁶ distinct scribal hands can be

¹²³ Neither is the possibility excluded that others brought and/or deposited Scrolls in this collection some time before the Roman destruction of the Qumran site in 68 CE. See above, n. 105.

¹²⁴ Newsom, “‘Sectually Explicit’ Literature,” 175-79.

¹²⁵ Davies, “Was there Really a Qumran Community?,” *CurBS* 3 (1995): 9-35, esp. 15. Compare as well the discussion in Wise, “Accidents and Accidence,” 123-25.

¹²⁶ He guesses at the number of different scribal hands by counting how many different hands are represented in the Scrolls published by 1990 and then projects a similar estimation on the remaining manuscripts; see Golb, “Khirbet Qumran and the Manuscripts of the Judaean Wilderness: Observations on the Logic of their Investigation,” *JNES* 49 (1990): 103-14, esp. 103, n. 5.

recognized based on handwriting. Yet we have estimates of as few as 100, but probably no more than 200, inhabitants of the site at any one time.¹²⁷ These statistics, coupled with the fact that relatively few of the scribes copied more than one manuscript found in the caves, refute the conventional view that all or even most of the texts were copied at the site of Qumran.

Wise supports this latter point by drawing a parallel with the Jewish community at Elephantine. The Jewish population there during the fifth century BCE was c. 1800-3000 men but relied upon only a dozen or so scribes over a period of three or four generations.¹²⁸ The military community at Elephantine was of a different time and place and relied on professionally paid scribes. But nonetheless comparatively it is surprising to find such a diversity of scribal hands among the smaller the Qumran community. Wise comments:

The only way to reconcile the extraordinary number of hands with scribal production at Qumran is to argue that the community consisted almost exclusively of scribes. Then, somehow, one must explain why the vast majority of these scribes limited themselves to a single (often *parvum*) opus. The resulting picture is so absurd that it simply cannot be right.¹²⁹

¹²⁷ Hirschfeld limits his estimate of Qumran's population to 100, based on the ratio of 20 inhabitants per dunam (Herodian Qumran=4.8 dunams), a relatively low number which would, of course, make his hypothesis that Qumran was a Roman manor house seem more plausible, in "Qumran in the Second Temple Period—A Reassessment," in *Qumran the Site of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Archaeological Interpretations and Debates: Proceedings of a Conference held at Brown University, November 17-19, 2002* (ed. K. Galor, J.-B. Humbert, and J. Zangenberg; STDJ 57; Leiden: Brill, 2006), 223-39, esp. 234. Calculating the capacity of the water cisterns, Bryant G. Wood makes a higher estimation based on different strata: 228 lived during Qumran period Ib and 312 in period II. His calculations are subject to a number of methodological problems, not the least of which is that we do not always know if these cisterns were filled to capacity, what the rate of water consumption was, or if they supplemented their supply from neighboring springs. Broshi, who critiques Wood's findings, comes up with the more reasonable number of 150-200 residents, based on the relative size of the community architecture at the site and how many persons it could reasonably serve at one time, in "The Archaeology of Qumran—A Reconsideration," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Forty Years of Research* (ed. D. Dimant and U. Rappaport; Leiden: Brill, 1992), 103-15, esp. 114. De Vaux also came up with a maximum population of 200 at Qumran, in de Vaux's, *Archaeology and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (London: Oxford University Press, 1973), 86.

¹²⁸ Wise, "Accidents and Accidence," 124-25.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, 125.

He claims that only a small portion of the Scrolls likely would have been copied at Qumran.¹³⁰ Also, very few—if any—of these manuscripts show signs that they were copied from another manuscript as we have it or that any two shared an immediate prototype.¹³¹ To put it bluntly, the biblical texts must have come from diverse origins, and as Tov notes, “many, if not most, of the texts found . . . were copied in other parts of Palestine.”¹³² Why could a similar rubric not apply to some or many of the sectarian texts?

There is no definite answer to this question, but, as Wise supposes, these works were surely transmitted more widely than is commonly thought. Above I noted the Maccabees example, to which he adds instances at Masada, Naḥal Ḥever, and Murabba’at, where texts traveled with those fleeing violence and persecution. Going further, he offers interesting reflections on how written traditions were created and transmitted in both ancient Egypt and Palestine, supposing that “books” circulated more widely than previously thought.¹³³

In similar ways, the S versions were kept and transmitted broadly among the various sectarian communities. This model whereby traditions codified by the educated elite are widely dispersed is a workable one. One can imagine the realistic transmission of “great traditions,” here represented by at least one center at Jerusalem, which are constantly being appropriated, transmitted and constantly being reinvented into the “little traditions” of diverse *Yaḥad* communities; as Wise notes, “geography enters the picture, and somewhat different scribal practices” will naturally be evident in different

¹³⁰ Ibid., 120-22.

¹³¹ One possible exception may be from the Daniel manuscripts. Ulrich hesitantly suggests that 4QDan^b may have been copied from 4QDan^a, in “Orthography and Text in 4QDan^a and 4QDan^b and the Received Masoretic Text,” in *Of Scribes and Scrolls* (ed. H.W. Attridge, Collins, and T.H. Tobin; New York: University Press, 1990), 29-42, as cited in Wise, “Accidents and Accidence,” 121, n. 57.

¹³² Tov, “Hebrew Biblical Manuscripts from the Judaean Desert”; cf. also Wise, “Accidents and Accidence,” 121, n. 57.

¹³³ Wise draws on later (Medieval and modern) paradigms to understand “book culture” in the late Second Temple period, hypothesizing freely and imaginatively about authorship. He speaks anachronistically about those in ancient Palestine who “pirated” the works of others and who profited from “booksellers,” etc., which most likely was not the arrangement at that time. Yet he does challenge us to think about how widely and freely Jewish literary works must have circulated in Second Temple Palestine, in Wise, “Accidents and Accidence,” 142-43.

versions of works.¹³⁴ Thus Redfield's social-anthropological model, although not invoked by Wise, would similarly explain the great literary traditions of Second-Temple Palestine as radiating ones. These diverging traditions were continually updated with the passage of people from place to place, to and from those learned few. It is within just such a dynamic configuration of literary and religious development that the development of S took place.

1.5 CONCLUSIONS

A few major points emerge from our discussion this far:

1) Scholarship on the Scrolls has already begun and could continue to benefit from the application of social-scientific studies to Second Temple Judaism, particularly those that broaden our definition and understanding of sectarianism.

2) The *Yahad* qualifies as a sect under a wider definition of a "sect," as those who distinguish themselves from religious Other(s) through the setting of ideological boundary markers. In the case of the *Yahad*, they used such markers to set themselves up as foils to their Jewish adversaries, centered on their claims of truth (=unique revelation). As such, these ideological boundary markers did not necessarily require geographical isolation from the Other(s).

3) The basic thesis of a *Yahad*-Essene connection still holds, although recent studies have nuanced the specific relationship between the two. It appears that the *Yahad* had deeper intellectual/ideological roots in Jewish history (perhaps through its "mother movement"). As such, the *Yahad* must have brought with them literary traditions that preceded the settlement at Qumran, including S material.

4) The narrow understanding of the *Yahad* as constituting only the inhabitants at Qumran needs to be revised, following recent proposals by Regev, Collins and Elgvin. Instead, as they rightly point out, there is no evidence that prohibits the designation "*Yahad*" from including various (related) communities outside of this site.

5) The *Yahad* and Qumran are not interchangeable, so we need a broader lens through which to read the so-called "sectarian texts." One more inclusive model through which to read these works is derived from Redfield's work on the dynamic transmission of "big"

¹³⁴ Ibid., 149.

and “little” traditions. Assuming that religious and literary traditions radiated out from codifying centers of the hierarchical, “reflective” few to the periphery, a defining feature of my model is that, though it is primarily radial, it also takes into account that when outlying communities appropriate traditions, they were continually redefining them for their own use “on the ground.” But they remained in regular exchange with the center.

6) Thus, this “radial-dialogic” model accounts for both the continuity and the diversity within the Qumran corpus as a whole, as the *Yaḥad* represents a historical movement that was both distinct from (=unique literature) and yet engaging with the larger Jewish center(s) in Jerusalem (=shared Jewish heritage, *MMT*, *Prayer for King Jonathan*, etc.).

7) But on a parallel, but smaller, scale, a similar pattern of transmission took place within the movement itself, whereby the complicated S material—as other sectarian literature—radiated out from a common core but even in its divergence continued to be in dialogic conversation with the sectarian hierarchy. Thus, the S material went on a similar journey of idea exchange, between center and periphery, a scenario which better explains both the overlapping material of S as well as its diverging content, orthography and other scribal practices (chapter two).

CHAPTER TWO

TEXTUAL ANALYSIS OF S

In the words of Talmon, “considerations of the proper methodology require that a new phenomenon, like the Covenanters’ community, should first be investigated from within, *viz.*, by an analysis of its own literature.”¹ In like manner, any examination of the textual history of S should start with the manuscripts themselves. After briefly reviewing the lingering problems in S’s textual history, I first assess the paleographical and radiocarbon dates of S to confirm the chronological relationship of the manuscripts. Next, a thorough text-critical analysis of the versions is made to probe both their shared material and variants. And finally, some remarks will be given about the orthographic and scribal conventions of the individual manuscripts and whether there is a strong case for identifying a specific “Qumran scribal school.” Does the textual evidence indicate that S developed within one scribal school at Qumran, or does it invite a broader model of interpretation?

2.1 THE CASE OF S: LINGERING PROBLEMS

Discovered in 1947, 1QS was the first copy of S published by M. Burrows in 1951 under the title, *Manual of Discipline*.² 1QS is the longest and best preserved—but is not necessarily the “superior”—manuscript of S. Nevertheless, 1QS is often used as the standard text, to which all other versions are compared, and one can only wonder

¹ Shemaryahu Talmon, “The Community of the Renewed Covenant: Between Judaism and Christianity,” in *The Community of the Renewed Covenant* (ed. E. Ulrich and J.C. VanderKam; Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1994), 3-24, esp. 5.

² Millar Burrows, John C. Trever, and Brownlee, *The Dead Sea Scrolls of Saint Mark’s Monastery* (vol. 2; New Haven: American Schools of Oriental Research, 1951). The Rule of the Congregation (1QSa) and Blessings (1QSB) were attached to the Cave 1 scroll but were not published until four years later, in D. Barthélemy and Milik, *Qumran Cave 1* (DJD 1; Oxford: Clarendon, 1955).

how scholars would have shifted their study of S if the Cave 4 versions had been discovered first.

Following the Cave 1 discoveries, no less than 10 additional copies of S were found in fragments from Cave 4 (4QS^{a-i}=4Q255-64) although none with Sa or Sb attached. Because of the incomplete nature of these witnesses, only 4QS^{b,d,e} (and to a lesser extent 4QS^g) provide enough text to be practically significant for our study of S's textual history. 4QS^{b,d} are nearly identical in form and content and therefore are considered to be of the same textual tradition. 4QS^e, which many regard as the earliest witness of S,³ varies significantly not only from 1QS but also from 4QS^{b,d}, and therefore it also represents a distinct textual tradition.⁴

2.1.1 *The S Versions: The History of Research*

2.1.1.1 *Early Redaction Criticism of S*

Early scholarship on S tended to focus on literary- and redaction-critical analysis. Before the "Scrolls revolution" of the early 1990s, and the subsequent availability of the Cave 4 S fragments, the scholarly debate focused on whether 1QS is a composite document.⁵ After

³ Metso, *Textual Development*, 68-74.

⁴ Metso also reconstructs two main lines of tradition besides 1QS: 4QS^{b,d} and 4QS^e, in "In Search of the *Sitz im Leben* of the *Community Rule*," in *The Provo International Conference on the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. D.W. Parry and E. Ulrich; STDJ 30; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 306-15.

⁵ As early as 1957, scholars such as H.E. del Medico and Pierre Guilbert were already debating the complicated textual evolution of S, struggling with the question of whether it is a composite or unified text. Del Medico saw 1QS as a haphazard compilation of disparate fragments (*L'énigme des manuscrits de la Mer Morte* [Paris: Plon, 1957]), while Guilbert argued for the unity of the composition based on its own inner logic ("Le plan de la règle de la communauté," *RevQ* 1 [1959]: 323-44). Out of these early studies came the currently-held view that 1QS is a composite text, but this is not to deny that a few such as Pierre Guilbert and Jacob Licht still argue for the unity of the text. Guilbert delimits five distinct sections to 1QS, finding a structural logic to them all. He asserts that:

[There is] unity also in language, vocabulary, syntax, and style, in spite of the occasional use of different terms . . . there is no need of resorting to the hypothesis of a compilation of assorted fragments . . . this does not mean that no borrowing could have been made by the author from pre-existing rules. . . . But these borrowings have then been profoundly assimilated and recast to form a new whole.

the latter idea gained prominence, priority was then placed on breaking down IQS into its various layers. Most analyses were made in conversation with the seminal reconstruction done in 1969 by Jerome Murphy-O'Connor, who wrote about the redactional history of S before the publication of the Cave 4 material.⁶ He concludes that IQS is a composite text and reconstructs its complicated literary "evolution," assuming that it gradually expanded from an early nucleus of material throughout a long and gradual amalgamation of disparate sections.⁷ His basic ideas are taken up and passed on by J. Pouilly and Émile Puech.⁸

In Guilbert, "Le plan de la règle de la communauté," 343-44. In our frequent obsession with dissecting texts, we do well to remember some of these similarities threaded throughout the composition, ones that remind us there was a final redactor with a rhetorical strategy.

Jacob Licht also argues for the inner logic found throughout the document, thus supporting Guilbert's original hypothesis (*Megillat ha-serakhim: mi-megillot Midbar Yehudah* [Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1996]), and I agree with Dimant that although the S is a composite document, it was composed with a unified purpose in mind ("Qumran Sectarian Literature," in *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period* [CRINT 2/2; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1984], 483-550). See also the comprehensive summary in Robert A.J. Gagnon, "How Did the Rule of the Community Obtain its Final Shape? A Review of Scholarly Research," in *Qumran Questions* (ed. J.H. Charlesworth; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995), 67-85.

⁶ See Jerome Murphy-O'Connor, "La genèse littéraire de la règle de la communauté," *RB* 76 (1969): 528-49.

⁷ As he and others note, IQS 8-9 most likely forms the earliest, pre-sectarian core of the document, to which a conglomeration of other pericopes was eventually added. Note that E. Sutcliffe first proposes that IQS 8 and 9 reflect a period before the formation of the *Yahad*, in "The First Fifteen Members of the Qumran Community," *JSS* 4 (1959): 134-38. However, Murphy-O'Connor's identification of four tidy stages of textual development corresponds all too neatly with four archaeological phases of occupation at Qumran, in "La genèse littéraire de la règle de la communauté," 529-38.

⁸ Both follow Murphy-O'Connor and take IQS 8-9 to be the early core of S, composed during the first stages of community formation, in J. Pouilly, *La règle de la communauté de Qumran. Son évolution littéraire* (Paris: Gabalda, 1976); cf. also Puech, "Remarques sur l'écriture de IQS VII-VIII," *RevQ* 10 (1979): 35-43. Other brief attempts have been made to reconstruct the redaction-history of S, as outlined fully in Hans Bardtke, "Literaturbericht über Qumran. VII Teil," *TRu* 38 (1974): 256-91; Murphy-O'Connor, *Early Judaism and Its Modern Interpreters* (ed. R.A. Kraft and G.W.E. Nickelsburg; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986), 128-29; and Gagnon, "How Did the Rule of the Community Obtain its Final Shape?." It is worth mentioning a few comments made by A.R.C. Leaney. He believes that an unknown compiler combined material from the Teacher of Righteousness with other "halakhic" texts governing the sect, the Manifesto (IQS 8.1-9.26) being ostensibly the earliest stratum of this material. Leaney goes on to distinguish between legislation that is

2.1.1.2 *Theories of Textual History and Transmission*

With the availability of the Cave 4 fragments, scholarship has shifted towards trying to understand the textual development of the S versions. The first to refer to the surprising variants between the versions was Milik.⁹ In his view, the differences between 1QS and the Cave 4 S versions could be explained in terms of chronological or typological differences: the text of 4QS^d is “indubitablement originale” and that of 1QS represents a later “recension paraphrasée et glossée.”¹⁰ Thus began a history of trying to derive one copy from the other and then to determine their relative chronology.

4QS^{b,d} are Later than 1QS (Based on the Dates of the Copies)

Alexander assumes that 4QS^{b,d} represent a late form of S because the copies are paleographically later than 1QS (contra Milik, Vermes, and others).¹¹ For him, the chronological order of the copies, then, is the most natural reading of the texts’ order of evolution. A few others, such as James Charlesworth and B. Strawn and Garnet, have reached similar conclusions. Garnet notes the difficulty in explaining why “early” copies would be penned after 1QS, if it was the most evolved version; therefore he follows Alexander’s *prima facie* reading of the evidence, where the order of the copies indicates the relative development of the versions.¹² A similar reading of the

addressed to the smaller dispersed communities and that which was for the larger Qumran community. Because of their headings, he believes that the “rules for the session of members,” in 1QS 6.8b-13a was “clearly a piece of legislation for a large community as the previous section (6.1-8a) was legislation for small dispersed communities.” Although brief, he makes one of the earliest mentions of the possibility that S had different audiences, in *The Rule of Qumran and its Meaning* (ed. A. Richardson, et al.; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1966), 185-86.

⁹ See the early remarks about the differences in Milik, “Review of P. Wernberg-Moller, *The Manual of Discipline Translated and Annotated*,” *RB* 67 (1960): 410-16 and his brief remarks in “Le travail d’édition des fragments manuscrits de Qumran,” *RB* 63 (1956): 60-62.

¹⁰ Milik, “Numérotation des feuilles des rouleaux dans le scriptorium de Qumran [Planches X et XI],” *Sem* 27 (1977): 75-81, esp. 78.

¹¹ Alexander, “The Redaction-History of Serekh Ha-Yahad: A Proposal,” *RevQ* 17 (1996): 437-53.

¹² Garnet, “Cave 4 MS Parallels to 1QS 5.1-7: Towards a *Serek* Text History,” *JSP* 15 (1997): 67-78. Charlesworth hints at the same conclusion although he does not directly state that the Cave 4 manuscripts represent a later version of 1QS in Charlesworth et al., eds., *The Dead Sea Scrolls. Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations. Vol. 1: Rule of the Community and Related Documents*

versions is made by Dimant, who agrees that 4QS^{b,d} “represent a late abbreviated and perhaps selective version of the *Rule* rather than an older and more original edition of it,” perhaps copied for personal use.¹³

However, neither is this solution free from difficulties. The advocates of this reconstruction must explain why the Zadokites disappear as leaders in the later copies (4QS^{b,d}) and are replaced by the Many. In order to account for the absence of the Sons of Zadok in 4QS^{b,d}, Alexander hypothesizes that there was a natural decline in the Zadokites at Qumran because of their lack of offspring, something one would expect to find in a community of celibate men. He explains that the other shorter readings found in the Cave 4 copies are secondary omissions from their *Vorlage* (1QS); however, this reconstructed line of evolution runs counter to the natural tendency of texts to expand over time.¹⁴

4QS^{b,d} are Earlier than 1QS (Based on Content)

Following Milik, Vermes asserts that 4QS^d represents an earlier stage in the literary development of S because it exhibits a shorter text and many defective spellings.¹⁵ For Vermes, the composite nature of S explains the variation in its terminology. The sections of S which contain “the Many,” a technical term used in both 1QS and 4QS^{b,d}, represent the earliest core of the document, which was later expanded to become what we know as 1QS. For him, the “Sons of Zadok” appear in 1QS 5.2, instead of “the Many” of 4QS^{b,d}, because a later scribe intentionally substituted them. This abrupt appearance of the Sons of Zadok in what he believes to be a later witness is best

(ed. J.H. Charlesworth, et al.; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1994); see also Bockmuehl, “Redaction and Ideology in the Rule of the Community,” 544; and Charlesworth, and B.A. Strawn, “Reflections on the Text of Serekh ha-Yahad in Cave IV,” *RevQ* 17 (1996): 403-32.

¹³ Dimant, “The Composite Character of the Qumran Sectarian Literature,” 619-20.

¹⁴ Alexander, “The Redaction-History of Serekh Ha-Yahad.” Text-critically, this is a difficult assumption to make, and he offers little convincing evidence for why such a revision would take place.

¹⁵ He claims this despite the fact that it was copied later. Since 1QS 1-4 are thought to be missing in 4QS^d, he assumes this pericope must have been added later to an earlier core tradition (Vermes, “Preliminary Remarks”; and “Qumran Forum Miscellanea I”).

explained by positing a Zadokite takeover in leadership, in the manner of a *coup d'état*.¹⁶

Many generally follow Vermes and argue that 4QS^{b,d} represent an earlier version of S than 1QS.¹⁷ Markus Bockmuehl concurs; in his view, it is easier to explain the appearance of the Zadokites (cf. 1QS) at a later phase in the community's history than their eventual disappearance. He assumes that the Hasmonians opposed the Zadokites and that the Scrolls community:

... may have acquired significant numbers of Zadokite converts in the aftermath of the Hasmonian usurpation of the High Priesthood, whether or not the arrival of the Teacher of Righteousness in the community (e.g. CD 1.8-11) had anything to do with it.¹⁸

Given only scanty evidence, then, he presumes that the community evolved from a more lenient, egalitarian organization towards a stricter and more authoritarian one, with the power concentrated in the hands of the Zadokites.

But this position does not explain why these versions were copied in the order in which they were. Those who presume that the S versions developed along this trajectory are forced to account for such anomalies as the absence of the Sons of Zadok in earlier versions (4QS^{b,d}), even though most believe that the community was founded by the Teacher, himself a Zadokite priest. Their explanation is that Qumran began as a relatively democratic movement that became more authoritarian under the Zadokites, gradually or by takeover; but historically this is counteracted by other evidence (below). Neither direction of chronological development, then, offers a simple solution.

Alexander and Vermes

In DJD 26, Alexander and Vermes, with their differing viewpoints, refrain from saying much about the chronological ordering of

¹⁶ Vermes, "The Leadership of the Qumran Community," 375-84. However, we find no other evidence for such a takeover elsewhere in the texts, and there are some serious difficulties with this theory given that the "Zadokites" appear elsewhere in earlier texts (reference also chapter three).

¹⁷ See, for example, Vermes, "Preliminary Remarks"; "Qumran Forum Miscellanea I"; and "The Leadership of the Qumran Community"; cf. also Hempel, "Comments on the Translation of 4QS^d I, 1," 127-28; and "The Earthly Essene Nucleus of 1QSa," *DSD* 3 (1996): 251-69; and finally Metso, below.

¹⁸ Bockmuehl, "Redaction and Ideology in the Rule of the Community," 547.

the versions, but do generally follow Cross's relative dating of the manuscripts.¹⁹ Nevertheless, they would "very tentatively postulate" the existence of at least four recensions of S, based presumably on their textual similarities. These four lines of development (Table 2.1) seem generally plausible, but they say little more about how these "recensions" are related to each other:

TABLE 2.1
Recensional History of *Serekh ha-Yahad*,
per Alexander and Vermes²⁰

Recension A	1QS
Recension B	4QS ^b and 4QS ^d
	However, since these two manuscripts differ from each other as to the inclusion of 1QS I-IV we may subdivide this recension into: B ¹ (=4QS ^b) and B ² (=4QS ^d)
Recension C	4QS ^c
Recension D	4QS ^e

Sarianna Metso

Finally, Metso has taken one step further towards a solution in her comprehensive work on the textual history of S, providing a thorough summary and analysis of the versions of S.²¹ She highlights the fact that the text of 4QS^{b,d} is significantly shorter than 1QS and notes that this tradition "runs smoother" and is much less fragmented than 1QS. In light of this, Metso goes against Alexander et al. by claiming that the shorter Cave 4 witness(es) must be more original.²² She

¹⁹ Compare Alexander and Vermes, eds., DJD 26.20-21 with Charlesworth, et al., eds., *The Dead Sea Scrolls. Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations. Vol. 1: Rule of the Community and Related Documents* (ed. J.H. Charlesworth, et al.; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1994), 57.

²⁰ Alexander and Vermes, eds., DJD 26.12.

²¹ *Textual Development*.

²² See also her discussion, in "The Redaction of the Community Rule," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Fifty Years after their Discovery: Proceedings of the Jerusalem Congress, July 20-25, 1997* (ed. L.H. Schiffman, et al.; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, in cooperation with The Shrine of the Book, Israel Museum, 2000), 377-84. It is generally true that most texts expand over time. However, the "more difficult"

supports her argument by pointing out that 4QS^{b,d} lack significant terms of community self-understanding, a scenario one might expect at an early stage of community formation.²³

Analyzing the character and content of 1QS and 4QS^{a-j}, Metso proposes a rather intricate and nuanced outline of S's transmission history (Figure 2.1). She hypothesizes that there was an original, unpreserved version (O) of S, from which emanated two main lines of textual tradition: one represented by the 4QS^{b,d} material (B) and that underlying 4QS^e (A). It is from the subsequent merging of these two lines of textual tradition (A and B) that we get our Cave 1 copy. However, in order to explain the existence of late copies of the B tradition (4QS^{b,d}), after it had purportedly merged with the A tradition, Metso claims that the B tradition must have been continuously copied alongside that of the 1QS tradition. In this way she argues that the 4QS^{b,d} tradition is the earlier one that was changed and amplified by natural textual expansion. Accordingly, the community would have had to copy the earlier form of the text even after the updated version of 1QS was already available.²⁴

text is not necessarily the later text, in that a scribe can also smooth out and harmonize a text, or even paraphrase a text, even if the latter is less common.

²³ Metso, "The Textual Traditions," 142-43.

²⁴ Metso, "The Redaction of the Community Rule," 378.

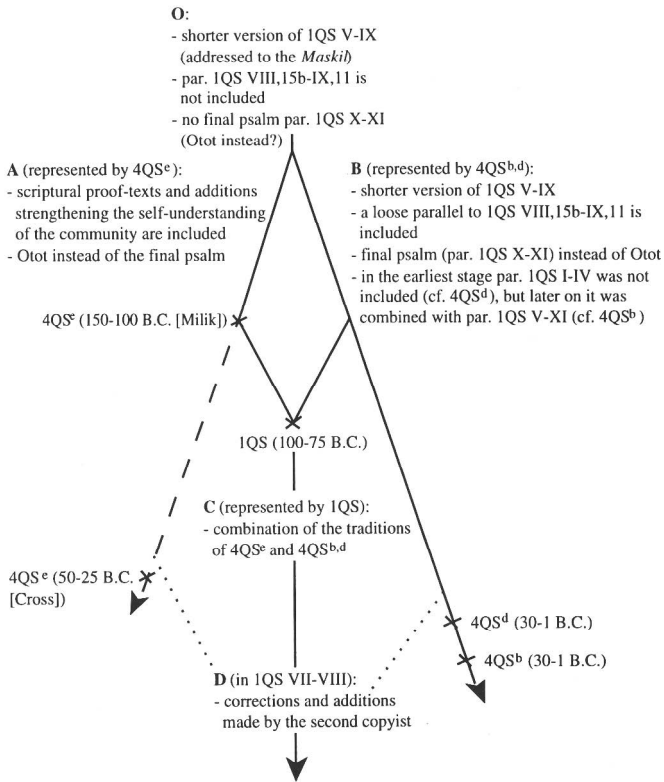


Figure 2.1 Metso’s Textual Development of S, from *Textual Development*, 147.

Metso’s study has broadened the paradigm through which we read S and allows us to think beyond a single branch of textual tradition. But despite her contribution, a few problems remain. As others have rightly noted,²⁵ her assumption that the Qumran scribes continued to copy the 4QS^{b,d} version(s) of S after it was subsumed into a subsequent version, forces us to assume that the scribes not only preserved an obsolete document, but also continued to copy it without updating its descriptions or regulations, running counter to what one would expect when scribes developed examples of the legal genre. Indeed,

²⁵ Cf. the challenges raised in Puech, “Review of Sarianna Metso, *The Textual Development of the Qumran Community Rule*,” and in George Brooke, “Review of Metso, *The Textual Development of the Qumran Community Rule*,” *JSOT* 79 (1998): 198.

if we consider the examples of scribal correction and updating of the text of 1QS, done by a second hand, these textual emendations reflect developments in the actual praxis of the community, as Metso herself notes.²⁶ By analogy, then, would we not expect the same type of scribal updating for the texts of 4QS^{b,d}? It is possible, but not likely, that older versions of a text containing regulations for a community would be copied as is, after they were subsumed and updated in a newer version.²⁷

2.2 PALEOGRAPHY AND DATING: METHOD AND LIMITATIONS

Despite their fragmentary nature, all extant S fragments contain enough text to be dated by paleography, the most important method for determining the relative chronology of the witnesses. Based on paleographical analysis, which is always subject to some debate, we find that S enjoyed a long chronological distribution of some 200 years, ranging in date from the second half of the second century BCE (4QS^a) to as recent as that of the first half of the first century CE (4QS^h).²⁸ In view of its long lifespan, we are again reminded of the key position S must have held among the *Yahad*'s texts. Of the versions considered in this study, their dates vary considerably, and they offer us a broad chronological distribution of script types. Some general observations concerning their characteristics are presented below.

2.2.1 1QS

Cross recognizes the script of 1QS to be semiformal in style, whose letter forms best parallel those from the middle Hasmonean period. He situates it fairly reliably between 100 and 75 BCE; this relatively early dating is generally followed by others, although Milik dated

²⁶ Cf. Metso, "The Textual Traditions," 70, 72, 74, 99, 128; and see similar comments in Dimant, "The Composite Character of the Qumran Sectarian Literature," 618.

²⁷ Compare Davies, "Redaction and Sectarianism in the Qumran Scrolls," 151-61.

²⁸ Charlesworth et al., eds., *Rule of the Community*, 57.

1QS even earlier to 125-100 BCE.²⁹ This dating can be generally confirmed on the basis of a few diagnostic letters: *Mem* is a peculiar letter here, not because a medial *mem* sometimes occurs in final position, but because the final *mem* is quite short and does not project any line above the top horizontal line. The curving down-stroke is also longer and almost connects with the left leg of the *mem*. This shape is typical of the early Hasmonean *mems* and unlike the later Herodian hand, whose *mem* is quite open and the right down-stroke angled downward.³⁰ The *'ayin* is quite rounded and different from the angled *'ayin* of the early Herodian *War Scroll*.³¹ Further, the *samekh* is open at the bottom and square, unlike later *samekhs* which are closed and rounded.³² Finally, one may note that the *shin* is made of distinctively curved strokes, typical of earlier manuscripts.³³ In a later Herodian semiformal hand, for instance that of 4QNum^b (30 BCE-20 CE), the three branches of the *shin* come together in a sharp point in the bottom, as it does in an even later exemplar, 4QDan^b (20-50 CE).³⁴

²⁹ Cross, "The Paleographical Dates of the Manuscripts," 57; "The Development of the Jewish Scripts," in *The Bible and the Ancient Near East: Essays in Honor of William Foxwell Albright* (ed. G. Ernest Wright; Garden City, NY: Anchor Books, 1965), 170-264; cf. his treatment of dating techniques in *The Ancient Library of Qumran*, 171-74. More recently, see his article "Paleography" in L.H. Schiffman and J.C. VanderKam, eds., *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 2.629-34. Cf. also Avigad, "The Paleography of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Documents," *ScrHier* 4 (1965): 56-87, esp. 71. He notes that the script of this scroll is similar to that of 1QIsa^a although he prefers dating it slightly later than 1QIsa^a (after 150 BCE).

³⁰ For instance, see the *mem* at the beginning of the line of 1QS 4.16 or the middle of 5.14, etc. Cf. the *mems* in Cross's chart for early Herodian 1QM (line 4) and for 4QNum^b (c. 30 BCE-20 CE), in Cross, "The Development of the Jewish Scripts," 138, line 5.

³¹ Contrast the typical *'ayin* of the *War Scroll*; Cross describes the *War Scroll* as written in an early Herodian formal script (c. 30-1 BCE), in "The Development of the Jewish Scripts," 138, line 4.

³² Cf. the *samekhs* in 1QS 1.15, 16, etc.

³³ Note 1QS 5.20 (middle of line), 4.19, 8.25 (beginning of line), etc. This is similar to the script of 4QDeut^a, which Cross calls transitional between the Archaic (proto-Jewish) and Hasmonean period (c. 175-150 BCE), in "The Development of the Jewish Scripts," 138.

³⁴ See Cross's script chart in "The Development of the Jewish Scripts," 138-39.

2.2.2 4QS^{b,d}

From a paleographic standpoint, 4QS^b and 4QS^d exhibit similar script styles. In both copies, the writing is small and neatly written in the formal style. The uniform size of the letters and the developed sense of a ceiling line speak toward a relatively late date for 4QS^{b,d}. Considering the shape of their letters, 4QS^{b,d} fit nicely into the early period of the Herodian scripts, probably c. 30-1 BCE.³⁵ An exception is the anomalous *bet*, which appears to be a transitional letter. In 4QS^b, especially, it is sometimes written with up to three or even four strokes, where the base horizontal is a separate stroke, moving from right to left (cf. the *bet* in דבר in 4QS^b 9.3). This contrasts the slightly earlier, more rounded *bet* in the early Herodian script of 1QM, in which the *bet*'s down-stroke curves into a sloping base. 4QS^d, while similar to 4QS^b, exhibits both forms: one *bet* with two strokes for the baseline and the other with one curving down-stroke.³⁶ Despite the residual traces of an earlier *bet*, in 4QS^d there is little reason to seriously question dating 4QS^{b,d} towards the last third of the first century BCE.

2.2.3 4QS^e

There has been some confusion over the siglum for this manuscript. For a different scroll, PAM 41.507 records the designation “pap4QS^e,” causing some scholars mistakenly to call it 4QS^e (what now is known as 4QpapS^a). Therefore, when Cross first speaks of 4QS^e as the earliest copy of S, he was referring to what we now label as 4QpapS^a, causing confusion in later secondary references.³⁷ To

³⁵ Also, Cross, “The Paleographical Dates of the Manuscripts,” 52; and “The Development of the Jewish Scripts,” fig. 2, 1.4.

³⁶ According to Alexander and Vermes, following Cross, the three to four stroke *bet* of 4QS^b (and 4QS^d) was from a more formal Herodian hand and probably derives from the Hasmonaean semi-cursive *bet*, in Alexander and Vermes DJD 26.45, and Table 6, 23-24; and Cross, “The Development of the Jewish Scripts,” 167-8, 183-4.

³⁷ This confusion was partially furthered by Milik, who calls 4QS^e the oldest copy of S, in “Le travail d'édition des fragments manuscrits de Qumrân,” *RB* 63 (1956): 49-67, esp. 60-61; and *Ten Years of Discovery in the Wilderness of Judaea* (trans. J. Strugnell; London: SCM Press, 1959), 123. Cross's reference to 4QS^e (=4QpapS^a) remains uncorrected even in the most recent edition of *The Ancient*

make matters more confusing, our current 4QS^e was at least initially mislabeled 4QS^d, as seen on the docket of PAM 41.480, but this misnomer was corrected by the time of the *editio princeps*.³⁸

Cross dates the manuscript now confirmed to be 4QS^e from 50-25 BCE based on its late Hasmonean characteristics. Nevertheless, it exhibits considerable variation in paleographical features, and therefore its date has been the subject of some debate.³⁹ The script of 4QS^e is rather irregular in the size and formation of its letters. Cross notes that the fragments contain a mixture of semicursive and semiformal features. For instance, within this copy we find two different types of *taws*, one written in a semiformal and the other in a semicursive (looped) hand.⁴⁰ Cross also dates 4QS^e based on its similarities to 4QpapMMT^e (50-25 BCE).⁴¹ Alexander and Vermes point out a number of ways the scripts of the two manuscripts diverge; but they offer no revised dating for 4QS^e. The date proposed by Cross is sufficiently on target given the lack of viable alternatives.⁴²

2.2.4 Challenges and Conclusions

Issues facing the paleographers of the Scrolls include a relative paucity of material with which to compare the Scrolls, while the comparative material that does exist outside of Qumran is primarily

Library of Qumran, 95; however, he has used the updated siglum in his analysis in "The Paleographical Dates of the Manuscripts." Nevertheless, some still quote the earlier incorrect designation, as in e.g. Dimant, "Qumran Sectarian Literature," 498, n. 82; Metso, "The Primary Results of the Reconstruction of 4QS^e," 303; and Schiffman, "Messianic Figures and Ideas in the Qumran Scrolls," in *The Messiah: Developments in Earliest Judaism and Christianity* (ed. J.H. Charlesworth; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1992), 116-29, esp. 119-20. Carefully note, also, the convoluted description of this problem in Charlesworth and Strawn, "Reflections on the Text of Serekh ha-Yahad," 416-17, n. 60.

³⁸ See the comments in Alexander and Vermes, DJD 26.21.

³⁹ There has been substantial confusion concerning the date of this manuscript, primarily because some scholars previously referred to it as 4QS^d. Despite this, it is clear that Milik dates our 4QS^e to the second half of the second century BCE ("Le travail d'édition des fragments manuscrits de Qumran"). Cross, on the other hand, believes that paleography points towards a date closer to 50-25 BCE, particularly in light of its unusual mix of semiformal and semicursive features ("The Paleographical dates of the Manuscripts," Charlesworth et al., eds., *Rule of the Community*).

⁴⁰ See examples in Alexander and Vermes, eds., DJD 16.133.

⁴¹ Cross, "The Paleographical Dates of the Manuscripts," 57.

⁴² Alexander and Vermes, eds., DJD 26.133-34.

lapidary.⁴³ Also, variability must have existed between different scribes in terms of skill level and individual style,⁴⁴ and we also must consider that an early document may have contained the first occurrence of a late form or that a later document preserves an archaic form.⁴⁵ In light of these unknowns, some have challenged the reliability of paleographic dating or have questioned whether we can determine realistic dates via paleography at all.⁴⁶

Nevertheless, with a margin of error, most paleographical dates have generally been proven sound. In the last half century more written materials have been discovered, helping scholars to establish a typological sequence of early Jewish paleography, building upon Cross's rubric.⁴⁷ These finds have helped confirm the typology already used to date the Scrolls, and these dating sequences have been corroborated in other ways.

2.2.5 Other Dating Methods

Carbon-14 testing has generally confirmed Cross's paleographical dates (Table 2.2).⁴⁸ Recent refinements in radiocarbon analysis

⁴³ Similar comments are made in G Bonani et al., "Radiocarbon Dating and the Dead Sea Scrolls," *Atiqot* 20 (1991): 27-32, esp. 27.

⁴⁴ Note that Callaway ineffectively challenges Cross's paleographic dating methods, but he raises a legitimate observation that paleographers are "unable to take into consideration certain unknown factors such as age, skill, and goal in copying," in "Methodology, the Scrolls, and Origins," 413.

⁴⁵ Similar challenges are noted in Ada Yardeni, "The Paleography of 4QJer^a—A Comparative Study," *Text* 15 (1990): 233-68, esp. 243.

⁴⁶ Observe Davies, "The Prehistory of the Qumran Community," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Forty Years of Research* (ed. D. Dimant and U. Rappaport; STDJ 10, ed. F. García Martínez and A. van der Woude; Leiden: Brill, 1992), 116-25.

⁴⁷ Some of the funerary inscriptions from Jerusalem are important in this regard, such as that from the Tomb of Jason (before 31 BCE) and the funerary monument of Benê Hezîr (end of the first century BCE), as discussed in Avigad, "Aramaic Inscriptions in the Tomb of Jason," *IEJ* 17 (1967): 101-10; and Puech, "Inscriptions funéraire palestiniennes: tombeau de Jason et ossuaires," *RB* 90 (1983): 481-533. Cross gives a thorough overview of the relevant materials discovered in "Palaeography and the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment* (ed. P. Flint and J.C. VanderKam; Leiden: Brill, 1998), 379-402.

⁴⁸ See the excellent summary of recent Carbon-14 and Accelerator Mass Spectrometry tests as they relate to paleography, in VanderKam and Flint, *The Meaning of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 20-33.

known as Accelerator Mass Spectrometry (AMS) have increased its accuracy; this technique requires less of a sample test area and allows for more trials and a better-controlled testing environment. The most recent Carbon-14 analysis of the organic material in the fragments leads some to claim that the paleographical dates of the S copies have been proven “beyond reasonable doubt.”⁴⁹

TABLE 2.2
Comparison of Radiocarbon and Paleographical Dates

	AMS Dates ⁵⁰	Paleographical Dates
1QS	159 BCE-20 CE	100-75 BCE (Cross), c. 150 BCE (Avigad), ⁵¹ Semi-formal Has-monean script
4QS ^b	N/A	30-1 BCE (Cross)
4QS ^d	11 BCE-78 CE	30-1 BCE (Cross, Vermes, Stegemann) ⁵²
4QS ^c	N/A	50-25 BCE (Cross, Alexander, Vermes) ⁵³

⁴⁹ This is claimed by Bonani et al., based on the dating done in the early 1990s, in “Radiocarbon Dating and the Dead Sea Scrolls”; cf. Vermes, “Preliminary Remarks.” A. Jull, et al. note that the “ages determined by ¹⁴C measurements of the remainder of the scroll samples are in reasonable agreement with available palaeographic estimates,” in “Radiocarbon Dating of Scrolls and Linen Fragments from the Judean Desert,” *Atiqot* 28 (1996): 85-91, esp. 90. Nevertheless, Greg Doudna finds the date ranges given by recent AMS dating to be grouped around a narrow spread of “true dates,” and he chooses to interpret the AMS dating range very narrowly to fit his theory that nearly all scribal copies of the Scrolls come from one generation living in the first century BCE (presumably at Qumran). He denies that any texts come from the Herodian period, including 4QS^{b,d}, believing them to be earlier, in “Dating the Scrolls on the Basis of Radiocarbon Analysis,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls After Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment* (ed. P. Flint and J.C. VanderKam; Leiden: Brill, 1998-99), 430-71, esp. 464. Nevertheless, he unnecessarily limits the date ranges offered AMS testing and needlessly ignores the paleographical evidence.

⁵⁰ These dates are based on Jull et al., “Radiocarbon Dating of Scrolls and Linen Fragments,” and cited at a calibrated age of one standard deviation (1σ).

⁵¹ See Cross, “The Development of the Jewish Scripts,” 169-71; and Avigad, “Paleography,” 71.

⁵² Cross, “The Paleographical Dates of the Manuscripts,” 57; Vermes, “Preliminary Remarks,” 250; and Metso, *Textual Development*, 37, n. 55.

We can say, then, that the date ranges assigned previously to the S manuscripts are not challenged by recent radiocarbon dating and are by and large sound. Two separate AMS tests done within recent years on a fragment of 4QS^d assign it to the period between 36 BCE-81 CE,⁵⁴ while 1QS has been given a comparatively earlier date range from 159-20 CE.⁵⁵ These tests bolster the paleographic conclusion that 4QS^{b,d} is at least a few decades—but up to a century—later than the Cave 1 copy of S and that 4QS^e is at least 25-75 years later than 1QS. This discovery is catapulted into significance when it is shown to be exactly the *opposite* scenario of what many scholars argue, namely, that the 4QS^{b,d} and the 4QS^e traditions represent *earlier* versions of S than 1QS.

2.3 TEXT-CRITICAL ASSESMENT⁵⁶

When comparing the text of the various S versions, perhaps the most striking observation is, first, that there is considerable *overlap*

⁵³ Cross, “The Paleographical Dates of the Manuscripts,” 57; and Alexander and Vermes, eds., DJD 26.133-34.

⁵⁴ This fragment underwent two AMS tests at the NSF Accelerator Mass Spectrometry Facility at the University of Arizona in Tucson. The first sample to be tested revealed the surprising dates of 133-237 CE but was later deemed inaccurate due to the presence of modern contaminants. The second sample offered a date between 36 BCE-81 CE, corroborating the general paleographical analysis. For the first testing, see Bonani et al., “Radiocarbon Dating and the Dead Sea Scrolls,” and then later Jull et al., “Radiocarbon Dating of Scrolls and Linen Fragments.” There is also an updated assessment of these results in Doudna, “Dating the Scrolls on the Basis of Radiocarbon Analysis,” and most recently in VanderKam and Flint, *The Meaning of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 27-33.

⁵⁵ Jull et al., “Radiocarbon Dating of Scrolls and Linen Fragments,” 88. Compare, also, the recalibration of the same tests done by Israel Carmi (“Radiocarbon Dating of the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Fifty Years after Their Discovery 1947-1997. Proceedings of the Jerusalem Congress, July 20-25, 1997* [ed. L.H. Schiffman, et al.; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society in cooperation with The Shrine of the Book, Israel Museum, 2000], 881-88, esp. 887), which also generally confirms Cross’s paleographical dates.

⁵⁶ The purpose here is not to recount the details of each text, nor just to list the specific variants; this has been done thoroughly elsewhere. Excellent charts outlining the textual variants in the Cave 4 documents and 1QS can be found in the official publication of these texts by Alexander and Vermes, eds., DJD 26.91-93, 134. A complete analysis of these differences can also be found in, Metso, *Textual Development*; “The Textual Traditions”; cf. the brief preliminary study done by Vermes in “Preliminary Remarks.”

between the various copies, recently noted by Hempel but not heretofore emphasized. All versions share for the most part similar organization terminology—commonalities often overlooked in the quest to explain discrepancies. Nevertheless, there are differences within individual copies so that different manuscripts must have gone their separate ways.⁵⁷

2.3.1 *Assessing Scribal Intervention*

In the following examples where a scribe has corrected a copy, it is important to note wherever possible whether those corrections were mistakes of an identifiable *Vorlage*, were corrected towards another known manuscript, or if they were simply unexplained variant readings. First, we can assume that amended or supralinear text was meant to replace the base text,⁵⁸ for the scribes do not appear to have preserved more than one variant reading. Tov notes:

Corrections of scribal errors and interventions in orthography clearly correct the initial text, and this applies also to other types of scribal intervention. There is no evidence for so-called ‘parallel readings’ or ‘synonymous readings’ in the Qumran biblical scrolls, nor in the non-biblical texts.⁵⁹

Also, the emendations themselves generally do not contain a large amount of text, but we may note that at least in some cases, certain corrections appear to have been *secunda manu* additions, possibly made at a much later time than when the primary scribe copied the text.⁶⁰

A survey of the different versions of S reveals not only that the text was copied and in use for a long time (c. 125 BCE—50 CE), but that it underwent salient changes, some of which can be attributed to mechanical and scribal errors and others which cannot. Methodol-

⁵⁷ Hempel, “Literary Development of the *S* Tradition,” 396-97.

⁵⁸ Note, for example, the use of cancellation dots above the line in 1QS 7.8, etc.

⁵⁹ Tov, “The Textual Base of the Corrections in the Biblical Texts Found at Qumran,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Forty Years of Research* (ed. D. Dimant and U. Rappaport; Leiden: Brill, 1992), 299-314, esp. 304-5.

⁶⁰ It is clear that a second scribe made several corrections in 1QIsa^a, given the differences in handwriting and orientation. See also 4QDeut^b 3.11 and 4QpPs^a 3.5, mentioned in Tov, “The Textual Base of the Corrections in the Biblical Texts Found at Qumran,” 304.

ogically, I cannot test for positive evidence that these versions stem from traditions developed outside of Qumran proper. Nevertheless, I can engage with the current theory that one copy of S was derived from another and then was developed side-by-side within one scribal “school” (i.e. at Qumran). Testing this assumption from a text-critical standpoint, I ask (1) if a direction of development is discernible (i.e. does text criticism reveal that 4QS^{b,d} and 4QS^e are earlier witnesses than 1QS?) and (2) if there is evidence of textual influence, such that we can say that supports the theory that the Cave 4 traditions were copied side-by-side and eventually converged into the 1QS tradition (cf. Metso).

Certain manuscript divergences receive much press, so first, I follow this analysis to its logical extreme, undertaking an exhaustive analysis of all of the variants between 1QS and 4QS^{b,d,e}. I observe three general—and somewhat artificial—categories of variants: first, there are a number of differences that could be categorized as “unintentional variants,” or those fairly reliably attributed to scribal error or omission (i.e. possible triggers could be identified). These minor variants provide more valuable data about possible directions of textual development (and are spelled out, below). Secondly, the S copies contain a large number of “content variants” between them, what has been the primary of focus until now, such as the “Sons of Zadok” in 1QS (5.2, 9) versus “the Many” in the parallel 4QS^{b,d} section. These presumably intentional changes are significant and well-known, but are not necessarily as useful from a text-critical standpoint. They are also closely related to what I call, thirdly, “ambiguous variants,” differences which cannot be derived easily from one manuscript to another, whether by scribal error or intentional redaction of the content or terminology.

Here I use 1QS as the manuscript to which I compare 4QS^{b,d,e} for convenience sake, but 1QS is not necessarily the “standard” text even given its relative length, quality of the manuscript, and/or the order of its discovery (see also Appendix A for complete interlinear comparison of the S fragments).⁶¹

⁶¹ There is the temptation to use 1QS as the standard text to which others have added readings or from which they have deleted them, but there is no need to assume 1QS was the “superior” text. In this way, the critic is advised not to let external criteria (e.g. the best preserved manuscript) determine the superior reading. Oftentimes one is “advised to choose the reading found in the oldest manuscripts, or the most manuscripts, or the ‘best’ manuscripts . . . Such criteria, however, are

2.3.2 *IQSerekh ha-Yahad (IQS)*

IQS contains 11 extant columns, and the large blank space left at the end of the final column indicates that it is a complete manuscript, one to which IQSa and IQSb were appended. Overall, the text of IQS is quite messy with a large amount of secondary scribal intervention. The penal code in col. 7, for instance, contains many supra-linear corrections and erasures, some of which are clearly done by a second hand. As noted above, IQS is most likely a conglomeration of discrete units set apart by their content, style and terminology. IQS 1-4 (missing in 4QS^{d,e}) is exemplary in this regard; even within these four columns, we find the Liturgy on Entry into the Covenant (1.16-3.12) and the Teaching on the Two Spirits (3.13-4.26), and at the end of IQS, another discrete unit is the Sage's Hymn (10.5-11.22). These probably circulated as independent units before making their way into IQS as we have it.⁶² Nevertheless, even this longest copy of S is not a completely haphazard collection of material but, as received, forms an integrated whole.⁶³

unreliable," in P. Kyle McCarter, *Textual Criticism: Recovering the Text of the Hebrew Bible* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1986), 71.

⁶² Even before the Cave 4 material came to light, a number of scholars argued that cols. 1-4 of IQS originated from an independent source, and it does appear to be of a different genre, one reflecting a more liturgical setting. A. Lange, *Weisheit und Prädestination. Weisheitliche Urordnung und Prädestination in den Textfunden von Qumran* (Leiden: Brill, 1995), 121-32; Metso, *Textual Development*, 113; Murphy-O'Connor, "La genèse littéraire de la règle de la communauté," 539; Pouilly, *La règle de la communauté de Qumran. Son évolution littéraire*, 65-75; Stegemann, "Zu Textbestand und Grundgedanken von IQS III, 13-IV, 26," *RevQ* 13 (1988): 95-131, esp. 97. Hempel, for one, finds the material in cols. 1-4 to be quite different from the rest of the S material, but it does contain common threads which would have led a redactor to append this material to S at a later date ("The Community and Its Rivals," 81). Vermes also notes that cols. 1-4 of IQS were added later to an earlier core text. He divides these first few columns of IQS into two independent units: one concerning the ritual entry into the covenant and the other containing the instruction on the two spirits. See, Vermes, "Preliminary Remarks"; and Vermes, "Qumran Forum Miscellanea I."

⁶³ Two other texts, the Rule of the Congregation (IQSa) and Blessings (IQSb), were copied at the end of the Cave 1 scroll by the same scribe, who presumably considered both to be intimately connected with S. One should note, however, with a few possible exceptions, these two additional texts are not attested elsewhere. Both IQSa and IQSb were probably copied at the same time as IQS because the same scribe copied all three, following Cross, "The Development of the Jewish Scripts," 196, n. 97. According to Stephen Pfann, other copies of IQSa were found among the Cryptic Texts, but this not clear, in Pfann et al., eds., *Qumran Cave 4 XXVI. Cryptic*

2.3.3 4Q256, 4Q258 *Serekh ha-Yahad*^{b,d} (4QS^{b,d})2.3.3.1 *General Textual Characteristics*

A reconstruction of 4QS^b shows that it begins with the equivalent of 1QS col. 1 and therefore probably contained all of 1QS 1-4 (thought to have been missing in 4QS^d). Otherwise the text is very similar to the extant text of 4QS^d, even in the form and shape of the letters. Like 4QS^d, 4QS^b is carefully and neatly written, with only two corrections made throughout the extant text.⁶⁴ As with 4QS^d, it also diverges quite sharply from 1QS, especially at 1QS 5.1-20 where it is only about half as long. However, at 1QS 1.10-2.11, 4QS^b is essentially of the same text-type as 1QS, differing only in its more consistent use of final letter forms and one instance of a fuller spelling.⁶⁵ 4QS^b also includes the Sage's Hymn (10.5-11.22), unlike 4QS^c, and therefore 4QS^b was the closest to 1QS in length.

4QS^d is written in a small, uniform script like 4QS^b. The text itself is carefully copied, containing only a few more mistakes than 4QS^b.⁶⁶ Overall 4QS^d exhibits a close textual relationship with 4QS^b, particularly where they disagree with 1QS. However, many conclude that 4QS^d is missing cols. 1-4 of 1QS because the right-hand column is noticeably wider at the beginning of 4QS^d (=1QS 5.1) and therefore must have begun there,⁶⁷ although this is not conclusive. Like 4QS^b, 4QS^d also diverges significantly from 4QS^c in that it preserves parts of the Sage's Hymn (where 4QS^c instead has 4QOtot), etc.

Texts and Miscellanea, Part 1; DJD 36; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000), 534-74. Yet we should note that the dates given to these small fragments are tenuous at best.

⁶⁴ At 19.1 לימי is written above the line, and 19.3 contains a supralinear *aleph*, correcting רשיה to ראשיה.

⁶⁵ 4QS^b 3.2 עונבה vs. 1QS 2.8 עוניך (cf. 4QS^c עונבה).

⁶⁶ 4QS^d 2.4 is corrected supralinearly from לעלות to להעלות; 7.7 contains a supralinear addition בתמי to replace an original בתו or בתו; and in 8.1, אנשי הדעת has been reworked into אנשי השחת.

⁶⁷ Vermes, "Qumran Forum Miscellanea I," 301; Charlesworth and Strawn, "Reflections on the Text of Serekh ha-Yahad," 411-12; and Alexander and Vermes, eds., DJD 26.85.

2.3.3.2 Evidence of Shorter/Possible “Earlier” Readings in 4QS^{b,d} (compared to 1QS)

4QS ^b 9.1-2	ולהבדל	אשר צוה	[
4QS ^d 1.1	ולבדל	אשר צוה	בכל
1QS 5.1	בכול אשר צוה לרצונו להבדל		

Here 4QS^{b,d} preserve a shorter and possibly more original reading. It is imaginable that a scribe accidentally omitted “according to his will” (לרצונו) due to parablepsis, triggered by the repeated *lamed*s, but the sequence of *lamed*s is broken by the presence of a *waw* in the following word. It is more likely that “according to his will” is a plus, added to the base text paralleled in 4QS^{b,d}, particularly because it is a phrase commonly known elsewhere.⁶⁸

4QS ^d 1.2-3	ענוה	ולעשות	לכל דבר לתורה ולהון
1QS 5.3	לכול דבר לתורה ולהון ולמשפט לעשות אמת יחד וענוה		

Here the longer text in 1QS looks later and secondary. It is possible that a scribe’s eye accidentally skipped over *ולמשפט*, given the repeated sequence of *ל*-(1); but it is more likely that *ולמשפט* is a later explication, given the propensity of 1QS to contain fuller lists and because the phrase *אמת יחד* seems to be a periphrastic addition. Note that 4QS^d exhibits the usual practice in Qumranic Hebrew of attaching a *waw* before every element in a list, whereas 1QS is inconsistent here, another indication that the text has been doctored secondarily.

4QS ^b 9.6	] וכול הבא		
4QS ^d 1.5-6	ד[] וכל הבא לעצת		
1QS 5.7-8	כול הבא לעצת היחד יבוא בברית אל לעיני כול המתנדבים		

4QS ^b 9.7	באסר	[
4QS ^d 1.6	באסר	יק[] על נפשו
1QS 5.8	ויקם על נפשו בשבועת אסר	

1QS 5.7-8 contains two passages clarifying the admission procedure to the *Yahad*, both of which are lacking in 4QS^{b,d}. The first and longer passage in 1QS 5.7 mentions that the proselytes will enter into

⁶⁸ E.g. 1QS 9.15, 23-24; 4QS^b 1.1; etc.

the covenant in the sight of the *Mitnadvim*, or those who “willingly offer themselves,” probably an indirect reference to the covenant renewal ceremony described only in 1QS. The phrase “will enter into the covenant of God in the sight of the *Mitnadvim*” could have been secondarily lost by careless copying,⁶⁹ but it more likely is the result of secondary amplification, particularly because it contains themes generally present in the longer passages of 1QS (see below). The second additional word in 1QS 5.8, שבוּעַת, also looks like a further clarification on the admission procedure. Alexander and Vermes note that אָסַר on its own in Biblical Hebrew means simply a “binding obligation” (e.g. Num 30:3).⁷⁰ Would this mean that 1QS alone presumes that an oath was necessary to be admitted to the community?⁷¹ But 1QS 6.13b-23 makes a second reference to admittance but lacks mention of any oath. 4QS^{b,d} records a procedure closest to this reference, feasibly an earlier one that did not require an oath.

4QS ^b 9.7	בכול לב	לשוב אל תורת משה
4QS ^d 1.6	בכל לב	ל[]ל[]ורת מִשְׁ[]
1QS 5.8-9	בכול אשר צוה בכול לב	

1QS contains a fuller description of the binding oath incumbent upon new members: here, proselytes will return to the Law of Moses *according to all he has commanded* with all their heart. It is possible that בכול אשר צוה fell out secondarily in the Cave 4 texts by homioarkton, due to the similarities between בכול and בכול and graphic confusion between the initial *kaph* and *bet*. It is unlikely that a scribe would have later abbreviated these words, although theoretically possible.⁷² However, given the content of the phrase, a secondary, explanatory addition is probably reflected in 1QS, as the phrase

⁶⁹ Possibly there was a loss by homioarkton, although in 1QS a *waw* comes before the second repeated *yod*, making this type of scribal error less likely.

⁷⁰ Alexander and Vermes, eds., DJD 26.97, but reference n. 73, above.

⁷¹ The phrase שבוּעַת אָסַר is attested in CD 16.7; 4Q416 2 iv, 8; and 11QT 54.1. Elsewhere אָסַר can appear alone to signify essentially the same concept (a “binding oath,” especially 11QT 53.18; cf. 54.1) or at least some type of binding obligation. At least, we need not assume that the text in 4QS^{b,d} is corrupt.

⁷² See the comments in Charlesworth et al., eds., *Rule of the Community*, 21, n. 99.

“according to all he has commanded” is common elsewhere in 1QS, especially in pluses.⁷³

1QS 5.11-13 כִּיָּא לֹוא בַקֶּשׁוּ וְלֹוא דִרְשֶׁהוּ בַחֻקֹּוהִי...לְכַלַּת עוֹלָם לֹאִין שְׂרִית

1QS 5.11-13 contains a long pericope, remarkably absent in both 4QS^b and 4QS^d. These lines elaborate on the identity of the “Men of Deceit”:

For they are not reckoned in his covenant since they have neither sought nor inquired after him concerning his laws in order to know the hidden things in which they have sinfully erred and since they have treated revealed matters with insolence. Therefore, wrath will rise up for judgment and to carry out revenge by the curses of the covenant bringing upon them great acts of judgment for eternal destruction, leaving no remnant.

Nothing in the passage itself leads us to believe it was lost secondarily in the 4QS^{b,d} tradition; rather it better fits the pattern of expansion in 1QS. As Metso points out, the passage alludes to various biblical passages or phrases, and it exhibits a more developed understanding of the enemy than in the other parallel versions.⁷⁴ For our purposes, this passage appears to be secondary.

4QS^d 2.4 שְׁנָה בַשָּׁנָה לְהַעֲלוֹת אִישׁ כְּפִי שִׁבְלֵי־
 1QS 5.24 שְׁנָה בַשָּׁנָה לְהַעֲלוֹת אִישׁ לְפִי שִׁבְלוֹ וְתוֹם דֶּרֶכּוֹ

We have in 1QS 5.24 what appears to be another expansion on what is required for the yearly examination of members, in order to gauge whether they are suitable for promotion or demotion. Notably, the second criteria for promotion in rank in 1QS, וְתוֹם דֶּרֶכּוֹ (the perfection of his way), is lacking in 4QS^d, which reads only: “that they may promote each man according to his insight.”⁷⁵ Chronologically, the new criterion in 1QS may reflect later, more stringent requirements for the community, but also ones that were innovated at Qumran. One could ask whether this criterion may even conjure up the same group as those mentioned elsewhere as those who “walk in perfect

⁷³ 1QS 1.3, 17; 5.1, 22; 8.15, 21; 9.15, 24; cf. Metso, *Textual Development*, 80.

⁷⁴ Ibid., 80-81.

⁷⁵ Noted as well in Ibid., 83.

holiness” (CD 7.5),⁷⁶ who J. Baumgarten and others have convincingly argued were those who chose to live a celibate life at Qumran.⁷⁷ Indeed, the term דרך, “Way,” strongly connotes the wilderness community described in 1QS 8.14-16 (interpreting Isa 40:3; see also below).

4QS ^b 11.8	דָּבַר וְכוּל הַמֵּתָ]
1QS 6.13	יִדְבַר וְכוּלָּה מִתְנַדֵּב מִיִּשְׂרָאֵל

This slightly different rendering of otherwise parallel passages is due to a corrupt reading in 1QS. A scribe seems to have mistakenly separated the words in 1QS, separating the *heh* from the following word (“one who willingly offers himself”) and making it nonsensical, whereas 4QS^b preserves the original reading.

2.3.3.3 Evidence of Possible Secondary/Corrupt Readings in 4QS^{b,d} (compared to 1QS)

4QS ^d 2.2	וְלֹהֲכַתֵּב	אִישׁ לִפְנֵי רַעְיָה	בְּסֶרֶךְ אִישׁ לִפְנֵי שְׂכָלוֹ
4QS ^g 1, 2-3	וְלֹכְתָּ]	[	י רַעֲ]
1QS 5.23	וְכַתְּבֵם בְּסֶרֶךְ אִישׁ לִפְנֵי רַעְיָהוּ	לִפְנֵי שְׂכָלוֹ	

This is one of the few times that the Cave 4 traditions offer a longer text than 1QS (as in the next example). This section describes members who are inscribed in the Rule (סדר), and it has undergone some scribal confusion among the versions. 4QS^g is extant here and probably preserves a reading closest to the original, such as, לכתב איש לפני רעהו. There clearly has been some textual confusion in 4QS^d, where something was lost through dittography triggered by the similar words לפני and לפי. However, this corruption did not make its

⁷⁶ This group is contrasted with those who live “according to the land” and “by the law” (CD 7.6-7).

⁷⁷ Joseph M. Baumgarten, “The Qumran-Essene Restraints on Marriage,” in *Archaeology and History in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. L.H. Schiffman; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1990), 13-24; “Celibacy,” in *The Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. L.H. Schiffman and J.C. VanderKam; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 1.122-25; Elisha Qimron, “Celibacy in the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Two Kinds of Sectarrians,” in *The Madrid Qumran Congress: Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls, Madrid, 19-21 March 1991* (ed. J. Trebolle Barrera and L.V. Montaner; STDJ 11; Leiden: Brill, 1992), 287-94.

way into the 1QS version, if it was later and/or derived from the 4QS^d tradition. For our purposes, it is important to note that 4QS^d looks late and derivative and that this is another example where 1QS and 4QS^{b,d} appear to have diverged from a common original, most closely represented by the 4QS^g manuscript, not having influenced each other in the latter course of development.

4QS ^d 2.3	ומעשיו בתורה להשמע הכול...
4QS ^g 1, 3-4	...[ומעשי בְּתוֹרָה]
1QS 5.23	... להשמע הכול ומעשיו
4QS ^d 2.3-4	ולהיות פוקדם את רוחם ומעשיהם בתורה
4QS ^g fl. 4-5	[] ס' א' [] הם ב'
1QS 5.23-24	ולהיות פוקדם את רוחם ומעשיהם

Here we find two instances where 4QS^d contains a fuller text than does 1QS. In both cases 4QS^d elaborates on how community members will be judged: 4QS^d mentions that members will be evaluated by their deeds *by/in the Law*, missing in both parallel passages in 1QS. In neither instance is there an obvious trigger for parablepsis, nor would such an accident likely happen twice in immediate succession. Nor is it probable that the scribe of 1QS abbreviated an earlier version of the text, for there is little reason to assume he would eliminate such an important concept for the sectarians (cf. also 1QS 5.21//4QS^d 2.1). Therefore, in these two cases, it appears that 4QS^d contains fuller, and secondary, readings.

Little can be made of the qualitative differences between the two phrases, although emphasis on doing works *by/in the Law* is also found in CD, where it speaks of those who will be judged by their works in the Law (=those who live according to the land), in contrast to those who will be judged by their “walk in perfect holiness” (CD 7.5, and see previous example).

4QS ^d 2.6	כל הנמצא את רעהו
1QS 6.2	כול הנמצא איש את רעהו

The word “each (man)” (איש) is missing from 4QS^d most conceivably due to simple parablepsis. The three repeated *alephs* create a passage ripe for scribal error, and the passage makes no sense with-

out אִישׁ. Mostly likely, then, 4QS^d secondarily lacks this word, in a corruption from the text underlying 1QS.

4QS ^d 7.1-2	אם לא הלך עוד בשגגה עד מלאות לו
1QS 8.26	אם לוא שגג עוד עד מולאת לו

In this short passage, 4QS^d has a longer description about the characteristics of a reformed transgressor who may return to full fellowship (if he no longer walks in error). 4QS^d looks periphrastic and could represent later phrasing than the simpler rendering in 1QS, although this conclusion is only tentative.

2.3.3.4 *Ambiguous/Content Variants*

4QS ^b 4.1	מדרש למשכיל עֲלֵן]
4QS ^d 1.1	מדרש למשכיל על אנשי התורה
1QS 5.1	וזה הסרב לאנשי היחד

These passages contain important titles to what apparently was the core of the S material,⁷⁸ yet the Cave 1 and Cave 4 traditions vary significantly: 1QS identifies the material as a סֶרֶךְ (“rule”), from a root originally meaning “to bind,”⁷⁹ while 4QS^{b,d} introduce instead a מִדְרָשׁ (“instruction”) for or by the Sage (see also 3.1.3).⁸⁰ From a text-critical standpoint, these differences are not due to scribal error but arose from different sources altogether.

In the case of the 4QS^{b,d} title, it is unclear whether אֲנָשֵׁי הַתּוֹרָה qualifies מִדְרָשׁ (“an instruction *concerning* the People of the Law”) or if it refers to מִשְׁכִּיל (“an instruction for the Sage who is *over* the People of the Law”). Most follow the former translation, taking the *midrash* to be concerning the People of the Law. Nevertheless, following Hempel, it seems equally plausible to read the עַל as indicating the Sage’s authority over this particular group⁸¹; therefore

⁷⁸ Although one should note that independent material was later prefixed to the text in the previous four columns of 1QS and maybe 4QS^b, as well.

⁷⁹ Note that סֶרֶךְ also appears in 1QS 1.1, 6.8; 4Q255 1.1; CD 10.4; 12.19, 22; 13.7; 14.3, 12; and quite frequently in 1QM in the context of battle arrangements (esp. 15.5), see 3.1.3.1, below.

⁸⁰ On the use of מִדְרָשׁ, observe Wilhelm Bacher, *Die exegetische Terminologie der jüdischen Traditions-literatur* (2 vols.; Hildesheim: 1965), 1.103-5; 2.107.

⁸¹ Hempel, “Comments on the Translation of 4QS^d I, 1,” 128.

we could read this title as “an instruction for the Sage who is over the People of the Law.”

The question is raised, then, about the names of the two different groups. 1QS is directed to the otherwise well-represented “People of the *Yahad*” (אנשי היחד), while the 4QS^{b,d} tradition mentions both the Sage and the “People of the Law” (אנשי התורה). Outside of this one occurrence in 4QS^d, אנשי התורה is unparalleled; however, a similar label, “Followers (Doers) of the Law,” עושי התורה, is known from other texts. “Followers” became a technical term for sect members, from which we get the label “Essene”⁸² and refers to what may have been a broader group, the one to which the Community Council was only a part.⁸³

If עושי התורה is equivalent to אנשי התורה, then we have a more generic reference to the broader group of Essenes or to those who “walk according to the law” (CD). My hypothesis that 4QS^{b,d} was preserved and redacted in a community outside that of 1QS could explain why it mentions different self-labels, and/or forms of sectarian community than 1QS. However, this can be no more than a suggestion since we lack further references to the “People of the Law.”⁸⁴ Conclusively, it constitutes a unique innovation.

⁸² See chapter one. Some have argued convincingly that the Greek-derived label, Essene, comes from “Followers” (from “Followers of the Law”), below 4.1.1. See also James E. Bowley, “Moses in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Living in the Shadow of God’s Anointed,” in *The Bible at Qumran: Text, Shape and Interpretation* (ed. P. Flint; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2001), 159-81, esp. 161.

⁸³ See the general observations about the “Followers of the Law” in 1QpHab 7.11, 8.1 and in particular, the reference to “the Followers of the Law who are in the Community Council” (עושי התורה אשר בעצת היחד) in 4Q171 2.15. Some have taken this phrase to be an apposition, “the Followers of the Law, those who are in the Community Council” (cf. Vermes, García Martínez and Tigchelaar), thereby equating the two groups, but this reading would require an unusual interpretation of the relative pronoun אשר. As in BH (and with its MH equivalent –ש), אשר nearly always introduces a *dependent* relative clause not in apposition (Bruce K. Waltke and M. O’Connor, *An Introduction to Biblical Hebrew Syntax* [Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1990], 333-36). Appositional clauses are usually formed by asyndeton, especially in S. Cf. also the unusual combination of עושי היחד in 4Q177 1.16. Note the fragmentary text, 4QCatenA (4Q177 1.16), which has the unusual combination עושי היחד, “Followers of the *Yahad*.”

⁸⁴ Notwithstanding that 4QS^{b,d} emphasize a member’s deeds “in/by the Law” over 1QS (4QS^d 2.3-4, cf. 1QS 5.23-24); see also the discussion of terminology, chapter three.

4QS ^b 4.2	[	ולהבדל מעדת אֵ]ׁ
4QS ^d 1.2	ולבדל מעדת אנשי העול ולהיות יחד בתור- [] ובהון ומשיבים	
1QS 5.1-2	להבדל מעדת אנשי העול להיות ליחד בתורה ובהון ומשובים	
4QS ^b 4.2-3		על פי הרבים
4QS ^d 1.2		על פי הרבים
1QS 5.2-3	... על פי רוב אנשי היחד	

1QS 5.1-3 and its Cave 4 analogues contain some of the most significant textual and terminological variants among all of the S copies. Where 4QS^{b,d} speak of their members coming together as a *Yahad* according to the authority of “the Many,” (הרבים), 1QS records instead the authority of the Sons of Zadok, a group otherwise unmentioned in 4QS^{b,d}. From a textual standpoint, there is no reason to assume that these variants are due to scribal error, although Charlesworth suggests possible parablepsis in 4QS^{b,d}.⁸⁵ The passage makes sense without the longer section. These differences were deliberate creations; that is to say, there was an “undoubtedly theological” motive for scribe(s) to have made these changes.⁸⁶

Many concur with Metso’s thinking, attempting to derive one version from the other and to explain each version as a reflection of a different chronological stage of the Qumran community. As such, most assume that the mention of the Many in 4QS^{b,d} indicates that a more egalitarian group ruled Qumran early.⁸⁷ In order to explain the appearance of the Sons of Zadok in the “later version” (=1QS), some have theorized about a Zadokite takeover.⁸⁸ But a takeover of

⁸⁵ He notes that the scribe’s eyes may have skipped from the first על פי to the second על פי, in Charlesworth et al., eds., *Rule of the Community* 19, n. 84. Yet his reconstruction still does not account for additional missing text in 1QS, for the differences in terminology (הרבים vs. רוב אנשי היחד), nor does this explain why the Sons of Zadok are absent in the second passage (lines 6-7).

⁸⁶ Metso, *Textual Development*, 78. She says that the Many were replaced with the long description about the Zadokites because “the redactor(s) wished to stress the purpose of הרבים as the true keepers of the covenant and, as Vermes has pointed out, to emphasize the Zadokite link of the priestly leaders of the community” (cf. also Vermes, “Preliminary Remarks,” 254-55).

⁸⁷ Most assume that the Many were a more egalitarian, or “democratic constitution,” of the community (see Alexander and Vermes, eds., DJD 26.96 and related bibliography).

⁸⁸ The appearance of the Sons of Zadok in 1QS 5.2, instead of the Many of 4QS^{b,d}, would in Vermes’s mind be the result of a later substitution. This abrupt appearance of the Sons of Zadok in a later witness is best explained by a Zadokite

Zadokites is otherwise unattested in the literature,⁸⁹ and again we encounter the problem of the dates of the copies themselves (1QS being copied 50-100 years before 4QS^{b,d}), as well as the fact that additional references to the Many are found in 1QS that are missing in the Cave 4 copies (8.26, missing in 4QS^d 7.1). Further, Alexander wisely asks “why at a time when the Zadokites were in control should someone copy a form of the Rule which suggests that they are not?”⁹⁰

But rather than thinking in terms of “changes” (i.e. altering one copy to form another), it is more profitable to consider that these passages were the products of diverging development. We have more solutions available to us if we think outside of chronology alone. It may be that the different authorities named in the text *do* reflect some chronological stages of development, but we should not limit ourselves to one monolithic community organization at one time. It is also viable that some communities of Essenes *did* retain an egalitarian-type of organization built primarily around the leadership of the Many (as with the early Christian communities, below), which did not exclude that Zadokites were present inside of the community center, perhaps at Qumran, Jerusalem, or elsewhere. It could be that not every outlying congregation had a Zadokite priest.

I suggest, then, that the leadership of the Many and that of the Sons of Zadok were not mutually exclusive, just as we find reflected in the texts themselves.⁹¹ Indeed a bipartite leadership structure has

takeover in leadership, in the manner of a *coup d'état*, in “The Leadership of the Qumran Community,” 384.

⁸⁹ The Sons of Zadok are mentioned infrequently elsewhere (CD 4.3; 1QS 5.2, 9; 1QSa 1.2, 24; 2.3; 1QSB 3.22; 4Q163 22, 3; 4Q174 3.17; 4Q249e 1 ii, 2; 4Q249g 2, 1; 4Q266 5 i, 16), but when they do appear, never is there an indication that they were a secondary (or hostile) replacement group that took over the leadership of the movement.

⁹⁰ “The Redaction-History of Serekh Ha-Yahad,” 451. He, as others who follow the relative dates of the copies, theorizes instead that the Cave 4 copies are later and therefore that the Zadokites’ influence gradually died out. Alexander comments that if the Zadokites were really celibate, naturally they would have had no successors, and their presence would have decreased over time.

⁹¹ For instance, 1QS, which speaks of the Sons of Zadok, also contains passages which record the authority of the Many (6.1, 6.8, 6.11, 6.12, 6.14, 6.15, 6.16, 6.17, 6.18, 6.20, 6.21, 7.10, 7.16, 7.19, 7.20, 7.21, 7.24, 7.25, 8.19, 8.26, 9.2). One could argue that these pericopes which reflect the Many are from earlier texts circulating independently, ones which eventually made their way into a composite

strong precedent in the ancient Near East. A coexisting arrangement where a smaller body of ruling elites exists alongside a larger, judicial body, known as “the many,” “the big” or “the all,” is documented from surrounding Near Eastern cultures prior to the Scrolls period.⁹²

4QS ^b 9.5	] כול [	ליסד מסד אמת לישראל ליחד
4QS ^d 1.4	לכל המתנדב	ליסד [] אמת לישראל ליחד
1QS 5.5	ליסד מוסד אמת לישראל ליחד ברית עולם לכפר לכול המתנדבים	

The short passage, *ברית עולם לכפר*, could have been lost secondarily in 4QS^{b,d} due to homoioteleuton because of the repeated *lameds* in *ליחד* and *לכפר*. It is unlikely that the scribes of the 4QS^{b,d} tradition would have intentionally omitted such important concepts. More likely, it is another example of an intentional expansion of the text in 1QS, where (a) scribe(s) apparently amplified this passage with phrases reflecting a stronger sense of covenant (*ברית*) and in this case of the idea of atonement (*לכפר*), the expressed purpose of the wilderness community.⁹³ In any case, the origin of this variant is uncertain and cannot easily be derived or lost from another known copy.

text. Nevertheless, it is difficult to understand why *so* many references would be made in 1QS to an obsolete leadership structure or if the audience of 1QS could have understood any clear distinction between old and current regulations which were not demarcated in the text itself.

⁹² For the Hittites, for example, the monarch ruled alongside a political assembly known as the *panku-*, “each, every” or “all,” and this judicial body was made up of members of the higher state bureaucracy (Gary Beckman, “The Hittite Assembly,” *JAOS* 102 [1982]: 425-42). A similar bicameral structure of a general assembly and a ruling elite described as “the City, Small and Big” (*ālum ṣaḥri rabi*) was also known from the Old Assyrian period, see Klaas R. Veenhof, “Old Assyrian Period,” in *A History of Ancient Near Eastern Law* (ed. R. Westbrook and G. Beckman; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 434-41.

⁹³ The phrases “eternal covenant” (*ברית עולם*) and “to atone” (*לכפר*) play an important role in the vocational understanding of the sect’s members, particularly in passages found only in 1QS (cf. 5.8, etc.). Compare also Metso, “The Textual Traditions”; N. Ilg, “Überlegungen zum Verständnis von *ברית* in den Qumrantexten,” in *Qumran. Sa piété, sa théologie et son milieu* (ed. M. Delcor; Paris: Duculot, 1978), 257-63; and Ellen J. Christiansen, “The Consciousness of Belonging to God’s Covenant and What it Entails according to the Damascus Document and the Community Rule,” in *Qumran between the Old and New Testaments* (ed. F.H. Cryer and T.L. Thompson; JSOTSup 290; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998), 69-97.

4QS ^b 9.6	והנלוים עליהם
4QS ^d 1.5	והנלוים [] ע[] הם
1QS 5.6-7	... והנלוים עליהם ליחד ולריב ולמשפט להרשיע כול עוברי חוק...
4QS ^b 9.6	ליחד וכול הבא
4QS ^d 1.5	ליחד וכל הבא
1QS 5.7	בהאספם ליחד כול הבא

When describing the duties for community members, 1QS 5 contains another long passage absent in 4QS^{b,d}: “as a community and in trial and in judgment to condemn all those who transgress the statutes. This shall be their code of conduct, according to all these statutes when they are gathered to the Community” (6-7). The text in 4QS^{b,d} flows smoothly without this long passage, and so this clarification in 1QS could easily have been added to an earlier description of requirements and judicial duties of community members.⁹⁴ Nonetheless, it is worth noting that that this passage may also have fallen out secondarily due to homoioteleuton, where the scribe’s eye skipped from the ליחד (=1QS 5.6) to the ליחד at the end of the missing passage (=1QS 5.7). If this passage was lost due to parablepsis, then we should understand that this scribal error occurred before 4QS^d and 4QS^b were copied, perhaps in their immediate *Vorlage*, as they both reflect this error. Again, this is further evidence that they stand in a close stemmatic relationship, but leave unconfirmed which S copy may be older or the daughter manuscript.⁹⁵

4QS ^b 9.7-8	[עצת אנשי היחד
4QS ^d 1.6-7	כל הנגלה מן הת] ל[] עצת אנש[] היח[]
1QS 5.9-10	לכול הנגלה ממנה לבני צדוק הכוהנים שומרי הברית ודורשי
4QS ^b 9.7-8	ולהבדל
4QS ^d 1.6-7]
1QS 5.9-10	רצונו ולרוב אנשי בריתם ... יקים בברית על נפשו להבדל

⁹⁴ It is interesting to note that another substantial section of 1QS, which also contains a penal code for judging transgressions, is also notably missing in 4QS^c (=1QS 8.15-9.12).

⁹⁵ Alexander and Vermes, eds., DJD 26.97.

In 5.9-10, we find that 1QS again contains a longer passage that speaks of the Sons of Zadok, where 4QS^{b,d} does not; rather the latter mention only the “Council of the Members of the Community.” This difference is clearly not due to scribal confusion. Probably a plus, this long, explanatory passage in 1QS reads: “everything that has been revealed to the Sons of Zadok, the priests who keep the covenant and seek out his will, and to the multitude of the people of their covenant who offer themselves willingly for his truth and to walk according to his will. And he shall undertake by the covenant.” Not only does 1QS mention the otherwise rarely-attested Sons of Zadok, but it also records the “Multitude of the People of their Covenant” (רוב אנשי בריתם) in place of the “Council of the People of the *Yahad*” (עצת אנשי היחד) in 4QS^{b,d}. Such differences in terminology are significant, but they do not necessarily indicate a chronological replacement of the Zadokites for the Many, especially given the late date of the Cave 4.⁹⁶

Again, as they stand, 4QS^{b,d} read smoothly, and it is tempting to see the longer passage as a theological elaboration on behalf of those behind the 1QS tradition. Metso finds this passage to be a secondary replacement for הרבים, both here and 1QS 5.2-3.⁹⁷ Alternately, Charlesworth finds the passage redundant and therefore suggests that 4QS^{b,d} was abbreviated for personal use.⁹⁸ Metso is more correct to note here that texts tend to expand over time, and we may observe that there appear to be a stronger sense of hierarchy and more covenantal language in the 1QS version, which reflects a later period alternate circumstances. If so, and 1QS the a latest version, it was already well-developed by the founding of the Qumran community (c. 100-80 BCE). In this way, this particular variant represents relatively independent, divergent development (see chapter three, below).

⁹⁶ Charlesworth comments that יחד eventually became a technical term among the Qumranites, and therefore he identifies the phrase “Council of the People of the *Yahad*” as reflecting *later* community circumstances. By his chronological reading, then, Charlesworth finds that “MSS B and D bear witness to a later stage in the evolution of the *Rule of the Community*” than 1QS because they preserve the phrase “the Council of the Members of the *Yahad*,” in Charlesworth et al., eds., *Rule of the Community*, 23, n. 101.

⁹⁷ She believes that a comparison of the two passages, 1QS 6.8 and 6.10, indicates that the terms הרבים and עצת היחד are equivalent, in *Textual Development*, 80; see also chapter three, below.

⁹⁸ Charlesworth et al., eds., *Rule of the Community*, 23, n. 103.

4QS^b 9.8 [הקודשׁ ואל יוכל אתו] חֵד
 4QS^d 1.7-8 [שׁ ואל יוכל אתו ב]
 1QS 5.13 אל יבוא במים לגעת בטהרת אנשי הקודש

Regarding the Men of Injustice, 1QS specifies that they should not *enter the waters* to touch the purity of the Men of Holiness, while 4QS^{b,d} forbids them only to touch the purity of the Men of Holiness. 1QS, then, contains the fuller specification, one which does not have an obvious trigger for parablepsis to explain why it may be missing in 4QS^d. It could have fallen out here, but more likely it is an example of secondary clarification in 1QS.

4QS^{b,d}, however, add their own unique phrase following this passage, whereby they instead forbid eating with the outsider in the *Yaḥad*. This statement has no parallel in 1QS.⁹⁹ The prohibition against eating with a man of injustice occurs twice in 4QS^{b,d}, both in slightly different forms, and may reflect a different time or place where there was a greater threat of intermingling with outsiders who were close enough to eat with other members of the *Yaḥad*. We may note the possibility that “the waters” is a reference to the *mikva’ot* of Qumran, and if so, it would more closely tie the 1QS tradition to Qumran (cf. the absence of this passage in 4QS^(b,d)).

1QS 9.8-9=4QS^d 7.7-9

1QS 9.8-9 contains a passage about the people of holiness, who are admonished not to mix their property with the people of injustice. 4QS^d begins at 7.7b with the same text, contains a *vacat*, and then picks up with 1QS 9.9b. The intervening passage, although not extant, was longer in 4QS^d than in 1QS, given its placement in the Scroll.¹⁰⁰ 4QS^d, then, contained more regulations about avoiding the people of injustice, which have been lost to us. It is not clear that this variant would necessarily be resonant of an “earlier” or “later” situation.

⁹⁹ However, a related statement occurs later in both 4QS^{b,d} and 1QS, but in 1QS 5.16, the Men of Injustice are not forbidden from eating in the *Yaḥad*, but rather the passage is concerned about consuming anything that comes from the outsiders’ property (ואל יואכל איש מאנשי הקדש [מונם]//4QS^d 1.9-10 [כול לוא יוכל מהונם]).

¹⁰⁰ Alexander and Vermes, eds., DJD 26.111; cf. Hempel, “The Community and Its Rivals According to the *Community Rule* From Caves 1 and 4,” *RevQ* 20 (2003): 47-81, esp. 63.

4QS ^d 7.1 1QS 8.25-26	ושב במדרש ובעצה ושב במושב במדרש ובעצה	שנת] שנתים אם תתם דרכו במושב במדרש ובעצה
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The context of this particular passage concerns the punishment of a member who sins inadvertently and is excluded from the pure meal and from the Council for two years. The passage in 1QS is longer than that in 4QS^d. Previous commentators have attempted to explain this by deriving one passage from the other—usually assuming that the scribe of 1QS added the words **אם תתם דרכו** and **במו**, the first part of **במושב**, to the passage in 4QS^d.¹⁰¹ This reading is possible, but the reconstruction has its difficulties: this “original” passage in 4QS^d would have lacked any *protasis*, such as “if his way is perfected...”; it would have simply stated, “...then he will return to study.” Nor would the resulting passage in 1QS have had any *apodosis* with the addition of this phrase. 1QS merely states, “if his way is perfected in the session, in study . . .” with no result clause. This reconstruction does not account for why both mother and daughter manuscript would contain incomplete expressions.

However, a new reading is possible if we resist the temptation to derive one copy from another. Presuming for a moment that these two versions developed *independently* from a common source, a new explanation arises, where “O” is my hypothetical original passage:

(O 4QS ^d 7.1 1QS 8.25	ושב במדרש ושב במדרש במושב במדרש	...שנתים ימים אם תתם דרכו בם ...שנתים ימים ...שנתים ימים
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From my reconstructed original, *both* 4QS^d and 1QS were independently corrupted. This original would have had both the “if and then” clauses, reading, “if he perfects his way in them (referring back to the list of ‘precepts according to which the Men of Perfect Holiness shall behave’, mentioned earlier in v. 20), then he shall return to the

¹⁰¹ Metso supposes that the redactor of 1QS has taken **ושב** and from it, cleverly built the word **במושב** to emphasize that the repentant one must have been faultless in the minor meetings of the community before being accepted back as a full member (*Textual Development* 87). Alternatively, Alexander and Vermes (DJD 26.112) conjecture that the longer passage of 1QS, **אם תתם דרכו במושב במדרש ובעצה** is a plus (cf. the shorter text of 4QS^d **ושב במדרש ובעצה**), but they do admit “the 1QS text is problematic, since it does not seem to have an apodosis to complete the protasis ... אם תתם.” Perhaps, they think, the scribe accidentally omitted **ושב** before **במושב**, inadvertently omitting the clause “then he shall return to the session.”

session” (אם תתם דרכו בם ושב במדרש). 4QS^d could have been corrupted from this hypothetical original by simple parablepsis (homoioteleuton), where the scribe’s eye skipped from the final *mem* of מים to that of בם, omitting the intervening passage. The scribe of 1QS, however, simply made a mistaken separation of words, copying בם ושב as one word (במושב) and inadvertently eliminating the *apodosis* result clause.

In any case, a broader interpretive framework is instructive here. Especially in this example, it makes more sense to consider that 1QS and 4QS^d represent traditions diverging from a common original rather than to attempt to derive one manuscript from another.

4QS ^d 7.1	אם לא
1QS 8.26	על [פ]י [ה]רבים אם לוא

Finally, 1QS contains the noteworthy plus “according to the authority of the Many,” clarifying who has the authority to judge the perfection of one’s way. There are no identifiable triggers in the text for why על פי הרבים may have fallen out secondarily in 4QS^d, although it is still technically possible. More likely, however, this is an intentional expansion for emphasis reflected in 1QS and therefore this additional passage would speak against the commonly-held interpretation that the Many were replaced in 1QS and that 1QS reflects a later, Zadokite *coup*.

2.3.3.5 Conclusions 4QS^{b,d}

Vermes calls the shorter text of 4QS^{b,d} more original, asserting that “1QS is more likely to be an expanded edition of the Cave 4 texts rather than 4QS an abridgement of 1QS.”¹⁰² Following him, Metso has argued that 4QS^{b,d} preserve a more original text than 1QS.¹⁰³ She cites the many instances in which 1QS records a longer text, a secondary insertion, which:

. . . strengthens the self-understanding of the community by stressing the role of the community as the true temple and guardian of the covenant as well as the true keeper of the Law, and which, on the other

¹⁰² Vermes, “Preliminary Remarks,” 255.

¹⁰³ Metso, *Textual Development*, 89. Compare as well, Milik, “Numérotation des feuilles des rouleaux,” 78; and Vermes, “Preliminary Remarks,” 255.

hand, provides a scriptural legitimization for the regulations of the community.¹⁰⁴

For her, then, the need for more scriptural justification was a later phenomenon, possibly when enthusiasm in the community had begun to wane. Therefore, 1QS was a later amplified version that does not run as smoothly as the more original text of 4QS^{b,d}.¹⁰⁵

It is true that 4QS^{b,d} witness a shorter text than that of 1QS.¹⁰⁶ 4QS^d probably lacked the text of 1QS cols. 1-4 and started with the equivalent of 1QS 5.1, although this is not entirely clear.¹⁰⁷ In their core, extant text, 4QS^{b,d} lack many words and phrases found in 1QS, the most significant of which are a number of biblical proof texts.¹⁰⁸ 4QS^{b,d} sometimes lack terminology related to community-understanding that is present in 1QS, such as “Community” (יחד) or references to the “eternal covenant” (ברית עולם).¹⁰⁹ There is greater emphasis (=more passages) in 1QS related to “perfecting one’s way.” 1QS includes the “perfection of his way” (ותום דרכו) as a second, otherwise unknown, criterion of the annual review of members (cf. 4QS^d 2.4) and adds other references to “perfecting his way” (e.g. 1QS 8.25-26). Also 1QS contains an additional phrase about atonement as part of the community’s overall theological mission (1QS 5.5-6; missing in 4QS^{b,d}). Whether these differences are chronologically later or earlier, it is unclear; but additional factors more likely are at play, such as the scribes’ social location and proximity to the codifying elite and to the exegetical activity of the *Yahad* hierarchy.

¹⁰⁴ Metso, *Textual Development*, 89.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*; cf. also Metso, “The Use of Old Testament Quotations.”

¹⁰⁶ When missing elsewhere in the Cave 4 copies, longer passages in 1QS are nearly always lacking in both 4QS^d and 4QS^b. This leads me to conclude either (1) many of these passages were added secondarily to the core, pre-4QS^{b,d} S material that never affected the Cave 4 traditions, or, less likely, (2) any scribal errors or parablepsis must have occurred either in *both* manuscripts, or (3) they were closely aligned to a common ancestor which lost these passages after 1QS was copied. And the first explanation seems to be the only viable one.

¹⁰⁷ Many have argued that it began here based on what may be a wider right-hand margin that bears no obvious signs of stitching. See Vermes’s most recent discussion of this proposal in “Qumran Forum Miscellanea I,” which is also supported by Metso (“The Textual Traditions”).

¹⁰⁸ For example, see the biblical citations found in 1QS 5.15, 5.17, and 8.14.

¹⁰⁹ Note Metso, “The Redaction of the Community Rule,” et al.

We cannot assume that 4QS^{b,d} simply represent the shorter, therefore the earlier, version of 1QS. They also contain a large number of “secondary” or even “later” looking variants that are not reflected in 1QS. Some of these “corruptions,” such as 4QS^d 2.2//1QS 5.23, cannot easily be derived from either manuscript as we know them (cf. also 4QS^g 1.2-3). Rather, they appear to have been altered from a common, unpreserved core of material, as we find in the exemplary case of the two-year punishment of the inadvertent sinner (4QS^d 7.1//1QS 8.25-26).

More significant, however, is the large number of ambiguous variants, which are the strongest witnesses to the idea that the traditions underwent independent development. The most memorable of these is the case of “the Many” (הרבים) who have authority over Law and property in 4QS^{b,d} (=1QS 5.2) instead of the “Sons of Zadok” (בני צדוק) in 1QS. Yet, as mentioned, this variation does not necessarily mean that the Zadokites historically replaced the Many, especially since 1QS actually *adds* emphasis to “the Many” and their authority elsewhere (1QS 8.26). And finally, there are otherwise unexplained different titles, or at least introductions, to the two texts, if we assume that the fifth column of 1QS is such a starting place: 1QS 5.1 reads *למשכיל על אנשי התורה*, while 4QS^d starts out with *מדרש*.

According to the general patterns of textual development, then, these variants point towards 4QS^{b,d} being closer to the original S material than 1QS, but not uniformly so. There are examples where 4QS^{b,d} also display longer readings, stemming from additions or corruptions (1QS 9.8-9=4QS^d 7.7-9, etc.). These discrepancies and the late date of the manuscripts themselves suggest a more complex picture of semi-independent textual growth than simply a single line of chronological development.

2.3.4 4Q259 *Serekh ha-Yahad*^e (4QS^e)

2.3.4.1 *General Textual Characteristics*

In areas of overlap, the preserved text of 4QS^e closely matches that of 1QS but nonetheless varies significantly in places from both 1QS and 4QS^{b,d}. The overall content of 4QS^e notably lacks a large section of 1QS (8.15-9.11; partially represented in 4QS^d), and instead of the

final Sage's Hymn (cf. 1QS, 4QS^b, 4QS^d, 4QS^f, 4QS^j), 4QS^e contains an otherwise unknown calendrical text (4QOtot).

Generally speaking, the text is quite similar to 1QS, although there are six occasions when the existing text of 4QS^e uses a defective spelling against a *plene* one in 1QS (1QS 7.10; 7.13; 8.5; 8.15; 9.14; 9.19) and only one case in the reverse (1QS 9.17). Two times 4QS^e has the direct object marker אַת when 1QS does not (1QS 7.13; 9.14); and once 4QS^e lacks אַת where it appears in 1QS (1QS 9.13). Compared to the 4QS^{b,d} tradition, 4QS^e has five fuller spellings (4QS^e 3.12; 3.13; 3.14; 3.19 2xs) and uses the direct object marker אַת once more than 4QS^{b,d} (4QS^e 3.14). Unlike the messy text of 1QS, the extant text of 4QS^e contains only four obvious corrections, usually written above the line, and two different correctors may have been involved in correcting the text.¹¹⁰

2.3.4.2 Evidence of Possible "Earlier" Readings in 4QS^e (Compared to 1QS)

4QS^e 1.4

] שים[

1QS 7.9

ונענש (ששה חודשים) שנה אחת

As part of the penal code, 1QS reads that a man who unduly holds a grudge against his neighbor shall be fined six months, but ששה חודשים is placed in deletion brackets and a new period of punishment, one year (שנה אחת) has been written above the line by a second hand. This secondary update conceivably reflects a later change in the praxis of the community, as Metso and others have also observed.¹¹¹ Nevertheless, 4QS^e preserves the earlier punishment of six months,¹¹² what appears to be the first regulation later

¹¹⁰ 4QS^e 1.14; 2.4, 14; 3.3. See also Alexander and Vermes, eds., DJD 26.133.

¹¹¹ Similar remarks are made in Metso, *Textual Development*, 70, 146 and in D. Dimant, "The Composite Character of the Qumran Sectarian Literature," 618, and above.

¹¹² This is the most likely reconstruction given the amount of space between this line and the next available text, followed by e.g. Alexander and Vermes, eds., DJD 26.135-36; Metso, *Textual Development*, 51; and García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition* (2 vols.; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1997), 1.528-29. But Wacholder and Abegg (*A Preliminary Edition of the Unpublished Dead Sea Scrolls: The Hebrew and Aramaic Texts from Cave Four: Reconstructed and Edited* [vol. 3; Washington, D.C.: Biblical Archaeology Society, 1995]) and Qimron (in Charlesworth et al., eds., *Rule of the Community*, 84-85) correlate

amended in 1QS. But we are left to ask why the 4QS^e copy preserves an earlier, unrevised proscription at least 25-75 years after 1QS. If all copying was done at Qumran, the scribe(s) of 4QS^e did not rely on 1QS as a *Vorlage*.

4QS^e 2.18-3.1] ת[ע[לם בהכין אלה] ל]
 והיו לרצון לכפר בעד הארצ ולחרוצ משפט רשעה (בְּתַמִּימִם דְּרָדָּ) ואין עולה
 1QS 8.10 להקם ברית לחו(17)ת עולם בהכון אלה ביסוד היחד שנתים ימים

In 1QS 8.10, a scribe has inserted a long and messy correction above the line, one that clarifies the purpose of the Community Council. Even the correction itself has been erased and corrected. This supralinear line was lost either due to scribal parablepsis, or it was added secondarily to the manuscript. This passage is lacking in 4QS^e, even though elsewhere in this section 4QS^e generally agrees with the uncorrected text of 1QS and most likely reflects an earlier shared *Vorlage* of S. Here, however, the version behind 1QS could not have been the *Vorlage* of 4QS^e, as this correction did not make its way into this later copy. Or, even if the supralinear addition was made much later to the Cave 1 manuscript, these same scribes did not feel a similar impulse to update 4QS^e if both were copied at Qumran. In sum, compared to 4QS^e, 1QS looks later and independent of 4QS^e.

4QS^e 3.3 [] אנשי שב ממון[] יבדלו
 1QS 8.13 מתוך מושב הנשי העול בתכונים האלה

The two supralinear words בתכונים האלה are absent both in 4QS^e and 4QS^d. These words further clarify the process of becoming members of the *Yahad*, “according to these arrangements.” Unless this phrase was accidentally left out in both 4QS^d and 4QS^e, which seems unlikely, this must be an elaboration by the scribe(s) of 1QS. The shorter text of 4QS^{d,e} is probably closer to the original, and again, when copied, these manuscripts would have been uninfluenced by this correction made to the earlier copy, 1QS, if created side-by-side.

the first line of 4QS^e with חודשים at the end of 1QS 7.8. In their reading, however, they assume there is a *vacat* in line 5, which is not the case. Rather a piece of the leather with text apparently had broken off, as Alexander and Vermes, as well as Metso, observe. 4Q266 10 ii, 3-4 contains a similar proscription and probably read [ש]ה חודשים].

1QS 8.15-9.12

A large section of 1QS (8.15-9.12) is missing in 4QS^e. Some believe that this section fell out secondarily in 4QS^e,¹¹³ which would indicate that the 4QS^e tradition was a later witness. However, if Metso is correct, the section missing in 4QS^e is actually a later insertion reflected in 1QS, resulting from three different interpolations.¹¹⁴ For her, then, 4QS^e represents a more pristine version of S than 1QS.¹¹⁵ Although it is impossible to say with certainty from a text-critical standpoint whether this passage was secondarily omitted or later inserted, there does not appear to be an obvious trigger for scribal omission. Given its length and the fact that the passage in 4QS^e is otherwise syntactically sound, it is unlikely to have been omitted by normal copyist oversight or parablepsis (against Puech¹¹⁶).

This long passage was an expansion to earlier S material that mirrored most closely the text behind 4QS^e. Some of this longer passage exhibits a strong community self-understanding and contains passages about the Community Council and the two messiahs. Additionally, we find an introduction to the basic principles of community life and a penal code for judging transgressions (at the beginning of 1QS col. 8).¹¹⁷ This well-developed theological section interestingly appears already in the early 1QS copy but does not affect 4QS^e (but contrast the small section preserved in 4QS^d).

¹¹³ C.H. Hunzinger, "Beobachtungen zur Entwicklung der Disziplinarordnung der Gemeinde von Qumran," in *Qumran-Probleme. Vorträge des Leipziger Symposiums über Qumran-Probleme vom 9. bis 14. Oktober 1961* (ed. H. Bardtke; Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1963), 231-47, esp. 242-43; Murphy-O'Connor, "La genèse littéraire de la règle de la communauté," 532; Pouilly, *La règle de la communauté de Qumran. Son évolution littéraire*, 18; C. Dohmen, "Zur Gründung der Gemeinde von Qumran (1QS VIII-IX)," *RevQ* 11 (1982): 81-86.

¹¹⁴ Metso, "The Primary Results of the Reconstruction of 4QS^e," 304-5.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 307.

¹¹⁶ Puech, "Recension: J. Pouilly, *La Règle de la Communauté de Qumran. Son évolution littéraire*," *RevQ* 10 (1979): 103-11, esp. 106-7.

¹¹⁷ Metso notes the characteristics of this section. Of the penal code, which she divides into two parts, she says that "a difference of practice can be observed in them, and this difference indicates two different stages in the development of the legislation," therefore assuming that legislation follows the praxis of the community, in *Textual Development*, 72.

2.3.4.3 Evidence of Possible Secondary/Corrupted readings in 4QS^e (Compared to 1QS)

4QS ^e 1.7	[הַנְּטֹר מְמוֹשׁ הַרְבִּים]
1QS 7.10	וְכֵן לְאִישׁ הַנֶּפֶס (פ) ר בְּמוֹשֵׁב הַרְבִּים

In this instance 4QS^e has what appears to be a corrupted reading, where the scribe wrote ממוש for ממושב, or what is in 1QS במושב, ostensibly the earlier reading. At least in this case, 4QS^e has a corrupted reading from its *Vorlage*. If 4QS^e was indeed an earlier witness of a singular line of manuscripts, this apparently did not make its way into later copies of S or happened right at the time when 4QS^e itself was copied.

4QS ^e 2.11	[מוֹנֵה בְּאַרְצָא בִּיצֵר סְמוּךְ וּבַעֲנוּהָ]
1QS 8.3	לְשִׁמּוֹר אֲמוֹנָה בְּאַרְצָא בִּיצֵר סְמוּכָא וְרוּחַ נְשִׁבְרָה

4QS^e 2.11 describes a long list of functions for the twelve men and three priests, of which 4QS^e contains one additional characteristic of this group not represented in 1QS: humility. The added phrase “in humility” is a plus. Based on their reconstruction of ורוח following the break in 4QS^e, Alexander and Vermes note that 4QS^e deviates from the normal practice of either allowing a single preposition to govern a series of nouns coordinated with waw (1QS) or to repeat the preposition for each element; 4QS^e contains a mixture of both conventions. Therefore, they are right to conclude, “This might suggest that בענוה is a secondary intrusion. It intervenes rather weakly between the two strongly biblical phrases נשברה and יצר סמוך.”¹¹⁸ As they are probably correct, this intrusion constitutes a later-looking deviations in 4QS^e.

2.3.4.4 Ambiguous/Content Variants

4QS ^e 1.11-13	[וְנִעְנַשׁ שְׁלֹשִׁים יוֹם] [אֶת יָדוֹ] [תְּבַגְדֵּךְ] [וְהוֹאֵא]
1QS 7.13-14	וְאִשֶׁר יוֹצִיא יָדוֹ מִתּוֹחַת בְּגָדוֹ וְהוֹאֵה פּוֹחַ... וְנִעְנַשׁ שְׁלֹשִׁים יוֹם

As part of the penal code, 1QS says a man who lets his “hand” be seen shall be punished for 30 days, but 4QS^e records a 60-day pun-

¹¹⁸ Alexander and Vermes, eds., DJD 26.143.

ishment period.¹¹⁹ Most likely, these variants do not result from scribal misreading.¹²⁰ So from a text-critical standpoint, it is neither possible to say which is the earlier reading, nor if one developed from the other. Nevertheless, we must note that the two punishments are incompatible and speak against the possibility that both texts were simultaneously in effect in the same community.¹²¹

4QS^e 2.13-14 נכונה עצת היחד] למ[שפֹּט עולם
1QS 8.5 נכונה (ה)עצת היחד באמת (ל) למִטְעָת עולם

We have the strange contradiction where 1QS has the Community Council being established in truth as “an eternal plant” corrected from an original “in eternal time” (בעת עולם); however, 4QS^e has the Council being established “for eternal judgment.” Alexander and Vermes estimate that the 1QS phrase, למטעת עולם, is more original as the idea of “plant(ing)” is already known from the Bible.¹²² Yet we do not need to assume the original, uncorrected text in 1QS (“in eternal time”) was an error, as it also makes sense in the context. Perhaps the supralinear addition was a secondary modification to an originally coherent phrase, where the scribe was correcting towards something already known and perhaps more familiar to him. The reading “for eternal judgment” (4QS^e 2.14) is otherwise unattested in the Scrolls, and therefore, the scribe of 4QS^e was likely not secondar-

¹¹⁹ This reading is the most probable one given the amount of space for the letters, following Alexander and Vermes, DJD 26.135, 138; and Metso, *Textual Development* 51, 52 n. 10. No doubt influenced by 1QS, Qimron, however, reads של[ו]שים in 4QS^e, in “Cave IV Fragments (4Q255-264=4QMSS A-J),” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls. Vol 1: Rule of the Community and Related Documents* (ed. J.H. Charlesworth; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1994), 53-103, esp. 84. But there is hardly enough space for a missing *lamed*.

¹²⁰ 4QS^e's reading of שלושים יום could possibly be an error for שלושים יום. However, it is easy to see how a scribe might err towards שלושים, given that it appears immediately before and after our passage (lines 9, 11?, 14), but the *lectio difficilior* is to be preferred here. Note that the D tradition (4Q270 7 i, 3) recorded שלושים in the most likely reconstruction.

¹²¹ Metso, following J. Baumgarten, cautions against making overly hasty conclusions about the directional development of the penal code because 4QS^e records both more lenient (cf. 1QS 7.8) and here stricter punishments (cf. 1QS 7.14) than 1QS, in *Textual Development*, 70-71.

¹²² Alexander and Vermes, eds., DJD 26.143.

ily tampering with the text, as if that were the case, we would have expected the result to be a more familiar phrase.

4QS ^e 2.16	ובל יחישו ממקומם	[זרעזעו
1QS 8.8	ובל יחישו ממקומם	יסודותיהו זרעזעו

Given the space of the lacuna, 4QS^e apparently did not include יסודותיהו, “whose foundations,” written above the line in 1QS 8.8. 4QS^d could also parallel 1QS and have יסודותיהו, but it is fragmentary and unclear at this point.¹²³ The passage makes more sense with יסודותיהו, for without it, the following plural verb and plural suffix (יחישו ממקומם) have no direct antecedent. One might assume the antecedent that came earlier was “a tried wall, a precious cornerstone” (חומת הבחן פנת יקר), but these two phrases are in apposition and thus would require a singular verb.

More likely, the plural subject refers to the twelve men and three priests, the Community Council, mentioned a number of lines earlier and the implicit subject of the passage. This reading would help us to understand why a scribe of 1QS wished to clarify further that these 15 were the “foundations” (יסודות), as Alexander and Vermes suggest this could reflect an implicit exegesis of Isa 28:16.¹²⁴ If so, 1QS would be the later and fuller version. Another possibility is that יסודותיהו fell out by simple haplography triggered by the repeated initial *yods* in an earlier text common to both 4QS^e and 1QS; in this case, 1QS was corrected but 4QS^e was not. With either explanation, we are left with only ambiguous conclusions regarding the relative chronological priority of the versions.

¹²³ Alexander and Vermes, along with Metso, reconstruct יסודותיהו זרעזעו in the lacuna (4QS^d 6.2), but in contrast, Qimron, García Martínez and Tigchelaar are more correct to find no space for יסודותיהו in 4QS^d.

¹²⁴ Here they read יסודותיהו as a parallel to מוסד יסד בציון (כה אמר אדני יוהו הנני יסד בציון) מוסד מוסד מוסד המאמין לא יחיש אבן אבן בחן פנת מוסד מוסד המאמין לא יחיש (Isa 28:16), which Alexander and Vermes see as a prediction of the establishment of the Community Council (1QS 8.1; 4Q265 7 ii, 7), as suggested in DJD 26.106.

4QS^e 2.17-18 [נִחוּחַ וּבֵית תַּמִּים וְאִמַּת ב] ל
 1QS 8.9 וּלְקִרִיב רִיחַ נִחוּחַ וּבֵית תַּמִּים וְאִמַּת בִּישְׂרָאֵל

Here we find a case similar to the one above, where the later copy (4QS^e) does not contain the supralinear insertion made in 1QS 8.9 by a second scribe.¹²⁵ Here the ריח could have fallen out by homoioteleuton, triggered by the repeated *het*, or more feasibly, the earlier copy of 1QS was expanded by a second scribe. Yet this same updating did not make it into the 4QS^e manuscript, copied later. It is not clear that one version was influencing another in this instance.

4QS^e 3.4 לְלַכַּת הַמְדַבֵּר] ה אַת דֶּרֶךְ הָאֵמֶת
 1QS 8.13 לְלַכַּת לַמְדַבֵּר לַפְנוֹת שֵׁם אַת דֶּרֶךְ הוֹאֵהָ

Alluding to Isa 40:3 and the wilderness calling, 1QS speaks about preparing the way of the LORD (דֶּרֶךְ הוֹאֵהָ), where הוֹאֵהָ, otherwise unknown outside of this text, is a scribal convention to replace the Tetragrammaton.¹²⁶ 4QS^e has the same passage but probably intentionally replaces the Tetragrammaton with the term “the truth,” הָאֵמֶת. It is impossible to say which reading is more “original,” or to be assured that 1QS is a corrupt reading, as it may initially appear to be.¹²⁷ Both are simply alternative scribal techniques to avoid writing out the Tetragrammaton. The only alternative is to read 4QS^e at face value, which depicts a journey to the wilderness for the “way of truth” (a phrase known from other Scrolls¹²⁸), but this would constitute an unexpected reading of Isa 40:3.

¹²⁵ Note that the *het* in the supralinear ריח does have a serif, as the *hets* in the main body of text generally do (and in the נִחוּחַ right below, 1QS 8.9). On the variation between ריח and נִחוּחַ, note Alexander and Vermes, eds., DJD 26.113.

¹²⁶ Although one should note that a few lines later the scribe uses the convention of four dots to render the divine name (1QS 8.14), which may have resulted from this being a direct citation of the biblical text. For some earlier treatments on the use of the Tetragrammaton in the Qumran texts, see Patrick W. Skehan, “The Divine Name at Qumran, in the Masada-Scroll, and in the Septuagint,” *BIOSECS* 13 (1980): 14-44; and Stegemann, “Religionsgeschichtliche Erwägungen zu den Gottesbezeichnungen in den Qumrantexten,” in *Qumrân. Sa piété, sa théologie et son milieu* (ed. M. Delcor; Paris: Duculot, 1978), 195-217.

¹²⁷ Following Metso, *Textual Development*, 71.

¹²⁸ The “way(s) of truth” is mentioned in 1QS 4.17; CD 3.15; 4Q416 2 iii, 14; 4Q418 9+9 a-c, 15. Also, one may note that elsewhere the sectarians describe themselves as followers of “(the) Truth”: “People of Truth” 1QpHab 7.10; 1QH^a 6.2, 10.14; 4Q275 2.3; 11Q19 57.8; “Sons of (His/Your) Truth” 1QS 4.5, 4.6; 4QD^a

4QS ^d 8.3	להשכילם ברזי פלא ואמת בתוך אנשי היחד
4QS ^e 3.17-18	רזי פלא ואם תיתם דרך סוד היחד []
1QS 9.18-19	להשכילם ברזי פלא ואמת בתוך אנשי היחד

In 3.17, 4QS^e contains a variant description of the teaching duties of and the forum for the Sage. 1QS and 4QS^d record that he should teach of the mysteries of “wonder and truth in the midst of the people of the community.” Instead of *אמת*, “truth,” 4QS^e writes *ואם תיתם*,¹²⁹ which at first glance appears to be some sort of textual corruption. On the other hand, this is probably not the case; as Alexander and Vermes correctly point out, we can read the text as received. Syntactically it makes sense to read *ואם תיתם* as the beginning of a parenthetical *protasis*. This reading best accounts for the passage as a whole, leaving us with the translation:

... and thus he [the Sage] shall instruct them in the mysteries of marvel and *if the way of the assembly of the Community becomes perfect*, [by each man walking in perfection] with his neighbour in all that has been revealed to them, then this is the time of preparing the way into the wilderness... (4QS^e 3.17-19, following Alexander and Vermes; emphasis mine).

4QS^e, then, gives no account of where the Sage is to teach, as 1QS does, but this translation is the most coherent reading of the text. It also gives us an interesting variation to the wilderness theology presented in 1QS. As Alexander and Vermes agree, in 4QS^e it appears as if a move to the wilderness is not something realized in the actual time of the composition of this section.

Another interesting variant is that of *סוד היחד*, the “Assembly of the Community,” which 4QS^e has instead of *אנשי היחד*, the “People of the Community” (1QS). The label *סוד היחד* is used elsewhere in the Scrolls, including in 1QS, and Metso suggests it is either synonymous with *עצת היחד* or represents a different group in the organ-

11.7; 4QD^e 7 i, 20; 1QH^a 7.35, 14.29, 15.30, 18.27; 1QM 17.8; “Followers of Truth” 1QS 1.19; 1QH^a 9.30; 1QM 13.1; 13.2; 13.9, 14.2; and “Seekers of Truth” 4Q418 69 ii, 7.

¹²⁹ Charlesworth suggests that *ואם תיתם* is a corruption of *ואמת ותם*, assuming the scribe mistakenly divided the words of his *Vorlage* (Charlesworth et al., eds., *Rule of the Community* 40, n. 302), but his reconstruction is still not without its syntactical problems. See the challenges raised in Alexander and Vermes, eds., DJD 26.149 and also Metso, *Textual Development*, 73.

ization of the community or at least different circles (see also 3.1.2.1).¹³⁰ Nevertheless, using different phraseology, the scribe of 4QS^e contextualizes the audience of the Sage differently than the scribe of the Cave 1 tradition. One self-identifier is not necessarily earlier than the other—as far as we know—but the terminology of 1QS is not surprising, given that elsewhere 1QS seems to have a stronger self-awareness of אֲנָשֵׁי הַיְחָד than is reflected in the other versions.¹³¹

2.3.4.5 *Content: Appended Text 4QOtot*

4QS^e breaks off at 1QS 9.24, thereby lacking the Sage’s Hymn (1QS 10.5-11.22). In its place, the scribe of 4QS^e has appended a calendrical work, 4QOtot (4Q319) in such a way that it is clear he considered this work to be an integral part of S. Indeed, modern scholars have in many ways created an artificial distinction between Otot and the preceding S material by labeling it as a separate text with a different siglum.

4QOtot appears to be of a practical nature rather than of a theological or literary one. It gives the mathematical correlation between certain jubilee periods, an astronomical sign, or ‘ot, and the sabbatical years and rotation of priestly divisions. This rotation was for the priestly families when serving in the Temple, as outlined in 1 Chronicles 24. According to Uwe Glessmer “the names of the 24 Priestly courses which are characteristic for the ‘calendrical documents’ [from Qumran] permit the assumption that at least this 364-day calendar was connected to temple and worship in some way.”¹³²

Although *Otot* is clearly of a different genre, Glessmer has confirmed that there is a close thematic connection between this work and the rest of 4QS^e, particularly because the preceding section emphasizes the “time” to prepare the way and other chronological matters. 1QS also had calendrical matter at this point because the

¹³⁰ Metso, *Textual Development*, 73.

¹³¹ The most prominent example is the difference in headings of the core of the S material: 1QS addresses the work to אֲנָשֵׁי הַיְחָד (וְזֶה הַסֵּרֵךְ לְאֲנָשֵׁי הַיְחָד, 5.1), while 4QS^{b,d} is directed towards אֲנָשֵׁי הַתּוֹרָה (מְדַרְשׁ לְמַשְׁכִּיל עַל אֲנָשֵׁי הַתּוֹרָה, 4QS^d 1.1).

¹³² Uwe Glessmer, “The Otot-Texts (4Q319) and the Problem of Intercalations in the Context of the 364-Day Calendar,” in *Qumranstudien, Schriften des Institutum Judaicum Deltzschianum* (ed. H.-J. Fabry, et al.; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck, 1996), 125-64, esp. 143.

Sage's Hymn opens with a poetical calendar of prayer times.¹³³ Because the copy of 4QS^c/4QOtot has been dated paleographically to 50-25 BCE, Glessmer believes that even at this relatively late time "a synchronization of the 364-day calendar based on the six-year-priestly rotation with the moon was of interest for some people."¹³⁴

Certainly this text represents the *Yahad's* continuing engagement with the Jerusalem Temple. Such a work originally would have found its *Sitz im Leben* in the Temple and its related service concerns. Of course, *Yahad* members could have retained an interest in the Temple service rotations after they had left the Temple environs and its calendrical system, but one wonders if this appended text may point back closer to a time (and place) when some members actually *were* involved in the priestly rotations. We could imagine that this text had closer Jerusalem roots than others. At the very least, it is one example of the *Yahad's* S traditions that—even if developed within a breakaway group—was still dialoguing with greater Jewish society (cf. the "radial-dialogic model"). That is to say, they at some point were redefining themselves apart from the Temple and its calendar, but they were still concerned about reconciling themselves with it.

2.4 LEGAL INCOMPATIBILITIES IN THE VERSIONS

The composite text of S includes a core of regulations concerning community conduct; unfortunately, due to the fate of preservation, only a small amount of this penal code has been preserved from the Cave 4 copies: namely a small portion from 4QS^c. Nevertheless, even within the extant portion we find discrepancies between it and 1QS.

For example, there is a contradiction between 1QS 7.14 and 4QS^c 1.11-13, where the regulation concerns a member who allows his nakedness to be seen and therefore is punished. The penalty for such an action in 1QS lasts thirty days (שלושים יום), but 4QS^c reads instead sixty days (ששים יום):

4QS ^c 1.11-13	וּנְעַנְשׁ שְׁשִׁים יוֹם	[...	וּנְעַנְשׁ שְׁשִׁים יוֹם	]	וּנְעַנְשׁ שְׁשִׁים יוֹם	]	וּנְעַנְשׁ שְׁשִׁים יוֹם	]	וּנְעַנְשׁ שְׁשִׁים יוֹם	]	וּנְעַנְשׁ שְׁשִׁים יוֹם
1QS 7.13-14	וּנְעַנְשׁ שְׁלוֹשִׁים יוֹם	...	וּנְעַנְשׁ שְׁלוֹשִׁים יוֹם	...	וּנְעַנְשׁ שְׁלוֹשִׁים יוֹם	...	וּנְעַנְשׁ שְׁלוֹשִׁים יוֹם	...	וּנְעַנְשׁ שְׁלוֹשִׁים יוֹם	...	וּנְעַנְשׁ שְׁלוֹשִׁים יוֹם

¹³³ Alexander and Vermes, eds., DJD 26.152.

¹³⁴ Glessmer, "The Otot-Texts (4Q319) and the Problem of Intercalations," 143, 146.

Given the discrepancy in punishments, one for thirty days and the other for sixty, it would be hard to argue that both edicts were in effect at the same time.¹³⁵ I discuss in more detail the *Sitz im Leben* of the penal code and its function within the community in chapter three, but I can summarize a few stances here: we can: (1) assume this law had no regulatory effect; these regulations—and therefore Rule texts in general—could have been “dead texts,” descriptive rather than prescriptive.¹³⁶ But this scenario seems unlikely given the scribal intervention we find reflected in the Cave 1 copy itself. In 1QS 7-8, for example, a second scribe made a number of scribal updates, notably here to the penal code; these emendations seem to reflect developments in actual community praxis, as Metso and others have noted.¹³⁷ If subsequent scribes were updating the regulations and text according to changing community practice, would we not expect this same type of scribal intervention in the text of 4QS^{e,b,d} if the same circles were copying them as well?

¹³⁵ This regulation also appears in the Cave 4 D material, although it is not clear from these fragmentary witnesses how long the punishment was to last. 4Q266 10 ii, 11-12 could be restored וְהוֹבִדְלָם שְׁלֹשִׁים יוֹם וְנִעְנַשׁ [וְ] or וְהוֹבִדְלָם שְׁלֹשִׁים יוֹם וְנִעְנַשׁ, but the latter is rightly preferred by J. Baumgarten (DJD 18.74) and Alexander and Vermes (DJD 26.138).

¹³⁶ That is to say, they possibly were, as Metso proposes, only historical records of oral decisions. Metso explains that the many versions of S may have never existed in any single, authoritative version, but that the different redactions, with their different reflections of community leaders, may have been circulating at the same time, presumably at Qumran (*Textual Development*, 154-55). In this way, she divorces the legal sections of S from actual community regulation, finding them rather to be records of oral traditions of the community. They were not rule-books that were binding in any way. But one source of her hesitancy to draw an equals-sign between these texts and historical reality is “the plurality of the various rule texts found at Qumran on the one hand, and the fact that older versions of the documents continued to be copied even when new versions were available.” See her “Constitutional Rules at Qumran,” *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment* (ed. P. Flint and J.C. VanderKam; Leiden: Brill, 1998), 186-210, esp. 209; cf. also “In Search of the *Sitz im Leben* of the *Community Rule*,” 314. Or if we go as far as Philip Davies, these texts were mere literary creations, distinct from any living community. He asserts that “the *Sitz im Leben* of 1QS is not a living community; the manuscript has not been written to serve as a rule for a community, or even necessarily written at all within a community” (“Redaction and Sectarianism in the Qumran Scrolls,” 157). However, more explanations are available to us if we eliminate the presumption that these versions *were* copied side-by-side at Qumran.

¹³⁷ For example, 1QS 7.8, below. Cf. Metso, *Textual Development*, 70, 72, 74, 99, 128.

Alternatively, (2) we could be persuaded by the practical nature of the Rule genre. With the many erasures, corrections and *vacats* in 1QS, J. Baumgarten notes that this messiness may “indicate changes as a result of developments in the community’s disciplinary rules.”¹³⁸ As such, we would do better to conclude that these codes served some sort of regulatory function for sect members. If they were prescriptive, then the discrepancies between 1QS and the Cave 4 versions are even more significant, for their audience may have varied in theological nuances, but they cannot have followed competing laws.¹³⁹ For as Sanders notes:

Although members of a religious society may harbour different expectations of the future, they cannot obey two competing laws simultaneously. Thus *legal* differences among the Scrolls must be investigated very carefully. But we should again recall that not all Essenes lived at the same time and in the same place.¹⁴⁰ (emphasis his)

More instructive is the example in 1QS 7.8, where a second scribe updated the length of punishment for one who bears an undue grudge against his fellow. The punishment was originally six months, but later “six months” was placed in deletion brackets and updated to one year in the Cave 1 copy, an emendation written by a second hand above the line:¹⁴¹

4QS^e 1.4] שים[
 1QS 7.9 שנה אהת ... ונענש (שה חודשים) לרעהו (י)

The beginning of 4QS^e, although fragmentary, must have preserved the earlier punishment of six months recorded in 1QS, a fairly secure

¹³⁸ “The Cave 4 Versions of the Qumran Penal Code,” 273. Cf. also Licht who notes the unusually high number of corrections and erasures in the penal code, although he claims that the *vacats* indicate the places where the scribe was uncertain about the correct text in his *Vorlage*, in *Megillat ha-serakhim: mi-megillot Midbar Yehudah* (Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1996), 158. These changes, sometimes made by a second hand, reflect their concern with keeping the laws updated, thereby indicating that the regulations were normative.

¹³⁹ Note similar remarks made by Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism: A Comparison of Patterns of Religion* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1977), 325.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 35.

¹⁴¹ According to Martin, a conspicuous second hand (“Scribe B”) is responsible for the supralinear updating, as witnessed by his distinctive two-stroke aleph (*Scribal Character*, 439).

reconstruction given the alignment of text in 4QS^e with the rest of the column (*per* Alexander and Vermes¹⁴²).

First, this example in 1QS confirms that the original “six months” was not a random scribal error because it is attested in another copy. Second, the emendation in 1QS attests to the scribes’ dynamic engagement with the text, where a second scribe updated the legal code to reflect what must have been an actual change in punishment length. Such scribal activity would have been unnecessary if this was a mere literary record, and this is the strongest evidence that this text reflects the praxis of a living community. More significant, perhaps, is that 4QS^e preserves “six months,” the earlier punishment in 1QS. Given the paleographic dates of these two copies, with 4QS^e having been copied 25-75 years after 1QS, it is unclear why the earlier regulation would have been preserved and would not have undergone the same type of correction if indeed it was copied alongside 1QS. Rather, we should strongly consider the possibility that at some point the regulation(s) reflected in 4QS^e were developed in a distinct historical-literary context, one retaining an earlier proscription that was otherwise updated in the 1QS circle(s).

2.5 ORTHOGRAPHY AND SCRIBAL CONVENTIONS

The unique orthographic systems represented in the Scrolls have been the subject of much study,¹⁴³ and the S manuscripts themselves utilize markedly different spelling systems among them. So we may ask what—if anything—these differences represent. Can they be used to signal different scribal schools?

¹⁴² Alexander and Vermes, eds., DJD 26.135-36. A piece of the leather with the writing on it has flaked off, and some have mistakenly identified it as a *vacat* and therefore have not restored the text (Qimron, “Cave IV Fragments”; Wacholder and Abegg, eds., *A Preliminary Edition of the Unpublished Dead Sea Scrolls*).

¹⁴³ E.g. Johann Cook, “Orthographical Peculiarities in the Dead Sea Biblical Scrolls,” *RevQ* 14 (1989): 293-305; Freedman, “The Massoretic Text and the Qumran Scrolls: A Study in Orthography,” in *Qumran and the History of the Biblical Text* (ed. F.M. Cross and S. Talmon; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1975), 196-211; Edward Y. Kutscher, *ha-Lashon veba-reka’ ha-leshoni shel megilat Yesha’yahu ha-shelemah* (Jerusalem: 1959), 6-7, 95-140 [Hebrew]; Tov, “Groups of Biblical Texts Found at Qumran”; Werner Weinberg, “The History of Hebrew *Plene* Spelling: From Antiquity to Haskalah,” *HUCA* 46 (1975): 457-87; and H. Yalon, *Megillot midbar* (Jerusalem, 1967) [Hebrew].

2.5.1 *Orthographic Systems in S*

Although the Hebrew Bible itself exhibits a high degree of spelling variation,¹⁴⁴ the Scrolls do so even more. Most notable is the preponderance of *plene* spellings, with some Scrolls, such as 1QIsa^a, exhibiting a much fuller orthographic system than that of the MT. Nevertheless, even the *plene*-type manuscripts were not part of a “free-for-all” spelling system, but a relatively conventionalized one.¹⁴⁵

Among the S manuscripts, we also find a range of spelling conventions. As in other Scrolls, there are three main systems: defective, full and super-full (borrowing from Alexander and Vermes’s terminology).¹⁴⁶ Of the super-full, typical of the Scrolls, are the longer pronominal forms (הוא, מלכמה, היא, etc.) and other uniquely long spellings (לכה, ביא, etc.). Individual S copies do not conform completely to any one system, and this inconsistency leads us to believe that individual scribes retained a degree of orthographic freedom¹⁴⁷ and/or used a number of “frozen” archaic forms. A few general remarks can be made about the characteristics of the different copies (Table 2.3):

¹⁴⁴ See the study by James Barr, *The Variable Spellings of the Hebrew Bible* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989). Yet Barr goes to the extreme, contra Cross and Freedman, to say that orthographic variation is not grounded in historical development, claiming that certain spelling tendencies in the biblical books were not at all related to their relative date of composition.

¹⁴⁵ Yalon points out that there appears to be a standardized system within *plene* orthography. E.g., *yod* is never used as a *mater lectionis* for /i/ before a quiescent *shewa* or a consonant with a *dagesh forte* (*Megillot midbar*, 51).

¹⁴⁶ Alexander and Vermes, eds., DJD 26.8.

¹⁴⁷ For similar comments, see Tov, “The Orthography and Language of the Hebrew Scrolls Found at Qumran and the Origin of these Scrolls,” *Text* 13 (1986): 31-49, esp. 36.

TABLE 2.3

General Orthographic Characteristics

1QS	Predominantly full with consistently long (“super-full”) spellings
4QS ^b	Predominantly full; often matches 1QS; לוא and כול are always full; but כי is written without the <i>aleph</i> ¹⁴⁸
4QS ^d	Predominantly defective; לא and כי are always in the short form; כל is written defectively 19 out of 21 times.
4QS ^c	Predominantly full; nearly identical orthographic system as 1QS

1QS is consistently full, with a large number of “super-full” spellings (ביא, בקוראכה, לכה, היאה, הוואה etc.). Again, for reference sake, we will use 1QS as the standard to which we compare the Cave 4 copies but only because it is the most complete copy. Of our three manuscripts, 4QS^c is most closely aligned with the orthographic system of 1QS, differing from it in only five major instances (one fuller spelling and three more defective ones).¹⁴⁹ 4QS^c also consistently incorporates longer pronouns, such as היאה, הוואה.

4QS^b has the next fullest system to the one in 1QS (and 4QS^c). The scribe of 4QS^b frequently uses *plene* spellings along with other longer forms such as הוואה, עוונכה, דרביהמה (but he consistently did not use the longer form of ביא).¹⁵⁰ Nonetheless, 4QS^b still contains a number of defective readings, contrasting its sister text, 4QS^d, which is predominantly defective. In one case 4QS^b is *corrected* from a defective towards a full spelling, to correspond with 4QS^d (but against the defective reading in 1QS 10.5). Overall, the scribe of 4QS^b preferred defective spellings more frequently than did that of

¹⁴⁸ There may have been one *plene* ביא written in the *lacuna* in 20.7, but it is unclear. Otherwise כי was consistently written without the aleph (cf. 9.5, 20.5).

¹⁴⁹ 4QS^c contains a fuller spelling than 1QS in 3.14 and defective spellings in 1.6, 2.14, and 3.6.

¹⁵⁰ Note, for instance, the short form used at the end of 4QS^b 9.5.

1QS¹⁵¹ and copied a text closely aligned with the orthography of the MT.¹⁵²

Orthographically, 4QS^d is quite distinct from 1QS (and 4QS^b), consistently employing defective spellings (in some 37 cases against otherwise *plene* readings in 1QS). Although 4QS^d occasionally has a full spelling, its predominantly defective orthography is one of the few distinguishing characteristics from 4QS^b. There are ten cases where 4QS^d contains a defective spelling against a full spelling in 4QS^b, but nearly every case is that of the word כל (vs. כּוּל, 4QS^b).

TABLE 2.4
Orthographic Comparison in *Contrast to 1QS*

	Additional <i>Plene</i> Spellings	Additional <i>Defective</i> Spellings
4QS ^b	6	4
4QS ^d	8	37
4QS ^c	1	4

The variety of spelling systems in the S manuscripts leads us to no clear conclusions about the relationship of the texts. But certain options present themselves: (1) Different orthographic systems appear in S because none was systematized in the Qumran scribal school, thereby leaving the decision to use full or defective spelling up to the individual scribe; but evidence shows much more than free-for-all spelling. (2) Orthographic preferences evolved over time; in this way, we could explain the prevalence of or lack of full orthogra-

¹⁵¹ See also the similar conclusions made by Mesto in *Textual Development*, 74-76 and by Alexander and Vermes, eds., DJD 26.45, 89.

¹⁵² Tov, "Further Evidence for the Existence of a Qumran Scribal School," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Fifty Years after their Discovery: Proceedings of the Jerusalem Congress, July 20-25, 1997* (ed. L.H. Schiffman, et al.; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, in cooperation with The Shrine of the Book, Israel Museum, 2000), 199-216. Also note the rebuttal by Dong-Hyuk Kim, "Free Orthography in a Strict Society: Reconsidering Tov's 'Qumran Orthography,'" *DSD* 11 (2004): 72-81; however, Kim's essay is based on Tov's earlier work and does not consider his most-recently revised ideas, as Tov points out in "Reply to Dong-Huyk Kim's Paper on 'Tov's Qumran Orthography,'" *DSD* 11 (2004): 359-60.

phy due to its relative date; yet 4QS^{b,d} contradict this conclusion. Or (3) spelling preferences were driven by different scribal schools (or master-student relationships), which preferred one system over another.

Some have affirmed each of the above proposals. Alexander and Vermes contend that predominantly defective spelling generally occurs in earlier manuscripts, while mostly *plene* spelling would be expected in the later S witnesses. Yet they are hesitant to draw strong conclusions: “[w]hether this indicates a historical trend cannot be determined with any certainty.”¹⁵³ It is interesting to note, however, that they do use orthography elsewhere as a criterion for determining the relationship between the copies. “Like 1QS, 4QS^b has a predominantly full orthography with some ‘super-full’ spellings, whereas 4QS^d is predominantly defective,” and as such they therefore find it hard to posit that 4QS^b and 4QS^{b,d} are stemmatically related.¹⁵⁴

Indeed, the very case of 4QS^b and 4QS^d speaks against a simple chronological explanation for spelling differences, as both of these witnesses are contemporaneous but display markedly different spelling tendencies.

2.5.1.1 *Was there a Qumran “Scribal School”?*

Tov, however, would attribute the different orthographic systems to different scribal schools. Tov has classified those Scrolls which exhibit a generally full orthography as those stemming from Qumran, or those of a “Qumran practice.” In his view, the unique *plene* spelling system is the hallmark of a sectarian (=Qumranite) work, one product of a “Qumran scribal school.”¹⁵⁵ These manuscripts of the Qumran scribal practice contrast a second group of manuscripts represented in the Qumran library, namely those that *lack* peculiar Qumran spellings and forms. These he finds to be generally defective

¹⁵³ Alexander and Vermes, eds., DJD 26.8.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid., 11.

¹⁵⁵ Tov, “Reply to Dong-Huyk Kim’s Paper on ‘Tov’s Qumran Orthography’”; “Groups of Biblical Texts Found at Qumran”; “Further Evidence for the Existence of a Qumran Scribal School”; “The Scribes of the Texts Found in the Judean Desert,” in *The Quest for Context and Meaning: Studies in Biblical Intertextuality in Honor of James A. Sanders* (ed. C.A. Evans and S. Talmon; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 131-52; and “The Orthography and Language of the Hebrew Scrolls.”

and more closely approximating the MT.¹⁵⁶ Cross also recognizes these two distinct systems; he names what Tov calls “Qumranic spelling” as “baroque orthography,” a system that was marked by its archaizing tendencies. Cross also agrees generally with Tov that a large number of the full texts were copied at Qumran.¹⁵⁷

Tov was not the first to suggest that there was a Qumran scribal school,¹⁵⁸ but he elaborates on a specific set of criteria he isolates for this school. In addition to unique orthographic and morphological systems, Tov finds (1) the presence of scribal marks and interventions on the manuscripts, (2) the use of *initial-medial* letters in final position, (3) the presence of specific writing materials (animal skins and papyrus), and (4) the use of paleo-Hebrew for writing the divine name all to be hallmarks of Qumranic manuscripts.¹⁵⁹

Of the S manuscripts, then, he places 1QS firmly within the manuscripts of the “Qumran scribal practice.” It exhibits the “super-full” orthography that he qualifies as strictly Qumranic and contains a number of scribal corrections and markings, such as the *paragraphos* sign, cancellation dots, parentheses signs and other cryptic scribal symbols. Finally, 1QS contains evidence of more than one scribal hand, indicating the kind of cooperation one would expect to find within a scribal school.¹⁶⁰ Yet, interestingly, by his criteria, neither 4QS^e nor 4QS^{b,d} fits securely into Tov’s category of Qumran scribal manuscripts. According to him, 4QS^e contains the fullest and therefore the most “Qumranic,” spellings, but exhibits none of his 13

¹⁵⁶ Tov, “The Orthography and Language of the Hebrew Scrolls,” 33. See also more recently, “The Qumran Scribal Practice: The Evidence from Orthography and Morphology,” in *In Verbum et Calamus: Semitic and Related Studies in Honour of the Sixtieth Birthday of Professor Tapani Harviainen* (ed. H. Juusola, et al.; Helsinki: Finnish Oriental Society, 2004), 353-68; *Scribal Practices and Approaches Reflected in the Texts Found in the Judean Desert* (STDJ 56; Leiden: Brill, 2004).

¹⁵⁷ Cross, *The Ancient Library of Qumran*, 174-77. He notes, “I think it is true that the scribes in the Qumrân scriptorium were enchanted with this archaizing style, and that Tov is correct in recognizing that many if not all baroque texts were copied at Qumrân” (177).

¹⁵⁸ Martin hesitantly suggested that a Qumran scribal school existed based on differences he found in the orthography and correction techniques of the Cave 1 texts, in *The Scribal Character of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Louvain: Publications Universitaires, 1958), 1.393-402; 2.710-11.

¹⁵⁹ Tov, “Hebrew Biblical Manuscripts from the Judean Desert,” and see above.

¹⁶⁰ Tov, “Further Evidence for the Existence of a Qumran Scribal School,” 201-11.

examples of Qumran scribal practices.¹⁶¹ Tov also points out that neither 4QS^d nor the fragmentary 4QS^j shares the orthographic or morphological characteristics of his Qumran scribal school, including its typical scribal markings.¹⁶²

Yet, although some have tentatively accepted the use of Tov's criteria in determining "sectarian" texts,¹⁶³ others have rightly challenged aspects of Tov's theory of a *Qumran* scribal school. Esther Chazon, for one, agrees that Tov's taxonomy can determine whether a Scroll was copied in the same scribal tradition or even in the same school as most sectarian writings. However, she rightly questions if this "school" originated in or functioned exclusively at Qumran. She says:

An interesting historical question arises when Tov's criterion is taken as proof that a Scroll was produced at Qumran. The date assigned on paleographical grounds to several Scrolls which meet this criterion (4QPs^a, 4QQoh^m, and 4Q504) is the middle of the second century B.C.E.—a date earlier than that ascribed to the oldest surviving manuscripts of the undisputedly sectarian writings, and earlier than the dates generally suggested by the archaeological evidence for the settlement at Qumran.¹⁶⁴

In this case we would have to assume that some of these "sectarian" texts were not copied at Qumran at all, perhaps even reflecting an older scribal tradition in which the Qumran scribes were trained.¹⁶⁵

At the very least, Tov has drawn attention to the fact that our Cave 4 witnesses do not share many of the same characteristics and scribal conventions as those of 1QS. His conclusions only undergird the present hypothesis that the Cave 4 and Cave 1 traditions devel-

¹⁶¹ That is, unless there is one possible exception. Tov lists 4QS^e as an example of a text with "single letters in the Cryptic A script designating matters of special interest." His general category concerns scribal markings in the margins, written in the obscure script, but given that 4QS^e contains no such examples, Tov likely refers to a few letters in col. 3.3, which some assume were written in cryptic script. These unusually-formed letters are better thought of as reshaped letters done at the hands of a text corrector. See the discussion in Alexander and Vermes, eds., DJD 26.145-46.

¹⁶² Tov, "Further Evidence for the Existence of a Qumran Scribal School," 200.

¹⁶³ As in the case of Newsom, "'Sectually Explicit' Literature," 182-83.

¹⁶⁴ Chazon, "Is *Divrei Ha-Me'orot* a Sectarian Prayer?," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Forty Years of Research* (ed. D. Dimant and U. Rappaport; Leiden: Brill, 1992), 3-17, esp. 6.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

oped at least partly in different scribal circles. Outside of this, however, we should be wary of drawing strong conclusions because outside of the Scrolls, we have limited examples in this period to which we can compare the Qumran texts. Therefore, it is unwise to make any definite statements about where a scribal school may have been centered based on orthographic practices alone. Rather, these practices may also have been known elsewhere, making this system part of a wider phenomenon Ulrich labels more neutrally as “Palestinian scribal practice” or “Second Temple scribal practice.”¹⁶⁶

2.6 GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

In general, the relative paleographical dates of the manuscripts are generally sound; thus we are left with the dilemma of what appear to be early S versions in late manuscripts. In light of previous scholarship, we are left with a number of ways in which to interpret this complicated scenario:

(1) On one extreme, then, we could follow Davies and divorce S from any living community, assuming that S rather floats in the literary realm anchored only by the thinnest thread of historical experience.¹⁶⁷ Yet S cannot be a mere literary invention because it is too practical in nature, and the messiest and most divergent sections of 1QS and the Cave 4 traditions are the ones most closely tied to changing praxis and socio-historical understanding, thus supporting the idea that these were “living texts.” The greatest deviance between 1QS and the extant portions of 4QS^{b,d,e} are in 1QS 5 (the entry into and requirements of membership), 1QS 7.8-15 (the penal code); and 1QS 8.1-9.12 (the *Yahad*’s theological self-understanding).

Or (2) we could assume, with Alexander, Garnet and others, that there was a linear trajectory of development following the *prima*

¹⁶⁶ Ulrich, “The Qumran Scrolls and the Biblical Text,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls Fifty Years After Their Discovery: Proceedings of the Jerusalem Congress, July 20-25, 1997* (ed. L.H. Schiffman, et al.; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2000), 51-59, esp. 58-59.

¹⁶⁷ For instance, Davies, recognizing the legal and leadership discrepancies in S from Cave 1 and Cave 4, asks, “how can either have functioned at the same time as a rule for a community?,” in “Redaction and Sectarianism in the Qumran Scrolls,” 157. Rather, he proposes that it was utopian literature of “idealistic legislation, of invented societies,” in *Ibid.*, 159.

facie dates of the copies (1QS → 4QS^e → 4QS^{b,d}).¹⁶⁸ But the data are mixed. This reconstruction contradicts the general principle that texts expand over time because it assumes that 1QS, the longer text, would represent an *earlier* version. And we also have numerous examples where 1QS contains periphrastic, secondary-looking readings.¹⁶⁹

(2a) As a corollary to the above, we could follow the paleographic dates of the copies and assume that the shorter manuscripts (4QS^{b,d,e}) were abridged from 1QS for personal use.¹⁷⁰ There are a few precedents of scribes abbreviating texts, but many of the missing passages contain key theological ideals (cf. the covenant, the Law, the Messiahs, etc.), for which there are no cogent reasons a scribe would expunge them. Not to forget that this explanation also does not account for the change in leadership terminology.

(3) Alternatively, we could maintain with others that 1QS represents the later version of S, despite the relative dates of the manuscripts.¹⁷¹ 1QS does contain a large number of longer/secondary-looking readings than the Cave 4 copies,¹⁷² and 1QS demonstrates a more developed sense of self-understanding and covenant.¹⁷³ Yet still 4QS^{b,d} and 4QS^e also exhibit suspiciously secondary, longer readings, lacking in 1QS.¹⁷⁴ Taking previous analyses of these variants to its extreme, no simple direction of textual evolution can be discerned; when forcing 1QS into conversation with 4QS^{b,d,e}, the results are contradictory, as summarized below:

¹⁶⁸ Alexander, "The Redaction-History of Serekh Ha-Yahad"; Garnet, "Cave 4 MS Parallels to 1QS 5.1-7: Towards a *Serek* Text History," and above.

¹⁶⁹ 1QS 1-4; 8.15-9.12; 1QS 8.13//4QS^e 3.3; 1QS 5.6-7//4QS^d 1.5; 1QS 5.7-8//4QS^d 1.5-6; 1QS 8.10//4QS^e 2.18-3.1; etc.

¹⁷⁰ Charlesworth and Strawn, "Reflections on the Text of Serekh ha-Yahad," 413.

¹⁷¹ Bockmuehl, "Redaction and Ideology in the Rule of the Community"; Hempel, "Comments on the Translation of 4QS^d I, 1"; Vermes, "Preliminary Remarks"; and "Qumran Forum Miscellanea I"; and "The Leadership of the Qumran Community."

¹⁷² 1QS 5.1//4QS^b 9.1-2//4QS^d 1.1; 1QS 5.3//4QS^d 1.2-3; 1QS 5.2-8//4QS^b 9.6-7//4QS^d 1.5-6; 1QS 8.10//4QS^e 2.18-3.1; 1QS 8.13//4QS^e 3.3; 1QS 8.15.

¹⁷³ Metso, "The Redaction of the Community Rule," 379-80. See also, "The Textual Traditions," 142-43.

¹⁷⁴ 1QS 5.23//4QS^d 2.2; 1QS 5.23-24//4QS^d 2.3-4; 1QS 6.2//4QS^d 2.6. Note that 4QS^e exhibits only one instance of a secondary-looking reading, providing us with little evidence that 4QS^e could be later than 1QS (compare 1QS 7.10//4QS^e 1.7, in a simple case of graphic confusion).

TABLE 2.5
Text-Critical Comparison with 1QS: Variant Readings

	“Earlier” (“more original”) readings than 1QS	“Later” (“secondary”) readings than 1QS	Ambiguous (content) variants from 1QS
4QS ^{b,d}	6	4	9
4QS ^e	4	2	6

Keeping in mind that we may have lost intermediary versions, we find a number of earlier-looking readings (6) in 4QS^{b,d} when compared with 1QS, but we also have ones that look potentially secondary to 1QS (4), as well as a large number of variants (9) that cannot be shown to have derived *from* 1QS nor to have made their way into 1QS (if it is indeed a later version). This notable amount of ambiguous variants, not easily explained by scribal omission or error, resulted during independent development. At a minimum, the results of this method of comparison do not lead to definite conclusions about a *consistent* direction of textual development.

Nor is it fruitful to show that 1QS was a clear *Vorlage* for either 4QS^e or 4QS^{b,d}, as these later copies were not consistently corrected towards 1QS.¹⁷⁵ Or in the reverse, 4QS^{b,d} and 4QS^e were not necessarily a combined *Vorlage* for the corrections in 1QS, as Metso supposes. Of the many supralinear corrections found in the relatively sloppy 1QS, almost none are represented consistently by any Cave 4 copy as they have been preserved for us.¹⁷⁶ In addition, there are at least ten cases in these columns alone where 1QS diverges significantly from 4QS^{b,d} and 4QS^e, including places where 4QS^e looks

¹⁷⁵ See also the discussion in Alison Schofield, “Rereading S: A New Model of Textual Development in light of the Cave 4 *Serekh* Copies,” DSD 15 (2008): 96-120.

¹⁷⁶ For instance, in col. 8 of 1QS, there are only two clear cases where these corrections follow 4QS^e: 1QS 7.8//1QS^e 1.4; 1QS 7.10//4QS^e 1.7; and possibly also 1QS 8.12, although the parallel text of 4QS^e 3.3 is unclear at this point. And there is only one correction clearly paralleled in the extant parts of 4QS^d: e.g. 1QS 8.10//4QS^d 6.3. 1QS 8.10//4QS^d 6.3-4 constitute no clear parallel. 4QS^d contains enough *space* for the correction written in 1QS, but it is not otherwise preserved. But there are at least four examples where 1QS contains corrections that are not paralleled in either 4QS^{b,d} or 4QS^e: 1QS 8.5, 8, 9, and 13.

secondary to 1QS.¹⁷⁷ Thus we cannot say with Metso that the earlier traditions of 4QS^{b,d} and 4QS^e, were used by the redactors of 1QS, who combined them to create 1QS.

Finally, agreeing with others, I find no satisfactory explanation as to why the earlier second-century BCE forms of S were copied in the latter half of the first century BCE.¹⁷⁸ Nor is there convincing evidence of a Zadokite *coup* to explain the sudden “appearance” of the Zadokites in 1QS, as such a takeover does not match up with the evidence of the Sons of Zadok elsewhere in the Scrolls.

Thus, a broader interpretive framework is instructive here.¹⁷⁹ In my radial, temporal-spatial model, I prefer to assume that a core of shared traditions radiated out early, perhaps even from Jerusalem (cf. “big traditions”), undergoing semi-independent development, of which we only have still life photos preserved here in the Qumran collection.¹⁸⁰ For instance, we saw that new textual readings are possible, and more viable, when we no longer artificially attempt to derive textual variants from one copy to another as we have them.¹⁸¹ Other divergences are also best explained as independent, such as in

¹⁷⁷ 1QS 7.13, 14, 20, 22; 8.1, 3, 8; and three times in 8.13.

¹⁷⁸ As Brooke comments in “Review of Metso, *The Textual Development of the Qumran Community Rule*,” 198. This is also noted by Alexander, “The Redaction-History of Serekh Ha-Yahad”; and Davies, “Redaction and Sectarianism in the Qumran Scrolls.”

¹⁷⁹ Metso correctly establishes that there was an early split in the textual tradition of S. She states, “if the 4QS manuscripts nevertheless represent a more original text . . . there must have been a split in the textual tradition at a very early stage, perhaps as early as the second half of the second century B.C.,” in *Textual Development*, 90. But her and others’ unstated assumption that all versions were copied and redacted side-by-side within a Qumran scribal circle is invalid (an assumption archaeology itself questions, chapter five).

¹⁸⁰ Again, compare with the discussion in Hempel, “The Literary Development of the S Tradition.”

¹⁸¹ An illustrious example is that of 1QS 8.25-26//4QS^d 7.1, which was much more easily and cogently explained when we presuppose that both variant readings about how members should behave diverged from a (hypothetical) common source. A similar scenario is applicable in the case of 1QS 5.23//4QS^d 2.2, describing those who are inscribed in the Rule (where 4QS^e 1, 2-3 records the text closest to the original).

the regular examination of members,¹⁸² the penal code,¹⁸³ and in numerous other passages.¹⁸⁴

From the text-critical side, we *can* assume that some of the Cave 4 versions reflect earlier S material, but these and the Cave 1 tradition diverged relatively early, with no strong evidence they were mutually influencing each other in the latter course of transmission. We could unnecessarily insist that this complicated evolution took place within one scribal circle, or, I argue, that it was the result of broader scribal activity, not limited to Qumran.

2.6.1 Orthography

In terms of orthography, we do not have enough comparative evidence to link the manuscripts with Tov's "Qumranic" (or Cross's "baroque") spelling systems to a Qumran "scribal school." There are many other variables such as chronological development as well as the possibility that individual scribes had their own preferred system of full/defective spelling.¹⁸⁵

However, it is clear that different, systematic orthographic practices were employed, rather than haphazard spellings, which suggests that different scribes received distinct localized training whether by apprenticeship or in some sort of scribal school. Also, the patterns or systems that were put in place are revealing. At least two different systems are represented in S. For instance, "super-full" spellings (Tov's "Qumranic" orthography) were used consistently in 1QS in contrast to 4QS^d, which systematically exhibits defective spelling closer to that of the MT. Such consistent variance underpins the idea that some development took place within different scribal circles.

¹⁸² See the two examples in 1QS 5.23-24//4QS^d 2.3-4, again where 4QS^g 1.3-5 retains the more original reading.

¹⁸³ 1QS 7.8//4QS^e 1.4; 1QS 7.13-14//4QS^e 1.11-13.

¹⁸⁴ 1QS 5.1//4QS^b 4.1//4QS^d 1.1; 1QS 5.1-3//4QS^b 4.2-3//4QS^d 1.2; 1QS 5.5-6//4QS^b 9.5//4QS^d 1.4-5; 1QS 5.6-7//4QS^b 9.6//4QS^d 1.5; 1QS 5.9-10//4QS^b 9.7-8//4QS^d 1.6-7; 1QS 5.13//4QS^b 9.8//4QS^d 1.7-8; 1QS 8.26//4QS^d 7.1; 1QS 8.5//4QS^e 2.13-14; 1QS 8.8//4QS^e 2.16; 1QS 8.9//4QS^e 2.17-18; 1QS 9.18-19//4QS^d 8.3//4QS^e 3.17-18.

¹⁸⁵ Noted also by Tov, "The Orthography and Language of the Hebrew Scrolls," 36.

2.6.2 *Reflections on the Nature of the Diverging Traditions*

Finally, I offer a few observations and tenuous reflections.

(1) The overall nature of the 1QS “additions” reflects a stronger theological self-understanding, including a stronger sense of covenant and their function to atone for the land as a wilderness community (cf. 1QS 5.5-6). 1QS 8.1-9.12 expounds upon the role of that wilderness community, and it probably is not coincidental that 4QS^e is missing much of this section (=1QS 8.15-9.12). 4QS^e, the only Cave 4 tradition to mention the wilderness, does so only once and speaks of the move to the wilderness only in the conditional, hypothetical sense, as if it had not yet taken place.¹⁸⁶

(2) 1QS reflects generally more stringent membership requirements. Specifically, 1QS’s amplified sections include that of the admission procedure (2xs 1QS 5.7-8//4QS^b 9.6-7//4QS^d 1.5-6), where the requirement to take an oath is emphasized. 1QS also contains a second criterion to the annual examination of members (based on the “perfection of his way”; 1QS 5.24), which 4QS^d lacks. Alternatively, the Cave 4 versions clarify that members are judged on their deeds “in/by the Law” (4QS^d 2.3-4, missing in 1QS 5.23-24).

(3) Finally, in one passage, 1QS forbids the Men of Injustice from entering the “purifying waters” (1QS 5.13; =Qumran?), yet the Cave 4 versions lack this. They have instead that the Men of Injustice shall not eat in the *Yahad* (4QS^b 9.8//4QS^d 1.7-8), the *Sitz im Leben* being somewhere that these outsiders were close enough with the *Yahad* to dine with them.

Very tentatively, I would suggest that if these traditions were developed in different communities, 1QS may have been the official Qumran copy (cf. Stegemann’s “master manuscript”), which would explain why it alone of the S versions was wrapped in linen and stored with care in a jar in Cave 1. Some or all of the Cave 4 copies may indeed represent earlier versions, but also ones that underwent diverse scribal development. Jerusalem is a likely candidate for such scribal traditions and could initially have been the source of 4QS^e’s otherwise unknown Temple Priestly Cycles (Otot) appendix. However, this reconstruction remains only hypothetical.

¹⁸⁶ Michael Knibb identifies this text as “rules for a community that apparently was on the verge of being set up in the wilderness,” in “The Rule of the Community,” in *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. L.H. Schiffman and J.C. VanderKam; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 793-97, esp. 794.

CHAPTER THREE

SEREKH HA-YAHAD: COMPARATIVE EVIDENCE

But is a new reading of S tenable in light of the Qumran corpus as whole? To understand the *Yahad* on its own terms, we must consider its terminology and rhetoric outside of S as well. First, I consider key self-identifying terms in the S tradition, such as the Sons of Zadok, the Many, even the *Yahad* itself, which appear in a range of other Scrolls and offer us a more precise understanding of the “community” behind *The Community Rule*. Secondly, other Rule texts also found help illuminate the *Sitz im Leben* of the S fragments and will be summarily treated here. Most notable is the case of D. If D legislated for an external, non-Qumranic audience, where was it composed and transmitted, why was it found among the Qumran caves, and is there a relationship between the “camps” of D and the *Yahad*? These questions may never be completely resolved, but in asking them, we better nuance our understanding of the complicated relationship between the Scrolls and their constituent communities.

3.1 TERMINOLOGY AND RHETORIC OF THE *YAHAD*

It is from the S material that we know most of the primary players in the *Yahad* movement, and they are in no short supply. The greatest challenge is sorting out the deluge of self-descriptive terms, for we, as modern readers, cannot be certain whom these terms identified, both across different texts and over time.

But at least one sweeping observation can be made, namely that among the various S versions by and large the same nomenclature is used. Similar terminology is found in all extant copies, but not always to the same proportionate degree. In the copies of S, alternate terms are occasionally used (usually among 1QS and the Cave 4 copies) in what would otherwise be parallel sections. Indeed, even within the same manuscript there appears to be some fluidity in the use of leadership and organizational terms. Until now, most of the differences in terminology have been explained in terms of the

chronological development within the Qumran community, *viz.* that certain groups came in and out of power or that different labels were preferred at different times. There is no doubt that historical development contributed much to the *Yahad*'s evolving self-terminology, but were there other synchronic variables as well?

A thorough study of the organizational terminology (מחנות, מגוריהם) and leadership (יחד, בני צדוק, רבים, etc.) of the *Yahad* reveals interesting patterns of usage: (1) the S versions use nearly all of the same terms and in much the same way; (2) different references to community organization ("camps," "residences," etc.) plausibly fluctuated over time, but they also overlap in meaning, referring to diverse synchronic community formations, and (3) there is no evidence of hostility between the leadership of the Sons of Zadok and the Many.

3.1.1 *Geographical Terms of Identification*

3.1.1.1 מגוריהם "Their Residences"

In S we have evidence that the regulations of the *Yahad* applied to more than one settlement. In 1QS col. 5, we find a number of moral and behavioral regulations, such as how one should regard one another (5.25-26) or who should avoid the pure food of the people of holiness (5.13). Following these, col. 6 reads, "in this way they shall behave in all of their dwelling places" (באלה יתהלכו בכל מגוריהם) (6.1-2). We could take the phrase "in this way they shall behave..." as a new heading for what follows (comments about the meeting together of the ten men of the Community Council), but it equally could have functioned to conclude the list of precepts mentioned previously (5.23-6.1).¹ Nevertheless, the key word here is מגוריהם, "their dwelling places," which occurs in the plural as a reference to the *Yahad*.

The exact semantic range of the term מגוריהם is unclear, although the root of this word, גור, often connotes impermanence.² Follow-

¹ Many, such as Leaney, find this passage to have been "originally a separate heading or introduction," in *The Rule of Qumran and its Meaning*, 180.

² גור usually means "to dwell as a (resident) alien." That the *Yahad* was anticipating a new era probably influenced them to describe their residence on the

ing this, Murphy-O'Connor has argued that it must have literally referred to tents in which members lived around the site of Qumran.³ But we need not deny the metaphorical levels of this root. The *Yahad* members viewed themselves as living in temporary conditions in the present age. We know that they often located themselves within a theological framework of sojourners on the verge of the Promised Land, but for them, this inheritance was a spiritual, messianic one.⁴ Presumably, the sectarians did not use מגוריהם to refer to literal temporary structures around Qumran, but, as with their use of the term “camps,” they chose this term to reflect their own theological self-understanding of living in an impermanent age.

But whatever the physical qualities of a מגור, the *prima facie* reading of this passage indicates that a plural lot of these residences are subsumed under the label *Yahad*. The exact relationship between מגורים and the *Yahad* is murky and has not gone unaddressed. As mentioned above, Collins suggests that at its core it refers to multiple quorums of at least ten council members, including a priest, mentioned later in the passage (1QS 6.3-4).⁵ Metso, following Knibb and Leaney,⁶ prefers that the passage in col. 6 be viewed as an interpolation.⁷ For her, the description of their residences, originated in

earth as a temporary sojourn, according to the sense this root takes in the Bible (Gen 17:8; 37:1; 47:9, etc.).

³ Murphy-O'Connor, “La genèse littéraire de la règle de la communauté,” 536.

⁴ Cf. other “camp” terminology in 4Q395 29-30, 58-62, and the wilderness theology, discussed in 3.1.4.3. For other interesting comments on the role that geography played in the ideology of the *Yahad* movement, reference McCarter, “Geography in the Documents,” in *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. L.H. Schiffman and J.C. VanderKam; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 306-8, esp. 307-8.

⁵ See the article by Collins, “The *Yahad* and ‘The Qumran Community’”; cf. Metso, “Whom does the Term *Yahad* Identify?” I wish to thank both Professors Collins and Metso for kindly providing me with their articles before they were available in print.

⁶ Knibb, *The Qumran Community* (ed. P.R. Ackroyd, et al.; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 115. Leaney considers that this passages refers to settlements outside of Qumran (*The Rule of Qumran and its Meaning*, 180):

6.1-7 legislates for the life of the sect as it was lived in small scattered groups, kept together by acknowledging some central authority as well as by their own community lives. This is clear from the reference to dwellings (1) and the injunction to act together (2 f.), surely superfluous at Qumran.

⁷ Metso, “Methodological Problems in Reconstructing History from Rule Texts Found at Qumran,” *DSD* 11 (2004): 315-35, esp. 324.

circles other than that of the *Yahad*, and therefore it does not describe the *Yahad* itself.

But perhaps some of the desire to disqualify the *prima facie* reading comes *because* it challenges the long-held equation of S with Qumran. Previously, I mentioned that this passage is present in all parallel extant versions of S, including in what has been considered to be an early version of S, 4QS^d. Portions of it are also preserved in 4QS^g (4Q261) and 4QSⁱ (4Q263), so if it is an interpolation, it would have to be surmised only on literary grounds,⁸ and, more importantly, it would have been part of the *Yahad* consciousness from an early stage of S.

Indeed, the language is strongly reminiscent of that in D, the substance of which is earlier than the S material (3.2.1.2, below). In an explication of Num 21:18, 4QD^a describes the “Penitents of Israel” as those who left the Land of Judah to live in residences (sojourn) in Damascus (2, 12//CD 6.5, *ויגורו בארץ דמשק*), perhaps the same place as the “land of residences” (4QD^a 6 iv, 3, *ארץ מגורים*), employing the same root. This root carries with it the sense not only of impermanence, but also of alienation, of those who reside in a foreign land. In the *hodayot*, for example, the Teacher also speaks of keeping residence (*מגור*) among a foreign people (=Damascus? 1QH^a 11.5), with those who hunt the sons of injustice. If written by him, it may point to a preference for this term in an early period.⁹

⁸ Metso clarifies, “the conclusion that here we are dealing with an interpolation is based on internal textual clues rather than on differences in manuscripts,” *Ibid*. She bases her assessment, then, on a literary analysis of the passage, pointing out that the group of ten is mentioned nowhere else in S nor does the designation *מגור* appear either. She also notes that this passage only speaks of a single priest, whereas the rest of S always speaks of priests in the plural (“Whom Does the Term *Yahad* Identify?,” 218-21). While notable, these should not lead to the direct conclusion that this passage was later applicable to *Yahad* circles. Cf. the counter-arguments in Collins, “The *Yahad* and ‘The Qumran Community’,” 87-90.

⁹ 1QH^a 13.8 (//4QH^c 1, 1); 1QH^a 16.26. The previous examples from D contrast the “land of dwelling places” with the “holy soil” (Jerusalem?), in a fragmentary text, 4Q266 (D^a), where planting regulations are to be carried out “on holy [soil] and in the land of dwelling places,” (*באדמת הקודש ובארץ מגורים*); 6 iv, 3). 4Q267 (D^b) 2, 12 likely also speaks of the “dwelling places of Damascus” (*דמשק*) (*במגורי דמשק*); but contrast CD 6.5 *בארץ דמשק*.

So מגור likely was an early descriptive term,¹⁰ and the possibility exists that its surrounding passage is an interpolation—although certainly not a late one, as it was already smoothly integrated into 1QS, copied around the time of Qumran’s founding. It should not be disqualified from describing the demographic makeup of the *Yahad*, particularly because it is harmonized smoothly into the current body of *Yahad* regulations. I fear that in our quest to subdivide the text, we lose sight of the whole unity, the rhetorical intentions of the one who compiled the final product. Indeed, that a redactor would engage in such a way with this material, if it was an interpolation, signals to me its meaningfulness. It must have played into his overall strategy of presenting these regulations as widely applicable, and the scribe gives no textual signal that they were applicable as such so only in the historical past.

3.1.1.2 מחנות “Camps”

Other Scrolls speak of members living in “camps” (מחנות) in much the same way we find mention of their “dwelling places” (מגוריהם) in S. “Camp” appears to be the label of choice for the community organization in D, as well as in the *War Scroll* and *MMT*. But was the *Yahad* also made up of camps? First, it is worthy of note that the term “camps” is just another name for the cites and villages throughout the Land where members were found; even Jerusalem itself is called a “camp” (4Q394 8 iv, 10).¹¹ Although never made in S itself, reference to camps is made in a number of other texts addressed to the *Yahad*.¹² Of these references, we can only lament the fact that Rebukes of the Overseer (4Q277 2 i, 3) is fragmentary between its reference to the “People of the *Yahad*” (אנשי היחד) and the “camps of the Many” (מחני רבים), so that, although these phrases are related, we will never know exactly on what terms.

¹⁰ In this case we must note even further overlap with D material, esp. CD 12.23-13.2. Reference the comments made by Metso (“Whom Did the Term *Yahad* Identify?,” 225) and Hempel’s general argument that the overlap in legislation exists because these are traditions of the parent movement of the Qumran community (*The Laws of the Damascus Document*, 111).

¹¹ See Vermes, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 84-90, etc.

¹² 1QSa 2.15; 1QSB 29.3; 1Q31 2, 3; 4Q249 1-3, 5; 4Q477 2 i, 3; 4Q511 2 i, 7; 25, 1.

Following Stephen Hultgren, I find that the nucleus of D is earlier than the core of literary material in S (3.2.2.3, below), and therefore I agree that “*Yahad*” itself is a label for a later outgrowth of this earlier group. In this way, the *Yahad* maintained a similar organizational structure of scattered settlements as that assumed behind D.¹³ “Camps” itself is a theologically loaded term, whose undercurrents can also readily be found in S. In D, the congregation is said to live in “camps” as Israel did in the wilderness (CD 9.11; 10.23; 4QD^a 11, 17; 4QD^e 7 ii, 14, etc.). The idea of “camps,” then, was interpreted metaphorically through the lens of wilderness narratives, as if they were the Israelites encamped at Sinai. And this idea persists and is even more poignantly developed in S (1QS 8.12-16; 9.19-21; cf. also 4Q511 2 i, 7).¹⁴

And, as mentioned above, the label “camp” in D reflects the same type of impermanence as the term “residence” in S. Indeed, the term מגוריהם itself links both S (6.2) and D (ארץ מגורים; 4QD^a 6 iv, 3). It is important to note that the theological importance of this term runs deep, and it most likely derives from an important wilderness passage in Ezek 20:38, one that refers to the “land of their residences.” Ezekiel’s prophetic vision of the wilderness in this pericope must have been significant to the sectarians, not only because they appropriate this term here in S (and D), but also because it is the source of the unusual phrase “wilderness of the peoples” (20:35; cf. 1QM 1.3; 4Q161 2, 18; and probably also 4Q165 5, 6), found only here in the Bible.¹⁵ Underlying both D and S is the deeply rooted understanding that the members were only in transition, just as their predecessors

¹³ But unlike Hultgren, I see less of an ideological schism between the D and S community.

¹⁴ Most agree that the use of this term derives from the wilderness wandering narratives, where Israel is described as living in camps in the wilderness. Here and elsewhere the sectarians describe themselves as if they were Israel in the wilderness, living out a calling there. Following Numbers 1-2, they divided themselves up into “camps,” and they appropriated the language of Exod 18:21-22 by depicting themselves in organizational subunits of 1,000, 100, 50 and 10. See also the comments in Stegemann, *The Library of Qumran*, 165.

¹⁵ The *Yahad* members appropriate this unique passage to describe their own sojourn. Elsewhere I show the important role that this biblical passage played in the *Urzeit-Endzeit* expectations of the *Yahad* members, in Schofield, “The Wilderness Motif in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *Israel in the Wilderness: Interpretations of the Biblical Narratives on Jewish and Christian Traditions* (ed. K. Pomykala; Themes in Biblical Narrative 10; Leiden: Brill, 2008), 37-53.

were in the wilderness waiting to enter their future inheritance. There is no strong disjunction between this prophetic self-understanding in D and S. Thus, although D (cf. 1QSa/1QSb) prefers “camp(s)” and “dwelling places” is a phrase used in S,¹⁶ there does not seem to be strong differences between the two. Both terms identify sectarian settlements and, given their characteristics, are nearly synonymous.¹⁷ Neither is distinguished explicitly in any text from the *Yahad*.

3.1.2 *Terms of Self-Identification*

Previously I mentioned that the S versions for the most part share the same organizational terminology, commonalities often overlooked in our quest to explain discrepancies.¹⁸ Yet differences are present. The most well-known is the mention of the “Sons of Zadok” (בני צדוק) in 1QS (5.2, 9), where 4QS^{b,d} has instead “the Many” (הרבים) and “the Council of the People of the Community” (עצת אנשי היחד) (4QS^b 9.3, 8//4QS^d 1.2, 7). Another striking disparity is found in the heading to 1QS 5.1, where it speaks of the “People of the Community” (היחד אנשי), and 4QS^{b,d} only speaks of the “People of the Law” (התורה אנשי), a phrase unknown in 1QS.¹⁹ These major terminological variants are summarized below:²⁰

¹⁶ However, note that the term “camps” (מחנות) appears in both 1QSa 2.15 and 1QSb 29.3.

¹⁷ Others have also tried to reconcile both the “camps” and the *Yahad*. Cross believes that *Yahad* was the early designation for all Essene settlements, but that later each of them came to be called a “camp”—with the exception of Qumran. Only Qumran retained the *Yahad* label, in *The Ancient Library of Qumran*, 70-71, esp. 71 n. 2.

¹⁸ Again, I would like to thank Hempel for her pursuit of just such a balanced approach to studying S (“The Literary Development of the S Tradition”).

¹⁹ But cf. 1QS 9.17, עצת התורה.

²⁰ We may note that in a few instances, 1QS records an additional label that is absent in the parallel 4QS^{b,d} passage (איש הקודש, 1QS 9.5-6; אנשי היחד, 9.18; עצת קודש, 9.20; הרבים, 8.26). In the reverse, 4QS^{b,d} has only two additional self-descriptive terms, אנשי הקודש (4QS^b 9.11) and יחד (4QS^d 7.4) that are missing in the parallel passages of 1QS. Two other minor variations are worth noting: first, 1QS 9.6 reads בית קודש לאהרון where 4QS^d has בית אהרון לקודש (7.6); secondly, some have found significance in the alternate spellings, “בני הצדוק” and “בני הצדק” in 1QS 9.14 and 4QS^c 3.10, respectively; see Robert Kugler, “A Note on 1QS 9:14: The Sons of Righteousness or the Sons of Zadok?,” *DSD* 3 (1996): 315-20, where he determines that the mention of the Sons of Zadok in 1QS was the result of a

TABLE 3.1
Major Terminological Variants between 1QS and 4QS^{b,d}

1QS	4QS ^{b,d}
5.1 אנשי היחד	4QS ^b (not preserved) 4QS ^d 1.1 אנשי התורה
5.2 בני צדוק	4QS ^b 9.3 הרבים 4QS ^d 1.2
5.9 בני צדוק	4QS ^b 9.8 עצת אנשי היחד 4QS ^d 1.7

Keeping in mind that these texts are of a composite nature, we must consider that the use of certain terms evolved over time and that there was some degree of fluidity in their employment. Nevertheless, some observations can be made about the how and where these terms were employed, consistent patterns that also indicate that certain terms were preferred in different scribal circles.

3.1.2.1 יחד “Yahad”

Perhaps the biggest challenge to a broader reading of S is the traditional definition of “*Yahad*.” Voicing common opinion, Cross notes that “the term *yāhad*, ‘community’, seems to apply to the community par excellence; i.e., the principal settlement in the desert.”²¹ Nonetheless, although linking it to Qumran, Cross concedes that more than one community could have been called a *Yahad*.

P. Wernberg-Møller goes further to challenge the telescopic tendencies already present early in Scrolls scholarship when identifying the *Yahad*:

It appears to me that the connection between Khirbet Qumran and the Manual has been too narrowly defined, with the result that scholars

reworking by a later redactor in support of the Zadokites. However, it most likely is just another example of the many orthographic inconsistencies among the copies.

²¹ Cross, *The Ancient Library of Qumran*, 70, 71. His conclusion follows de Vaux’s connections of the Scrolls to Khirbet Qumran, in “Fouilles au Khirbet Qumrân: Rapport préliminaire,” *RB* 60 (1953): 83-106; and below, 5.1

think of the yahad as monastic, strictly limited in number, and essentially confined to the Qumran ruin and its immediate neighbourhood.²²

Rather, he is more correct to describe the *Yahad* as “a movement with groups of members within the larger setting of ordinary Jewish life in the towns and villages of Palestine.”²³ I wonder how scholarship on the sectarian texts would have turned out differently had his early cautions been heeded.

The Provenance of יחד

Previously I mentioned that some want to revise our understanding of the *Yahad* (1.2.1, above), but before espousing these broader definitions, it is important to look more closely at the semantic range of the term itself. Generally the root of יחד emphasizes the idea of togetherness or unity, from which we get “to be one” or “to join.”²⁴ But it is not used exclusively as a technical term for the movement because it is also used generically in the Scrolls as an adverb (יחדו or יחדיו), a verb, or very rarely as a noun, all of these generic uses being found in the Bible.²⁵ In post-biblical Hebrew, יחד appears almost exclusively as an adverb,²⁶ and never is it used in the special sense of a community or “*Yahad* of God” (1QS 1.12) outside of the Scrolls.²⁷

It is tempting to conclude that “*Yahad*” was taken from the biblical text, as many other sectarian terms are. Talmon suggests that Ezra 4:3 lies behind the label, from the passage which describes how

²² P. Wernberg-Møller, “The Nature of the *Yahad* according to the *Manual of Discipline* and Related Documents,” *ALUOS* 6 (1969): 56-81, esp. 57.

²³ *Ibid.*, 70.

²⁴ This root comes from an original $\sqrt{\text{וחד}}$, meaning “one,” cf. Gen 49:6.

²⁵ The only possible examples of יחד as a substantive are found in 1 Chr 12:18 and Deut 33:5, although in the latter example it may function as an adverb. Talmon argues that יחד is already a noun meaning “covenant” in the Bible based on the example from Deuteronomy, but he is unduly influenced by the Scroll material, in “The Qumran יחד—A Biblical Noun,” in *The World of Qumran from Within: Collected Studies* (ed. S. Talmon; Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1989), 53-60.

²⁶ See Ralph Marcus, “Philo, Josephus and the Dead Sea *Yahad*,” *JBL* 71 (1952): 207-9, esp. 207; and Wernberg-Møller, “The Nature of the *Yahad*,” 81, n. 52. There is a good summary of the adverbial uses and evolution of this root in J.C. de Moor, “Lexical Remarks Concerning *Yahad* and *Yahdaw*,” *VT* 7 (1957): 350-55.

²⁷ Note similar comments made in Dombrowski, “*Hayahad* in 1QS and to *Koinon*: An Instance of Early Greek and Jewish Synthesis”; and M. Weinfeld, *The Organizational Pattern and the Penal Code of the Qumran Sect. A Comparison with Guilds and Religious Associations of the Hellenistic-Roman Period (NTOA 2)*; Fribourg: Academic Press, 1986), 13.

the Jews rejected the Samaritans' offer to help rebuild the Temple ("we alone will build," אִנְחֵנוּ יַחַד נִבְנֶה). A postexilic setting would be an appropriate origin for the Second Temple *Yahad*, but the word in Ezra is being used in an exclusive adverbial sense of "alone," not "together," the latter meaning underlying "*Yahad*" in the Scrolls. Nor does יַחַד appear elsewhere in the Bible to describe a postexilic community, as one would expect if it were used as a type of technical designation here.²⁸

Another biblical allusion could lurk in the background. Otto Betz and Collins both point to Deut 33:5 as the passage from which the label "*Yahad*" was drawn.²⁹ In a superscript to the poetic Blessing of Moses, it mentions the "union of the tribes of Israel," a phrase that is in parallel to the "assembly of Jacob" (יַחַד שְׁבֵטֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל\קהלת יעקוב). Although initially attractive, Betz draws only a weak connection between IQSa and Deuteronomy,³⁰ and speaking against this construction, the phrase "*Yahad* of the tribes of Israel" never appears in Scrolls themselves.

James VanderKam is closer to the mark when he connects "*Yahad*" to the Sinai narrative in Exod 19:8. Here he points out that in response to the giving of the law, the Israelites agreed to its stipulations: "the people answered as one (יַחַדוּ)."³¹ This passage is particularly attractive because the Qumranites envisioned themselves to be at the foot of Sinai as the special recipients of God's revealed Law, and their community to be built upon the keeping of the Law

²⁸ Talmon, "The Qumran יַחַד—A Biblical Noun." His suggestion has not been generally accepted, even though Collins notes it is tempting to do so ("The *Yahad* and 'The Qumran Community'," 84).

²⁹ Collins, "The *Yahad* and 'The Qumran Community'," 84-85.

³⁰ He finds an allusion here in IQSa 1.1 and Deut 33:5, based on similar phrasing and only a reconstructed יַחַד (בהסלפן יַחַד) in IQSa. In this way he finds the *Yahad* to be an eschatological gathering of Israel, in "The Eschatological Interpretation of the Sinai-Tradition in Qumran and in the New Testament," *RevQ* 6 (1967): 89-107, esp. 90-91. Stephen Hultgren does not see this allusion either but for different reasons than those proposed here. He finds the reference to Deut 33:5 in IQSa to "all Israel" as improbable because he theorizes that the *Yahad* was exclusive to the point of rejecting any promise to "all Israel," in *From the Damascus Covenant to the Covenant of the Community: Literary, Historical, and Theological Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (STDJ 66; Leiden: Brill, 2007), 278.

³¹ VanderKam, "Sinai Revisited," in *Biblical Interpretation at Qumran* (ed. M. Henze; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2005), 44-66, esp. 52.

(cf. “Followers of the Law,” 1QpHab 7.11; 8.1).³² Without a doubt, the label *Yahad* surely was loaded with theological meaning, but it eventually became a *terminus technicus* for the movement at large (contra Wernberg-Møller).³³

Reflections on the Usage of יחד

Observing the 141 times that *Yahad* occurs as a noun in the (non-biblical) Scrolls, I offer a few observations regarding its use. First, as mentioned, *Yahad* is not merely a descriptive term; it evolved into a proper noun referring to the movement itself. We see this in 4QCatenaA 5-6, 16, where it speaks of the עושי היחד, the “Followers (Doers) of the *Yahad*,” to describe the adherents of a specific movement. In this example, we find that they described themselves as the “Followers” (*osei*), a shortened form which must have been behind the Greek label, *Essaioi* or *Ossenes* (cf. as well 4Q511 2 i, 9, etc. and below 4.1.1).³⁴

Second, the *Yahad* is mentioned frequently in S—at least 60 times in 1QS alone—but it also occurs in texts of a broad chronological and genre distribution. It is found quite commonly in exegetical,

³² Less feasible is the attempt by Peter von der Osten-Sacken to show that in its various functions as a verb, adverb, and noun, יחד refers to the joining together of a community of men and angels (*Gott und Belial: Traditionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zum Dualismus in den Texten aus Qumran* [SUNT 6; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1969], 223-24). There is no concrete example of this meaning behind the use of *Yahad* as a technical term. Note also the rebuttal of his claims, in Hultgren, *From the Damascus Covenant to the Covenant of the Community*, 278, where Hultgren’s strongest counterpoint is the fact that when speaking of the presence of holy angels in the community, which must be kept pure for them (1QSa 2.3b-9a and CD 15.15b-17), the term “congregation” (עדה) is used instead.

³³ For him, it was never a proper noun, but a root common to everyday speech that, when used with the definite article, was only a general reference to society members, in Wernberg-Møller, “The Nature of the *Yahad*,” 70.

³⁴ See Josephus *War* 1.78; 2.113; 3.11; *Ant.* 15.371; 17.346; and Philo’s *Good Person* 75, etc. Ὀσσαῖνοι appears in Epiphanius, *Panarion*, Heresy XIX. Others, such as Cross, have connected יחד with Philo’s term κοινωνία, “community or fellowship,” with which he describes the sect (*The Ancient Library of Qumran*, 71 n. 2). Cross points out that in *Hypothetica* 11.1 this term is used similarly to the way that *Yahad* is in the Scrolls (as well as in *Hypothetica* 11.14-17 and *Every Good Person is Free* 85, etc.). Cf. also Dupont-Sommer, *Nouveaux aperçus sur les manuscrits de la Mer Morte* (Paris: Maisonneuve, 1953), 93; and Weinfeld, “The Organizational Pattern and the Penal Code,” 13, where he also draws similarities between the Qumran *Yahad* and the organization of the early Christian community in Jerusalem (Acts 2:42; cf. 1 Cor 10:16).

liturgical and legal texts, including the *pesharim* and *hodayot* connected with the Teacher. Some of this material is relatively early, so that “*Yahad*” is less likely to have been a *de novo* creation of a newly-founded Qumran community, but rather was part of the self-awareness of the movement at a prior time.³⁵

Third, the most common permutations of *Yahad* (אנשי היחד, עצת היחד),³⁶ as well as the less frequent ones (סוד היחד, עדת היחד, עושי היחד, ענת אנשי היחד, ענת היחד), do not refer to distinct groups but attest to fluidity in describing the movement’s members, even though this variation is not haphazard. Certain clusters of usage indicate that some terms were preferred at various times and/or in various circles.³⁷ For instance, in 1QSa, which may have included the earliest core Rule material, the more common term for community organization is עדה (cf. the Priestly source) in contrast to יחד in 1QS.³⁸ In

³⁵ For instance, we find the *Yahad* in many of the *pesharim* (1Q14 8-10, 8; 4Q164 1, 2; 4Q165 9, 3; 4Q171 1-2 ii, 14; 3-10 iv, 19), the *hodayot* (4Q427 7 ii, 6), and other liturgical texts (4Q284a 2, 4; 4Q286 7 ii, 1; 20, 4; 4Q511 2 i, 9; etc.).

³⁶ The Community Council (עצת היחד) is related to the group of twelve men, three of whom were priests (1QS 8.1). Some have interpreted this to mean twelve men *plus* three priests (Weinfeld, “The Organizational Pattern and the Penal Code of the Qumran Sect,” 16). This group was to be a holy assembly for Aaron, to atone for the land, to repay the wicked their reward (1QS 8.5-7), to perform truth, righteousness and justice (1QS 8.1-2), and to judge the wicked in some capacity (1QS 8.3, 10). However, their judging role was separate from that done by the Many (1QS 6.1).

The author(s) of the Scrolls use other permutations of “Council” (עצה), even within the same manuscript. The most frequently used is עצת (ה)יחד (1QS 3.2, 6; 6.3, 10, 12, 14, 16; 7.2, 22, 24; 8.1, 5, 22; 11.8; 4QS^d 1.5-6; 4QS^e 2.5, 13; 4QS^c 3.3. Elsewhere we find עצת (ה)יחד in 1QSa 1.26, 27; 2.2, 11; 1QSB 4.26; 1QpHab 12.4; 1Q14 8-10, 8; 1Q164 1, 2; 4Q171 1-2 ii, 14; 4Q174 1-2 i, 17; 4Q177 14, 5; 4Q265 4 ii, 3; 7 ii, 7, 8; 4Q286 7 ii, 1. But note the hybrid terms: עצת אנשי היחד (1QS 8.11; 4QS^d 6.5; 4QS^b 9.8//4QS^d 1.7; 4QS^e 3.1); עצת (ה)קודש (1QS 2.25; 8.21; 1QSa 2.9; CD 20.24; 1QM 3.4; 1QH^a 15.10; 4Q266 1 ii, 7); עצת חבור ישראל (CD 12.8//4Q267 9 iii, 3); עצת אל (1QS 1.8, 10; 1QSB 4.24). Interestingly, we find also mention of עצת הרבים (1QS 6.16; 4Q266 10 ii, 7) and עצת בני אהרן (4Q266 5 ii, 12).

³⁷ For instance, 1QS col. 9 generally favors the title “People of the Community” (אנשי היחד), but col. 6 uses only “Community Council” (עצת היחד). Concerning the former phrase, Metso notes that it occurs predominantly in the columns containing regulations, in *Textual Development*, 77.

³⁸ עדה appears throughout 1QSa where it refers to the entire (possibly eschatological) community. It is taken from the terminology of the biblical Priestly source, but it is not clear exactly how this term is related to that of *Yahad*. It may be that יחד was synonymous to עדה (see Metso, “Qumran Community Structure and Terminology as Theological Statement,” *RevQ* 20 [2002]: 429-44), but עדה most likely was the earlier term, when there was less of a sectarian consciousness. In

1QSa 2.21, the conglomerate phrase כול עדת היחד was apparently a later attempt to harmonize both terms.³⁹ In addition to this example, another rare hybrid phrase, עצת אנשי היחד (1QS 8.11; cf. 4QS^b 9.8//4QS^d 1.7) may well be the result of an attempt to combine and smooth out sources that preferred alternate terms, much in the same way we find biblical sources laced together with the compound term LORD God (Gen 2:5, 7, 9, etc.).

But how then can we relate the permutations of “*Yahad*” in S? Both 4QS^{b,d} and 4QS^e traditions describe similar teaching duties of the Sage, but in 1QS 9.18-19 he teaches the “People of the *Yahad*” (אנשי היחד), and in 4QS^e it is the “Assembly of the *Yahad*” (סוד היחד). The phrase in 4QS^e is almost unknown elsewhere (but cf. the use of the root סוד in 1QS 7.17; 8.10).⁴⁰ No strong conclusions can be made about the range of meanings of the two terms, other than to note that the two passages may have been preferred in different circles and/or at different times. These very patterns of variation are tokens of S’s semi-independent development, rather than instances where a scribe “erased” or “replaced” one term with another. The tendency in these texts was towards conglomeration or accumulation, rather than outright replacement.

Fourth, never in all of the Scrolls is *Yahad* tied to any geographical location, nor is it used in such a way that it could only apply to the desert community of Qumran.⁴¹ Of the texts in which the *Yahad*

the earlier term, when there was less of a sectarian consciousness. In 1QSa, יחד does occur, but it is used only adverbially (1.26; and possibly 2.17, שולחן יחד) or in a semi-technical sense for the community at large (1.9, 27; 2.2, 11). We may also note that the term עדה is also used quite frequently in D, which was relatively early. See the discussion in L. Rost *Die Vorstufen von Kirche und Synagoge im alten Testament: Eine wortgeschichtliche Untersuchung* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1938). Cross also notes that the term עדה belongs to the priestly terminology of the Bible, but in the Scrolls he considers it to identify “the totality of the camps, that is (sectarian) Israel” (*The Ancient Library of Qumran*, 70-71).

³⁹ Metso notes that the phrase כול עדת היחד (1QSa 2.21) may refer to the whole community, and therefore the *Yahad* is synonymous with עדה (“Qumran Community Structure and Terminology,” 432).

⁴⁰ סוד can mean “secret or inner council” (cf. Ps. 89:8) but sounds similar to the root meaning “foundations” (יסד), a connection the author of 1QS 11.7-8 embellishes in a word play on the two roots. The only other place this phrase (סוד היחד) is mentioned is in 1QS 6.19, which is unfortunately not preserved in any other witness. Compare also 1QH^a 12.24-25 and 1QH^b 19.7.

⁴¹ However, because the noun *Yahad* is found only in the singular, it may subtly encourage the interpretation that it only refers to one place, particularly in

is addressed, the only identifiable place names mentioned are Damascus, Jerusalem and Jericho.⁴²

Finally, and most relevant to the thesis at hand, the *Yahad* appears in legal texts that legislate for diverse forms of community life, including those alongside wives and children. A notable example is that of *Miscellaneous Rules* (4Q265), previously known as 4QSerekhDamascus.⁴³ Although fragmentary, this legal text legislates for a diverse community of men, women and children, but it also addresses the *Yahad* at least four times (1 ii, 3; 1 ii, 6; 7 ii, 7; 7 ii, 8; cf. 3.2.2.1, below). There is no indication in the text that the compilers distinguished the *Yahad* as a separate or outside entity from those for whom they were legislating. It makes the most sense to assume that this text legislated for *Yahad* members as well (see also below).⁴⁴

3.1.2.2 הרבים “The Many”

Was the Many the supreme leadership body, later supplanted by the Zadokites? First, an overall assessment of “the Many” (הרבים) reveals that is an organizational body mentioned quite frequently in the Scrolls, but especially in the S and D material.⁴⁵ In the S mate-

contrast with the plural “camps” listed in D. Observe Johann Maier, *Die Texte vom Toten Meer* (München: E. Reinhardt, 1960), 2.11.

⁴² E.g. *Yahad* appears alongside Damascus in CD (with יחיד being a later alteration of יחד) in 6.5, 19; 7.19; 20.12, etc.; cf. 4Q266 3 iii, 20; Jerusalem in 1QpHab 9.4; 12.7; 4Q165 1-2, 2; 4Q177 12-13 i, 10; and Jericho in 4Q382 9, 8 and probably KhQ1 2. Unfortunately, we do not know for certain if the ancient name of Qumran appears in the Scrolls, although it may have been Secacah (3Q15 4.13; 5.2, 5, 13; cf. Josh 15:61).

⁴³ See J. Baumgarten, DJD 35 and “Scripture and Law in 4Q265,” in *Biblical Perspectives: Early Use and Interpretation of the Bible in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. M.E. Stone and E. Chazon; Leiden: Brill, 1998), 25-33; and Martone, “La Regola di Damasco (4Q265): Una Regola Qumranica Sui Generis,” *Hen* 17 (1995): 103-15.

⁴⁴ In the D material, which most would agree legislates for those outside of Qumran, we also find a few scattered references to the *Yahad*, although it is not exactly clear how these passages were related to the author(s) of D. For instance, we have two references to the “Teacher of the Community” (מורה/יורה היחיד) in CD 20.1, 14, respectively, and to the “People of the Community” (אנשי היחיד), with the spelling of יחיד most likely a mistake by a scribe unfamiliar with the term.

⁴⁵ For instance, see CD 13.7, 14.7, 12; 15.8 (cf. 4Q266 10 i, 5; 10 ii, 5, 7; 11 i, 8; 4Q267 9 iv, 3; 4Q270 7 i, 11) and many examples in 1QS 6-8; 9.2 (cf. 4QS^b 9.3; 11.6, 12; 4QS^d 1.2; 3.2; 7.3; 4QS^e 1.7, 11; 2.6). It is worth mentioning that refer-

rial, the Many are usually spoken of in the context of an assembly (מושב הרבים; 1QS 6.8, 9, 11-13; 7.10-11, 13, etc.), which was under the charge of the Inspector (מבקר) and/or the Overseer (פקיד) (1QS 6.12; 6.14; etc.). The most prominent function of the Many was to examine prospective members of the Community Council; they inspected them in three stages and ultimately decided whether they were included in or excluded from the Community (Council) (1QS 1.13-23). They were similarly in charge of members seeking re-admittance (1QS 7.23-24; 8.16-19, 26; 9.2, etc.). In general, the Many clearly had some judicial function within the *Yahad* at large.

As its name suggests, the Many was a large group, but whether they constituted all members, the texts do not state explicitly. Colin Kruse logically argues that the Many in 1QS could not have referred to all those living at Qumran because the Many made the decision whether or not the “probationer” was to stay. Since the “probationer” had no part in that decision, the Many must have constituted only those members who had completed their probationary period.⁴⁶ I agree that at least in 1QS, the Many appear to have been the sum total of the fully-fellowshipped members, as it states that “whoever slanders the Many shall be expelled from among them and shall not return” (ואיש ברבים ילב רכיל לשלח הואה מאתם ולוא ישוב עוד) (7.16-17). The significance of this penalty is clear: one who slanders the Many will be expelled from them (=the community).⁴⁷

The Many plays a similar role in D. There was an assembly of the Many (מושב הרבים), the members of which were organized according to priests, Levites, Israelites and proselytes (CD 14.7). The Inspector (מבקר) oversees the Many and instructs them in the deeds of God (CD 13.7; 15.8). For our purposes, an important aspect of the Many was that they are a formalized group mentioned in a variety of

ences to the Many in S are confined mostly to columns 6-8 of 1QS and its equivalent.

⁴⁶ Colin Kruse, “Community Functionaries in the Rule of the Community and the Damascus Document (A Test of Chronological Relationships),” *RevQ* 40 (1981): 543-51, esp. 248-49.

⁴⁷ For further description of the Many, see Jean Carmignac, “HRBYM: les Nombreaux ou les Notables?,” *RevQ* 7 (1971): 575-86; and H. Huppenbauer, “רב , רוב , רבים, in den Sektenregel,” *TZ* 13 (1957): 136-37. Also, Marcus calls them “the rulers” early on, in “The Qumran Scrolls and Early Judaism,” *BR* 1 (1956): 11. Finally, contrast Lieberman, “The Discipline in the So-Called Dead Sea Manual of Discipline.”

texts, often in the context of the camps; in D they are nearly always mentioned as being under the rule for the camps (CD 13.7; 14.7, 12; cf. 4Q266 10 i, 5). In at least one instance, the (assembly of) the Many takes place in the “congregation” (עדה), of which there was more than one (CD 13.7-10).

So what, if any, is the distinction between the Many and the *Yahad*? Although they are closely related, we should not conclude with Licht, Charlesworth and Saul Lieberman that הרבים is synonymous with יחד.⁴⁸ Both terms generally included the same community members, but the two terms have different functional connotations.⁴⁹ “*Yahad*” appears to be the word for the movement in its broadest sense, where “the Many” describes the gathering of all fully-fellowshipped members for judicial purposes (1QS 6, etc.). Thus, the Many (and רוב⁵⁰) is effectively the fully-fellowshipped

⁴⁸ Licht, *Megillat ha-serakhim*, 109. According to Charlesworth “it is not wise to attempt to distinguish always between *rabbim* and *yahad*; they are virtually synonyms,” in “Community Organization in the Rule of the Community,” in *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. L.H. Schiffman and J.C. VanderKam; New York: Oxford, 2000), 133-36, esp. 134. Early on, Saul Lieberman recognized that “the Many,” הרבים, appears in rabbinic sources. The Palestinian Talmud mentions a governing body, הרבים, in the context of the rabbinic *ḥaburah*. The Many spoken about by the Rabbis is a general assembly, which Lieberman equates with the *ḥaburah* itself. Thus analogously, he finds הרבים in the Scrolls to be another name for היחד as well (“The Discipline in the So-Called Dead Sea Manual of Discipline”), but he neglects to distinguish between the functional use of the two different terms. Cf. also Weinfeld, “The Organizational Pattern and the Penal Code of the Qumran Sect,” 14, and Yalon, *Megillot midbar*, 39-40.

⁴⁹ See also Sutcliffe, “The General Council of the Qumran Community,” *Bib* 40 (1959): 971-83.

⁵⁰ Compare 1QS 5.2, 9, 22//4QS^d 2.2//4QS^g 1.2, and 1QS 6.19. The term רוב appears in D not so much with judicial authority, but as the general recipients of the revealed Law (CD 15.13//4Q266 8 i, 4; 4Q270 6 ii, 6). However, Huppenbauer finds the different nuances to רוב and רבים to be instructive. He assumes that רוב, “multitude,” refers to the lay members of the congregation, while רבים, “the Many,” equals the priests and laity as full members of the *Yahad*, in “רב, רוב, רבים in den Sektenregel,” 136. However, הרבים seems particularly close in meaning to the term רוב, “multitude.” Not only are the roots related, but the few times that רוב is used, it indicates a group with a similar authoritarian function. Following Knibb, I would say that רוב and רבים are very virtually synonymous. Both were used in the same way as the Greek word *plethos* (literally “multitude”) in Acts to describe the early Christian community (e.g. Acts 15:30; cf. Knibb, *The Qumran Community*, 106).

membership of a given congregation, described as such only when functioning as a judicial body.⁵¹

But did this body govern only during the earliest stages of community development? Many believe so, finding traces of this more “egalitarian” form of leadership only early on at Qumran in what they deem to be the first passages of S. But in circular fashion, adherents of this idea are often persuaded to identify these passages as early based in part on the assumption that “the Many” is early terminology.⁵² Even though this less-hierarchical form of government could easily have been in play at an early period, by the same token, I argue that the governing body known as the Many could also have persisted in some (outlying?) communities, especially ones that did not have access to a Zadokite priest. Indeed, we find support for this in a fragmentary text 4Q477, *Rebukes Reported by the Overseer*. The entire text records rebukes made against (presumably) community members (cf. CD 9.2-3). Although fragmentary, one passage mentions the *Yahad* as well as the “[ca]mps of the Many” (מ[חני] הרבים, 2 i, 3), further tying this governing arrangement with various settlements (above).

Thus, this broader understanding of the Many does not force us to assume that the authority of the Sons of Zadok (1QS 5.2) was mutually exclusive to that of the Many (4QS^b 9.3; 4QS^d 1.2). It is not difficult to see that any outlying *Yahad* community could have had a functioning Many, in much the role as the egalitarian leadership of the early Christian communities.⁵³

3.1.2.3 בני צדוק “the Sons of Zadok”

As mentioned above, in order to explain the sudden “appearance” of the Sons of Zadok in 1QS, a handful of scholars theorize that there

⁵¹ Such was the case, for instance, in the examination of proselytes (1QS 6; cf. 4Q265 1 ii, 4-5; 4Q266 11, 1, 8) or other matters (1QS 6.9, etc.).

⁵² For instance, note Vermes, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 77. Kruse notes that in the process of organizational development, power more likely transferred from the Many to one (in this case the Inspector) in D, rather than one leader relinquishing power to the Many. However, he wrongly uses this analysis to assume that D represents a later stage of community development than S (because it mentions the Inspector in a leadership position over the Many), in “Community Functionaries,” 550-51.

⁵³ Charlesworth, “Community Organization in the Rule of the Community,” 134.

was a Zadokite *coup* at some point in the history of Qumran.⁵⁴ Or in another problematic interpretive move, others read the copies according to their paleographical order and thus try to explain why the Zadokites disappeared by the time of the later Cave 4 copies.⁵⁵ Yet other variables likely were at play here besides chronology alone. Two main questions I raise are: (1) who were the Sons of Zadok? and (2) were they in power necessarily before or after the rule of the Many?

Unfortunately, there are few references either inside or outside of the Scrolls that can help us understand who actually constituted the Sons of Zadok during the Second Temple period. In the Bible Zadok, the son of Ahitub, was the important early priest of David,⁵⁶ and to be associated with Zadok was of continuing importance for high priests during the late Second Temple period. The Sadducees (צדוקים), for instance, related themselves at least in name with the figure of Zadok, in a move some would say was meant to contrast them with the non-Zadokite Hasmoneans. The *Yahad*-members are also thought to have had similar complaints over the “non-Zadokite” lineage of the Hasmoneans, although improper lineage really was not the primary issue over which they rejected them and the Jerusalem cult.⁵⁷

⁵⁴ Hempel, “The Community and Its Rivals,” 55; Vermes, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 77; and Vermes, in a letter to BAR 21.4 (1995), 21. He proposes that after a later Zadokite takeover, redactors changed “the Many” to the “Sons of Zadok” in 1QS 5 (“Preliminary Remarks,” 255; “Qumran Forum Miscellanea I,” 300-1), although Vermes does not directly explain why 1QS is unexpectedly the oldest manuscript copy. Following Vermes, Metso also finds that the two long passages about the Sons of Zadok (1QS 5.2-3; 9-10) were later replacements for הרבים in 1QS, in *Textual Development*, 78.

⁵⁵ Alexander, “The Redaction-History of Serekh Ha-Yahad.” Otherwise, we are left to follow Davies, who has gone so far as to relegate the Sons of Zadok to a mere literary creation: he suggests that the phrase “Sons of Zadok” was confined only to one literary stratum and not tied to historical persons, in *Behind the Essenes: History and Ideology in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (BJS 94; ed. J. Neusner; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987), 51-72; and “Redaction and Sectarianism in the Qumran Scrolls,” 155-59.

⁵⁶ Little more is known about his descendants or the genealogy of the high priesthood, although 1 Kgs 4:3 reports that his son, Azariah, served as high priest during Solomon’s reign. For studies on the figure of Zadok, see Saul Olyan, “Zadok’s Origins and the Tribal Politics of David,” *JBL* 101 (1982): 177-93; and H.G. Judge, “Aaron, Zadok, and Abiathar,” *JTS* 7 (1956): 70-74.

⁵⁷ See the discussion in Schofield and VanderKam, “Were the Hasmoneans Zadokites?,” *JBL* 124 (2005): 73-87.

But were there literal, lineal Zadokites left by the late Second Temple period, some of whom formed part of the *Yahad*? Cana Werman would argue to the contrary, claiming that the Sons of Zadok were identical with the Sons of Aaron, and therefore “all the priests of the Second Temple were members of the group ‘the Sons of Zadok’.”⁵⁸ For her, as well as Licht and others, this holds true for the *Yahad*, who, they believe, do not effectively distinguish between the Sons of Zadok and priests in general.⁵⁹ Others have come up with related hypotheses, claiming that the phrase “Sons of Zadok” stands for the *Yahad* members as a whole⁶⁰ or even for the laity.⁶¹

But there are reasons to believe that lineage still played a role in the authority of the Zadokites. Werman judiciously admits that there are hints in Chronicles, for instance, that the Sons of Zadok persisted as a limited but chosen family.⁶² In the Scrolls alone, the terms “Sons of Zadok” and “Sons of Aaron” do not appear to have been used interchangeably, but rather reflect two separate groups, a distinction

⁵⁸ Cana Werman, “The Sons of Zadok,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Fifty Years after Their Discovery 1947-1997. Proceedings of the Jerusalem Congress, July 20-25, 1997* (ed. L.H. Schiffman, et al.; Jerusalem: The Shrine of the Book, Israel Museum, 2000), 623-30, esp. 629.

⁵⁹ Licht, *Megillat ha-serakhim*, 114. Licht believes that the succession of lineal Zadokites ceased at the rise of the Hasmoneans. Knibb goes so far as to find the Zadokite designation a moral qualification rather than one of lineage. He comments that the “‘Sons of Zadok’ is used in the scrolls interchangeably with ‘Sons of Aaron’ as a title for the priests...except that in CD IV.3b-4a, ‘Sons of Zadok’ is a symbolic title for the whole community” (*The Qumran Community*, 105).

⁶⁰ Davies, *The Damascus Covenant: An Interpretation of the ‘Damascus Document’* (JSOTSup 25; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1983), 95.

⁶¹ Otto Betz, *Offenbarung und Schriftforschung in der Qumransekte* (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1960), 180-81. Alternately Robert Kugler suggests that the phrase is merely a play on the words “Zadok” (צדוק) and “righteousness” (צדק), so that the “Sons of Zadok” is not a proper noun, but means the “Sons of Righteousness” (בני צדוק=בני צדק). A similar explanation for the epithet is found in Georg Klinzing, *Die Umdeutung des Kultus in der Qumrangemeinde und im Neuen Testament* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1971), 131-32. Certainly the similarities are playfully used by the authors of the Scrolls; the scribe behind 4Q174 makes that connection explicit, where he calls the Sons of Zadok “those who see[k righ]tousness eagerly” (רוד[פי צ]דק; 1-2 I 17). But this secondary clarification seems unnecessary if the title were to have meant “Sons of Righteousness” in the first place.

⁶² Werman, “The Sons of Zadok,” 627-29.

preserved even in rabbinic sources.⁶³ A summary of all references to the Sons of Zadok in the non-biblical Scrolls supports this distinction:

TABLE 3.2
All References to the Sons of Zadok in the Non-Biblical Scrolls

Manuscript	Context	Appellations/Descriptions of the Sons of Zadok
1QS 5.2, 9	Description of the Members of the <i>Yahad</i> ; Council of the <i>Yahad</i>	Over <i>Yahad</i> members; over the Council of the <i>Yahad</i> ; keepers of the Covenant (2xs); interpret God's will; receive revelation
1QS 9.14	Duties of the Sage	The Sage is over the Sons of Zadok (separates and weighs their spirits)
1QSa 1.2, 24; 2.3	Rule for the Congregation of Israel in the last days	Priests; over the Congregation of Israel; over the Sons of Levi; over the Council of the <i>Yahad</i> ; present at last days
1QSB 3.22-26	Blessing of the Sage over the Sons of Zadok	Priests; chosen by God; uphold God's covenant; distribute judgments to the people; teach people; have the covenant of eternal priesthood
CD 3.21-4.5	Citation/interpretation of Ezek 44:15	Maintained service at Temple when Israel went astray; chosen of Israel; men of renown; stand (serve) at end of days
4QD ^a (4Q266) 5 i, 16	(Fragmentary)	Priests (fragmentary)

⁶³ Although Zadok does not figure prominently in rabbinic sources, *Qohelet Rabbah* 1.4 speaks of Zadok's greatness. It mentions that if Aaron and his sons had been alive in Zadok's time, Zadok still would have been greater, thereby recognizing—at least in rabbinic times—there was still a distinction between the two. Again, it is preferable to think of them in concentric circles focusing in on a select group of Zadokites. Thus, all of the Sons of Zadok were part of the larger family of Aaronites, but not *vice versa*.

4QIsaiah Pesher ^c (4Q163) 22, 3	Interpretation of Isaiah 30 (fragmentary)	(fragmentary)
4QFlorilegium (4Q174) 1, 17	Interpretation of Ezek 44:10	Do not defile themselves with idols

From the aforementioned passages, a few characteristics of the Sons of Zadok emerge. They are frequently described as priests; therefore “Sons of Zadok” and “priests” were not equivalent titles, otherwise there would be no need to specify further that this was their role.

In general, they receive the covenant of eternal priesthood (1QSa 3.26) and are frequently mentioned as the ones chosen to preserve God’s covenant, the conduits through which the covenantal promises are secured (1QS 5.2; 1QSB 3.22-26; CD 3.21-4.1; 4.3). Their duties include receiving revelation and interpreting God’s will (1QS 5.9), judging the people (1QSB 3.23) and teaching them (1QSB 3.23-24), and they are afforded an important role in the last days (CD 4.3, 1QSa). They are always mentioned in a place of authority, whether over the Congregation of Israel, Council of the *Yahad*, the *Yahad*, or the Sons of Levi,⁶⁴ and usually they are mentioned as leaders alongside a second group (רוב אנשי בריתם, אנשי עצתמה, רוב אנשי בריתם) (אנשי היחד).

In answer to our second question of whether the leadership of the Zadokites necessarily excluded the authority of the Many, no reference to the Sons of Zadok leads us to this conclusion. In fact, it seems to be quite the reverse because multiple times a second governing body is mentioned alongside the Zadokites, and at least two times this group was roughly equivalent to the Many: רוב אנשי and רוב היחד. This could be only a secondary amalgamation, but at one point among the synoptic versions, 1QS *adds* an additional reference to the authority of the Many (על פי הרבים, 1QS 8.26), otherwise lacking in the Cave 4 tradition (4QS^d 7.1).

The whole of the evidence negates the theory that there was a Zadokite “expunging” of the Many, both textually and historically, one that corresponded to a Zadokite *coup*. Although the Zadokites

⁶⁴ But note they are never mentioned as presiding over the Sons of Aaron, at least in the preserved fragments. This could lead us to presume that the terms are synonymous (cf. Werman, Licht), but not necessarily so, as the Sons of Zadok are mentioned so infrequently.

were in a position of high authority among the sectarians, it is likely that their leadership did not exclude a concurrent presence of the Many, reminiscent of the bicameral political structure known in early Christian communities and elsewhere in the ancient Near East.⁶⁵

Conclusions

The Many constituted the fully-fellowshipped members of a given community assembled for judicial functions. This egalitarian-type organization may have been the earliest governing structure in the *Yahad's* history, but it no doubt persisted in a variety of community settings. There is no evidence that the Many supplanted the Zadokites or that the Sons of Zadok overthrew the power of the Many, a move that is not otherwise alluded to in other Scrolls.⁶⁶ The authority of the Many is further emphasized elsewhere in 1QS, and the fact that the Zadokites appear in texts of great chronological breath, including the early copy of 1QS (c. 100-75 BCE), speaks against their taking power the Many at a later point in the history of the community.⁶⁷ It may be that the Zadokites resided mostly in a central location, such as Qumran or Jerusalem, and were not present in every outlying community. 4QS^{b,d}, then, could have recorded an earlier organizational structure (the Many) that coexisted alongside the central authority of the Sons of Zadok, one that, as we saw in 4Q477, was linked to the “camps.” Therefore, it may not constitute such a paradox, as Brooke describes, that the Cave 4 copies describe a less hierarchical community, yet are of a late date.⁶⁸

⁶⁵ See 2.3.3.4, above. Early Christian communities may be instructive in this instance, where they are admonished to elect local overseers for themselves via the congregation at large (*Didache* 15.1).

⁶⁶ See the valid counterarguments in Alexander, “The Redaction-History of Serekh Ha-Yahad”; and in Charlesworth and Strawn, “Reflections on the Text of Serekh ha-Yahad,” 412. Talmon says that the Covenanters conceived of themselves from the outset as “the Community of the Sons of Zadok” or at least the followers of Zadok, in *The World of Qumran From Within: Collected Studies* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1989), 276, etc.

⁶⁷ Examples include 4Q163, from the first century BCE, and 4Q174, from the end of the first century BCE (DJD 5.11-30). 4Q266, also mentioning the Zadokites, has been dated to the end of the first century BCE by Brooke (erroneously referred to as 4QD^b in his article, “The Messiah of Aaron in the Damascus Document,” *RevQ* 15 [1991]: 215-30, esp. 215-16). Recent C-14 dating allocates this manuscript to somewhere around 5-80 CE (1σ) (Hempel, *The Damascus Texts*, 21).

⁶⁸ He explains this paradox in terms of chronological development: “Thus there seems to be some evidence to suggest that the community went through a process of

3.1.3 *The Meaning of “Serekh” and the Case of Different Titles*

Few titles have been preserved for any of the Scrolls, but S is one exception. At least in 1QS and 4QS^a, the work is entitled ספר סרך היחד, the “Scroll of the Rule of the *Yahad*.” For 4QS^{b,d}, this same title does not appear, but we do have the remnants of an introduction of sorts: “An Instruction for the Sage who is over the People of the Law” (מדרש למשכיל על אנשי התורה); 4QS^b 5.1//4QS^d 1.1). In its equivalent introduction to this key section, 1QS 5 introduces the work instead as “the Rule for the People of the *Yahad*” (הסרב לאנשי היחד). The semantic subtleties of calling a work a “*midrash*” versus a “*serekh*” are not clear. But it may be helpful to review what we can discern about these terms individually.

3.1.3.1 סרך “Rule”

In multiple Scrolls, סרך is used in a variety of community contexts, represented both by S and D, where it designates the “order” of groups (women and children, residents of the camps, army, etc.). For instance, it is applied to the community of the *Yahad* (1QS 1.1//4Q255 1.1; 1QS 5.1), the “assembly of the camps” (CD 12.22-23; CD 14.3; cf. CD 7.6), “the assemblies of the cities of Israel” (CD 12.19); “the entire congregation of Israel” in the last days (1Q28a 1.1). It is also applied to subgroups of the community (“Judges of the Congregation,” CD 10.4; “Inspector of the Camp,” CD 13.7; and “the Many,” 1QS 6.8; CD 14.12). סרך is also used in a military context to designate the order of battle to be followed by the Sons of Light in the final battle.⁶⁹

It is striking that we do not find סרך in the introductory sentence of 4QS^d, but we should not make too much of this absence, as the word itself is used elsewhere in both 4QS^{b,d}.⁷⁰ The term is quite

reform and rejuvenation, and there was a move from hierarchy to something more egalitarian” (*Isaiah at Qumran: Updating W.H. Brownlee’s The Meaning of the Qumrân Scrolls for the Bible* [Claremont, Calif.: Institute for Antiquity and Christianity, 2004], 18).

⁶⁹ 1QM 5.3, 4; 7.17; 8.14; 9.10; 16.3; 18.6; cf. the “rule of the banners of all the congregations” 1QM 3.13; 4.9. They also mention the “rule of God” (1QM 3.3).

⁷⁰ We find סרך היחד in 4QS^b 2.1 and סרך איש in 4QS^d 2.2. As noted by Alexander, the term סרך is always positive and prescriptive, never labeling a literary form *per se*, but rather indicating a genre of writing, in “Rules,” in *Encyclopedia of*

malleable, whether it refers to “any rule” or “the Rule,” but it is not limited to one type of community formation.

3.1.3.2 משכיל “Sage”

4QS^{b,d} are introduced as a *midrash* for (or perhaps of) the Sage (משכיל),⁷¹ where 1QS does not mention the Sage in its analogous title. If my hypothesis is correct and some traditions, such as that of 4QS^{b,d}, were developed by communities outside of Qumran, then the Sage would have been known outside of Qumran. But is this reflected in other sources mentioning the Sage? Newsom believes so. She rightly concludes that the Sage, “or a figure like him, appears to have been a functionary both in the community at Qumran and in the local village communities.”⁷²

The Scrolls are not clear about who is (are) the Sage(s). He is “the officer in charge at the head of the Many,”⁷³ and the latter group, I noted above, is linked with the camps. According to Vermes and others, the Sage and the Inspector (מבקר) are the same person, given that the same language is used to describe them both.⁷⁴ Indeed, the duties of the Sage are similar to those of the Inspector (D): both examine and rank members (1QS 9.14; CD 13.11-12), are knowledgeable (1QS 9.13; CD 14.8-10), and instruct others (1QS 9.18-19; CD 13.6-8). Nathan Jastram notes that “The duty of teaching links him [the Sage] verbally as well as contextually with the Examiner

the Dead Sea Scrolls (ed. L.H. Schiffman and J.C. VanderKam; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 799-803, esp. 799.

⁷¹ For more about the Sage, see Alexander, “Physiognomy, Initiation, and Rank in the Qumran Community,” in *Geschichte-Tradition-Reflexion. Festschrift für Martin Hengel zum 70. Geburtstag* (ed. H. Cancik, et al.; Tübingen: Mohr-Siebeck, 1996), 385-94; Hempel, “Community Structures in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Admission, Organization, Disciplinary Procedures,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years* (ed. P. Flint and J.C. VanderKam; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 67-92; and Newsom, “The Sage in the Literature of Qumran: The Functions of the *Maskil*” in *The Sage in Israel and the Ancient Near East* (ed. J.G. Gammie and L.G. Perdue; Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1990), 373-82.

⁷² Newsom, “The Sage in the Literature of Qumran,” 373, n. 2.

⁷³ Cf. the comments made by Knibb in *The Qumran Community*, 96.

⁷⁴ Vermes, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 97. Knibb notes that “the Rule reference is made to ‘the wise leader’ (Hebrew *maskil*); his duties included the pastoral oversight of the members of the community and the admission of new members (IX.14b-21a), and it seems that he is the same as the one called in column VI ‘the overseer [Inspector] of the many’ and ‘the officer in charge,’” in *The Qumran Community*, 118. Newsom more or less agrees, in “The Sage in the Literature of Qumran,” 375.

[Inspector] in CD 12-13, where the two titles appear in alternation.”⁷⁵

However, extracting historical persons behind the two titles (Sage and Inspector) is no easy task.⁷⁶ There is overlap between either two historical individuals or, more likely, two different titles for the same general function. The ambiguities that surround the Sage keep us from making any definite conclusions about his appearance in the title of 4QS^{b,d}. However, given that he appears in a range of texts, including D,⁷⁷ and that he is connected to “the officer in charge at the head of the Many,” his position was most likely known beyond Qumran proper, is connected to the camps, and therefore this reference to him does not exclude the possibility that 4QS^{b,d} tradition was also known in the camps outside of Qumran.

3.1.3.3 אנשי התורה “People of the Law”

The phrase, “People of the Law” (אנשי התורה) at the beginning of 4QS^d (1.1) occurs nowhere else in the Scrolls,⁷⁸ although it should reasonably be reconstructed in the equivalent section of 4QS^b. We cannot conclude much about the semantic range of this phrase, given its scarcity,⁷⁹ but it is notably lacking in 1QS. It could be that the “People of the Law” was an earlier designation for community

⁷⁵ Nathan Jastram, “Hierarchy at Qumran,” in *Legal Texts and Legal Issues: Proceedings of the Second Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies, Cambridge 1995* (ed. M. Bernstein, et al.; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 349-76, esp. 359.

⁷⁶ Hempel finds that these remnants of the Sage traditions have been preserved in the communal legislation of D, but she believes we cannot reconstruct his role completely. She points out that he seems to have been supplanted by the Inspector, at least in the Laws’ final form, in *The Laws of the Damascus Document*, 150.

⁷⁷ E.g. CD 12.21; 13.22; 4Q266 5 i, 17; 4Q266 9 iii, 15; 4Q400 3 ii, 5, 8; 4Q427 8 ii, 10, 17; 4Q510 1, 4; 4Q511 2 i, 1.

⁷⁸ However, there is the similar phrase עושי התורה, “Followers of the Law” in 1QpHab 7.11.

⁷⁹ We should keep in mind that many of these terms may well be examples of alternate terms for the same groups. We cannot exclude that the sectarians had different—but theologically similar—names for themselves, without having to hypothesize there was a different group behind each term. This would explain some of the similarities in figures such as the Sage and the Inspector. And it would result in our understanding that “the community, then, may have had fewer concurrent leaders than the tally of titles would suggest” (Jastram, “Hierarchy at Qumran,” 359).

members, and/or it could reflect the same distinction preserved in D of two contrasting groups: “those of perfect holiness” (אנשי תמים, CD 20.2, 5, 7) and “those who reside in camps . . . [who] walk in accordance with the law (על פי התורה) . . . according to the rule of the law (התורה בסדר)” (CD 19.2-4).⁸⁰ For this second group, the emphasis on the Law may also be related to the notion in D circles that members belonged to the “the House of the Law” (בית התורה; CD 20.10, 13) and who elsewhere were called “Followers of the Law” (עושי התורה, 1QpHab 7.11, 8.1; 4Q171 2, 15).

Although the Law was certainly important in 1QS as well (members form a *Yahad* in Law and in possessions, 1QS 5.2, 3 etc.), there is no mention of the “People of the Law” or of the “Rule/House of the Law” in the Cave 1 tradition. It is curious that the Law gets added emphasis in 4QS^{b,d} (both in the title, 4QS^d 1.1 and with two additional phrases “by the Law” in 4QS^d 2.3, 4) not found in 1QS. It is difficult to understand why the scribes of the 1QS tradition would *remove* the emphasis on the Law, or a reference to the “People of the Law” found in 4QS^d, if they were working from this “earlier” tradition. Rather these two traditions must have developed in slightly different circles and/or at different times.

3.1.4 *The Yahad’s Vocational Understanding*

Due to space limitations, the nuances of the sectarian’s own self-understanding in S cannot be explored here. However, I can make a few notes about how the different versions compare in this regard. By and large, the copies of S share the same theological and vocational self-understanding. However, there are a few differences that are of note for this study. First, as observed by others, 1QS reflects a more developed theological self-awareness than the Cave 4 versions because it contains more biblical citations and references to the “covenant,” ברית, so a few relevant observations will be made concerning my reconstruction.

⁸⁰ A similar analysis is made of these two groups by Collins, who also believes that the “Men of Perfect Holiness” refers more specifically to the celibate men living at Qumran, in “The Yahad and ‘The Qumran Community,’” 92; cf. Stegemann, *Die Entstehung der Qumrangemeinde* (Bonn: Privately published, 1971), 48-52.

3.1.4.1 *IQS and the Bible*

First, in contrast to the Cave 4 versions, IQS contains more biblical citations, which are interspersed into the body of the text at points where scribes add legitimacy to the theological or vocational self-understanding of the *Yahad*.⁸¹ Metso has already noted that IQS more frequently contains a biblical *lemma* than 4QS^{b,d}, and she rightly points out that these scriptural quotations are not the starting point nor the purpose of the text (such as we find in the *pesharim*, etc.), but rather they secondarily support or illustrate an argument already made in the text.⁸²

In Metso's view, these amplifications are secondary and indicate that IQS is a later work than 4QS^{b,d}. For her, these citations were added to S at a later date when enthusiasm for the community had begun to wane, some time after the text behind 4QS^{b,d} was already compiled.⁸³ Alternatively, Garnet suggests that although IQS offers more statements about the *raison d'être* of the community, "it is unlikely that such statements would be added when the Community was well established."⁸⁴ In the reverse, then, one could argue that a community would need to legitimate its existence in the early years of community foundation, which would support Garnet's conclusion that IQS is an earlier version of S. Theoretically, either inference is possible, although Metso is probably correct because, as a general operative principle, texts expand over time. She is right to think that IQS was expounded upon secondarily, but not directly from 4QS^{b,d} as we now have them.

The examples of interpretive expansion in IQS are classic examples of authoritative scribal intervention; that is to say, not just anyone could have supplied this inspired exegesis. This activity most

⁸¹ Some of the citations missing in 4QS^{b,d} include: IQS 5.13b-16a, which quotes Exod 23:7; IQS 5.16b-19a, which cites Isa 2:22; and IQS 8.12b-16a, which comments on Isa 40:3 and the wilderness calling. For further discussion, see Wernberg-Møller, "Some Reflections on the Biblical Material in the Manual of Discipline," *ST* 9 (1956): 40-66; Fitzmyer, "The Use of Explicit Old Testament Quotations in Qumran Literature and in the New Testament," *NTS* 7 (1961): 297-333; and cf. Metso, below.

⁸² Metso, "The Use of Old Testament Quotations," 217-28.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 228. She points out an example in the New Testament, where Matthew expands the text of Mark with Old Testament citations. Also, it would be more difficult to explain why a scribe would want to *remove* these citations at a later time.

⁸⁴ Garnet, "Cave 4 MS Parallels to IQS 5.1-7," 77.

likely took place within the upper hierarchy of the movement, probably at a codifying center, such as Qumran, where authoritative texts were more actively revised. Earlier, shorter traditions had already trickled out and were preserved on the periphery. What I could contribute to Metso's generally sound conclusions is the possibility of radial-dialogic growth, where not all of these traditions were copied at Qumran, thereby solving her own question about why one community would continue to copy an unexpanded version.⁸⁵

3.1.4.2 *The Use of "Covenant" (ברית)*

The term "covenant" (ברית) occurs more frequently in 1QS than in the Cave 4 manuscripts.⁸⁶ General statistical comparison would be imprecise here, given the haphazard preservation of the material, but we can examine one isolated pericope that describes the admission into the Community Council (1QS 5.7c-20a//4QS^b 9.6b-13//4QS^d 1.5b-13), one that is relatively well-preserved in both 1QS and 4QS^{b,d}.⁸⁷ Hempel has done a thorough comparison of this passage in the three versions, and she observes that "the covenant is mentioned a striking seven times in this passage in 1QS over against a single reconstructed occurrence in 4QS^{b,d}," an example that is only tentatively restored (4QS^d 1.11).⁸⁸

Overall, 1QS displays a greater self-awareness of the covenant and the members' relationship to that covenant. This may reasonably reflect a later stage in community development—after members developed a more poignant sense of their covenantal role—and therefore they added these references secondarily. On the other hand, if all versions were redacted at Qumran and this covenantal awareness was a later phenomenon, it did not affect the scribe(s) who were copying the 4QS^{b,d} manuscripts, or they did not chose to redact them

⁸⁵ Metso, "The Use of Old Testament Quotations," 228.

⁸⁶ ברית occurs a total of 32 times in 1QS, whereas it is preserved only twice in 4Q256 (2.1, partially reconstructed; 3.3) and only four times in 4Q258 (2.1; 6.3; 6.8; 9.9). Yet, of course, this can be attributed at least partially to the chances of preservation, but 4QS^{b,d} lack too many references to the covenant to call their absence the result of scribal error or accidental omission. On the other hand, "covenant" is also an important term in D, occurring 44 times in the Cave 4 and medieval D manuscripts (cf. Hempel, *The Damascus Texts*, 79-81).

⁸⁷ This section is not represented in any other version of S.

⁸⁸ Hempel, "Interpretative Authority in the Community Rule Tradition," 56. See also Hempel, "The Community and Its Rivals," 48-57.

in the manner of 1QS. Perhaps they were unaffected by certain theological developments about the covenant (preserving the text as is), but this seems unlikely.

It is better to posit diverging development, where 4QS^{b,d} preserves an earlier tradition, unaffected by such scribal amplification. Again, this type of exegetical expansion (cf. “great traditions”) would be most appropriate from within an authoritative center, with a more highly developed sense of interpretive authority and/or of community delineation (=Qumran?). Along these lines, 1QS fits best in this context and indeed exhibits a stronger theological self-awareness in other “added” content, including explication of the community’s wilderness vocation.⁸⁹

3.1.4.3 *Qumran and the Wilderness Calling*

A possible argument against my historical reconstruction is that the notion of a “wilderness calling”⁹⁰—a primary reason many associate S with Qumran—is present in more than one S version. Few argue that a journey to the wilderness did not take place.⁹¹ Most, such as Brooke, accurately agree that at least one segment of the sect literally went to the wilderness and ended up at Qumran.⁹²

⁸⁹ 1QS mentions that new members enter by taking upon themselves a binding *oath* (ויקם על נפשו בשבועת אסר; 5.8), whereas both 4QS^{b,d} lack “oath” (ויקם על נפשו; 4QS^b 9.6-7//4QS^d 1.6). At least in one instance 1QS speaks about completing one year in the *Yahad*, while 4QS^b only has “completed one year perfectly” (1QS 6.17-18//4QS^b 11.13).

⁹⁰ For more background on the “wilderness theology” of the sect, note Schofield, “Wilderness Motif.” Reference as well Dimant, “Not Exile in the Desert but Exile in Spirit: The Peshet of Isa. 40:3 in the *Rule of the Community*,” *Meghillot* 2 (2004): 21-36; Talmon, “The ‘Desert Motif’ in the Bible and in Qumran Literature,” in *Biblical Motifs, Origins and Transformations* (ed. A. Altmann; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1966), 31-63; Brooke, “Isaiah 40:3 and the Wilderness Community,” in *New Qumran Texts and Studies: Proceedings of the First Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies, Paris 1992* (ed. G. Brooke and F. García Martínez; Leiden: Brill, 1994), 117-32; VanderKam, “Sinai Revisited”; Moshe Bernstein, “4Q159 Fragment 5 and the ‘Desert Theology’ of the Qumran Sect,” in *Emanuel: Studies in Hebrew Bible, Septuagint, and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honor of Emanuel Tov* (ed. S.M. Paul, et al.; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 43-56.

⁹¹ A few try to argue that the *Yahad* never made a literal journey into the wilderness, as in Dimant, “Not Exile in the Desert but Exile in Spirit,” and Golb, *Who Wrote the Dead Sea Scrolls?* But Brooke gives a sound rebuttal to this position in, “Isaiah 40:3 and the Wilderness Community.”

⁹² Brooke, “Isaiah 40:3 and the Wilderness Community,” 132, etc.

So how do we read these references to the wilderness? In 1QS we find one citation (8.14) and one allusion (9.19b-20) to Isa 40:3, which in its original context speaks of preparing a “way in the wilderness” for the return of the LORD from exile back to the Jerusalem Temple. In the exegesis of this verse, the *Yahad* author(s) interpret(s) the “way” metaphorically to mean the study of Law. A related passage alluding to Isa 40:3 likely existed in 4QS^d, but it is not well preserved. The following may be the correct reconstruction, given the space on the scroll:

TABLE 3.3
Comparison of the “Wilderness” Passage 1QS 8//4QS^d 6

1QS 8.12-16	4QS ^d 6.6-7
יבדלו מתוך מושב הנשי	יבדלו מ]תוך מושב אנשי
העול ללכת למדבר לפנות	העול ללכת למדבר לפנות
שם את דרך הואהא	את דרך הואהא במדבר
כאשר כתוב במדבר פנו	
דרך יישי ביערבה	
מסלה לאלוהינו	
היאה מדרש התורה	היא מדרש התור]ה אשר
[אשר] צוה ביד	]צוה ב ⁹³

We cannot be certain about the missing text in 4QS^d, or what it says about the wilderness, but the lacuna lacks the space to fit in the scriptural citation of Isa 40:3. But even without the biblical *lemma*, 4QS^d knows of a wilderness calling,⁹⁴ and one could argue that this indicates it was composed (and copied?) at Qumran.

⁹³ Following Alexander and Vermes, eds., DJD 26.105.

⁹⁴ 4QS^e also preserves most of the same text as is present in 1QS 8.13-15, except for the few words added above the line in 1QS 8.13 (בתכונים האלה). 4QS^e also speaks of preparing the way of “truth” (אמת) in the wilderness, rather than the way of the Lord (הואהא), although one may argue that אמת is a different scribal convention for the tetragrammaton.

Above (2.3.4.4) I mention that 4QS^e also references a wilderness calling, but with an interesting twist from the 1QS account. 1QS records that the Sage will teach the mysteries of wonder and truth (אמת) among the *Yahad* members, but 4QS^e writes ואם תייתם (instead of אמת, “truth”), which forms part of a more syntactically appropriate *protasis*. I show above that this makes the calling to go into the wilderness in 4QS^e conditional; following Alexander and Vermes’s translation, it reads:

... and thus he [the Sage] shall instruct them in the mysteries of marvel and *if the way of the Assembly of the Community becomes perfect*, [by each man walking in perfection] with his neighbour in all that has been revealed to them, then this is the time of preparing the way into the wilderness... (4QS^e 3.17-19, emphasis mine).

This subtle variation on the wilderness call leaves open if or when the move to the desert took place. 4QS^e probably retains an earlier version of this text before any physical move to the desert took place; at least the possibility is open that the move to the wilderness is something not yet realized at the actual time of the composition.

Moreover, elsewhere I have shown that the prophetic ideal of a *return* to the wilderness was already deeply embedded in the *Yahad*’s theology at an early stage and was the impetus for—rather than a later theological accommodation of—the move to the desert.⁹⁵ We should note that an embryonic wilderness theology was a core part of their early ideology before the sectarians settled at Qumran. Knibb notes that material surrounding the “wilderness calling” of the sectarians “appears to be the oldest in the Rule,”⁹⁶ while Leaney also comments that “the community or movement therefore out of which it [the wilderness theology] arose must have been represented by groups dispersed throughout the land.”⁹⁷

At least by the time the wilderness theology appears in 1QS, it was already quite developed, and 1QS was copied before or soon after *Yahad* members settled Qumran.⁹⁸ I would have to agree with

⁹⁵ Schofield, “Wilderness Motif.”

⁹⁶ Knibb, *The Qumran Community*, 129.

⁹⁷ Leaney, *The Rule of Qumran and its Meaning*, 210-11.

⁹⁸ Note that the “late” version of S, 1QS, was copied between 100-75 BCE, but the recent revised date of the sectarian settlement at Qumran is 100-50 BCE. This makes it very likely that S underwent at least some composition and redaction before it was ever at Qumran. Some of the other versions (4QS^{b,d} and 4QS^e), then, would have had an even earlier genesis. These examples confirm that the sectarians

Hultgren in his close analysis of the D and S versions, when he claims that the references to the wilderness in S could presuppose that the move already took place, but it does not require it. He states, “1QS VIII, 1-16a comes from a time with the community was preparing to move to the desert . . . But there is no reason that we must assume that the move to the desert was simultaneous with the formation of the *yaḥad*.”⁹⁹ For our purposes, then, we should note that if the scribes of 1QS expounded further upon this move, those who later copied 4QS^{b,d,e} did not similarly engage with the text.

3.2 COMPARATIVE EVIDENCE FROM THE “RULE” TEXTS

Certainly our notions of S are changing as we discover the spectrum of Rule material now available, which illuminates the *Sitz im Leben* of S. The diversity in this genre, characterized by its regulations concerning community organization and practice,¹⁰⁰ undermines any simplistic notions we may have that the *Yaḥad* was a small, homogeneous group. The penal codes are particularly telling, as we see clear overlap and divergence between those in S and D, as well as in the interesting text *Miscellaneous Rules* (4Q265), which shares common traditions with both. Although fragmentary, the latter text refers to the *Yaḥad* multiple times but also legislates for a mixed community of men, women and children.

So what can we make of this material and the demographics for which they legislate? Do we have potentially analogous cases to the S versions? That is to say, what do we make of Rule texts (e.g. D) that few believe were composed by or for the Qumran community but nonetheless were found among the Qumran caves? Was a similar scenario in effect for the S traditions as well?

drew inspiration from Isa 40:3 before some of them were physically in the wilderness.

⁹⁹ Hultgren, *From the Damascus Covenant to the Covenant of the Community*, 315. Nevertheless, Hultgren holds to an earlier date for the settlement at Qumran (late 140s or the first half of 130s), in *ibid.*, 316, which seem unwarranted given recent archaeological evidence.

¹⁰⁰ For a similar, but expanded, definition, see Alexander, “Rules,” 799-800.

3.2.1 *The Damascus Document: An Analogous Case?*

The belief has long been held that D was composed by a community other than that residing at Qumran.¹⁰¹ As summarized by Alexander, most assume that “while the Rule of the Community reflects a celibate male community holding its property in common, the Damascus Document legislates for women and children . . . in groups scattered throughout the land.”¹⁰²

Yet surprisingly, almost as many copies of D were discovered in the Qumran library as of S. In addition to the two known medieval copies, ten copies of D were found in the caves, a number exceeding all but a few of the other non-biblical Scrolls.¹⁰³ But unlike the S manuscripts, these copies do not appear to be of wide-ranging dates; with one exception, they all appear to be of a similar Herodian formal hand.¹⁰⁴ Neither do the Cave 4 D manuscripts exhibit a large number of variants between them as do the S versions, with the most disagreement existing understandably between the medieval copies of D and the Qumran copies. According to Alexander, the close uniformity of the D copies supports his hypothesis about the com-

¹⁰¹ Much scholarship has dealt with the plaguing issues of the *Sitz im Leben* of D; for instance, some have called this composite text a missionary document for potential converts (Murphy-O'Connor, “An Essene Missionary Document? CD II, 14-VI, 1,” *RB* 77 [1970]: 201-29). Others have been more concerned with the question of whether it describes a literal move to Damascus or whether this sojourn symbolically represents a stay in Qumran or Babylon. The discovery of eight copies of D in Cave 4 at Qumran surprised early scholars of the Scrolls, causing them to rethink the relationship between the Damascus community and that inhabiting Qumran proper. Most assume they were relatively close, and some go so far as to claim that Damascus symbolized Qumran itself. See Cross (*The Ancient Library of Qumran* 72-73, n. 5) and the review of scholarship on this topic in Samuel Iwry, “The Exegetical Method of the Damascus Document Reconsidered,” in *Methods of Investigation of the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Khirbet Qumran Site* (ed. M.O. Wise, et al.; New York: The New York Academy of Sciences, 1994), 329-38. Iwry, however, believes that a literal journey to Damascus took place, and he is conceivably correct.

¹⁰² Alexander, “Rules,” 802.

¹⁰³ According to Iwry, “this caused all of us to believe that the Covenant of Damascus was indeed very popular in this community and seemed to be at home at Qumran,” in “The Exegetical Method,” 330. At least we may note that this is one instance in which “external” Rule texts became part of the Qumran library at some point before its destruction in 68 CE.

¹⁰⁴ Only 4Q266 was written in a Hasmonean semi-cursive script, which could have represented an early draft of the work (Alexander, “Rules,” 802).

munity of D, namely that “the ‘settlement of the camps’ emerged as an offshoot of the Qumran yahad only in the late Hasmonean period, and that either it did not persist for long or did not undergo much internal change and development.”¹⁰⁵ In comparison to S, the relative homogeneity of the Cave 4 D copies is striking, but this does not necessarily mean that they were relatively recent compositions. Their comparative consistency may be because much earlier copies were lost or because multiple copies were made relatively recently from the same *Vorlage*, etc.

Nevertheless, D’s regulations are generally thought to have legislated for a different audience than that at Qumran. If this is so, we may note the curious instance where this “external” Rule text, in so many copies, made its way into the Qumran corpus, analogous to the scenario I suggest for S. That is to say, external or even peripheral sectarian literary traditions were known by and in constant dialogic exchange with Qumran.

3.2.1.1 *Content Similarities and Differences*

Deciphering the way in which D interprets history has been “a conundrum for scholars of ancient Judaism.”¹⁰⁶ What concerns us here is not the literary complexity of this text, but rather the possible similarities it may share with S in terms of transmission history. Both are considered to be Rule texts, with common regulatory and descriptive terminology, yet S and D are clearly independent compositions.

A comprehensive treatment of their similarities and disagreements is not necessary here, but I can affirm the general view that they overlap considerably.¹⁰⁷ In addition to exhibiting the same theological overtones, D and S have similar organizational structures. First and foremost, they share similar leadership terms (Inspector, Overseer, Sage, Sons of Zadok, Men of Perfect Holiness, etc.). Both contain specific rules for the admission of new members, and their

¹⁰⁵ Alexander, “Rules,” 802.

¹⁰⁶ Note these and similar comments made by Maxine L. Grossman, *Reading for History in the Damascus Document: A Methodological Method* (STDJ 45; ed. F. García Martínez and P. Flint; Leiden: Brill, 2002), 3-4.

¹⁰⁷ A recent comparison has been made by Hilary Evans Kapfer, “The Relationship between the Damascus Document and the Community Rule: Attitudes toward the Temple as a Test Case,” *DSD* 14 (2007): 152-77, esp. 152-57.

penal codes share considerable similarities, although S requires slightly more severe punishments. And the annual covenant renewal festival described in IQS may also have been alluded to in D's "assembly of all the camps." Some have gone so far as to say that their similar descriptions suggest that not only were they the same ceremony, but the two different groups (behind S and D) may have all met in one place.¹⁰⁸

Nevertheless, certain differences in content and community life are reflected in these two texts.¹⁰⁹ The Teacher of Righteousness is prominent in D but is not mentioned directly in S. The covenanters of D retain some private ownership of property (CD 9.10b-16a; 13.15-16; 14.12-13), which may or may not have been presumed in S.¹¹⁰ Also, at least some sections of D are directed to a broad audience, one that includes marrying members, in that D presupposes aspects of family life and individual ownership. However, D does not assume that this type of life is the only one lived by group members because it states, "if they live in camps according to the rule of the land..." (CD 7.6; emphasis mine), therefore assuming that the author(s) included those who did not. The other members, the Men of Perfect Holiness, were most likely those living celibate lives and residing at Qumran.¹¹¹

In the history of ideas, these two texts parallel each other in many ways, and the final redactor(s) of D, at least, must have been familiar with the other (S) tradition. Despite their differences—whether due

¹⁰⁸ Vermes notes that "the literary and archaeological evidence tends to support the theory that the 'assembly of all the camps', identical with the yearly assembly of the Qumran branch, forgathered at Qumran," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 94.

¹⁰⁹ Examine the summary comments made by J. Baumgarten, *Qumran Cave 4.XIII The Damascus Document (4Q266-273)* (DJD 18; ed. E. Tov; Clarendon, 1996), 7-9; also note Metso, "The Relationship between the Damascus Document and the Community Rule," in *The Damascus Document: A Centennial of Discovery. Proceedings of the Third International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 4-8 February, 1998* (ed. J.M. Baumgarten, et al.; Leiden: Brill, 2000), 85-93.

¹¹⁰ See the ambiguous cases in IQS 7.6-8 and 7.24-25. Hempel discusses these differences as well in "Community Structures in the Dead Sea Scrolls," 74.

¹¹¹ Vermes assumes that other passages of D are also directed towards the celibate members living at Qumran. For instance, in the Exhortation, members are admonished to "walk perfectly in all his ways and not follow after thoughts of a guilty inclination and lustful eyes" (CD 2.15-16//4Q266 2 ii, 15-16), admonitions Vermes concludes are directed towards the celibate members (*The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 97). Compare also Collins, "Forms of Community in the Dead Sea Scrolls," 101.

to chronological or social location—there is an implicit dialogic conversation implied in their shared self-understanding and terminological descriptions, not to mention the fact that copies of both D and S were found in the same Qumran collection.

3.2.1.2 *The Socio-Historical Relationship between D and S*

But what can we make of the respective audiences of D and S? Two classic explanations of their relationship have been formed; as van der Ploeg terms it, “The differences, which are . . . obvious, are explained by attributing the two rules to different stages in the development of the brotherhood; or by assuming that The Manual of Discipline was the rule used at Qumran, while the Damascus Document was for married Essenes.”¹¹² From the outset, most tended to see S and D as belonging to two different communities,¹¹³ but more recently, the trend is to focus on determining which was chronologically prior to the other.¹¹⁴ Yet neither explanation alone offers a satisfactory solution for both the commonalities *and* differences between D and S.

Do S and D Reflect Chronological Developments?

Some have argued that S reflects an earlier form of Essenism than that of D. Milik proposed that a “strict Essenism” is described in S and was only practiced at the beginning of the community’s history. D reflects later practices that were transformed and diluted under the influences of Pharisaic Judaism and when a significant faction left Qumran and established itself in Damascus.¹¹⁵ Others also argue that

¹¹² J. van der Ploeg, *The Excavations at Qumran: A Survey of the Judaean Brotherhood and Its Ideas* (trans. K. Smyth; London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1958), 51.

¹¹³ As, for instance, in Driver, *The Judaean Scrolls*, 51, 69. For a full discussion of how the circles behind D and S were identified, see Harold H. Rowley, *The Zadokite Fragments and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1952), 31 or more recently, Baumgarten, DJD 18.7-9.

¹¹⁴ See most recently Kapfer, “The Relationship between the Damascus Document and the Community Rule.”

¹¹⁵ Milik, *Ten Years of Discovery in the Wilderness of Judaea* (trans. J. Strugnell; London: SCM Press, 1959), 83-93.

D is later but for different reasons, primarily because they find D to be ostensibly more hierarchical.¹¹⁶

But this direction in hierarchical evolution is not so apparent. Others have more properly argued that D—at least in its core—represents earlier material than S. Followers of this “camp” include Harold H. Rowley and Wernberg-Møller, who early on found IQS to be the culmination of the Zadokite movement.¹¹⁷ Davies later follows suit and constructs a more nuanced hypothesis of D based on an analysis of its internal pericopes. For instance, Davies points out that CD 6.10-11 seems to anticipate the arrival of a future figure, the Teacher, who had already arrived before and must have been the founder of the S community. Thus D is earlier, but Davies, followed by Hempel, find a “Qumranic recension” layer in the Cave 4 D versions, resulting when Qumran scribes brought D up-to-date.¹¹⁸

I am not nearly as confident that we can delineate the specific results of such Qumran recensional activity, but on general principle, it is valid to assume that scribes were still revising and recasting the

¹¹⁶ Kruse maintains that IQS is actually “less-developed,” or rather its community functionaries have a less-defined role than those in D, particularly because the Inspector (מבקר) has more authority in D than in S. Both he and Regev conclude that communities naturally become more hierarchical over time, so S must have come before D. Kruse comments:

Assuming a normal process of organizational development it is easier to account for the gradual transfer of power from the many to the one than it is to explain how power once resting in the hands of one man would come to be relinquished to the many.

In this way, D must have represented a later stage of community development than IQS, although he gives passing comment to the possibility that some differences between the two texts could also be explained by their origins in two different communities, in Kruse, “Community Functionaries,” 550-51. Compare Regev, “The ‘Yahad’ and the ‘Damascus Covenant’.”

¹¹⁷ Before the Cave 4 material came to light, Rowley argued that D definitely predated S, at least in the forms he knew them (IQS and CD), in “L’histoire de la secte qumrânienne,” in *De Mari à Qumrân: L’Ancien Testament* (ed. H. Cazelles; Paris: Duculot-Lethielleux, 1969), 294. Similarly Wernberg-Møller proposed that the two texts only reflected different stages in the development of the “Zadokite” movement, with IQS being the later development (“The Nature of the *Yahad*,” 75, n. 14).

¹¹⁸ Davies, *The Damascus Covenant*, 173-201; and Hempel, *The Laws of the Damascus Document*. Although note the hesitation about such a recension layer express by Collins, in “Review of Philip R. Davies, *The Damascus Covenant*,” *JBL* 104 (1985): 530-33.

earlier D material as they received it—at Qumran or elsewhere—in a fluid process of reception and transmission. If such a Qumranic revision took place, it provides a parallel example for the type of scribal engagement that I believe took place with the spectrum of S material as well. This type of recensional updating of D would directly challenge Metso’s hypothesis that those at Qumran did the very reverse with S, namely that they continually copied old versions of S (4QS^{b,d,e}) without updating them.

3.2.1.3 *Hultgren and the “Damascus Covenant”*

A closer look at some of the theological roots of D reveals that the core of D indeed preceded S. Recently Hilary E. Kapfer has undertaken just such a study, and concludes that S is later because it expresses a more theologically-developed rejection of the Jerusalem Temple that is only nascent in the D material.¹¹⁹ Coming to a comparable conclusion, Hultgren engages in a more detailed study. In many respects, Hultgren’s conclusions are on the mark that the “Damascus covenant,” and the roots of D, extend back into the biblical period.

Hultgren believes that the *Yahad* descended from this larger “Damascus covenant” movement, which itself sprung from the prophetic and Deuteronomic traditions of post-Exilic time. He says:

The origins of the yahad lie squarely within the Damascus covenant, a Jewish restoration movement going back at least to the 3rd century BC if not earlier. One of the concerns of the Damascus covenant . . . was

¹¹⁹ Kapfer, “The Relationship between the Damascus Document and the Community Rule.” For her the S community had moved beyond looking to the Jerusalem Temple and:

. . . the absence of expressed grievances with the temple suggests a community so committed to its separation that its legislation no longer concerns the temple. By the time the quasi-monastic branch of the Community Rule emerged within the development of the movement, it was able to attain atonement through alternative means: the spiritual temple embodied in the community itself. (175-76)

Therefore, in her mind, D emerged as the “legislating document for the earliest form of the community” (176). But she does not, however, pay much heed to the fact that one can speak about the Temple or regulations for sacrifice in which they were not actually participating. One needs only to look at the writings of the Rabbis to see that it was not necessary to have a functioning or present Temple to speak about it in the present tense, in the hope that such a Temple would be restored.

the preservation of purity, not only of the temple and of Jerusalem, but also of all the ‘camps’ in Israel, its cities and settlements.¹²⁰

Eventually, some (“the Men of Mockery”) in the “Damascus covenant” began to espouse a more lenient “proto-Pharisaic halakhah” and eventually betrayed the Teacher of Righteousness, who led away a remnant faithful to his strict interpretation of the Law. This latter group, who had already begun to boycott the Temple, now “further separated themselves and formed a community (yaḥad), which provided them a refuge of purity in the mist of impurity” and eventually became a substitute for the Temple itself.¹²¹

When assessing the relationship between the D and S communities, Hultgren posits too much of an ideological break between the mother (D) and daughter (S) communities.¹²² Hultgren does not properly account for the presence of the Zadokites in 1QS,¹²³ and following his reconstruction, it would be surprising that the S community would keep so many copies of D if they had rejected many of the theological ideas behind the Damascus covenant.

Nevertheless, he is correct to point out that the core D material appears to be quite old, with roots extending back into the biblical P source (cf. the use of עדה in D). As Hempel points out as well, the nucleus of D drew heavily upon earlier biblical precepts that were directed toward all of Israel.¹²⁴ Hultgren correctly sees continuity

¹²⁰ Hultgren, *From the Damascus Covenant to the Covenant of the Community*, 318.

¹²¹ Ibid.

¹²² He connects D with the “remnant” and S with the “root,” Ibid., 228-29. According to his assessment, the “Damascus covenant” was meant for all of Israel, but this inclusive theology was later rejected in S. Yet he ignores relevant references to all Israel found in S (cf. 1QS 5.5, 6; 8.9, 12; 9.6, etc.) and takes the allusions to “all Israel” in D (15.5, etc.) too literally, not allowing for the fact that in both D and S there is the underlying vision that they themselves are the microcosm of all Israel.

¹²³ He argues that the earlier movement broke away from the Zadokites of D, but he then does not sufficiently explain why they appear in the S material. He follows the “Zadokite coup” theory, stating that “(the later) 1QS reflects a different period from 4Q256/4Q258, namely, a later period when the Zadokite priesthood gained a dominant position in the community,” Ibid., 317, 508, esp. 508, but he ignores the relative dates of the S copies that counteract this historical reconstruction that the Zadokite took power at a later date in the community, a takeover for which we have no further evidence (see above, 3.1.2.3).

¹²⁴ Hultgren notes that at least such material is less of a polemical nature against other Jews and is presented as “halakah commended for observance by all of Israel,” in Ibid., 227, citing Hempel, *The Laws of the Damascus Document*, 18, 55, 58, 70,

from these earlier ideas and those that followed—from D through to S. Moreover, he also affirms the likelihood that after the *Yahad* broke away from its parent movement, “the yahad and the camps of CD may have coexisted as related though distinguishable entities.”¹²⁵

His most relevant observation for our purposes is that when it broke away from the wider-spread movement, “the yahad grew out of the camp structure of the Damascus covenant” and even though “*Yahad*” refers to one particular camp, there was very likely more than one *Yahad* that grew out of the Damascus covenant.¹²⁶ I concur that the *Yahad* was a closely-related, natural outgrowth of the earlier movement, reflected in the heart of D, and there is no reason to believe in the course of evolutionary development that this movement went from multiple communities to only one.¹²⁷

72, 77, 129, 149, 188. Davies also points out that the laws proposed in D are only those which are “derived from scripture.” In contrast to those found in 1QS: “there are no ‘community laws’ in CD which are not scriptural laws or exegetically derived from scripture, an observation which becomes more evident when contrasted with the laws regarding discipline in 1QS where there is neither connection with nor appeal to scripture,” in “Sadducees in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” 136.

¹²⁵ Hultgren, *From the Damascus Covenant to the Covenant of the Community*, 543.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, 236, 248. Note that he does not posit there was a *complete* ideological break from the “parent movement.” He says:

Even after the rise of the *yahad* in the second half of the 2nd century BC, there continued to be in the 1st century BC and probably even later groups in the cities and villages of Palestine (‘camps’) that maintained allegiance to the Damascus covenant . . . the beliefs and practices of the *yahad* and of the ‘camps’ will have been very similar, indeed almost identical, with the exception that the *yahad* (1) viewed itself as a substitute for the temple; (2) was therefore a monastic (celibate) community; and (3) developed a unique theology in certain areas (e.g., cosmic dualism).

In *ibid.*, 551.

¹²⁷ Even early on Wernberg-Møller saw the close parallels in community organization. He defined the members of the *Yahad* as non-monastic and quite similar to those described in D; in this way, he assigns D and S to similar circles, the only differences arising with the intentions of the authors of these two texts. Wernberg-Møller notes that “nowhere in the *Manual* is it stated that the members of the *Yahad* lived as a group or groups in isolation and cut off from human contact” (“The Nature of the *Yahad*,” 58, 68-69).

3.2.1.4 *Reflections on D*

Here are a few summary observations about how the D material illuminates the transmission history of S.

(1) Any simple depiction of D as legislating for marrying members integrated into Jewish society and of S for those living a cenobitic lifestyle is unwarranted. The demographics behind each are not so apparent. It is clear that D assumes its members retained private property, as they contribute a two-day salary (CD 14.13; 4Q266 10 i, 6), and S legislates for the “merging of possessions” (1QS 6.17-22). But it does not require one to live in a remote commune to do so. We find similar models in early Christian communities, who shared resources and communal gatherings but lived integrated lives among non-believers (Acts 2:44-47; 4:34-37).¹²⁸

(2) Earlier I argued that under a broader definition of a “sect,” the *Yahad*’s separation from the rest of Israel was primarily through the marking off of ideological and legal boundaries. Some members could have physically withdrawn to do so, but it was not necessarily required. Indeed, as we saw, at least some versions of S imagine their adversaries to be closely present, such as when they prohibit any eating with non-members (4QS^b 9.8//4QS^d 1.7-8, missing in 1QS 5.13). In D, we find the reverse illustration. It conceptualizes a similar type of scenario where its followers “keep apart from the sons of the pit” (CD 6.16; cf. 4Q266 3 ii, 20-21) but does not call or describe any physical withdrawal from outside members. Thus, a physical move to Qumran was not required for the *Yahad* to distinguish itself as an entity from among other Jews of their day.

(3) Despite their differences, D and S reflect communities that must have been closely related in organizational structure, given their largely shared administrators, community terminology, and penal code (see below). Note the overlapping roles of the Overseer (1QS 6.12, 20; CD 14.3, 9; 4Q266 10 i, 2; 4Q267 9 v, 6, 13; etc.),

¹²⁸ Collins has already pointed out that “communal property does not necessarily require cenobitic life. Members might have the use of common property for their daily affairs, but maintain separate dwelling places.” He counteracts Matthias Klinghardt, who uses parallels with Hellenistic voluntary associations to show that *Yahad* members retained some private property (“The Manual of Discipline in the Light of Statutes of Hellenistic Associations,” in *Methods of Investigation of the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Khirbet Qumran Site: Present Realities and Future Prospects* [ed. M.O. Wise, et al.; New York: The New York Academy of Sciences, 1994], 251-70, esp. 255).

and the Sage (1QS 3.13; 9.12, 21; CD 12.21; 13.22), their similar rules for meetings (1QS 2.19-23; 5.23-24; CD 14.9b-10a), and admission procedure (1QS 5.7c-9a; CD 15.5b-15.6a; but contrast 1QS 6.13b-23).¹²⁹ There is no direct information that the two did not also share a similar demographic distribution, although neither offers much specific geographical information.

(4) Indeed, the *Yahad* itself is a natural carryover in many ways of the preceding D covenants. As Hultgren himself shows, there is continuity from the theology of D to S that includes an increasing self-awareness and rejection of the Temple, culminating in the conceptualization that the community could substitute for the Temple. The roots of D go deeper than S, but the distinction between the two constituent audiences is not so schismatic. First, multiple copies of D were found alongside S at Qumran, and without any indication of a polemic, D mentions the *Yahad* (CD 20.14, 31-32), some of whom may also be behind the “Men of Perfect Holiness.”¹³⁰

(5) The probability is high that the D material was continuously being revised and updated throughout its historical existence. However, the jury is still out over whether we can identify a redaction layer from Qumran proper, as some have tried to do by citing, for instance, the mention of the *Yahad* in CD (B, col. 20). Hempel examines evidence of a possible “Qumranic recension” layer, where the Cave 4 copies of D were redacted to bring the communal legisla-

¹²⁹ Hempel discusses the differences and why there appears to be two different requirements about a membership oath in 1QS in “Community Structures in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” 71. CD 15.5b-16.6a describes a similar type of admission procedure for initiates, although Hempel notes that it “differs considerably from the more elaborate procedure laid down in 1QS 6,13b-23.” See *The Laws of the Damascus Document*, 76. To explain this, she and others find that D and S share an early core of material; Stegemann, for instance, has suggested that D incorporates “viele frühere Gemeinde- und Disziplinarordnungen” (*Die Essener, Qumran, Johannes der Täufer und Jesus* [Freiburg: Herder, 1994], 165), while Hempel follows to say that D displays the community structure of the “parent group” of the *Yahad* (*The Laws of the Damascus Document*, 150); cf. also Callaway, “Qumran Origins: From the Doresh to the Moreh,” *RevQ* 56 (1990): 637-50, esp. 645-46.

¹³⁰ These verses may have been added later as part of a “Qumranic recension,” but there is no hint of conflict here. Also, I agree with Collins who suggests that the two groups mentioned in CD 7 are likely the two orders of Essenes, whom Josephus describes as being “in agreement with the others on way of life, usages, and customs,” except on the marriage issue (Collins “Yahad and ‘The Qumran Community,’” 92).

tion closer in line with S.¹³¹ If this were the case, this type of redaction would embody the core of my thesis that these types of texts would have been continually revised in the specific communities that copied them. They did so in dialogue with the most updated, authoritative regulations and theological positions of their day.

(6) Finally, we cannot make positive conclusions about how these “external” materials made their way into the Qumran collection, but D and related texts below are examples of the literary exchange in which, as for some S traditions, they eventually found their way into the Qumran caves.

3.2.2 Other Related Rule Texts

3.2.2.1 4Q265 Miscellaneous Rules (*previously* SerekhDamascus)

4Q265 is a unique case among the legal texts at Qumran. Originally published under the title 4QSerekhDamascus because of its similarities to both S and D, the current title, *Miscellaneous Rules*, more accurately reflects the diversity of its subject matter.¹³² A relatively late copy (c. 30-50 CE), this text is made up of 19 fragments, only seven of which have been confidently identified (4Q265 1-7).¹³³ The

¹³¹ Hempel finds evidence of this revision in a few legal passages, such as in references to the Many (CD 15.8//4QD^a 10 ii, 7), and she gives a few additional examples from CD 13.11-12a; 14.6c-8a; 4QD^e 7 i, 11a; 4QD^a 11.7b-8a, in *The Damascus Texts*, 52.

¹³² J. Baumgarten notes that 4Q265 is “a most interesting specimen of an eclectic Qumran text, for which the provisional designation Serek-Dameseq no longer seems adequate,” in “Scripture and Law in 4Q265,” in *Biblical Perspectives: Early Use and Interpretation of the Bible in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. M.E. Stone and E. Chazon; Leiden: Brill, 1998), 25-33, esp. 33; and see his comments in *Qumran Cave 4.XXV Halakhic Texts* (DJD 35; Oxford: Clarendon, 1999), 57-78. Note that neither the term “serekh” nor “Damascus” appears anywhere in the text. Further note Martone, “La Regola di Damasco (4Q265): Una Regola Qumranica *Sui Generis*,” *Henoch* 17 (1995): 103-15.

Hempel briefly examines this text for what it can tell us about the evolution of legal traditions at Qumran. She notes that this text is often spoken of as a “hybrid,” but claims this is faulty terminology. This term originated when Milik used “hybrid” in his early description of this text; yet he was only referring to a “hybrid type of life,” as when, he believed, both married and celibate members lived side-by-side. This specific term was acquired by others and used incorrectly to refer to the literary and legal development of the text (*The Damascus Texts*, 89-104).

¹³³ Milik, *Ten Years of Discovery in the Wilderness of Judaea*, 96.

fragments preserve five main sections: (1) the penal code (4 i, 2-4 ii, 2); (2) the admission of new members (4 i, 3-9); (3) the Sabbath (7 i, 1-7 ii, 6); (4) the Community Council (7 ii, 7-10); and (5) purity in the Garden of Eden and purification after childbirth (7 ii, 11-17).¹³⁴ Neither the beginning nor the end of the text has been preserved, so the arrangement and function of the text is unclear.

The preserved sections do share similarities with both S and D in such a way that attests to a common but complicated connection between all three texts.¹³⁵ 4Q265 also records a Sabbath code that is close to but not identical with that of CD.¹³⁶ Whatever its relationship to S, we may note that it overlaps considerably with the equivalent of 1QS 6-8. In 4Q265 7 ii, 7-10 it preserves a section strikingly similar to that in 1QS 8.1-16a, yet it still offers new and independent details.¹³⁷ While 1QS 8.10 (//4QS^e 2.9) speaks of twelve men and three priests, 4Q265 mentions instead only 15 men, without specifying three priests (7 ii, 7). These resemblances suggest common roots but do not preclude that each underwent semi-independent development, where 1QS alone specifies the inclusion of priests.

Another interesting overlap between both D and S is in their descriptions of the entrance procedure. Although very fragmentary,

¹³⁴ Observe the helpful analysis done by Hempel, in *The Damascus Texts*, 93-101. Milik also gives an account of some of the overlaps, noting that there are prescriptions concerning the Sabbath observance (e.g. CD 10.14, but in a different order), a section paralleling that of S (1QS 8.1-10), laws concerning childbirth (cf. Lev 12:2; Jub. 3.8-14), and a penal code (similar to 1QS 6 and CD 14), but the difference is that offenders are put on half rations instead of quarter rations. 4Q265, he believes, represents the “stricter earlier phases of the community.” Therefore, he would place 4Q265 before S, in *Ten Years of Discovery in the Wilderness of Judaea*, 96. Note as well that this text does not follow any clear “anthological theme” (J. Baumgarten, et. al., DJD 35.58).

¹³⁵ Sections of 4Q265 also resemble *Jubilees* 3.

¹³⁶ 4Q265 authorizes an animal to walk 2000 cubits on the Sabbath, whereas CD limits it to 1000 cubits (11.5-6). 4Q265 allows one to use a garment to assist in saving a person from the water on the Sabbath, where CD 11.16-17 forbids the use of any tool or rope to pull a person from the water. García Martínez analyzes these differences in “The History of the Qumran Community in the Light of Recently Available Texts,” in *Qumran between the Old and New Testaments* (ed. F. Cryer and T.L. Thompson; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998), 194-216, esp. 214.

¹³⁷ For a nice outline of the similarities and differences in these two texts, check Hempel, *The Damascus Texts*, 98-100. For example, she notes that “Community Council” and “when there are/exist” occur in both texts, but only 4Q265 has the phrase “when there are in the Community Council” (7 ii, 7).

4Q265 4 ii, 3-8 describes how one may enter the *Yahad* in a way quite similar to that described in 1QS 6.13c-23, mentioning the participation of the “Community Council” (עצת ה[ית]ד) and two years of discipline under the scrutiny of the Overseer. However, in 4Q264 both the “Inspector of the *Yahad*” (המבקר על היחד, 1 ii, 6) and the “Inspector of the Many” (המבקר על הרבים, 1 ii, 8) are mentioned, but the text is too fragmentary to know what their exact functions were and/or if they are the same person. Even still, the entrance procedure seems simpler in 4Q265 than in the more elaborate requirements described in 1QS 7.13c-23.¹³⁸

In sum, 4Q265 includes diverse legal material that addresses aspects of childbirth and family life (4, 3; 7, ii 14-17). Nevertheless it also speaks to the *Yahad* multiple times (1 ii, 3, 6; 7 ii, 7, 8) and the (session of the) Many (1 ii, 1, etc.). What is more, it illuminates the makeup and purpose of the Community Council, which was apparently relevant to an audience most do not associate with Qumran. There is no signal in the text that the *Yahad* or the women and children mentioned were two separate groups. 4Q265 challenges us to broaden our definition of the *Yahad* and the two simply categories of Rule texts—S and D—to allow for a spectrum of development of legal texts, reflecting the diverse communal settings in which they developed.

3.2.2.2 4Q159 Ordinances^a

A text of a related genre is 4Q159 Ordinances^a. Originally published by Allegro as an example of “Essene Halakhah,”¹³⁹ this fragmentary text combines legal material with biblical citation and interpretation

¹³⁸ Hultgren comments on what he believes to be the gradual elaboration and complication of the admission procedure. The earliest is described in CD 15.5b-15b to that in 4QMiscellaneous Rules and eventually to the most involved procedure (1QS 6.13c-23), again affirming that D is earlier than S. He notes, “the importance of 4Q265 4 ii, 3-8, then, is that it may give us insight into a transitional period from the Damascus covenant to the yahad,” in *From the Damascus Covenant to the Covenant of the Community*, 244. His comments are insightful, but again, it is not clear that the differences in procedures are due only to one line of chronological development.

¹³⁹ John Allegro, “An Unpublished Fragment of Essene Halakah (4QOrdinances),” *JSS* 6 (1961): 71-73, but note that Francis Weinert says that it is technically incorrect to call its contents *halakhot*, in “4Q159: Legislation for an Essene Community Outside of Qumran?,” 181, n. 9, and below.

(*peshet*) over a wide variety of topics such as the harvest for the poor, the half-shekel tax, the sale of an Israelite slave, and marriage. For instance, frgs. 2-4 address the instance of a man who slanders his bride regarding her trustworthiness (lines 8-10). Francis Weinert concludes that the legislation given here was addressed “primarily to practical situations that might arise in Israel in men’s dealings with one another,” and he, following Allegro, assumed this text was addressed to those outside of Qumran proper.¹⁴⁰ For our purposes, this fragment is instructive in that it also was found among the Qumran collection, but it is analogous to our argument for some of S in that it may not have been composed there.¹⁴¹

3.2.2.3 5Q13 Rule

5QRule was originally published by Milik as “A Rule of the Sect”¹⁴² and contains material and information known in S and probably also in D. This text mentions the Overseer (4, 1), cites 1QS 3.4-5 (or its source, 5Q13 4, 2-3), and uses the expression from “these they shall do every year . . .” (4, 4), most likely an allusion to the annual covenant renewal festival recorded in 1QS 2.19. Thus, although the fragments preserve little else, the composer(s) of this Scroll knew both of the annual renewal festival in 1QS and the admission procedure for new members, which curiously parallels D in this instance.¹⁴³

Schiffman says that the author of 5Q13 may have drawn from a previous version of S or may have shared a common source with S, but generally speaking, it “may function as a *serek*, a rule, for the conduct of the covenant renewal and the mustering ceremony of the Qumran sect.”¹⁴⁴ More difficult is how to account for the similarities it also shares with D. This curious overlap can only attest to what

¹⁴⁰ Weinert, “4Q159: Legislation for an Essene Community Outside of Qumran?,” 186, cf. 205; Allegro, “Essene Halakah,” 71.

¹⁴¹ See also the translation and commentary by Schiffman on 4Q159 and 4Q513 in Charlesworth et al., eds., *Rule of the Community*, 145-75.

¹⁴² Baillet, Milik, and de Vaux, *Les “petites grottes” de Qumran* (DJD 3; Oxford: Clarendon, 1962).

¹⁴³ 5Q13 speaks of the Inspector (מבקר) as the one before which the novice is to stand (cf. CD 15.11), whereas 1QS speaks only of the Overseer (פקיד) in this instance (6.13-15).

¹⁴⁴ Schiffman, “Sectarian Rule (5Q13)” in Charlesworth et al., eds., *Rule of the Community*, 133.

must have been a complex relationship between D and S, where a range of material must have been shared and developed independently.

3.2.2.4 4Q502 *Ritual of Marriage*

Brief mention should be made of one fragmentary text, 4Q502, described as a liturgy for a marriage ritual, although this attribution is highly contested.¹⁴⁵ Of the 344 fragments, only seven fragments contain enough text to be studied. However, from among what is described as festival liturgy (=Sukkot?, frg. 99) are benedictions for family welfare. In a few examples, it mentions the “wife of a man,” and “to procreate offspring” (frg. 1), “a daughter of truth” (frg. 2), the “assembly of h[oly ones],” “young women, boys and gi[rls]” (frg. 19), and in frg. 34, men and women recite a benediction together.

The relevant piece for our discussion is a section of eight words extant in frg. 16. This fragmentary, short piece overlaps with a section from the Doctrine of the Two Spirits (1QS 4.4-6), particularly the part concerning the list of virtues of the spirit of light:

... [and a spirit of knowledge in all the plans of] action, [of enthusiasm for the decrees of justice, of holy plans with firm purpose, of generous] compassion with [all the sons of truth, of magnificent purity which detests all unclean idols,] of careful behaviour in wisdom [concerning everything, of concealment concerning the truth of mysteries of knowledge. These are the foundations of the spirit of the sons of truth] in the world. And the reward of all [those who walk in it...] (4Q502 16, 1-4)

According to J. Maier, “The fact that the members of families are mentioned as reciting benedictions or as participants or subjects of such rituals indicates a ‘nonsectarian’ character.”¹⁴⁶ This statement is problematic in a number of ways, not to mention that it starts from

¹⁴⁵ Baillet, *Qumrân Grotte 4.III (4Q482-4Q520)* (DJD 7; Oxford: Clarendon, 1982), 81-105 and plates XXIX-XXXIV. Others have labeled it as a type of “Golden Age” ritual celebration or New Year’s festival; see the synopsis in Metso, “Methodological Problems in Reconstructing History,” 325. J. Baumgarten finds this text to be a “Golden Age ritual” celebrated during Sukkot, in “4Q502, Marriage or Golden Age Ritual?,” *JJS* 34 (1983): 125-35.

¹⁴⁶ “Ritual of Marriage,” in *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. L.H. Schiffman and J.C. VanderKam; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 783, as cited in Metso, “Methodological Problems in Reconstructing History,” 326.

the premise that the sectarian texts only referred to the Qumran community and that therefore the *Yahad* was only made up of celibate males.¹⁴⁷

Additionally, I ask, how and in what form did the compilers of these two texts know the Doctrine of the Two Spirits? Metso believes that the author was likely not quoting from the entire passage (1QS 3.13-4.26), but was probably citing an independent list of spiritual virtues, as other such lists are attested in early Jewish and Christian sources.¹⁴⁸ Other possibilities exist; either the scribe of 4Q502 actually knew the S material (=1QS?) as a whole, just the Doctrine of the Two Spirits, or the scribes of both 1QS and 4Q502 knew a common source. In any case, for this study, 4Q502 reveals what is elsewhere known as typical *Yahad* (S) traditions, but it has an intimate familiarity with a non-celibate lifestyle and was found among the Qumran collection.

3.2.3 Conclusions

S, at least in its 1QS form, shares substantial material with other Scrolls. The following table summarizes some of the overlap between S (1QS) and other texts:

¹⁴⁷ Even the archaeological discussion of the Qumran cemetery has not confirmed without doubt that the community there was only celibate males. See, for instance, Joseph E. Zias, "The Cemeteries of Qumran and Celibacy: Confusion Laid to Rest?," *DSD* 7 (2000): 220-53.

¹⁴⁸ Metso, "Methodological Problems in Reconstructing History," 327.

TABLE 3.4
Parallels between 1QS and Non-S Texts

1QS	Parallels
1.23-2.1	CD 20.28-30
2.4-7	5Q11 i, 1-6
2.5-9	4Q280 1, 2-5
2.12-14	5Q11 2, 1-6 (?)
2.19	5Q13 4, 4
3.4-5	5Q13 4, 2-3
4.4-6	4Q502 16, 1-4
4.14	CD 2.6-7
6.24-25	CD 14.20-21
	4Q266 (4QD ^a) 10 i, 14-15
	4Q269 (4QD ^d) 11 i, 4-5
7.4-5	4Q269 (4QD ^d) 11 i, 7-8
7.8-16	4Q266 (4QD ^a) 10 ii, 1-15
7.9-10	4Q269 (4QD ^d) 11 i, 5-7
7.10-11	4Q265 (4QSD) 1 ii, 1-2
7.12-21	4Q270 (4QD ^e) 7 i, 1-10
7.14-15	4Q269 (4QD ^d) 11 ii, 1
8.4-6	4Q265 (4QSD) 7 ii, 7-9

Adapted from Alexander and Vermes, eds., DJD 26.3

First, one notices the extent to which the S traditions were acknowledged, in its various permutations, suggesting that S was widely known and influential. Second, one can see here that in addition to utilizing similar theology and terminology, D and S shared similar literary sources and, by extension, a close relationship between their authoring communities. Similarly, with the related penal codes in D and S, as well as in 4Q265, all must have drawn from comparable material. But third, each text also adds its own innovations, additions and modifications that were added over time in various scribal circles. The slight differences in admission procedures (D and 4Q265) as well as a slightly variant description of the Community Council in 4Q265 exemplify this diverging development. Thirdly, in all of the Rule material, a “normal” married life is the most pervasive

context; the texts refer to women, families and childbirth, even when addressing the *Yahad* (4Q265, etc.). Never, in S or elsewhere, is celibacy proscribed directly, although one could *be* celibate and follow S's regulations. The burden of proof falls on those who want to argue that the *Yahad* legislated only for a celibate community. Finally, these "external" texts, legislating for a diverse audience, made their way into the Qumran caves, providing us with a broader paradigm through which to consider the development of S as well.¹⁴⁹

3.3 COMPARISON OF THE PENAL CODES

At least brief mention should be made here about the nature of the penal code material. In IQS 6.24-7.25 we find many regulations that give us a rare glimpse into the workings of daily life in the *Yahad*. In the format of casuistic law, various infractions are described (lying, speaking angrily, sleeping in the session of the Many, giggling, etc.), and punishments are meted out ranging from 10 days of "penance" to permanent expulsion.¹⁵⁰ Unfortunately, very little of the penal code has been preserved from Cave 4, *viz.* a short section in 4QS^e and even less from 4QS^g. Above, I point out that even in the small amount of preserved material, some of the few punishments extant in 4QS^e diverged from IQS, and 4QS^g apparently recorded a slightly different introduction to the code (3, 2).¹⁵¹ Given the probable reconstruction of 4QS^{b,d}, Metso notes that "there existed a shorter version of the penal code of IQS columns 6 and 7."¹⁵²

¹⁴⁹ At some point, then, these texts must have passed between groups, and/or individual communities, such that there was a fluid transmission of literary traditions with the gradual influx or exchange of members or all at one time. We should recall the discussion above (1.4.1.3) about how much of the Qumran collection had its genesis elsewhere. Note the observations made by Charlesworth in "The Origin and Subsequent History of the Authors of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Four Transitional Phases Among the Qumran Essenes," *RevQ* 10 (1980): 213-33, esp. 229. Given those of diverse background found at Qumran alone, these texts must have had a much more geographically diverse background than that of one scribal circle near the Dead Sea.

¹⁵⁰ There is also the unusual reference to "by his life" IQS 7.3.

¹⁵¹ Here 4QS^g is fragmentary. But where IQS 6.24 records *הַמְשַׁפְּטִים אִשֶּׁר הָיוּ אֲלֵהֶם*, 4QS^g 3, 2 has only *יִשְׁפְּטוּ בָּם בְּמִדְרַשׁ יְהוָה* [ואלה המשפטים אשר ישפטו בהם במדרש יחד], lacking any mention of the *Yahad*. Review Metso's helpful discussion in, *The Serekh Texts*, 12.

¹⁵² Metso, "The Relationship between the Damascus Document and the Community Rule," 88, n. 5.

Interesting overlaps exist between the penal code in S and in D, illuminating and at the same time complicating the history of its transmission. Toward the end of both 4QD^a (10 ii, 2-15; c. 100-50 BCE) and 4QD^e (7 i, 1-11; c. 100-75 BCE),¹⁵³ regulations are found similar to those in S. As Hempel notes, the discovery of this Cave 4 legal material now offers us a more nuanced picture of how D relates to S in general. Given their similar penal codes, she claims, “the view, hitherto taken for granted, that this penal code expresses the nitty-gritty of life at Qumran now needs to be argued for rather than assumed.”¹⁵⁴ She would find that some legal traditions were shared among all the communities, going back to early roots, most likely to a so-called “parent movement.”

Further befuddling the history of transmission is the penal material found in 4Q265. A detailed comparison of all three penal codes is offered in Appendix A, but a few general observations can be made here. First, 1QS regularly proscribes one punishment per offense, while the Cave 4 witnesses of D, along with 4Q265, usually involve a compound punishment of exclusion (והובדל) and penance (ויעניש), although it is unclear what the latter term meant in practical terms.¹⁵⁵ What little is left from 4QS^e indicates that its code generally follows the single punishment pattern of 1QS. García Martínez concludes, “It is obvious that the code of 1QS is the more rigorous of all three codes regarding the length of punishment imposed and, in at least one case, the type of penalty (food deprivation),”¹⁵⁶ but this direction in evolution is not so clear.¹⁵⁷ Second, the penal code material in all sources is embedded in its host text, made up of a variety of genres. In this way, in all exemplars, the scribes must have felt that the penal code was intrinsically relevant to the surrounding

¹⁵³ J. Baumgarten, DJD 18.26, 138.

¹⁵⁴ Hempel, “Qumran Communities,” 52.

¹⁵⁵ For more specific examples, see J. Baumgarten, “The Cave 4 Versions of the Qumran Penal Code,” 271-72.

¹⁵⁶ García Martínez, “The History of the Qumran Community,” 215.

¹⁵⁷ From Appendix A, one can readily see that the reverse may be the case: the D material contains further specification of punishments, frequently citing both a “punishment” and an “exclusion.” In addition, in few cases does 1QS records a “stricter” punishment, such as for lying about property knowingly, for which 4QSD^a cites exclusion from the pure food for 2[00] days and a punishment for 100 days contra the exclusion for 1 year from the pure food and a fine of ¼ of the food in 1QS. Rather, one might say that because D commonly prescribes “double” punishments, it actually contains the stricter, or more specific, penalties.

community theology and descriptions, that these legal stipulations were also essential to their own theological self-understanding.

Finally, all three sources share the same infractions, but each also preserves otherwise unattested regulations, not to mention some unique punishment lengths. That is to say, 1QS shares regulations with D (e.g. lying about property), but also preserves otherwise unattested punishments (e.g. exclusion from the pure food for one year and fines of one-fourth of a food portion), and *vice versa*. No code was directly dependent upon another as we know it. If some direct borrowing of rules took place, we cannot say when or from what version this borrowing took place.¹⁵⁸ Thus, it is more feasible to think that the penal codes at some point radiated out from an early shared *Vorlage* and underwent some separate development.

4Q265 is an important test-case of transmission history in this regard. Given its similarities to both S and D, questions arise: Were all three successive versions of the same penal code or did the redactor of 4Q265 have access to both D and S material from which he combined excerpts of both,¹⁵⁹ making it an example of Tov's "Excerpted and Abbreviated" texts?¹⁶⁰ García Martínez concludes that "both 4QD and 1QS are dependent on a common source (a penal code belonging to the parent movement of the Qumran sect) and according to which 4QSD knows both 4QD and 1QS and modifies them in a direction of a more lenient position."¹⁶¹ However, I would go further to say that we cannot know the form of the *Vorlage* from

¹⁵⁸ Metso finds that the Cave 4 versions of D's penal code were based on the same text as the one in 1QS ("The Relationship between the Damascus Document and the Community Rule," 88). In a later article, she notes:

Both the agreements and the substantive and grammatical differences indicate an interrelationship between D and S more complex than that of direct dependence. In the background there must have been an earlier penal code, which D and S each reworked independently. Redactional activity further continued within the S tradition, as shown by a comparison between the shorter version in 4QS^{b,d} and the longer version in 1QS.

In "Methodological Problems in Reconstructing History," 322.

¹⁵⁹ As advocated in Wise, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*, 278.

¹⁶⁰ This category has been proposed by Tov as a type of biblical witness ("Excerpted and Abbreviated Biblical Texts from Qumran," *RevQ* 16 [1995]: 581-600), a genre that J. Baumgarten suggests may be related to 4Q265 ("Scripture and Law in 4Q265," 29).

¹⁶¹ García Martínez, "The History of the Qumran Community," 215.

which the excerpts were taken,¹⁶² and the “excerpt” theory does not explain why 4Q265 adds its own new material.

I would further expand upon García Martínez’s construction, then, to say that 4Q265 knows of both the D and S traditions (rather than 4QD and 1QS, as we now have them) and more closely resembles the substance of S. Yet most curious is the fact that 4Q265 addresses the *Yahad* and also contains punishments that presume a communal-type setting where members could be excluded from common food, an arrangement not otherwise applicable to D’s punishments. Did 4Q265, then, address a separate *Yahad* community than the one behind 1QS?

Following my radial-dialogic model of “big and little traditions,” we can suppose a common source for all three, but one that diverged occasionally under the influence of or contact with the other traditions. That is to say, the penal code proves to be an instructive test case for the development of S in general, in that a chronological and spatial model best accommodates both the shared and divergent material.

3.3.1 *The Function of the Legal Corpora*

Following Maxine Grossman, then, the Rule texts are not literary products of a single community; rather “it is possible that they reflect the presence of a complex network of sectarian movements, divided on issues of halakhah, or on other points of ideological, theological or social concern.”¹⁶³ No doubt, legal issues and praxis were at the core of the boundary markers by which the *Yahad* distinguished itself as the “faithful remnant.” In recent times, mainstream Scroll scholarship has increasingly emphasized the importance of legal issues in the Scrolls as an indicator of the social and historical

¹⁶² Hempel also argues for a more nuanced relationship between the fragments: although excerpts may have been taken from S and D traditions, “it is by no means clear from what kind of work or works the excerpts were taken,” in *The Damascus Texts*, 103-4.

¹⁶³ Note these and other insightful comments made by Grossman, in *Reading for History in the Damascus Document*, 24-36.

development of sects.¹⁶⁴ Schiffman, at the forefront of this scholarship, summarily reflects:

It is not simply that halakhic differences divide groups of Second Temple period Jews. Here legal rulings function as sociological boundary markers, a role that they have also played in later Jewish history and which they continue to play today.¹⁶⁵

On a smaller scale, we may ask similar questions about the function of the legal material found in the Rule texts themselves.¹⁶⁶ To what extent we can really derive historical or sociological groups from different laws? Were these rules ever prescriptive? Did they reflect praxis (or the desired praxis) within any given community?

3.3.1.1 *The Sitz im Leben of the Penal Code*

The penal code offers us a rare glimpse of the basics of daily life and community discipline behind the *Yahad* movement and may offer us the key to unlocking the *Sitz im Leben* of S in general. A basic tenet of my radial-dialogic model of development presumes that S was a living text adapted within the *milieux* of historical communities. The penal code is an appropriate place to reconsider whether this was the case.

¹⁶⁴ In recent years, scholars have modified their explanation for why the Scrolls' movement was initially formed. Scholars have shifted their focus from personality clashes to legal disputes as the reasons for the separation of the *Yahad*. Awareness of the important role of Jewish legal interpretation has increased greatly after the publication of 4QMMT, although some, such as Lieberman and Ginzberg, had already identified the centrality of legal issues in the Scrolls at an early stage (Lieberman, "Light on the Cave Scrolls from Rabbinic Sources," *PAAJR* 20 [1951]: 395-404; "The Discipline in the So-Called Dead Sea Manual of Discipline," *JBL* 71 [1951]: 199-206; and Ginzberg, *Eine unbekannte jüdische Sekte*). Compare also Chaim Rabin (*The Zadokite Documents* [Oxford: Clarendon, 1954]; *Qumran Studies* [Oxford: Clarendon, 1957]) and Yadin's work on the Temple Scroll (*The Temple Scroll: The Hidden Law of the Dead Sea Sect* [London: Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 1985]).

¹⁶⁵ Schiffman, "Halakhah and Sectarianism in the Dead Sea Scrolls," 131.

¹⁶⁶ To speak of these we will use the term "legal" or "law" rather than *halakhah*, a term best reserved for codified rabbinic texts (James VanderKam, personal communication). Weinert denies that *hlkh* is ever used in any Qumran text. Thus, he feels it is best used only for rabbinic law, in "4Q159: Legislation for an Essene Community Outside of Qumran?," *JSJ* 5 (1974): 179-207, esp. 181, n. 9.

Previously I note that Davies hesitates to label S as anything more than a literary creation. Because of its contradictory and unsystematic nature, he calls it, at best, a “muddled archive,” with no living regulative function. He wonders whether it was ever put into effect, commenting “if the ‘rule’ is a rule, there can only be one version in effect at any one time. The paradox obliges us to reconsider our premises: is 1QS a ‘community rule’ at all?”¹⁶⁷ Davies highlights the frustration that many of us may feel when trying to sort out this material. But before throwing our pens in the air and dismissing S as historical fiction, we may point out Davies’ unstated assumption that all copies were created and effective only at Qumran; therefore, we may not need to question if S is truly a “community rule,” but rather only if we need to compress its audience into one historical circle.

Metso presents us with another alternative when considering the diverse and sometimes contradictory legislation in S. She views the Rule texts not as prescriptive in the regulation of the community, but finds them rather to be records of oral community traditions.¹⁶⁸ She explains that the many versions of S may have never existed in any single, authoritative version, but that the different redactions, with their different reflections of community leaders, may have been circulating at the same time, presumably at Qumran. Thus, for her, the penal code in S was “a record of judicial decisions and an accurate report of oral traditions,” similar to the material of the Mishnah before it was compiled.¹⁶⁹

The source of Metso’s hesitancy to draw an “equals-sign” between these texts and historical reality is “the plurality of the various rule texts found at Qumran, on the one hand, and the fact that older versions of the documents continued to be copied even when new versions were available.”¹⁷⁰ Yet again more options are available to us, if we eliminate the presumption that these versions were developed side-by-side only at Qumran.

¹⁶⁷ Davies, “Redaction and Sectarianism in the Qumran Scrolls,” 157.

¹⁶⁸ As we have seen, Metso has voiced reservations about making a literal connection between text and community when speaking about the D or S, in “Constitutional Rules at Qumran,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment* (ed. P. Flint and J.C. VanderKam; Leiden: Brill, 1998), 186-210.

¹⁶⁹ Metso, “In Search of the *Sitz im Leben* of the Community Rule,” 314; *Textual Development*, 154-55; and more recently, *The Serekh Texts*, 63-71.

¹⁷⁰ Metso, “Constitutional Rules at Qumran,” 209.

Oral vs. Written Authority at Qumran

Metso raises a crucial question about the relationship of oral versus written authority in the penal code, and within the *Yahad* in general. I suspect we have neglected the role of oral tradition(s) behind the written text. Initially, it is attractive to suppose that oral law was effective in the Scrolls communities in much the same way it was for the Pharisees and their posterity. That is to say, it certainly would lay to rest the problem of the contradictory legal material at Qumran. But in the words of J. Baumgarten, “one must ask to what extent we are justified in applying the rabbinic categories of Written Law and Oral Law with their distinctive forms of transmission to the period of the Second Temple.”¹⁷¹

To what degree oral law took precedence over the written penal codes is a tricky question, as is the relationship between oral or written authority in the pre-Mishnaic period in general.¹⁷² In many ways Metso’s analogy with the Pharisaic-rabbinic tradition cannot hold for the Scrolls’ communities. In the pre-Mishnaic period, oral authority rested on just that, its orality. At least according to later tradition, there was much angst in maintaining the oral nature of the Oral Law pre-70 CE. Note the rabbinic dicta from the school of R. Yishma’el, who writes concerning the biblical text, that only “these [words of Exod 34:27] you are to write, but not *halakhot*,” and R. Yaḥanan b. Nappaha says “those who commit *halakhot* to writing are considered as if they burnt the Torah” (b. Gittin 60b and Temurah 14b).¹⁷³ Yet these prohibitions go against what must have been a long period of written and exegetical activity on behalf of the scribes of S, given the complex evolution of the different copies.

Also, the nature of the legal traditions at Qumran differs from that known from later rabbinic sources. The Mishnah is a record of deliberations, debated in a question-and-answer format, but the legal

¹⁷¹ J. Baumgarten, *Studies in Qumran Law*, 14.

¹⁷² We can only question where the nexus was between orality and writtenness, the striking interplay in understanding the authority of the spoken and written word. Can we say that if oral decisions were made, did not the written record of them make them binding? This would be the current author’s preferred explanation, as we have indication that at least some judicial decisions were made by the *rabbim*. Similar debates persist in the study of earlier Ancient Near Eastern law codes, such as that of Hammurapi or Eshnunna, about whether they were prescriptive or meant to be records of already existing decisions. See, for instance, Raymond Westbrook, “Cuneiform Law Codes and the Origins of Legislation,” *ZA* 79 (1989): 201-22.

¹⁷³ Compare the comments by J. Baumgarten, *Studies in Qumran Law*, 13, n. 1.

pronouncements in S and elsewhere give no indication that they were open for debate. Indeed, Talmon comments of the decrees in *MMT* that the writer records the practices “resolutely laying down the law, without ever allowing for a discussion or even mentioning a dissenting opinion, in glaring contrast to the procedure of the Sages.”¹⁷⁴ Nor do the Scrolls ever name any sources or authorities associated with traditions, such as we find in early rabbinic tradition. Instead neither the Teacher of Righteousness nor the Interpreter of the Law is associated with any legal rulings, as one may expect. Certainly, there were specific reasons that those of the “new covenant” may *not* have wanted to locate themselves within an unbroken “tradition of the fathers.”¹⁷⁵

Most importantly, at Qumran authority was primarily derived from inspired scriptural exegesis, a text-bound activity.¹⁷⁶ It is certainly feasible that *Yahad* members arrived at some decisions via oral consultation. The governing body of the “Many” did have a type of judicial function, but the texts connect it specifically with deciding whether or not an initiate should be admitted to the community. If other oral decisions were reached jointly, we may never know. We do know that written laws were transmitted in a number of formats and genres, and IQSa hints that these written laws had an effective function.¹⁷⁷ It says that this particular Rule was to be read to the entire congregation of Israel in the last days, including women and children, specifying that “they shall read in [their] h[earing al]l the

¹⁷⁴ Talmon, “The Essential ‘Community of the Renewed Covenant,’” 349-50.

¹⁷⁵ J. Baumgarten himself offers an explanation of why those at Qumran would not align themselves with the “tradition of the fathers,” as the later Jewish sages might have. The sectarians, in contrast, saw themselves as living in the period when “all Israel had gone astray,” and therefore it is not surprising that they did not mention any authoritative interpreters from the past, in DJD 18.15-16.

¹⁷⁶ A. Baumgarten also believes that legal differences characterized different groups in Second Temple times. From this perspective, he has studied defecation practices described in IQM, 11QTemple, D and Josephus. The minor discrepancies between the texts prove to him that these different texts describe and originate from different groups, rather than resulting from written records of different oral decisions, in “The Temple Scroll, Toilet Practices, and the Essenes,” esp. 14-15.

¹⁷⁷ Take, for instance, the *pesharim*, 4Q174 (Florilegium), 4Q177 (CatenaA), the “Rule” texts, etc. Of course, the particular audience of IQSa is still debated. Some might call this a future, eschatological community, thereby not reflecting the practices of the current community, following Schiffman, “The Eschatological Community of the *Serekh ha-'Edah*,” 51 (1984): 105-29. But even a future community must have been envisioned in terms of current community praxis.

statutes of the covenant and instruct them in all [th]eir judg[ments],” presumably their legal traditions.¹⁷⁸

If the oral performance of this and other Rule texts indeed took place, this would suggest the authoritative nature of the texts themselves. Perhaps Josephus is correct to emphasize the importance that all Essenes pass down their written traditions, for the initiate to the community must swear by oath to “preserve in like manner the books of their sect” (*War* 2.142). This observation most likely emphasizes that their inspired exegetical activity was the source of their legitimacy rather than their inheritance of an unbroken chain of oral authority.

However, most telling in our quest to find the *Sitz im Leben* of the penal codes are the examples of scribal updating and emendation. Previously, I pointed out multiple examples where scribes updated the code based on changing community praxis.¹⁷⁹ These changes, sometimes made by a second hand, reflect a concern with keeping the laws updated, thereby indicating that they were normative. Thus, I would concur with Hempel’s conclusions derived from her study of the communal legislation of D; citing analogies from early Christian contexts, she shows that “what may seem to have been ‘obsolete texts’ were continuously being edited and revised by ‘living communities’.”¹⁸⁰ More than that, the scribal updating of S emphasizes a form of scribal engagement with the text, such that it must have been a dynamic, and authoritative, creation.

3.4 CONCLUSIONS: TEXTS AND COMMUNITIES

The relationship between texts and communities is a complicated one. To mine the written record for any historical information, one

¹⁷⁸ Cf. J. Baumgarten, “The Unwritten Law in the Pre-Rabbinic Period,” in *Studies in Qumran Law* (Leiden: Brill, 1977), 13-35, esp. 15.

¹⁷⁹ Again see J. Baumgarten, “The Cave 4 Versions of the Qumran Penal Code,” 273; cf. also Licht who notes the unusually high number of corrections and erasures in the penal code, in *Megillat ha-serakhim*, 158.

¹⁸⁰ She notes that “this type of literary scenario receives some support from the analogy of Christian communities continuing to copy and revise, or copy for the sake of revising, Jewish texts.” According to Hempel, the laws of D were revised and brought up to date rather than just copied by the S community, thereby explaining some similarities in the laws of D to those of S, in *The Laws of the Damascus Document*, 191.

should proceed with caution.¹⁸¹ Nevertheless, as we have seen, the Rule texts and their penal codes are more “historically-telling” than others.

A comparative study of the terminology and theology of S finds nothing that prohibits the thesis proposed here. Taken at face value, the legal precepts in S are said to apply to multiple residences, and multiple camps are mentioned alongside the *Yahad* and are associated with the basic governing body of the *Yahad*, the Many (“camps of the Many”; 4Q477 2 i, 3). There is strong reason to believe that what may have been an early, more egalitarian organization of all fellowshipped members (=Assembly of the Many) was also the practical regulatory body for all outlying communities, similar to early Christian congregations. Therefore, the rule of the elite few (Zadokites), located in the *Yahad*’s hierarchical center(s), did not replace the Many, but coexisted with it, while the institution of the Many persisted concurrently. On a textual level, this two-part system explains why some scribes retained “the Many” as the governing authority in the Cave 4 S versions.

But what implications does this paradigm of textual development have on the definition of the *Yahad*? “*Yahad*” is the label of choice for S, but it is also mentioned in a variety of legal, exegetical, and liturgical material, including some *hodayot*. At least some of this material is pre-Qumranic; with Elgvin, I conclude that the *Yahad* originated prior to the move to the desert. Indeed, in its variety of host texts, the term “*Yahad*” is never tied to Qumran or any one place; the only geographical candidates mentioned in *Yahad* texts are Jerusalem, Jericho and Damascus. More strikingly, the *Yahad* and other S-related material appear in texts where marrying and family life is the norm. If Qumran was a celibate center, *Miscellaneous Rules* legislates for a different type form of community life, one that it subsumes under the *Yahad* it addresses.

The spectrum of comparative Rule material itself is instructive, attesting to the fact that a simple chronological model of reading these texts is no longer viable. If we step away from our categories of “S” and “D,” which themselves are scholarly constructs, we find that we have a gamut of legal traditions represented by such diverse texts as 4QMiscellaneous Rules, 4QOrdinances and others. The

¹⁸¹ Keep in mind some of the valuable cautions mentioned by Metso, *The Serekh Texts*, 69-70.

penal code alone is an important litmus test of how and in what form these community formations evolved. The overlapping codes in S, D, and 4QMiscellaneous Rules indicate that these texts share early codified material, but diverged early, adding infractions and adapting punishments as was needed within their respective contexts.

Yet in a dialogic fashion, these traditions were not completely isolated from the movement's hierarchical center. First, in what may be analogous to S, multiple copies of "external" texts were found in the Qumran collection, indicating that they still found a place—and for the 10 copies of D, an important place—within the hidden treasures of the Qumran caves. Secondly, as we saw in the case of D, this material was not just kept, but was redacted and engaged by subsequent scribes. Following Hempel, Hultgren, and, to some degree, Davies, I agree that this material was revised and supplemented with the hindsight of an evolving community which continued to better define its role within Israel at large, thereby proving that codified traditions were not transmitted as is, but were being continually revised and adapted in a dialogic engagement with the present.

CHAPTER FOUR

EXTERNAL EVIDENCE: THE CLASSICAL SOURCES

Besides the Scrolls themselves, other historical sources are relevant for the reconstruction made here. Although some have tried to separate the Scrolls from the Essenes, and therefore from the early Classical sources,¹ most agree that the authors of the Scrolls are in some way related to the Essenes, despite the fact that the Scrolls never mention them specifically by name. The accounts of the Classical historians are often problematic, shaped according to their own biases and a patchwork of sources; nevertheless, they offer us the most information about the Essenes' demographics and way of life. The hypothesis that the *Yahad* was greater than Qumran must first grapple with how the Classical sources remember the Essenes, and what they can tell us, if anything, about the greater presence and written traditions of the *Yahad* movement.

4.1 ANCIENT TESTIMONY OF THE ESSENES

Three ancient historians, Philo of Alexandria, Flavius Josephus, and Pliny the Elder, were contemporaneous with our group and offer us invaluable information about the Essenes. Other Greek and Latin sources from the second and third centuries also mention the Essenes. These later accounts depend on second- and third-hand sources, and for this reason, they are of less value for our study. They are not to be completely disregarded, however, and when read with caution, a few such as those recorded by Hippolytus, Dio of Prusa, and Epiphanius offer valuable new details about the sect not preserved elsewhere.

¹ Rabin, for one, recounts some contradictions between Josephus's and Philo's descriptions of the Essenes and the details found in the Scrolls, and he therefore comes to the conclusions that the Qumranites were "a diehard Pharisaic group" (*Qumran Studies* [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957]); others find them to be Sadducees (e.g. R. North, "The Qumran 'Sadducees,'" *CBQ* 17 [1955]: 164-88; and more recently, Schiffman, in *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls* [New York: Doubleday, 1995]). Still others find them to be Zealots instead (Roth, "Why the Qumran Sect Cannot Have Been Essenes," *RevQ* 3 [1959]; and Driver, *The Judaean Scrolls: The Problem and a Solution* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1965]). Reference also the discussion above, 1.1.3.1.

4.1.1 *Origin of the Label “Essene”*

The designation “Essene” itself comes from the Classical sources. Both Philo and Josephus refer to this group as the *Essaioi*, although Josephus also uses the alternate form, *Essenoi*.² Pliny calls them the *Esseni*, and Epiphanius, living in the fourth century, speaks of the *Ossenes*.³ Philo, whose command of Hebrew and Aramaic may have been limited, asserts that the name *Essaioi* comes from the Greek *hosioi*, meaning “the holy ones.”⁴ In a similar vein, modern scholars have derived “Essene” from the Syriac word, *ḥasên* or *ḥassayâ*, “pious ones,” making it the equivalent to the Hebrew *ḥasîdîm* (cf. Ἀσιδαῖοι in 1 Macc 2:42; 7:13; 2 Macc 15:6).⁵

However, the derivation of “Essene” from “holiness” is suspect, particularly because the root *ḥsn* is not otherwise known in the Palestinian Aramaic dialects. The Latin and Greek forms of Essene probably transliterate some word of Semitic origin, which may or may not have been related to the idea of “holiness.”⁶ A more viable explanation is that Essene derives from “Followers,” literally “Doers” (Heb. *’osei*, from the root $\sqrt{\text{ושע}}$), shortened from “Followers of the *Yahad*” or “Followers of the Law.” For example, 1QpHab 7.11 speaks of the “Followers of the Law” who are the “People of Truth” in the final days. “Essene,” then is just the shortened form for “Fol-

² See Josephus *War* 1.78; 2.113; 3.11; *Ant.* 15.371; 17.346; and Philo’s *Good Person* 75, etc.

³ Ὀσσηνοὶ in Epiphanius, *Panarion*, Heresy XIX.

⁴ Compare *Good Person* 75, 91 and *Apol.* 1, preserved in Eusebius, *Praep. Ev.* 8.2, 1.

⁵ The most common argument is that *Essaioi*/*Essenoi* derives from the Syriac *ḥasên* or *ḥassayâ*, roughly equivalent to the Hebrew *qēdōšîm*, “holy ones.” This Semitic root would at least capture the sense of Philo’s etymology. See Vermes, “The Etymology of Essenes,” *RevQ* 2 (1960): 427-43, esp. 429; and John Kampen, “A Reconsideration of the Name ‘Essene’ in Greco-Jewish Literature in Light of Recent Perceptions of the Qumran Sect,” *HUCA* 57 (1986): 61-81, esp. 62. Josephus may also indirectly connect the label “Essene” with holiness, saying that the Essenes were reputed to cultivate solemnity or sanctity (δοκεῖ σεμνότητα ἀσκεῖν, *War* 2.119), where σεμνότητα could mean “sanctity”; however, this term most likely connotes “gravity,” or “solemnity,” rather than “holiness.”

⁶ Cross notes that the main objection to this etymology is that the root *ḥsn* only appears in East Aramaic, rather than in Palestinian Aramaic dialects. See *The Ancient Library of Qumran*, 54 n.1, 183. Other proposals for the derivation of Essene include “healers” or “physicians,” from *’āsayyâ*, parallel with the Egyptian *Therapeutae* (Vermes, *Post-Biblical Jewish Studies* [SJLA 8; Leiden: Brill, 1975], 11-36). For more proposals, see Emil Schürer, *A History of the Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ (175 B.C.-A.D. 135)* (ed. G. Vermes, et al.; 5 vols.; Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 2003), 2.190-91; Vermes, “The Etymology of Essenes”; and Vermes and Martin Goodman, eds., *The Essenes According to the Classical Sources* (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1989), 1-2.

lowers.”⁷ As such, the diverse communities found in the Classical sources are described from an outsider’s perspective, namely as those who in the authors minds were characterized by their strict keeping of the Law.⁸

4.1.2 *Reliability of the Classical Sources*

Consensus has not been reached about how the historical sources should be read concerning the Essenes, particularly when compared to the written and archaeological evidence from Qumran. Before the discovery of the Scrolls, the litmus test of any theory about the Essenes was solely the Classical witnesses. After more Scrolls became available, new textual and material evidence supplemented—and sometimes contradicted—the descriptions made in the histories. In light of the most recent findings, scholars have grown increasingly wary using the historical witnesses and often criticize their perceived authorial biases.⁹ Others do not disregard the evidence but criticize any attempt to harmonize the historical accounts with the textual and archaeological evidence, or *vice versa*, given some of the abuses that have occurred in the past.

Nevertheless, the difficulties present in the Classical sources in no way render these accounts irrelevant. More than one scholar has made an apologetic case for their use in reconstructing history,¹⁰ and

⁷ This proposal was made already by Brownlee, *The Midrash Pesher of Habakkuk* (Missoula, Mont.: Scholars Press, 1979), 119; Goranson, “‘Essenes’: Etymology from עֵשָׂה”; and VanderKam, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Today*, 91-92.

⁸ Note that the term *Yahad*, at least in transliteration, is not found in the histories. See the summary of the evidence, 4.7.1 below.

⁹ Some have grown so skeptical of the authors’ personal motivations that they have completely dismissed the historical accounts. Curtis Hutt summarizes some of the discussion, in “Qumran and the Ancient Sources,” in *The Provo International Conference on the Dead Sea Scrolls: Technological Innovations, New Texts, and Reformulated Issues* (ed. D.W. Parry and E. Ulrich; STDJ 30; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 274-93.

¹⁰ See, among others, Schürer, *A History of the Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ (175 B.C.-A.D. 135)*, 1.77-117; Y.M. Grinz, “Die Männer des Yachad-Essener: Zusammenfassungen, Erläuterungen und Bemerkungen zu den Rollen vom Toten Meer,” in *Zur Josephus-Forschung* (ed. A. Schalit; Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche, 1973), 294-336. But Murphy-O’Connor (*Early Judaism and Its Modern Interpreters*) and Schiffman (*Sectarian Law in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Courts, Testimony, and the Penal Code* [Chico, Calif.: Scholars Press, 1983]) have both condemned the uncritical use of Josephus in reconstructing the history of the Essenes. Others strongly emphasize that Philo and Josephus likely depended on earlier, perhaps even shared, source(s). Hutt, among others, stresses that Josephus probably relied on accounts such as that of Nicolaus of Damascus and/or the Roman

the burden of proof falls on the scholar who wishes to disregard them completely when evaluating Second Temple Judaism. A more tempered view, adopted here, is one that makes critical use of the sources; in particular, I consider the incidental, non-polemical details they provide. This study first evaluates each source independently—including any relevant later witnesses—as to how they describe the demographics and social structure of the Essene community(ies) without attempting to correlate the various bodies of evidence. Only later are general conclusions drawn from these histories about whether they contradict the current hypothesis that various Essene communities were behind the *Yahad*'s written traditions.

4.2 PHILO OF ALEXANDRIA

The earliest mention of the Essenes is made by Philo Judaeus, an Alexandrian Jew who lived c. 30 BCE-45 CE. A leading political figure in the Jewish community of Alexandria, Philo was a learned person, often drawing parallels between Greek philosophy and Jewish doctrine and customs. In this light, he discusses the Essenes in two major works (*That Every Good Person is Free* and *Hypothetica*¹¹), praising them as a Jewish analogy to the Greek philosophical schools. He extols the virtues of the Essene sect, even though it is unlikely that Philo ever visited them himself or that he even knew Hebrew.¹² Yet despite relying on sources and casting them within a Greek philosophical framework, Philo does not give an unbelievable account of this contemporary Jewish group.

imperial commentaries (“Qumran and the Ancient Sources,” 277); compare similar reflections in Menahem Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism* (Jerusalem: Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1976), and in Daniel Schwartz, “Josephus and Nicolaus on the Pharisees,” *JSJ* 14 (1983): 157-71.

¹¹ *Hypothetica* is usually considered to be the same work as *The Apology for the Jews*. This work exists in fragments, reconstructed mostly from sections cited in Eusebius in *Preparation for the Gospel (Praep. Ev. 7.6-7)*. For a discussion of these citations of Philo, see Peder Borgen, “Philo of Alexandria,” in *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period: Apocrypha, Pseudepigrapha, Qumran Sectarian Writings, Philo, Josephus* (ed. M.E. Stone; Assen: Van Gorcum, 1984), 233-82, esp. 247.

¹² Most believe that Philo never observed the Essenes directly, but Madeleine Petit, for one, proposes that Philo made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem between the writing of *Good Person* and *Hypoth.*, which would explain why the account in *Hypoth.* is “plus réaliste.” See “Les Esséens de Philon d’Alexandrie et les Esséniens,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Forty Years of Research* (ed. D. Dimant and U. Rappaport; Leiden: Brill, 1992), 139-55, esp. 155.

4.2.1 *Terminology of the Sect*

Unlike Josephus, Philo does not speak of the Essenes as a “sect” (ἀίρεσις) nor does he use the word “race” (γένος); the latter he points out is unsuitable to describe a group whose members voluntarily join the movement (*Hypoth.* 11.2).¹³ Philo applies Greek-sounding labels to the sect, calling them athletes of virtue (ἀθλητὰς ἀρετῆς) and the adherents of a philosophy (φιλοσοφία) (*Good Person* 13.88), but neither of these labels appears to be a technical term for the group. He uses language describing a wide-spread movement, twice identifying them with the unusual term “crowd” (ὄμιλος; *Good Person* 13.91; *Hypoth.* 11.1)¹⁴ and once mentioning that they live together in “societies” (κατὰ θιάσους; *Hypoth.* 11.5).¹⁵ He praises the communal life of the sectarians (*Hypoth.* 11.13, 14, 16; *Good Person* 13.91), extolling them as those following in the tradition of the Greek philosophical school. For him, the Essenes are disciples of Moses, trained to live in community (ἐπὶ κοινωσίαν; *Hypoth.* 11.1). Yet he never refers to one specific sectarian center.

4.2.2 *Location*

When speaking of the Essenes, Philo twice makes geographical references, although never specifically to the site of Qumran. He mentions that the Essenes dwell in Palestinian Syria (Παλαιστίνη Συρία; *Good Person* 12.75), and elsewhere he locates them in various groups and among the towns in Judea (πόλεις τῆς Ἰουδαίας; *Hypoth.* 11.1).¹⁶ Dupont-Sommer finds these two types of communities reflected in CD, which mentions a rule for the “cities of Israel” (לְרֵאשִׁית יִשְׂרָאֵל; 12.19) and the other for the “camps” (מַחֲנֵה; 12.22), equal to Philo’s “cities” (πόλεις) and “villages” (κώμας),

¹³ Contrast Philo’s terminology with Josephus’s, in *Ant.* 13.172, 15.371; *War* 2.113; as well as with Pliny the Elder’s, in *Nat.* 5.73.

¹⁴ Note that elsewhere Philo uses the term ὄμιλος in the true sense of a “mob,” or a “gathered crowd,” for revolutionary purposes in *Spec.* 4.47 and in *Post.* 101. More discussion follows in 4.7.1.

¹⁵ Elsewhere Philo uses the word θιάσος to mean the ideal company of true believers, as in *Moses* 2.185; *Dreams* 2.10; *Post.* 101; and *Flight* 10. Philo also uses this term to describe several pagan religious societies and a particular religious group, such as the Levites, in *Flight* 89. See also Marcus, “Philo, Josephus and the Dead Sea *Yahad*,” 208.

¹⁶ Cf. Josephus *War* 2.124. But contrast where Philo says that the Essenes flee the cities to live in villages (*Good Person* 12.76).

respectively (*Hypoth.* 11.1).¹⁷ But this connection is not substantiated because Philo's word for "village" (κώμας) does not connote the same impermanence reflected in Hebrew "camp" (הַחַיִּים), which conjures up the image of Israel temporarily lodged in the wilderness.

4.2.3 Organization and Structure

Philo numbers the Essenes at over 4,000 members (*Good Person* 12.75),¹⁸ a number possibly exaggerated but which still far exceeds the number of people who could have lived at Qumran at one time. He goes on to describe the movement's members living in multiple communities of different sizes: the Essenes live in many cities (πόλεις), villages (κώμας) and "great and populous societies" (μεγάλους καὶ πολυανθρώπους ομίλους) (*Hypoth.* 11.1); certainly, none of these descriptions limits the sectarians to one center. However, the above statement somewhat contradicts his statement the Essenes primarily live in villages (κωμηδόν) and shun cities (πόλεις) because of the evil present there:

<p>οὔτοι τὸ μὲν πρῶτον κωμηδὸν οἰκοῦσι τὰς πόλεις ἐκτρεπόμενοι διὰ τὰς τῶν πολιτευομένων χειροθήεις ἀνομίας, εἰδότες ἐκ τῶν συνόντων ὡς ἀπ' ἀέρος φθοροποιῦ νόσον ἐγγινομένην προσβολὴν ψυχᾶς ἀνίατον</p>	<p><i>Every Good Person</i> 12.76 In the first place, they live in villages, fleeing all cities on account of the habitual lawlessness of those who inhabit them, knowing that such a moral disease is contracted from associations with wicked men, just as a real disease might be from noxious air, and that this would afflict incurable evil on their souls.¹⁹</p>
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Philo also records the presence of multiple institutions, mentioning that the Essenes gather together to learn their laws in the sacred places, or synagogues (συναγωγάι), presumably located within the various Essene communities (*Good Person* 12.81). He says that each of these communal centers, with their own meeting houses, is open

¹⁷ Dupont-Sommer, *The Essene Writings from Qumran* (Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, 1973), 155.

¹⁸ Cf. Josephus *Ant.* 18.20.

¹⁹ All translations are my own, unless otherwise noted.

to all members of the sect from other quarters (τοῖς ἑτέρωθεν),²⁰ and he highlights that members sometimes traveled between these communities:

<p>πρὸς γὰρ τῶ κατὰ θιάσους συνοικεῖν ἀναπέπταται καὶ τοῖς ἑτέρωθεν ἀφικνουμένοις τῶν ὁμοζήλων</p>	<p><i>Every Good Person</i> 12.85 For besides that they all dwell together in unions; their homes are open to members of the sect arriving from other quarters.</p>
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Indeed, he describes members living together for the common good and making “unions” (θιάσους), “brotherhoods” (εταίριος), and sharing common meals (συσσιτίας) (*Hypoth.* 11.5; cf. *Good Person* 12.85). We may never know for sure if Philo or his source(s) knew of the Hebrew name, *Yahad*, but it is tempting to see this term that bears the notion of unity or togetherness behind his use of “unions” (or elsewhere κοινωνία, 4.7.1, below).²¹ Nevertheless, it is noteworthy that “unions” appears in the plural.

4.2.4 *Interaction with Society*

Philo narrates that the Essenes live a highly communal life but that they also interact closely with other members of Jewish society. He rounds out his description of them to say that they live among many Judean towns. In *Every Good Person is Free*, the Essenes work hard, being useful both to themselves and their neighbors (12.76). What is more, the Essenes receive their wages for the day, presumably from outside sources, before turning them over to the common pool and the appointed manager, who then purchases necessities for the entire community (*Good Person* 12.86; *Hypoth.* 11.10). His description is that of a semi-communal life, but one that presupposes interaction with the outside world. It is safe to say that, at least for Philo, the Essenes did not constitute a self-contained, insular community, as is often assumed for the one living at Qumran.

²⁰ This could also be translated as those from the “other side” or the “outside.” Cf. Josephus *War* 2.129.

²¹ Some have tried less successfully to connect *Yahad* with the unusual label “crowd,” ὄμιλος (see 4.7.1, below).

4.2.5 *The Therapeutae of Egypt*

Space does not permit a full investigation of Philo's Therapeutae; it has been done thoroughly elsewhere.²² Yet it warrants mention that in *On the Contemplative Life*, Philo explicitly associates the Essenes with this unusual group of Jews living near Alexandria. No other historical or archaeological sources mention the Therapeutae or tie them to the Essenes, yet despite a few ostensible differences, their beliefs and behavior are strikingly similar to what we know of the Essenes. But although the two groups seem related, we will never know for certain their ties.²³ For the purposes of this study, Philo's Therapeutae are a useful example of a variant expression of Essene community life, which although geographically remote—in this case, very remote—shares similar organizational regulations. Without further corroboration of the Therapeutae, no strong conclusions can be drawn concerning their status as an Essene-type community.

4.2.6 *Conclusions*

Philo tailors his discussion of the Essenes to fit a Hellenistic paradigm, for an audience well-versed in Greek philosophical arguments.²⁴ He describes a group that is very committed to communitarian ideals, but the picture he paints is of a populous society (ὄμιλος) located in many different societal groups, from villages to large populous communities, never limited to one location. Further, these different groups interacted frequently with each other.

Although Philo gives us an over-idealized view of the Essenes, there is little reason to disregard all that he tells of their demograph-

²² E.g. Taylor and Davies, "The So-Called Therapeutae of *De Vita Contemplativa*: Identity and Character," *HTR* 91 (1998): 3-24.

²³ For further discussion, compare Per Bilde, "The Essenes in Philo and Josephus," in *Qumran between the Old and New Testaments* (ed. F.H. Cryer and T.L. Thompson; JSOTSup 290; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998), 32-68; Schürer, *A History of the Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ (175 B.C.-A.D. 135)*, 2.591-97; Roland Bergmeier, *Die Essener-Berichte des Flavius Josephus: Quellenstudien zu den Essener-Texten im Werk des jüdischen Historiographen* (Kampen: Kok Pharos, 1993); and Vermes, "Essenes and Therapeutai," in *Post-Biblical Jewish Studies* (Leiden: Brill, 1975), 30-36. But contrast H.G. Schönfeld, who argues that there was no connection between the Therapeutae and the Essenes, in "Zum Begriff 'Therapeutae' bei Philo von Alexandria," *RevQ* 3 (1961): 219-40.

²⁴ Hutt, "Qumran and the Ancient Sources," 277. Harry Wolfson, however, denies any strong Hellenistic intellectual influence in Philo, in *Philo. Foundations of Philosophy in Judaism, Christianity, and Islam* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1948), 1.13.

ics and organization, particularly in the inadvertent details. Indeed, these minor data would have added little to his rhetorical motives, such as his comment that Essene members travel between one community and the next or the fact that he (or his source) mentions multiple Essene study places. Such details are our best indicators that several equally viable Essene communities existed at the same time. Philo (or his source) does not call these by a Greek transliterated form of *Yahad*, but it is tempting to see the understanding of the term behind his use of “unions” (θιάσους) or “community” (κοινωνία) to describe their organizational units (4.7.1, below).

4.3 JOSEPHUS

Flavius Josephus, born Joseph ben Mattathias, offers us the most details about the Essenes from the first century CE. Born into a priestly family in 37 CE, Josephus served as a general of the Jewish forces in the Galilee, until he switched loyalties after being captured by the Romans. A loyal supporter of the Flavian emperors Vespasian, Titus and Domitian, Josephus wrote his histories partly as a defense of his own shifting of allegiances and partly as a defense of the Jews to the Romans. Many of his accounts, including those concerning the Essenes, he wrote to validate Jewish culture and religion.

Josephus’s works include three major selections about the Essenes. The earliest and most in-depth of the three appears in *Jewish War* (2.119-61), written not long after 70 CE. Over a decade later, Josephus wrote his *Jewish Antiquities*, which includes a brief passage on the Essenes (18.11, 18-22); yet this work also contains new pieces of information not found in his earlier account. Before he died, Josephus wrote an autobiography (*Life*), a somewhat apologetic account of his earlier conduct during the Jewish Revolt. In it, Josephus claims, in what is likely a fictional account, that he spent time living with the Essenes (1.10-12).²⁵ Outside of these main

²⁵ In 1.10-12 Josephus states that when he was about sixteen years old (53/54 CE) he spent time with the three groups, the Pharisees, Sadducees and Essenes, to investigate them, in addition to spending three years as a devotee of a certain Bannus. Because he says he was nineteen at the end of these trials (56/57 CE), Josephus could not have spent much more than six months with each sect, if his reckoning is correct. As such, he could not have passed through even the first year required of candidates before they could gain full admission into the Essene community (*War* 2.137; IQS 6). However, there is much reason to suspect he never did so, as his account probably formed part of his self-aggrandizing rhetoric. Matthew Black makes similar conclusions, in *The Essene Problem* ([London: Heffer

accounts, Josephus briefly mentions the Essenes or a particular member of the movement seven additional times; a few of the relevant references will be mentioned below.

4.3.1 Terminology of the Sect

Josephus uses varied terminology when it comes to depicting the Essenes. The most common term he uses to describe them is αἵρεσις²⁶ (*War* 2.119, 122, 124, 137, 141, 142; *Ant.* 13.171; *Life* 10), usually translated “sect,” from which we later get the English term, “heresy.”²⁷ Josephus uses this as a neutral term not for a group who reacts against a main-stream church, but for all three main movements he describes in his day: the Pharisees, Sadducees, and Essenes. The members of these movements are the αἵρετιστᾶις, best translated as “partisans, sectarians” or “those belonging to the schism.” Generally his labels reflect an outsider’s perspective, rather than one given by and for the sectarians themselves, such as *Yahad*, *bnei ‘or*, etc.

Josephus uses another term to describe the Essenes: τάγμα, or “order” (*War* 2.122, 125, 143, 160, 161).²⁸ This term he uses to describe the general movement, which members join after surrendering their property (*War* 2.122), and an internal population of Essenes who marry (*War* 2.160). Therefore, both the entire sect and at least one sub-group fall under the category of τάγμα. Elsewhere in Greek literature this term is often used to describe a division or arrangement of soldiers,²⁹ which would not be inappropriate for the way in which

& Sons, 1961], 3-4). But T. Rajak comments, “there is evidently some rhetorical exaggeration in Josephus’s language when he talks of ‘hard labour’ and of having to toughen himself up . . . But, equally, it is again clear that there had to be a basis in truth,” in *Josephus: The Historian and His Society* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1983), 35, as cited by Todd S. Beall, *Josephus’ Description of the Essenes Illustrated by the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 34.

²⁶ Cf. also Hippolytus *Ref.* 9.18; Epiphanius *Pan.* 10-11, 19; Hegesippus *Hypomnemata* in Eusebius *Eccl. Hist.* IV 22.7.

²⁷ To our modern ears, the term “heresy” evokes pejorative or overly polemical connotations which were not reflected in this term during his day. In the Christian church, the later, pejorative use of the term αἵρεσις in contrast to growing catholic orthodoxy has sometimes flavored our understanding of what this term really meant for Jews in the Second Temple period. Josephus uses this term for the Essenes not because they were in *contrast* to the other Jewish groups. See Black, *The Scrolls and Christian Origins: Studies in the Jewish Background of the New Testament* (BJS 48; Chico, Calif.: 1983), 5, and ch. 1, above.

²⁸ Cf. also Hippolytus *Ref.* 9.28.

²⁹ See, for example, Xenophon, *Memorabilia* 3.1.11; Polybius, *Histories* 3.85.3; etc.

the sectarians also viewed themselves; for example, they describe themselves as being arranged into companies of 1000s, 100s, 50s and 10s (CD 13.1; 1QS 2.21-22; cf. 1QM).

Finally, Josephus employs the unusual term γένος, or “race,” for the Essenes (*War* 2.113, 199; *Ant.* 13.172; 15.371).³⁰ In *Ant.* 13.172 Josephus classifies only the Essenes as a race, but not the Pharisees or Sadducees. It is unclear what would encourage such a description, especially since he himself describes them as generally avoiding marriage and procreation, unless it is to emphasize their “self-generating” nature by attracting converts.

4.3.2 Location

Concerning the Essenes, Josephus never alludes to a desert settlement or even one center of the movement. Quite the contrary, he speaks of Essenes living “not in one town only, but in every town several of them form a colony” (*War* 2.124). Todd Beall notes that Josephus elaborates on the hospitality of the traveling Essenes, and therefore he supports the idea that the Essenes lived in multiple dwelling places, such as the “camps” of D or S’s multiple “dwelling places.”³¹ Neither does Josephus make any specific geographical reference in relation to the sect. The only possible exception to this is when he refers to the gate of the Essenes as part of his long description of Jerusalem prior to the siege of the city in 70 CE (*War* 5.145), thus linking them to this central city (see section 5.2.4, below).

4.3.3 Organization and Structure

Like Philo, Josephus mentions that there are over 4,000 members who live for the benefit of all.³²

³⁰ Cf. Pliny the Elder who also calls the Essenes an eternal race, *gens aeterna* (*Nat. Hist.* 5.73), yet contrast Philo *Hypoth.* 11.2.

³¹ Beall claims, “The use of the terms *mnhh* and *yr* in D, then, does seem to point to groups of the sectarians living in areas outside of Qumran,” in *Josephus’ Description of the Essenes*, 48-49, esp. 49.

³² Cf. *Good Person* 12.75. Some suggest that Josephus must have borrowed this figure from Philo, and therefore he does not count as an independent witness, per Schürer, *A History of the Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ (175 B.C.-A.D. 135)*, 2.562, n. 1. Equally possible is that they drew from the same source, but this is not entirely clear either.

<p>τὰ χρήματά τε κοινά ἔστιν αὐτοῖς, ἀπολαύει δὲ οὐδὲν ὁ πλούσιος τῶν οἰκείων μαιζόνως ἢ ὁ μηδ' ὀτιοῦν κεκτημένος. καὶ τάδε πράσσουσιν ἄνδρες ὑπὲρ τετρακισχίλιοι τὸν ἀριθμὸν ὄντες.</p>	<p><i>Ant. 18.20</i> They put their property into a common stock, so that the rich man enjoys no more of his own wealth than does he who has nothing at all. And there are more than 4,000 men who behave in this way.</p>
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As with Philo's reference, this number may be inflated, but it still far exceeds those who could have resided at Qumran. Josephus's picture of Essenes living throughout the land is supported, consciously or unconsciously, when he speaks of their "large numbers" (πολλοί; *War* 2.124), colonies in every town (*War* 2.124, 125), and how they travel between communities:

<p>(124) καὶ τοῖς ἑτέρωθεν ἤκουσιν αἰρετιστάις πάντ' ἀναπέπταται τὰ παρ' αὐτοῖς ὁμοίως ὥσπερ ἴδια, καὶ πρὸς οὓς οὐ πρότερον εἶδον εἰσίσαιν ὡς συνηθεστάτους. (125) διὸ καὶ ποιοῦνται τάς ἀποδημίας οὐδὲν μὲν ὅλως ἐπικομιζόμενοι, διὰ δὲ τοὺς ληστὰς ἑνοπλοὶ κηδεμῶν δ' ἐν ἑκάστη πόλει τοῦ τάγματος ἑξαιρέτως τῶν ξένων ἀποδείκνυται ταμιεύων ἐσθῆτα καὶ τὰ ἐπιτήδεια.</p>	<p><i>War</i> 2.124-25 Also, everything they have is at the disposal of members of the sect arriving from elsewhere just as if it were their own, and they go into the house of people whom they have never seen before as though they were close friends. For this reason also, they carry nothing at all with them when they travel; accordingly, there is, in every city where they live, one of the order especially responsible for guests, an appointed steward of clothing and other necessities.</p>
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Like Philo, Josephus mentions that the sectarians traveled between colonies and were received by outside communities as if they were already "intimate friends." A special leader was put in charge of overseeing the care of these visiting Essenes. Josephus could be exaggerating such brotherly hospitality between members, but it is

difficult to imagine that he (or his source) fabricated the underlying detail that there were different but related communities between which they regularly traveled.

Yet some might say Josephus describes a communal society best lived at Qumran. He applauds their communal life and that they despise riches (καταφρονηταὶ δὲ πλούτου, καὶ θαυμάσιον αὐτοῖς τὸ κοινωτικόν; *War* 2.122), and those expelled from the order nearly starve to death, being reduced to eating only grass (*War* 2.143-44). Later he again comments that they do not buy or sell anything among themselves (*War* 2.127), describing a scenario possibly in an isolated settlement, such as at Qumran. They may have despised riches and did not buy or sell, but Josephus points out that this is among *them* and not with the rest of society.³³ Also, those who are expelled from the community nearly die of hunger not because they were sent out into the wilderness necessarily, but because they had vowed not to touch the unclean food of any others.³⁴ Therefore, they could have been expelled from more socially integrated communities rather than just from Qumran.

Finally, Josephus admits that there were at least two forms of community life lived by members of the same sect. For example, he says:

<p>ἔστιν δὲ καὶ ἕτερον Ἐσσηνῶν τάγμα, δίκαιταν μὲν καὶ ἔθη καὶ νόμιμα τοῖς ἄλλοις ὁμοφρονούν, διεστῶς δὲ τῇ κατα γάμον δόξῃ.</p>	<p><i>War</i> 2.160 Moreover, there is another order of Essenes, who agree with the others as to their way of life, customs and laws, but are at variance with them concerning marriage.³⁵</p>
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Employing the same word he uses to identify the entire sect (τάγμα), Josephus uses this expression to encompass at least two different *forms* of community (see 4.3.1, above). Most scholars equate this sub-sect of marrying Essenes with a more socially-integrated community, usually that of D. In their reconstruction, Qumran and celibacy were the normal expression of Essenism, and the minor “order” mentioned here is that of a smaller group of marrying Essenes. Nothing here ostensibly contradicts such an

³³ Cf. Philo *Good Person* 12.86; and *Hypoth.* 11.10.

³⁴ 1QS 5.16.

³⁵ Contrast the general celibacy of the Essenes described elsewhere, *Ant.* 18.21; *Hypoth.* 11.14-17; *Nat. Hist.* 5.73.

assumption, but it is just that. More likely, this passage is a schematic representation, one of only two simple communities. It was in reality certainly a more complicated case. Note here, contra the Groningen Hypothesis and Boccaccini, that no schism is presumed between the different branches.³⁶

Finally, Josephus also mentions a few key details about the transmission of sectarian legal traditions. This “order” of Essenes differs from the rest in their views on marriage but are the same in respect to their “way of life” (δίαιτα), “customs” (ἔθη), and most significantly, “laws” (νόμιμα).

Although he does not specify here what those laws entailed, they were of a specifically sectarian nature and bring to mind legal texts such as S. These same laws may be those he refers to a few lines earlier, when he mentions that some among them are specially trained in the holy books, sayings of the prophets, and the *different sorts of purifications* (*War* 2.159), those purity laws specific to the sect.³⁷ The study of these legal traditions usually entailed the preservation of those traditions by the scribal hand. Indeed, Josephus specifically mentions this very activity, in which the initiate to the community must swear by oath to “preserve in like manner the books of their sect” (συντηρήσειν ὁμοίως τὰ τε τῆς ἀίρέσεως αὐτῶν βιβλία; *War* 2.142). The S material would very likely be one of these books or legal traditions shared among the orders of the sect and passed along by the same.

4.3.4 *Interaction with Society*

Josephus never states directly either that the Essenes interacted closely with or avoided Jewish society at large. However, he does suggest that the members of the sect routinely came into contact with outsiders. He recognizes that no one of a different faith (ἑτεροδόξοι) is allowed to enter the assembly hall and that those on the outside (οἱ ἔξωθεν) are amazed at the silence of the meetings which take place within this sacred building (*War* 2.129, 133). Underlying his peripheral details is the fact that non-Essenes had to be close enough to observe and possibly attempt to enter such a meeting.

³⁶ Note also Collins’s comments in this regard, in “The Yahad and ‘The Qumran Community,’” 92-93.

³⁷ Cf. the stringent purity regulations imposed on candidates for admission into the community, who were only gradually allowed to touch the “purity” of the sect (1QS 6.16-23). This reference is shared in *War* 2.136, where he mentions the Essenes’ zeal to study the works of the ancients. See Vermes and Goodman, eds., *The Essenes According to the Classical Sources*, 42, n. 17.

Perhaps the most telling details about the Essenes' integration into society are revealed when Josephus briefly records the activities of individual Essenes.³⁸ Unless we assume that Bannus, an otherwise unknown desert ascetic, is an Essene (*Life* 1.12), then no other Essene is pictured living an isolated life. Judas the Essene, for example, is said to prophesy about Antigonus from within the Temple precincts (*War* 1.78-80; *Ant.* 13.311-13),³⁹ and Simon the Essene was somewhere near Archelaus in order to interpret a dream for him (*War* 2.111-113; *Ant.* 17.346-8). Menahem the Essene lived near Herod, for he saw him as a child and predicted he would become the king of the Jews (*Ant.* 10.371-9), which, Josephus explains, is why Herod himself held the Essenes in honor.⁴⁰ Finally, John the Essene was appointed a general at a public meeting in the Temple (*War* 2.562-7). Each of Josephus's accounts suggests that the Essenes were active in society, particularly in Jerusalem, and nothing ties these particular characters to Qumran.

4.3.5 Conclusions

Like the other Classical sources, Josephus's accounts contain historical inaccuracies—everything from a confusion of facts to obvious exaggeration. Parts of his histories are less reliable,⁴¹ and he surely gives us only a schematized version of the Jewish sects during his

³⁸ Aside from the major passages about the Essenes, Josephus briefly mentions the Essenes or an individual Essene on ten different occasions (*War* 1.78-80; 2.111-13; 2.566-8; 3.9-12; 5.142-5; *Ant.* 13.171-2; 13.298; 13.311-13; 15.371-9; 17.346-8).

³⁹ Twice Josephus extols the prophetic abilities of Judas the Essene, whom he locates in Jerusalem (*War* 1.78-80; *Ant.* 13.311-13). In both accounts, Judas sees the subject of an earlier prediction, Antigonus, walking through the Temple precincts. That very day, Judas had predicted Antigonus would die at the place called Strato's Tower (Caesarea Maritima) and therefore believes his prediction to be false. Yet, as Josephus clarifies, Antigonus does indeed die at Strato's Tower, another place by that name (presumably in Jerusalem), and Judas is vindicated. In any case, this Essene appears to be an involved part of Jerusalem society.

⁴⁰ Note that in the *Ant.* 13, Judas is surrounded by disciples who were learning to prophesy from him. This reference, along with that about Simon the Essene, who interprets Archelaus's dream correctly (*War* 2.111-13), and Menahem, who prophesies about Herod (*Ant.* 15.373-79), suggests that the Essenes were actively involved in prophecy. Or, as Josephus says, they were worthy of "this acquaintance with divine things." See Beall, *Josephus' Description of the Essenes*, 109-11.

⁴¹ For instance, Cohen goes so far as to accuse Josephus of exaggerations, corrupt transmissions of names and numbers, and "inveterate sloppiness." See his *Josephus in Galilee and Rome: His Vita and Development as a Historian* (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 51, etc.

time.⁴² Yet weighed against evidence from the Scrolls, Josephus confirms too many parallels for us to dismiss his history completely as mere rhetoric.⁴³ A surprising number of his technical details have been confirmed by archaeology,⁴⁴ so we may conclude along with Curtis Hutt:

Just because he cannot always be trusted does not mean that we should ignore him When simply describing a situation, on albeit a rather mundane level but one which is public knowledge, he is quite accurate and more reliable.⁴⁵

Based on our reading for history, then, Josephus generally describes a religious movement which included more than one form of community (at least marrying and non-marrying) found in multiple locations. In general, he speaks of these communities equally, although one may argue that Qumran would have been the ideal place for the tightly-knit organization he describes. Unless he and Philo (or their common source) substantially exaggerated their figures, the 4,000 sectarians would well have exceeded the community at Qumran. Even if the number is not literal, it is relatively quite high

⁴² Goodman disputes the underlying assumption that Josephus meant to list all of the Jewish groups of that time. He points to Josephus's literary purpose when speaking about three *haireseis*, "schools of thought," in Judaism (*War* 2.119); for instance, he says that Josephus only mentions three in order to set up the fourth school of thought. The number three, then, was only a literary device. However, although Goodman is correct in pointing out many scholars do not think beyond these four "philosophies," few, if any, have argued that Josephus intended to make a comprehensive listing of Jewish sects. See Goodman, "A Note on the Qumran Sectarians, the Essenes and Josephus," *JJS* 46 (1995): 161-66; and the corresponding note in Alexander, "Rabbinic Judaism and the New Testament," *ZNW* 74 (1983), 425, n. 11.

⁴³ Beall has analyzed the evidence in both Josephus and the Scrolls. According to his reckoning, the evidence favors the validity of Josephus's description of the Essenes. He concludes that there are 27 parallels between Josephus and the Scrolls' evidence, 21 probable parallels, 10 claims that Josephus makes that are unattested in the textual evidence, and only 6 apparent discrepancies between the two sources. But some of these discrepancies are inconclusive because the Scrolls themselves do not agree (*Josephus' Description of the Essenes*, 123-30). Cf. also Louis Feldman's nice summary in "Josephus Flavius," in *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. L.H. Schiffman and J.C. VanderKam; Oxford University Press, 2000), 2.427-31.

⁴⁴ Broshi points out that although Josephus exaggerates and at times is in error, "his data are in many instances accurate, and...they stem from reliable sources to which he had access from the very beginning of his literary career." For instance, Josephus writes that the walls of Masada were seven stadia (about 1300 m.) long, and Yadin found them to be almost exactly that after excavating the fortress. Broshi thinks that much of the accurate data must have come from the Roman imperial commentaries, the *hypomnēmata*, which Josephus mentions specifically three times in the later works ("The Credibility of Josephus," *JJS* 33 [1982]: 379-84, esp. 384).

⁴⁵ Hutt, "Qumran and the Ancient Sources," 292.

compared with the number 6,000 Josephus gives to the Pharisees (*Ant.* 17.42) and the even smaller number he gives to the Sadducees (*Ant.* 18.17). Stegemann comments about these relative population figures that “the usual conception of a ‘small Qumran sect’ would disappear the moment those numbers are seriously taken into consideration.”⁴⁶

One should probably disregard Josephus’s statement that Essenes lived “in every town” as an exaggeration, but it would be equally implausible to assume that they lived in just one. Underlying details also speak against this since he mentions that they traveled between communities and uses terminology that assumes a large Essene population (πολλοί, γένος, etc.). He does not state that these communities each housed their own library, but he does emphasize the different communities shared the same laws (νόμιμα) and that new initiates swore to preserve the “books of their sect,” making it likely they transmitted their own written traditions between the various residences.

4.4 PLINY THE ELDER

Pliny the Elder (23-79 CE) gives us a brief account of the Essenes in his important and voluminous work, *Natural History*. In this Latin work of 37 volumes, he examines a wide variety of subjects including the geography of Syro-Palestine and the regions of Judea. Following his discussion of the Jordan River and the Dead Sea, Pliny mentions the Essenes, whom he says lived on the west shore of the Dead Sea. In this short aside, he offers otherwise rare information about their celibate lifestyle and their specific geographical location. Although the precise location of his reference has come under debate, his description offers one of the only possible historical links between the Essenes and the site of Qumran.⁴⁷

⁴⁶ Stegemann mentions that the comparative numbers of Pharisees and Sadducees are not usually mentioned in the discussion of the Essenes, in “The Qumran Essenes,” 90, n. 20.

⁴⁷ For an early but thorough review of the evidence, see Christoph Burchard, “Pline et les Esséniens: À propos d’un article récent,” *RB* 69 (1962): 533-69. More recently Jodi Magness points out that from the archaeological perspective, Khirbet Qumran is the only site that makes sense based on the report given by Pliny (*The Archaeology of Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls* [Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2002], 41).

4.4.1 Terminology of the Sect

In this brief passage (*Nat. Hist.* 5.17), Pliny praises the Essenes in glowing terms. Twice he calls them a “people” or “race” (*gens*) (as does Josephus⁴⁸), and Pliny may have considered the Essenes to be a separate nation.⁴⁹ Not only were they a distinct race, they were an eternal one existing for “thousands of centuries” into which no one is born (*ita per saeculorum milia—incredibile dictu—gens aeterna est, in qua nemo nascitur*), an unusual exaggeration possibly alluding to their ability “self-generate” by means of attracting new converts.

4.4.2 Location

Unlike Philo or Josephus, Pliny—or more likely his source(s)—specifically locates the Essenes in Judea, west of the Dead Sea; he states that below them (*infra hos*) lay Ein Gedi (*Engada*). Scholars have discussed the possible meanings of “below them” and to what it may refer, but most agree that the most likely location of his reference is Qumran.⁵⁰

4.4.3 Organization and Structure

In his short account, Pliny gives us little information about the organization of the Essenes. His speech is certainly hyperbolic, describing the throngs of newcomers swelling their ranks each day. However, we should note that he gives us the impression that this particularly group was celibate. Yet he mentions no other Essenes outside of this community.

⁴⁸ Cf. the use of the equivalent Greek term, γένος, in Josephus, *War* 2.113 and *Ant.* 13.172, but contrast Philo who says specifically that the Essenes should not be called a “race” (οὐ γένει; *Hypoth.* 11.2).

⁴⁹ Vermes and Goodman, eds., *The Essenes According to the Classical Sources*, 32, n. 2; and Robert A. Kraft, “Pliny on Essenes, Pliny on Jews,” *DSD* 8 (2001): 255-61.

⁵⁰ For some of the plentiful discussion on this phrase, see Ernest-Marie Laperousaz, “‘Infra hos Engadda.’ Notes à propos d’un article récent,” *RB* 69 (1962): 369-80; and see the more recent discussion in VanderKam and Flint, *The Meaning of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 240-42. Contrast the translation made in, Jean-Paul Audet, “Qumrân et la notice de Pline sur les Esséniens,” *RB* 68 (1961): 346-87.

4.4.4 *Interaction with Society*

For Pliny, the Essenes live a solitary and admirable life, without the necessity of money or women. His account does not allude to them being closely integrated with the rest of Jewish society. He does not state that they avoid cities, but he affirms that the only company they enjoy is that of palm trees (*socia palmarum*).

4.5 LATER WITNESSES

4.5.1 *Dio of Prusa (Chrysostomos)*

Another reference to the Essenes is made by Dio Cocceianus, later known as Dio Chrysostomos, who lived in Bithynia, Anatolia, around 40-112 CE. Dio was known as a Greek orator and Stoic philosopher, and in c. 400 CE Synesius of Cyrene wrote a biography about him. In the biography of Dio, Synesius briefly records that Dio praised the Essenes, even though it is not clear whether Dio ever traveled to Palestine or if the Qumran settlement still existed if he did.

Nevertheless, this brief reference is noteworthy because in it, Dio, like Pliny, connects the Essenes to the area around Qumran. He states that they were “near the Dead Sea, in the center of Palestine, not far from Sodom” (παρὰ τὸ νεκρὸν ὕδωρ ἐν τῇ μεσογειᾷ τῆς Παλαιστίνης κειμένην παρ’ αὐτὰ που τὰ Σόδομα; *Dio* 3, 2). Here Dio may have known Pliny’s account, but subtle differences in his report indicate that he did not completely rely on him. For instance, he mentions Sodom and claims that the Essenes here formed an “entire and prosperous city” (πόλιν ὅλην εὐδαίμονα), thus linking the Essenes to one settlement.⁵¹ We should be cautious about a later, second-hand witness, but if reliable, this witness would also strongly link the Essenes to the community at Qumran.

4.5.2 *Hippolytus of Rome*

Living sometime between 170-235 CE, Hippolytus also indirectly witnesses to the Essenes. A Roman presbyter and prolific writer of the early Western Church, his most famous work, *Refutation of All Heresies* (or *Philosophumena*) systematically shows how a number

⁵¹ See Vermes and Goodman, eds., *The Essenes According to the Classical Sources*, 58, n. 1.

of Christian heresies were the offspring of early pagan systems. In book nine, Hippolytus speaks somewhat anachronistically about the Essenes as a heretical sect, at odds with the rest of the Jews. His account is similar to that found in Josephus's *Jewish War* (2.119-61), so he probably knew of this source.⁵² Some have argued fairly convincingly that at least some of his account, including the few new details he adds, stems from an independent tradition and viably supplements Josephus's earlier account.⁵³

Like Josephus, Hippolytus describes the Essenes (along with the Pharisees and Sadducees) as members of a "sect" (ἀίρετιστής; 9.18, 19, 20),⁵⁴ but he alone describes the members as "disciples" of the sect (βουλομένοις τῆ ἀίρέσει; 9.23). He also mentions another order (τάγμα) of Essenes who marry (9.28), and once he mentions that initiates bring their property to the general community (τῷ κοινῷ; 9.19). Notably, the member who commits a grave sin is not expelled from the order, as Josephus says,⁵⁵ but is expelled from the "house(hold)" (τοῦ δώματος; 9.24), a term not used in the other Classical sources. Concerning the interaction of the Essenes with the outside world, Hippolytus generally agrees with Josephus.⁵⁶

Hippolytus, like Josephus, gives no specific geographical reference for the Essenes; he says they are not in one city, but in every town and are numerous (μία δὲ αὐτῶν οὐκ ἔστι πόλις, ἀλλ' ἐν

⁵² Burchard lays out the two versions in a nice comparison ("Die Essener bei Hippolyt," *JSJ* 8 [1977]: 1-41); and Alfred Adam also reviews the evidence of both Josephus and Hippolytus, in *Antike Berichte über die Essener* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1972). Adam notes that Hippolytus could have changed and/or supplemented Josephus or that a Christian editor later redacted his account. In support of the latter, is S. Zeitlin, "The Account of the Essenes in Josephus and the Philosophumena," *JQR* 49 (1958-59): 292-99.

⁵³ Black agrees that the Hippolytean description of the Essenes is very similar in content and arrangement to Josephus, but that Hippolytus provides unique details and uses a markedly different style and vocabulary than does Josephus, giving Black the impression that his is a closely related but independent version. He finds much valuable information in Hippolytus, calling his account in general "a much fuller and circumstantial account, occasionally adding a fresh detail which has a ring of authenticity," in "The Account of the Essenes in Hippolytus and Josephus," in *The Background of the New Testament and its Eschatology* (ed. W.D. Davies and D. Daube; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1956), 172-75, esp. 174. Cross has re-read Hippolytus in light of new data from the Scrolls, and he also concludes that some of the special readings found in Hippolytus are authentic and/or even superior to readings we find in Josephus (*The Ancient Library of Qumran*, 66-67).

⁵⁴ Cf. Josephus *War* 2.199, 122, 124, 137, 141, 142; *Ant.* 13.171; *Life* 10.

⁵⁵ *War* 2.143.

⁵⁶ However, whereas Josephus says that the Essenes do not buy or sell anything "among themselves" (ἐν ἀλλήλοις; *War* 2.127), Hippolytus does not mention "among themselves," making it sound as if the Essenes had no commercial contacts with the outside world.

ἐκάστη μετοικοῦσι πολλοί; 9.20). Aside from this affirmation, Hippolytus offers little more data besides that offered by Josephus.⁵⁷

4.5.3 *Epiphanius*

At least a century after Hippolytus, Epiphanius also wrote about the Essenes. Epiphanius (c. 315-403 CE) was a native of Palestine and bishop of Salamis. A strong adherent of Nicene Christianity, Epiphanius began his major literary work, the *Panarion*, in 374 CE, written as a voluminous treatment of (and guide against) over 80 religious groups outside of what he considered to be mainstream Christianity up until his day. The first sects he discusses are the pre-Christian sects, divided into five main groups: Barbarism, Scythianism, Hellenism, Judaism, and Samaritanism. Among these groups, Epiphanius curiously groups the Essenes under the Samaritan sects, rather than the Jewish ones, but then he also discusses a second group with a similar name, the Ossaeans, whom he labels a Jewish sect.⁵⁸

The first group he mentions, the Essenes, is a sub-sect of the Samaritans, with which they agree in some matters of legal interpretation. Here he preserves the tradition that the Essenes disputed the calendar of their neighbors (*Pan.* 10-11), which would fit well with what we know of the *Yahad* from the Scrolls. This description of the Essenes is brief and does offer any information about the geographical distribution of the sect, except to say that when the Essenes are in the neighborhood of other sects, they do the same as the others do (20.1.1). If these were the same Essenes of Josephus and Philo, there are reasons to question his testimony that they were so theologically accommodating,⁵⁹ but we should note the innocuous detail of them living side-by-side with non-Essene neighbors. Surprisingly, these neighbors are the Samaritans, and as Frank Williams asserts, the

⁵⁷ A possible exception to this is when he speaks of four parties of Essenes (9.26). But most agree that Hippolytus was confused and is instead speaking of other sects such as the Zealots or the Sicarii. This paragraph has striking similarities with other sections of Josephus, where he describes groups other than the Essenes. See Vermes and Goodman, eds., *The Essenes According to the Classical Sources*, 71, n. 13.

⁵⁸ Not only is his second- or third-hand account written as a polemic, Epiphanius's treatment of these two groups is fraught with other problems, for it is not clear which if either of these groups was originally Essene. Space does not permit a thorough investigation of these problems, but mention will be made of a few details possibly relevant to our study.

⁵⁹ But note that earlier he describes the Essenes as holding strictly to conservative conduct and states that they "never went beyond it" (*Pan.* 10.1.2).

tradition Epiphanius preserves of Essenes living in Samaria may be a legitimate example of Essenes living throughout the countryside.⁶⁰

Epiphanius also mentions a second group, the Ossaeans, a Jewish sect which originated in the Transjordan region (*Pan.* 19.1-2). This group, which he says means “sturdy people,” has little in common with the Essenes he mentions previously, and most of his unflattering descriptions concern a certain Elixai, a prophet and convert to the group. Although their name is similar to the Essenes, it is unclear what relationship if any this group had to the broader group of Essenes. It could be that the Ossaeans were the original Essenes at Qumran, who then migrated east of the Jordan when the Romans destroyed Qumran in 68 C.E. (cf. also locations mentioned in the Copper Scroll).⁶¹ Although it is conceivable that some Essenes ended up east of the Jordan after Qumran’s destruction, there is little other evidence to corroborate this theory (but note the presence of “Essene” graves at Khirbet Qazone, 5.1.3.3).

Clearly working from multiple sources, Epiphanius provides us with otherwise unknown details, some of which may point towards a more diverse picture of Essenism before (or perhaps even during) his time. It is not clear why he mentions two groups with almost the same name. We have evidence that Epiphanius made extensive use of earlier sources, such as Irenaeus, Hippolytus, Hegesippus and Eusebius, so it is possible he drew from two different sources that transcribed their name slightly differently. If this were the case, we would have to assume these two accounts came from very different perspectives (reflecting post-68 CE views?). Nevertheless, although some fittingly argue for the reliability of Epiphanius,⁶² we cannot use his account as conclusive evidence for the presence of multiple *Yahad*-type communities before 68 CE, but he generally boosts the idea that the Essenes were a polymorphous and widespread group.

⁶⁰ Williams correlates this tradition of Essenes in Samaria with that which Josephus preserves of Essenes dispersed throughout the countryside, in *The Panarion of Epiphanius of Salamis* (Leiden: Brill, 1987), 1.34, n. 1.

⁶¹ See the discussion of this in Beall, “Epiphanius,” in *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. L.H. Schiffman and J.C. VanderKam; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 255-56. Goranson also believes that there were Essenes who lived east of the Jordan because of Epiphanius’s account and because some sites listed in the Copper Scrolls are located east of the Jordan, in “Sectarianism, Geography, and the Copper Scroll,” *JJS* 43 (1992): 282-87.

⁶² Black strongly supports accepting Epiphanius’s testimony about the early Jewish sects (*The Scrolls and Christian Origins*, 67); as does Athanase Negoïtsa, “Did the Essenes Survive the 66-71 War?,” *RevQ* 6 (1967): 517-30. Goranson also believes that Epiphanius is an important source on the Essenes (“The Joseph of Tiberias Episode in Epiphanius: Studies in Jewish and Christian Relations” [Ph.D. diss., Duke, 1990], ch. 3).

4.6 OTHER WRITTEN SOURCES

4.6.1 *The New Testament*

The New Testament writers never directly mention the Essenes, although some would argue—quite weakly—that the “Herodians” of Matt 22:16 and Mark 3:6; 12:13 and 8:15 were in fact the Essenes.⁶³ Even if true, they receive glaringly little mention in the NT compared to the words devoted to the Pharisees, Sadducees and the Zealots. The Essenes’ surprising absence from the NT has been a primary reason that many assume they were a small and marginal group during the late Second Temple period. But such a conclusion does not arise directly from the text. The Essenes’ absence of recognition is not necessarily recognition of their absence; other factors may have been at play.

The NT writers speak of the Pharisees and Sadducees in polemical contexts. Perhaps these same authors did not consider the Essenes to be adversaries, as they did other groups, and therefore they had no need to present them as foils to the early Christian believers. The Essenes’ beliefs may have been close enough to the tenets of Christianity that they simply were not useful antagonists against which the early Christian writers could contrast a new revelation of Jesus the Messiah.⁶⁴ Or others have suggested that most of the Essenes were absorbed by Christianity after the Roman retaliation in 66-71 CE, and therefore the Essenes were not considered to be a separate entity from the early Christian writers when they wrote NT.⁶⁵ Whatever the reasons, the NT evidence does not directly support the thesis proposed here; but neither does it directly lead to the conclusion that

⁶³ If they were the Herodians, this would mean that the Essenes were portrayed as antagonists to the ministry of Jesus. Arguments for this are presented in Constantin Daniel, “Nouveaux arguments in faveur de l’identification des Hérodians et des Esséniens,” *RevQ* 7 (1969-1971): 397-402; and in Yadin, *The Temple Scroll: The Hidden Law of the Dead Sea Sect* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 1985), 138-39.

⁶⁴ See similar comments made in Petit, “Les Esséens de Philon d’Alexandrie et les Esséniens,” 139-40. Fitzmyer compares the similarities between early Christian beliefs and those of the Essenes. He points out that Acts 24:5 speaks of Christianity as *nazōraïōn haireisis*, as the “sect of the Nazorenes,” employing the same terminology of a “sect” that Josephus uses to describe the Essenes, in “New Testament,” *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 2.610-12. Yet Josephus also uses “sect” to describe the Sadducees and Pharisees as well (*Ant.* 13.171; *Life* 10; etc.).

⁶⁵ Negoitsa goes so far as to say that the Essenes represented the largest body of members in the primitive church, and therefore, “it was no longer useful to combat them for difference of doctrines as compared to the Gospel of Christ,” in “Did the Essenes Survive the 66-71 War?,” 529.

Essenes did not have a viable presence in Jewish society. Indeed, the very similarities in the theology of the early Christians to that of the Essenes, as others have well noted,⁶⁶ may suggest that the *Yahad* and its ideology was widely influential.

4.6.2 *Early Rabbinic Texts*

In the post-destruction period, the Rabbis never unequivocally mention the Essenes, or the *Yahad*, by name. The rabbinic writings mention some groups with viewpoints opposing the sages, but the exact identity of these groups is often unclear. Some find the Essenes in a few obscure references to the Boethusians, Sadducees, or “Morning Bathers,”⁶⁷ to name a few. Joseph Amusin also considers the “people of Jericho,” mentioned in a few rabbinic texts, to have been Essenes, claiming that there must have been one such community living there,⁶⁸ which curiously parallels new archaeological evidence of the connections between Jericho and Qumran (see section 5.2.3). However, none of these proposals is generally accepted, and they are of little conclusive use for the current study.⁶⁹

Lieberman compares the *Yahad* to the rabbinic *haberim/haburim*.⁷⁰ Through a series of ambiguous concatenations, Lieberman tries to link the word *Yahad* with the term *haburah*, claiming that both are synonymous to the word *rabbim* and therefore with each other. Yet the *rabbim* of the Scrolls (“The Many”) un-

⁶⁶ E.g. Black, *The Scrolls and Christian Origins*. See also the works of Fitzmyer (“Paul and the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls After Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment* [ed. P. Flint and J.C. VanderKam; Leiden: Brill, 1998-99], 2.599-621; *The Dead Sea Scrolls and Christian Origins* [Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2000]).

⁶⁷ Yaakov Elman reviews the evidence in the article, “Mishnah and Tosefta” in *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 1.569-74. See also Moshe D. Herr, “Mi Hayu ha-Baytusim?,” in *Proceedings of the Seventh World Congress of Jewish Studies: Studies in the Talmud, Halacha and Midrash 7* (1981): 1-21 [Hebrew]; and Finkelstein, *The Pharisees: The Sociological Background of Their Faith*.

⁶⁸ Joseph D. Amusin, “Spüren antiquumrânischer Polemik in der talmudischen Tradition,” in *Qumran-Probleme: Vorträge des Leipziger Symposions über Qumran-Probleme vom 9. bis 14. Oktober 1961* (ed. H. Bardtke; Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1963), 20. Compare Negoïtsa (“Did the Essenes Survive the 66-71 War?”), who also believes that there was a community of Essenes living at Jericho.

⁶⁹ See Vermes and Goodman, eds., *The Essenes According to the Classical Sources*, 2; and Siegfried Wagner, *Die Essener in der wissenschaftlichen Diskussion* (Berlin: A. Töpelmann, 1960), 114-27.

⁷⁰ Lieberman, “The Discipline in the So-Called Dead Sea Manual of Discipline.” Cf. the discussion in Saldarini, *Pharisees, Scribes, and Sadducees in Palestinian Society*, 216-20.

doubtedly refers to a specific functioning entity subsumed under the *Yaḥad* and therefore not synonymous to it (cf. 3.1.2.2).⁷¹ But Lieberman goes on to note that candidates for the *ḥaburah* were pious Jews, who were committed to observing strict ritual purity laws. Before a Rabbi took his obligation, he could not touch the food of the *ḥaburah*, nor could his food be used in the *ḥaburah*, similar to the restrictions on the initiate to the *Yaḥad*, who could not eat of the pure food during the first year of candidacy (1QS 6.16). Also, the initiate to the *ḥaburah* was not admitted at once but only in stages over the course of a year.

However, the candidate for the *Yaḥad* underwent a two-year initiation process and was required to take an oath (1QS 6), which members of the *ḥaburah* were not required to take. Neither did members of the *ḥaburah* have as strong of a dislike for outsiders as represented in the Scrolls. The similarities between the two groups are probably due to regional influences and are interesting phenomena, but still they cannot retroactively inform us how the *Yaḥad* was understood prior to the writing of the rabbinic texts. In sum, other written sources such as the New Testament and rabbinic texts are not unfailing sources for reconstructing the socio-historical background of the Essenes and therefore the *Yaḥad*. It should be noted that they do not deny my reconstruction, but neither do they support it.

4.7 SUMMARY OF THE EVIDENCE

4.7.1 *The Label “Yaḥad” Represented?*

From the historical evidence, it is still not clear if the Classical writers ever knew the term *Yaḥad* as the label of the sect. No Classical source mentions the “*Yaḥad*” in a transliterated Greek form, although some use similar technical-sounding language to describe the Essenes. Ralph Marcus raises the possibility that *Yaḥad* is reflected in the Greek word, ὄμιλος, “crowd,” used by Philo (*Good Person* 13.9; *Hypoth.* 11.1) and once by Josephus (*War* 2.138) to identify the Essenes. He says:

⁷¹ Lieberman points out that in rabbinic texts, the word *rabbim* is sometimes used for *ḥaberim*, such as in the Palestinian Talmud, *Demai* II.2, 22d. Lieberman then incorrectly assumes that *Yaḥad* and *rabbim* are interchangeable in the Scrolls, even though in S the *rabbim* clearly functions as a specific governing body within the larger organization, such as for the admittance of new members. See “The Discipline in the So-Called Dead Sea Manual of Discipline,” 203.

Since, then, ὄμιλος in Hellenistic Greek normally means ‘crowd’ and is so used at least twice by Philo and in all but one of its ten occurrences by Josephus, it does not seem altogether absurd to suggest that when these two writers apply the word to the Essenes they may be translating or at least unconsciously reflecting the Hebrew word *yahad*.⁷²

Philo’s and Josephus’s use of this term does seem unusual, and we may note that Philo uses ὄμιλος both for the entire order of Essenes (*Good Person* 13.91) and also for various local communities (καὶ μεγάλους καὶ πολυανθρώπους ὀμίλους; *Hypoth.* 11.1). Yet this Greek noun related to the verb meaning “come together” (ὀμόω) elsewhere has a negative connotation in Philo and Josephus. It is often used to describe a disorderly or unruly mob and would not fit the otherwise positive descriptions of those at Qumran.⁷³

One may suspect that the term κοινωνία, “association, partnership, communion,” would be an equivalent translation of *Yahad*, and indeed, Philo uses the term five times when speaking about the Essenes.⁷⁴ Such a term seems to describe accurately the communal life of the Essenes. But Philo uses it only in descriptive contexts, not in a technical way,⁷⁵ and only he, not Josephus, Hippolytus, or Pliny, ever uses this word when speaking of the Essenes. Alternatively, if “*Yahad*” is present behind the Greek, it may also be represented by Philo’s description of the Essene “unions” (θιάσους) (*Hypoth.* 11.5; cf. *Good Person* 12.85), which perhaps better represent the notion of togetherness. But the data are inconclusive. Rather, as we saw above (3.1.2.1), the most we can conclude is that the label Essene (*Essaioi* or ‘*Ossenes*) is a derivative of “Followers” (Heb. ‘*osei*; 4QCatenaA 5-6, 16; 4Q511 2 i, 9, etc.) where it labels members of the movement עושי היחד, the “Followers of the *Yahad*,” or sometimes “Followers of the Law” (התורה עושי).

⁷² Marcus, “Philo, Josephus and the Dead Sea *Yahad*,” 209. He notes that the label *Yahad* comes from the adverb meaning “together,” and that the noun ὄμιλος, is also related to the verb, ὀμόω, “to unite.”

⁷³ For instance, Josephus uses this term to describe the disorderly multitude of Israel before Moses (*Ant.* 4.25, 37), the crowds entertained by Archelaus in Jerusalem (*Ant.* 17.200, 205), and the general population of Jerusalem (*Ant.* 17.215). There is also a sense of unruliness about the crowd, at least in *Ant.* 18.60, when the population clamors against Pilate’s misuse of holy funds, which describes those unified for negative purposes. Philo also uses this term to describe unruly mobs, such as in *Spec.* 4.47 and in *Posterity* 101, ones engaged in revolutionary actions.

⁷⁴ *Hypoth.* 11.1, 14, 16; *Good Person* 84, 91; cf. also *Contemp. Life* 24.

⁷⁵ See, for instance, when he mentions that women were a threat to the κοινωνία nature of the Essenes, in *Hypoth.* 11.14, 16.

4.7.2 *Conclusions*

The Classical histories provide us with considerable demographic information about the Essenes. In general, they leave the impression that the Essenes were a widespread movement; only a few references may indirectly speak against such an interpretation. Both Pliny and Dio Chrysostomos connect the Essenes with the northern end of the Dead Sea, and Dio notes that the Essenes make up an entire city there, most likely referring to the site of Qumran. If these are independent witnesses, we find two accounts that do not mention any additional settlements and therefore do not directly support the theory proposed here.

Nevertheless the majority of Classical accounts witness to a widespread, vibrant movement. Their numbers may have been inflated, but Josephus and Philo readily support the idea that the Essenes were a fairly populous, integrated movement. As David Flusser argues, the mention of Essene characters active in Jerusalem, such as Judah the Essene, supports the idea that there was an Essene quarter there next to the Essene Gate to which Josephus (and archaeology?) attests.⁷⁶ Indeed Philo, Josephus, and Hippolytus seem unaware of Qumran or one central settlement.⁷⁷

For Philo, the Essenes were integrated into society, receiving wages and interacting with non-Essenes, but he never mentions that there were different types of Essenes. Josephus and Hippolytus, however, directly attest to two different “orders” of Essenes, who share the same lifestyles, customs and laws (*War* 2). This sub-group Josephus mentions differs only by allowing marriage and family life and probably corresponds to those who “live in camps according to the rule of the land, and take a wife and beget children” (CD 7.6-7). But according to Josephus, this sub-group still subjects new members to a three-year probationary period, which may have analogies to the three-year trial for all initiates mentioned in S (1QS 6.13-23; *War* 2).

⁷⁶ Flusser believes that Judah the Essene may have even been the Teacher of Righteousness himself, as he was prophetically active and taught his pupils how to understand the words of the prophets (cf. 1QpHab 7.2-5), in *The Spiritual History*, 23-25.

⁷⁷ According to Sanders (“The Dead Sea Sect and Other Jews”), Josephus does not mention Qumran because his source, Nicolaus of Damascus, did not know of the site. Sanders claims that when Nicolaus wrote his account, during the reign of Herod, the site of Qumran had been abandoned following the earthquake of 31 BC, and thus, he did not mention this place. Nevertheless, this theory rests on many uncertain assumptions, such that Josephus did rely on Nicolaus, and not on any other accounts or first-hand knowledge from his own day, and that the site of Qumran was abandoned for a substantial period of time, an older theory rightly being challenged. See Magness, *Archaeology of Qumran*, 63-72, and below, chapter five.

Nevertheless, on some points Josephus and Philo occasionally contradict each other (or even themselves).⁷⁸ One may even wonder if some of these differences could be due to the fact that they (or their sources) knew slightly different Essene communities and/or at different times. Following this view, Madeleine Petit points out that we should think in terms of a “gent essénienne” or “ordre essénien,” which:

. . . engloberait différentes congrégations d’Esséniens. Les contradictions qu’on a cru pouvoir relever dans les notices de Philon et de Josèphe, concernant l’habitat et le mode de vie des Esséniens, se résoudraient alors d’elles-mêmes.⁷⁹

Leaving aside potentially polemical information and/or accounts unattested elsewhere (such as Epiphanius), the general picture painted by the Classical sources is one that fits the theory that the *Yahad* was a broad and diverse group, which shared textual and legal traditions.

⁷⁸ However, some have pointed out that the outright contradictions between the two sources appear to be very few. See the comparative work done by Bilde, “The Essenes in Philo and Josephus.”

⁷⁹ Petit, “Les Esséens de Philon d’Alexandrie et les Esséniens,” 153-54.

CHAPTER FIVE

ARCHAEOLOGY OF QUMRAN: THE CONTEMPORARY DEBATE

Qumran has provided us with a sizeable body of written evidence and material remains, an unusual combination of sources for the late Second Temple period. Aside from the textual sources, what can archaeology tell us—if anything—about the demographics of the *Yahad*? Were they really an isolated “monastic” group, an erratic blip on the screen of early Jewish history? Or were they more integrated and influential, maintaining relations with surrounding communities with which they shared literary and religious traditions?

To approach these questions, current archaeological theories need to be at least briefly reviewed and new findings assessed. In recent years a number of alternate hypotheses about Qumran have surfaced, including new proposals about the origins of the Dead Sea Scrolls. Although the strongest evidence favors some sort of connection between the site and the Scrolls, new data and theories raise the challenge that at least some texts came from other locations.

We do well to note that no other *Yahad*-related settlements—or written material that would label them as such—have been positively identified. But some have not been deterred from trying; certain followers of the Essene hypothesis label some features of Qumran, such as the “scroll jars” or shaft graves, as “Essene markers,” and then have used these as “signs” of other sectarian communities elsewhere. The present study does not pretend to find any *Yahad* communities and certainly could not do so here.

However, material remains will not be ignored. Archaeology can contextualize the current hypothesis and could even rule out my historical reconstruction. Or, as we find below, the archaeological record can bolster the idea that those at Qumran had close and frequent ties beyond its borders, ones which included literary and ideological exchanges. New findings challenge old assumptions that Qumran was an isolated sectarian community. My primary goal in engaging with current archaeological data is not to harmonize textual and material remains, creating a grand picture of the past, but rather to see whether new findings rule out the reconstruction that the *Yahad*, and its texts, had connections beyond Qumran.

5.1 RUINS AND RELIGION: THE CASE OF QUMRAN

The ruins at Khirbet Qumran were systematically excavated during five seasons from 1951-56 by de Vaux, with partial assistance from Lankester Harding. De Vaux soon linked the Scrolls to the site, leading to the widely-held theory that an Essene community lived at Qumran from 130 BCE to 31 BCE (his Periods Ia and Ib), and then again from 4 BCE to 68 CE (Period II), when it was destroyed by Roman troops. De Vaux wrote several preliminary accounts of his findings in French,¹ and a general overview in English,² but he never published a final, complete excavation report before he passed away in 1971, leaving much room for controversy among scholars who are denied access to the complete remains from Qumran. Only recently have Jean-Baptiste Humbert and Alain Chambon published de Vaux's original photographs of the site and many of his field notes and drawings,³ vastly increasing the amount of available archaeological evidence. These volumes, along with subsequent new assessments,⁴ enable us to understand better the archaeological traces of the Qumran community.

5.1.1 *New Data, New Assessments*

The last decade or so has seen a proliferation of new hypotheses regarding the archaeology of Qumran. De Vaux's chronology has been heavily revised since his publications (see below), and some have challenged his and later scholars' identification of the people at Khirbet Qumran not only with the Essenes, but with any sectarian community. Golb has been a notable critic of the Qumran-sectarian

¹ De Vaux, "Fouilles de Khirbet Qumrân: Rapport préliminaire sur les 3e, 4e, et 5e campagnes," *RB* 63 (1956): 533-77; "Fouilles au Khirbet Qumrân: Rapport préliminaire"; "Fouilles au Khirbet Qumrân: Rapport préliminaire sur la deuxième campagne."

² De Vaux, *Archaeology and the Dead Sea Scrolls*.

³ Jean-Baptiste Humbert and Alain Chambon, *Fouilles de Khirbet Qumrân et de Ain Feshkha I* (Fribourg: Éditions universitaires, 1994); *The Excavations of Khirbet Qumrân and 'Ain Feshkha: Synthesis of Roland de Vaux's Field Notes* (trans. S.J. Pfann; Fribourg: University Press, 2003).

⁴ For instance, see Katharina Galor, Humbert, and J. Zangenberg, eds., *Qumran, the Site of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Archaeological Interpretations and Debates: Proceedings of a Conference held at Brown University, November 17-19, 2002* (STDJ 57; Leiden: Brill, 2006); Hirschfeld, *Qumran in Context*; and Humbert and Gunneweg, *Khirbet Qumrân et 'Ain Feshkha II*; Magness, *Archaeology of Qumran*.

connection.⁵ He finds Qumran to have been a fortress, rather than a home of a religious community, and the Scrolls belonged to private libraries in Jerusalem before they were hidden away in the desert by various groups before the siege of Jerusalem in 68-70 CE. Although few embrace his proposal, Golb raises interesting questions about a Jerusalem connection to the Scrolls, a link already proposed by Rengstorf,⁶ who maintains that the Scrolls originally came from the library of the Jerusalem Temple.

Similar challenges have been raised against the traditional *Yahad*-Qumran association. Alan Crown and Cansdale maintain that Qumran was a *caravanserai*, a major stop along a commercial route running to Jerusalem,⁷ while Robert Donceel and Pauline Donceel-Voûte find Qumran to be a *villa rustica* rather than the home of a sectarian community.⁸ In a similar vein, Hirschfeld interprets the remnants of Khirbet Qumran to be those of a great manor house rather than those of a religious community, rejecting the belief that it was related to the written material found in the nearby caves.⁹ Much

⁵ Norman Golb, *Who Wrote the Dead Sea Scrolls?* (New York: Scribner, 1995); "Khirbet Qumran and the Manuscript Finds of the Judaean Wilderness," in *Methods of Investigation of the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Khirbet Qumran Site: Present Realities and Future Prospects* (ed. M.O. Wise, et al.; Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences 722; New York: The New York Academy of Sciences, 1994), 51-72; and "The Problem of Origin and Identification of the Dead Sea Scrolls."

⁶ Rengstorf, *Hirbet Qumrân and the Problem of the Library of the Dead Sea Caves* (Leiden: Brill, 1963).

⁷ See Alan D. Crown and Lena Cansdale, "Qumran: Was it an Essene Settlement?," *BAR* 20 (1994): 24-35, 73-78; and also Cansdale, *Qumran and the Essenes: A Re-Evaluation of the Evidence* (Tübingen: Mohr, 1997), where she argues that the Scrolls originated in Jerusalem.

⁸ R. Donceel and P. Donceel-Voûte, "The Archaeology of Khirbet Qumran," in *Methods of Investigation of the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Khirbet Qumran Site: Present Realities and Future Prospects* (ed. M.O. Wise, et al.; Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences 722; New York: New York Academy of Sciences, 1994), 1-38; cf. the earlier report in P. Donceel-Voûte, "Les ruines de Qumran réinterprétées," *Archaeologia* 298 (1994): 24-35. A variation to this hypothesis is that Qumran was a *villa rustica* before it was later taken over by an Essene community, as proposed by Humbert, "Qumrân, esséniens et architecture," in *Antikes Judentum und frühes Christentum* (ed. B. Kollmann, et al.; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1999), 183-96; and "L'espace sacré à Qumrân," *RB* 101 (1994): 161-214.

⁹ Hirschfeld, "Early Roman Manor Houses in Judea and the Site of Khirbet Qumran," *JNES* 57 (1998): 161-89; and "The Architectural Context of Qumran," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Fifty Years after their Discovery: Proceedings of the Jerusalem Congress, July 20-25, 1997* (ed. L.H. Schiffman, et al.; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, in cooperation with The Shrine of the Book, Israel Museum, 2000), 673-83. Most recently see his *Qumran in Context: Reassessing the Archaeological Evidence* (Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 2004). He builds his case on what he believes to be indicators of wealth and industry at Qumran, such as the ovens and

of his argument rests on the assumption that “Qumran was located at a central crossroad bustling with activity during the Second Temple period.”¹⁰ Hirschfeld does not adequately prove the latter, nor does he effectively explain away the connections between the caves and site or why the Qumran cemetery would house so many people if it was only a summer home of a “plantation” owner.¹¹ Nevertheless, his and others’ new theories enliven old discussions, even if none of the alternate identifications of Qumran has gained a consensus.¹²

However, most still believe, and rightly so, that Qumran is related to the Scroll caves. Magness agrees:

The fact that the pottery found in the settlement and in the scroll caves includes types that are virtually unique to Qumran provides the best evidence for this connection. These types include the so-called “scroll jars,” which are tall, cylindrical jars with wide mouths that were covered with bowl-shaped lids. Not only were these jars found in the settlement and in the scroll caves, but some of the scrolls from Cave 1 were reportedly deposited in a jar of this type.¹³

Using INAA, Jan Gunneweg and Marta Balla also claim to have connected the “scrolls jars” from the caves and some from the site, showing that many of them were made from the same local clay.¹⁴

soaking pools and various other industrial installations found there and at nearby ‘Ein Feshkha. This confirms for him that the main occupation of the Qumran inhabitants was the production of date honey and balsam perfume (“Qumran in the Second Temple Period,” 237).

¹⁰ Hirschfeld, “Qumran in the Second Temple Period,” 229. The exact extent to which a “major route” passed through Qumran running west of the Dead Sea remains to be proven.

¹¹ He proposes rather that the Essenes lived in humble caves or small huts along the cliff, but not at Qumran or ‘Ein Feshkha proper. For further critique of Hirschfeld, see Magness, *Archaeology of Qumran*, 96-100.

¹² For further rebuttal to recent, alternate theories, see Broshi, “Was Qumran, Indeed, a Monastery?,” 19-37; and Laperrousaz, “L’établissement de Qoumrân près de la Mer Morte: forteresse ou couvent?,” *ErIsr* 20 (1989): 118*-23*. Also note that Newsom nicely refutes Golb, who argues that the Scrolls were deposited by a diverse group of random individuals. She argues that if this were the case, one would expect a “random hodge-podge of a broad spectrum of Jewish literature,” rather than what she notes is an intentional sectarian collection, in “‘Sectually Explicit’ Literature,” 169.

¹³ Magness, *Archaeology of Qumran*, 44. For further discussion, examine James F. Strange and James Riley Strange, “The Archaeology of Everyday Life at Qumran,” in *Judaism in Late Antiquity. Part 5, Volume 1. The Judaism of Qumran: A Systematic Reading of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. A.J. Avery-Peck and J. Neusner; Leiden: Brill, 2001), 45-70.

¹⁴ For instance, after testing two “scroll jar” lids from L.80 and L.100 at Qumran (QUM 161 and 182, respectively) and a similar one from Cave 8 (QUM 154), all were found to be made locally, near Qumran, thus establishing “the relation between the khirbeh and Cave 8 not only by the scroll jars . . . but also through the jar lids

Further supported by petrographic analysis,¹⁵ they have found no difference between the chemical composition of pottery found at the *khirbeh* and that from Caves 1, 3, 7, 8, 11, 28, 29, and 39. Thus, they posit a clear connection between the site and the caves.¹⁶ Their analysis, however, does not prove that the pottery was *produced* at Qumran, but it does lend further support that it came from similar sources. Thus, new archaeological theories of Qumran do not completely overturn the consensus that the *Yaḥad* of the texts was related to the site of Qumran, although they do rightly challenge us to nuance our ideas about the nature of that relationship.

5.1.1.1 *The Chronology of Qumran and the Origins of S*

Of those challenging de Vaux's hypotheses, many have focused on his chronology of the site. They agree that his proposed 30-year occupation gap between Periods Ib and II should be shortened considerably or eliminated altogether.¹⁷ In this way, de Vaux's date for the sectarian settlement of the site (closer to the time of John Hyrcanus, 135-104 BCE¹⁸) is much too early. Broshi and Magness contest this dating by arguing that de Vaux made hasty conclusions about ambiguous numismatic evidence; they prefer to date the site sometime between 100-50 BCE.¹⁹ If the sectarians settled Qumran

with a local chemical composition," in Gunneweg and Balla, "Neutron Activation Analysis: Scroll Jars and Common Ware," in *Khirbet Qumrān et 'Ain Feshkha II: Études d'anthropologie, de physique et de chimie* (ed. J.-B. Humbert and J. Gunneweg; Fribourg: Academic Press, 2003), 3-53, esp. 13. Note also the discussion about the similarities between ceramic wares found in the caves and at Khirbet Qumran, in Callaway, *The History of the Qumran Community: An Investigation* (JSPSup 3; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1988), 29-51; and more recently Magness, *Archaeology of Qumran*, 43-44.

¹⁵ See Jacek Michniewicz and Mirosław Krzyśko, "The Provenance of Scroll Jars in the Light of Archaeometric Investigations," in *Khirbet Qumrān et 'Ain Feshkha II: Études d'anthropologie, de physique et de chimie* (ed. J.-B. Humbert and J. Gunneweg; Fribourg: Academic Press, 2003), 59-99.

¹⁶ Gunneweg and Balla, "Neutron Activation Analysis," 24.

¹⁷ There is evidence in the remains that a large fire took place at Qumran, and de Vaux hypothesized that the earthquake of 31 BCE and the fire were simultaneous, leading to a long period of abandonment. But most now do not find evidence for any such break between occupation periods. See Laperrousaz, "Problèmes d'histoire et d'archéologie Qoumrāniennes: à propos d'un souhait de précisions," *RevQ* 10 (1980): 269-91; Broshi, "The Archaeology of Qumran," 107-111; Magness, *Archaeology of Qumran*, 66-69; and Hirschfeld, *Qumran in Context*, 53-57.

¹⁸ De Vaux, *Archaeology and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 5.

¹⁹ Magness, *Archaeology of Qumran*, 65. According to personal communication, Magness prefers a date closer to 80 BCE. See also Broshi, "The Archaeology of Qumran," where he points out that de Vaux relied too much on the presence of a few early coins from the date of John Hyrcanus found at the site, even though these

later than was first supposed, then this new date would have important ramifications on our study of the S material because some of the earliest copies were penned earlier (as early as 125 BCE), including perhaps even 1QS (c. 100-75 BCE), which may itself have been contemporaneous with or even after the sectarian settlement at Qumran.²⁰ Besides being a “late” version, most agree that 1QS is a composite text, having undergone a substantial redactional history,²¹ yet from a practical standpoint, its dating makes it less likely that all S material was composed or could have undergone such a long period of historical development at Qumran. Much of it was probably penned even before the *Yahad* settlement of Qumran itself.²² It is more feasible to assume that early core of the S material was composed elsewhere, likely in Jerusalem, and was later brought to Qumran. I suggest that earlier copies of this core material remained elsewhere, undergoing their own semi-independent histories of redaction outside of Qumran.

5.1.1.2 *Qumran's Uniqueness within the Archaeological Record*

A thorough survey of the material remains at Qumran would far exceed the needs of this study, yet it is worthwhile to point out the certain archaeological features thought to be unique among contemporaneous Second Temple sites, characteristics which some have used as markers of other *Yahad* sites.

Humbert comments on Qumran's uniqueness, stating that “whereas the Jericho palaces resemble other palaces and ‘En Gedi features domestic baths and dwellings that were a part of any market town surrounding a synagogue, Qumran cannot be compared with other ‘Qumrans’.”²³ But in many ways Qumran does resemble other

were probably old coins still in circulation. See also the recent publication, Lönnqvist, *Qumran Silver Coin Hoards*; nevertheless, the lack of availability of all of the numismatic evidence still hinders these types of studies.

²⁰ Elgvin makes similar observations in “The *Yahad* is More than Qumran,” 275-76.

²¹ For instance, note Alexander, “The Redaction-History of Serekh Ha-Yahad”; H. Bardtke, “Literaturbericht über Qumran. VII Teil,” *TRu* 38 (1974); Bockmuehl, “Redaction and Ideology in the Rule of the Community”; Gagnon, “How Did the Rule of the Community Obtain its Final Shape?”; Metso, “The Redaction of the Community Rule”; and Murphy-O'Connor, “La genèse littéraire de la règle de la communauté,” *RB* 76 (1969).

²² See also 5.3.1.1, below.

²³ Humbert, “Some Remarks on the Archaeology of Qumran,” in *Qumran, the Site of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Archaeological Interpretations and Debates: Proceedings of a Conference held at Brown University, November 17-19, 2002* (ed. K.

Jewish settlements from the Hellenistic and Herodian periods, particularly in terms of its architecture—as one would expect.²⁴ Nevertheless, it exhibits certain anomalous features which stem from the sectarian nature of the site.²⁵ First, the presence of so many ritual baths (*miqva'ot*)—at least ten for a community of c. 150—is unusual, as is the related, extensive water system, a feature quite distinctive from other contemporary sites.²⁶ Katharina Galor is somewhat tempered in her assessment of how unique the *miqva'ot* are at Qumran but nonetheless concedes that the relative number is unusual.²⁷ Additionally, a number of extraordinary animal bone deposits were uncovered in pots or between pottery shards, ones which are without precise parallel elsewhere in this period, and these hint at ritual activity that took place there.²⁸

Galor, J.-B. Humbert, and J. Zangenberg; *STDJ* 57; Leiden: Brill, 2006), 19-39, esp. 19.

²⁴ For instance, Hirschfeld notes that Qumran's buildings share some features of other fortified agricultural residences from the Hasmonean and Herodian periods, in "Early Roman Manor Houses in Judea and the Site of Khirbet Qumran," 171-87.

²⁵ As Magness maintains (*Archaeology of Qumran*, 90-104). She points out that the near-complete absence of interior decoration at Qumran speaks most strongly against identifying it as a villa or manor house and that Qumran exhibits few features one would expect to find at a fortress. Joseph Patrich follows her in "Archaeology," in *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. L.H. Schiffman and J.C. VanderKam; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 57-63. Compare also Patrich, "Khirbet Qumran in Light of New Archaeological Explorations in the Qumran Caves," in *Methods of Investigation of the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Khirbet Qumran Site: Present Realities and Future Prospects* (ed. M.O. Wise, et al.; New York: Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences, 1995), 73-95, among others.

²⁶ First, Wood finds there to have been more than enough water stored at Qumran to support a community of 200 or more with their animals; therefore he concludes at least some of them must have served as *miqva'ot*, in "To Dip or Sprinkle? The Qumran Cisterns in Perspective," *BASOR* 256 (1984): 45-60. Magness claims that "the extensive water system is perhaps the most distinctive feature of Qumran," in *Archaeology of Qumran*, 99.

²⁷ According to her, "although we can clearly determine that the inhabitants of Qumran adhered to the rules of ritual purity as practiced by all Jewish sects at the time, we cannot determine their specific religious orientation or affiliation...The uniqueness of the pools at Qumran should not be overrated," in Galor, "Plastered Pools: A New Perspective," in *Khirbet Qumrân et 'Ain Feshkha II: Études d'anthropologie, de physique et de chimie* (ed. J.-B. Humbert and J. Gunneweg; Fribourg: Academic Press, 2003), 291-320, esp. 317.

²⁸ Initially, some felt that these were the remains of animal sacrifices because of the careful way in which they were deposited and because some showed signs of having been burned before being collected. Humbert is one who finds these to be sacrificial remains ("L'espace sacré à Qumrân," *RB* 101 [1994]: 161-214), but most, including de Vaux, are correct to note that there is no other evidence, including no remains of an altar, to support this conclusion. In agreement with the latter is Frederick E. Zeuner, "Notes on Qumrân," *PEQ* 92 (1960): 33-36.

Second, some have said that the architecture of Qumran is best suited for the needs of a communal society. An example would be the large hall, de Vaux's "refectory" (L.77), which may have been used for communal dining purposes²⁹; similarly, we find an elongated hall, the "scriptorium" (L.30), labeled as such for the ink wells and long benches found within it. Recently, its precise function as a "scriptorium" has been questioned,³⁰ but it nonetheless must have served some communal function.

Third, the ceramic assemblage from Qumran is not completely dissimilar from that of contemporary Jewish sites, but it does contain some unusual types. De Vaux and his team uncovered a large number of pottery samples from their initial excavations, which included many types of cooking pots and eating vessels, oil lamps and other ceramic items, all of which give us a sampling of the activities carried out at the site. Yet among these, de Vaux declared that parts of this ceramic assemblage were unique to Qumran,³¹ even though his claims are difficult to assess in any whole-scale manner given that he only published a representative sampling of each type.

Recent publications—and findings—have nuanced some of his bold claims. For example, one may highlight what de Vaux labeled the "Hellenistic" lamp, thought to be made exclusively at Qumran. These lamps were uncovered mainly in L.130-135 (his Period Ib) at Qumran and from the surrounding caves (P.W. Lapp's Type 84), and thus they were considered to be an important link between the

²⁹ De Vaux notes that a large room, "the pantry" (L.86), in which numerous cooking vessels were found, opened directly into the large hall (L.77), and therefore he concludes that the latter must have been a communal dining room, in *Archaeology and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 11-13, 26-27.

³⁰ R. Donceel and P. Donceel-Voûte, "The Archaeology of Khirbet Qumran," in *Methods of Investigation of the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Khirbet Qumran Site: Present Realities and Future Prospects* (ed. M.O. Wise, et al.; New York: New York Academy of Sciences, 1994), 1-38. They find the long mudbrick plastered tables to be instead wall benches, and Hirschfeld believes that these benches found within L.30 were part of a private dining room, or *triclinium*, used by the owner of the Qumran settlement, what he reckons to be a large private estate, in Hirschfeld, *Qumran in Context*, 93-96. R. Reich, however, has shown correctly that these "benches" are not wide enough for reclining, in "A Note on the Function of Room 3 (the 'Scriptorium') at Khirbet Qumran," *JJS* 46 (1995): 157-60.

³¹ For sample discussions of the pottery from each of the caves, examine de Vaux, "Le matériel archéologique: La poterie," in *Qumrân Grotte 4, II* (ed. R. de Vaux and J.T. Milik; DJD 6; Oxford: Clarendon, 1977), 15-20; "Archéologie," in *Les "Petites Grottes" de Qumrân* (ed. M. Baillet, et al.; DJD 3; Oxford: Clarendon, 1962), 3-41; and "La Poterie," in *Qumran Cave I* (ed. D. Barthélemy and J.T. Milik; DJD 1; Oxford: Clarendon, 1955), 8-13.

khirbeh and the caves.³² The Qumran lamps are of Hellenistic inspiration, but unlike their closest parallels (the “delphiniform lamps”), they are not mold-made nor slipped, nor do they have any decorations. The Qumran lamps are plain, usually made of grey clay, and are wheel-made. Gunneweg and Balla claim they are “unable to find stylistic parallels for the type of Hellenistic lamps under study among the oil lamps of the period. They have so far only been found in the *khirbeh* as well as in the caves.”³³ But Rachel Bar-Nathan recently asserts that similar lamps have been discovered at Jericho (Type J-LP3 A1-A2) and Masada,³⁴ thus rejecting the argument that this was a Qumran lamp type. Nonetheless, she fails to acknowledge their relative scarcity at both sites: only four small pieces were found at Jericho and just one ambiguous nozzle section was uncovered at Masada. They may represent simply a regional type, but still they are practically unknown outside of Qumran, leaving them as a Qumranic innovation or, more likely, a regional type with limited distribution.³⁵ At most, they add to the growing material evidence that there were close ties between the Qumran inhabitants and those at nearby Jericho and Masada.

Others have thought Qumran to be unusual for what it does not have, *viz.* that it conspicuously lacks imported and other vessels that common elsewhere. Analyzing Qumran’s ceramic assemblage as a whole, Magness notes that:

A number of types found at contemporary sites in Judea are rare or unattested at Qumran. Most conspicuous by their apparent absence

³² P.W. Lapp, *Palestinian Ceramic Chronology 200 B.C.-A.D. 70* (New Haven: American Schools of Oriental Research, 1961), 196. See also Magness’s discussion of this type in *Archaeology of Qumran*, 79; and “The Community at Qumran in Light of Its Pottery,” 41.

³³ Gunneweg and Balla, “Neutron Activation Analysis,” 23.

³⁴ Rachel Bar-Nathan, *The Hasmonean and Herodian Palaces at Jericho: Final Reports of the 1973-1987 Excavations. Vol. 3: The Pottery* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2002), 110-12, pl. 18, nos. 299-302, ill. 87-8; and “Qumran and the Hasmonean and Herodian Winter Palaces of Jericho: The Implications of the Pottery Finds on the Interpretation of the Settlement of Qumran,” in *Qumran, the Site of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Archaeological Interpretations and Debates: Proceedings of a Conference held at Brown University, November 17-19, 2002* (ed. K. Galor, J.-B. Humbert, and J. Zangenberg; STDJ 57; Leiden: Brill, 2006), 263-77, esp. 266. Compare also D. Barag and M. Hershkovitz, “Lamps from Masada,” in *Masada: The Yigael Yadin Excavations 1963-1964. Final Reports. Vol. 4* (ed. J. Aviram, G. Foerster, and E. Netzer; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1994), 7-78, esp. 71, no. 124, fig. 21.

³⁵ Contrast this type with the mold-made lamp from a Herodian context of the Upper City in Jerusalem, in Humbert and Chambon, *Fouilles de Khirbet Qumrân et de Aïn Feshkha I*, 164-65, 318-19.

from Qumran are imports. There are no published examples of Western Terra Sigillata, amphoras, or Roman mold-made oil lamps.³⁶

Bar-Nathan recognizes that imported ware is virtually non-existent at Qumran during the Hasmonean period, but she also points out that this scenario is similar to that in contemporaneous Jericho, where she uncovered relatively few imports. According to her, this absence is due to widespread, unwritten Sadducean laws and customs forbidding contact with “impure” vessels made by gentiles. But she curiously does not mention any *Yahad* purity concerns that may lie behind the shunning of foreign imports, for the Sadducean connection is not the most obvious.³⁷ Further, if the entire region lacked imports during this period, this situation changed during the Herodian period, when imported and other fine tableware increases dramatically at Jericho but does not do so at Qumran.³⁸ At the latter location, we also do not find any example of the local fine ware, the Jerusalem painted bowl with its flaring rims and string-cut bases, although many examples come from Jerusalem and elsewhere in Judea.

In general, it still holds true that the absence of fine ware types and imports at the *khirbeh* is noteworthy among other first-century sites in Judea. This lack at Qumran (and at ‘Ein Feshkha and ‘Ein el-Ghuweir, see below) does not mean they were unavailable, as examples have been found at nearby sites.³⁹ Neither does their absence seem to be due entirely to economic factors. Such imports could have

³⁶ Magness also notes that there were similar imports discovered in Herod’s palace at Masada. It is striking, then, that so few imports were discovered at Qumran, but we cannot rule out economic reasons for the distribution of what must have been fairly expensive ware. Although her examples are attested elsewhere in Palestine, they are usually associated with the upper strata of society (*Archaeology of Qumran*, 75-76). Note also her earlier analysis of the pottery types characteristic of and unique only to Qumran in “The Community at Qumran in Light of Its Pottery,” in *Methods of Investigation of the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Khirbet Qumran Site: Present Realities and Future Prospects* (ed. M.O. Wise, et al.; Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences 722; New York: The New York Academy of Sciences, 1994), 39-50.

³⁷ Bar-Nathan, “Qumran and the Hasmonean and Herodian Winter Palaces of Jericho,” 273.

³⁸ Bar-Nathan mentions that Eastern Terra Sigillata, “Nabataean” Terra Sigillata (Sigillata D), as well as other fine pottery from Israel, such as Pompeian red ware, thin-walled ware and Western Terra Sigillata were found at Jericho. She cites Y. Magen and Y. Peleg, who claim to have found just a few Eastern and Nabataean Terra Sigillata at Qumran, “Qumran and the Hasmonean and Herodian Winter Palaces of Jericho,” 274.

³⁹ Magness, “Pottery,” in *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. L.H. Schiffman and J.C. VanderKam; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 681-86, esp. 684.

been cost-prohibitive at Qumran, but the less-expensive, locally-made Eastern Sigillata A ware is also notably absent at Qumran.

Even if producing much of their own pottery, the Qumranites were not isolated nor uninfluenced by current trends. One type of bowl found only at Qumran and 'Ein Feshkha closely imitates the style of the Eastern Sigillata A bowls but without the red slip.⁴⁰ The Qumran potters, then, were not unaware of the ceramic trends of their day but rather preferred to manufacture their own imitations of this type out of purity concerns. Broshi notes that the presence of two kilns and a potter's workshop in such a small community probably means that they manufactured wares to ensure the purity of their vessels, resulting in a relative homogeneity ceramic corpus.⁴¹

5.1.2 *Scrolls and Jars: What Can They Tell Us?*

Although no Scroll fragments have been discovered at the *khirbeh*, it is accepted that some scribal activity took place there. In or near L.30, the "scriptorium," de Vaux and his team uncovered three inkwells (two ceramic and one bronze), which are otherwise quite rare in sites in contemporary Palestine (but cf. the inkwell from 'Ein Feshkha, below). Moreover, what has been characterized as the most paradigmatic to Qumran is the so-called "scroll jar." De Vaux first used the designation "scroll jar" for a number of related sub-types, all generally elongated, cylindrical vessels with a vertical neck, plain rim and often with a bowl-shaped lid.⁴² Eventually, two general types of jars came to be recognized as "scroll jars": the classic cylindrical jar (Fig. 5.1, no. 4) and the ovoid-shaped jar (no. 7), sometimes with looped handles:

⁴⁰ Gunneweg and Balla, "Neutron Activation Analysis," 32-33.

⁴¹ Broshi supports his argument by citing the 1000 or so examples of dinnerware, including plates, cups, bowls, table jars and storage jars, discovered in L.86 ("Was Qumran, Indeed, a Monastery?," 19-37). Observe Magness's comments as well, in "Pottery," 684.

⁴² De Vaux, "Archéologie," 13-14.

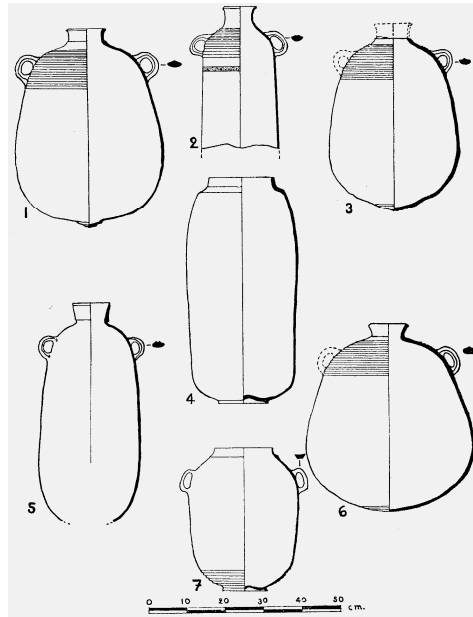


Figure 5.1 Ovoid “Scroll Jar” (7) and Cylindrical “Scroll Jar” (4) (de Vaux, “Fouille au Khirbet Qumrân: Rapport Préliminaire,” 97)

These jars were found both in the caves and at the site itself—not to mention that their clay was also of a similar chemical makeup (below)—thereby they link the Scrolls to the site. We can be certain that at least some of these jars were produced locally at Qumran, as recent excavations by Yitzhak Magen and Yuval Peleg at Qumran have uncovered “wasters” of these “scroll jars” in the eastern garbage dump that must have come from the kiln nearby.⁴³

These jars deviate significantly from the typical Judean storage jars of this period, which have a sack-shaped body, small neck and a rounded base.⁴⁴ According to Lapp, the classic Qumran cylindrical jars and ovoid jars are virtually unattested elsewhere. They are “common at Qumran and in the nearby caves, but are rare or unattested at other sites in the region.”⁴⁵ Therefore they have been

⁴³ Bar-Nathan, “Qumran and the Hasmonean and Herodian Winter Palaces of Jericho,” 275.

⁴⁴ These more typical storage Judean jars are also attested at Qumran. For examples, see figs. 20:1-3, 5-6 in Lapp, *Palestinian Ceramic Chronology 200 B.C.-A.D. 70* (New Haven: American Schools of Oriental Research, 1961), 144, 147, 149, 152.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, as cited in Magness, “Why Scroll Jars?,” in *Debating Qumran: Collected Essays on its Archaeology* (Leuven: Peeters, 2004), 151-68.

previously considered to be a distinct *Yahad* innovation, related to the scribal activity there.

But recently a very small number of these jars may have been found at nearby sites, such as Masada, Jericho, Qalandiya (not published) and possibly 'Ein Feshkha.⁴⁶ Bar-Nathan reports that both cylindrical and ovoid jars were uncovered from Herodian Jericho (Tulul Abu al-'Alayiq), although they were not pervasive, but it is unclear whether true cylindrical "scroll jar" types were found there. Most of them closely resemble the ovoid type, such as the complete jar with a bowl-shaped lid discovered at the entrance to one of the twin palaces of Jericho.⁴⁷ Nearly all of these types come from industrial contexts, including areas where liquids were stored.⁴⁸ Bar-Nathan also mentions that examples of her cylindrical-type jars 2a, 2b, and 2d were found at Zealot Masada,⁴⁹ and Magness asserts that one small cylindrical jar, similar to Bar-Nathan's Type 2d, and one ovoid jar have been discovered at 'Ein Feshkha.⁵⁰ But before analyzing this distribution, one should clarify exactly what the problematic label, "scroll jar," really encompassed.

5.1.2.1 *What Was the "Scroll Jar"?*

The distinctions between the cylindrical and ovoid jars are frequently blurred, and there has been confusion over what really constitutes a "scroll jar," particularly because Bar-Nathan claims some of said jars were uncovered at Jericho. It is helpful to revisit what jars fall under this category and whether they were linked to any scrolls.

⁴⁶ Bar-Nathan mentions there are a few examples of "scroll jars" found in "Zealot" contexts of Masada representing her Types 2a, b, and d, yet these are otherwise not illustrated or published. See "The Pottery of Jericho in the Hasmonean Period and the Time of Herod, and the Problem of the Transition from Hasmonean Pottery Types to Pottery Types of the Time of Herod" (M.A. thesis, Institute of Archaeology at the Hebrew University, 1988 [Hebrew]). She also makes only passing mention of one possible "scroll jar" (not illustrated) from Qalandiya, in "Qumran and the Hasmonean and Herodian Winter Palaces of Jericho," 275.

⁴⁷ Yet she also notes that the bowl-shaped lid was not particularly common at Jericho, in Bar-Nathan, "The Pottery of Jericho," 30.

⁴⁸ The original context of these jars may cast doubt on their function as "scroll jars"; see *ibid.*, 69.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 70.

⁵⁰ Magness notices that de Vaux at one point makes the statement about 'Ein Feshkha that "none of the cylindrical jars of Khirbet Qumran and the caves has been found here" (de Vaux, *Archaeology and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 64), but according to her looser definition, one small cylindrical jar with an everted rim and one ovoid jar were found at 'Ein Feshkha, in Magness, "Why Scroll Jars?," 156.

It is from the Bedouin that we have the report of scrolls coming from cave jars; but does this mean that all types, including the ovoid jars from industrial Jericho, stored scrolls as well? It seems less likely. Feasibly, at least some of these were designed to hold scrolls, due to their unique shape that makes them well-suited for housing or transporting scrolls, as has been well-noted.⁵¹ Yet given the number discovered around Qumran, and the industrial area in Jericho where other liquids were stored, one wonders if some or many of these jars stored liquids or other items.⁵² The taller, cylindrical—more “classic” jar—seems to have been intentionally made to store scrolls but not necessarily the ovoid jars, such as those from Jericho; this conclusion would follow Gunneweg and Balla’s observation that “ovoid jars are generally lacking in the caves. This means that the scrolls were buried in the cylindrical jars while the ovoid jars were used as store jars in the khirbeh.” If true, then the only real scroll jars would resemble the cylindrical type, and we are left with only a few jars from Masada that parallel those from Qumran.⁵³

5.1.2.2 *Are the Scroll Jars Markers of the Yahad?*

What is of most interest to the current study is whether one can use such jars to identify the presence of *Yahad*-related communities, as has been done previously. Magness, for one, correctly finds strong sectarian influences in this particular jar design, pointing out that there is more than just statistical significance in the distribution of these wide-mouthed, cylindrical and ovoid-shaped jars. They also are unique in that they better facilitated the strict purity regulations kept by the authors of the Scrolls. For her, these jars were originally designed to hold scrolls but later became the preferred storage containers for the group’s pure food and drink.⁵⁴ In contrast to the

⁵¹ See for instance, Bar-Nathan, “Qumran and the Hasmonean and Herodian Winter Palaces of Jericho,” 276-77. However, Bar-Nathan uses the two different types of scroll jars as chronological indicators. For her, the ovoid jar was the Hasmonean “scroll jar,” while the cylindrical jar was that of the Herodian period (cf. “The Pottery of Jericho”).

⁵² See Magness, “The Community at Qumran in Light of Its Pottery,” 41; and “Why Scroll Jars?,” 157-62.

⁵³ Gunneweg and Balla, “Neutron Activation Analysis,” 16. There is a close similarity between the jars from Masada and those from Qumran (Bar-Nathan, “Qumran and the Hasmonean and Herodian Winter Palaces of Jericho,” 275-76), which makes it quite possible that some of Qumran’s inhabitants or those who fled to Qumran with their precious Scrolls also sought refuge at neighboring Masada.

⁵⁴ Yadin, *Masada, Herod’s Fortress and the Zealot’s Last Stand* (New York: Random House, 1966), 168. However, note that Bar-Nathan argues exactly the opposite, namely that the “loose lids” would have made the jars unsuitable for

narrow, tall neck of the more typical Judean storage jar, the Qumran-type wide-mouth jars would have allowed its owners to scoop out its contents using a dipper or utensil, thereby avoiding the contamination that could come by pouring it onto an impure substance.⁵⁵ Their special bowl-shaped lids, protecting against moisture contamination, and distinctive-shaped bodies would have allowed the sectarians to easily identify the jars as special containers for the pure food and drink of the sect.⁵⁶ Given the “special halakhic meaning” Magness attributes to these jar types, she concludes:

The fact that at least some of the examples from Jericho were associated with bowl-shaped lids suggests a sectarian-like concern with purity. Thus the discovery of these jars at Jericho could attest to sectarian presence, or at least a group with similar purity concerns. Similarly, the appearance of cylindrical and ovoid jars in Zealot contexts at Masada might support Yadin’s suggestion that members of the Qumran community joined the rebels there after their own settlement fell to the Romans in 68 C.E.⁵⁷

But does the presence of such jars indeed indicate the presence of the *Yahad*? Hirschfeld argues against this, rejecting the idea that the “scroll jars” were sectarian or even particular to Qumran; it is only because of the fate of discovery that this jar has not yet been found elsewhere.⁵⁸ But here Hirschfeld makes an argument *ex silentio*, which is ironically just the type of argument he criticizes the followers of the sectarian theory of making: namely, that they maintain the Scrolls were once at Qumran even though none was found there.⁵⁹ It is true that the “scroll jars” may not have been entirely unique to Qumran, and we cannot conclude that *Yahad* members lived elsewhere based on the presence of “scroll jars” alone, as neighboring sites could have imitated the style for their own practical needs. But

storing food, in “Qumran and the Hasmonean and Herodian Winter Palaces of Jericho,” 277.

⁵⁵ Here we should cite the distinctive legal concerns at Qumran, similar to those of the Sadducees, where a stream of liquid poured onto an impure vessel or object could transfer that impurity up to the source vessel (4QMMT B 56-58); the Pharisees, however, were less strict in defining impurity. For they “declare clean an unbroken stream of liquid” (m. Yad. 4:7), finding no such transfer of impurity to take place.

⁵⁶ Magness, “Why Scroll Jars?,” 161-72, but contrast this with Bar-Nathan, who believes that the wide mouth was suitable for pouring (“Qumran and the Hasmonean and Herodian Winter Palaces of Jericho,” 277).

⁵⁷ Magness, “Why Scroll Jars?,” 162-63.

⁵⁸ For him, these jars hold no distinguishing sectarian characteristics, and they must have been used widely. Exemplars just have yet to be found in contemporaneous sites, such as Jerusalem (Hirschfeld, *Qumran in Context*, 147).

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 152.

they do appear to be well-suited and well-used by the *Yahad* members. Further, the jars from Qumran offer other clues about where they and their contents may have originated.

5.1.2.3 *INAA and the Origins of the “Scroll Jars”*

New INAA brings to light some interesting connections between the Qumran “scroll jars” and external sites. Two recent tests have been carried out on these jars and other ceramics by Joseph Yellin, Broshi and Hanan Eshel and by Gunneweg and Balla.⁶⁰ Gunneweg and Balla tested 221 samples of all types of vessels at Qumran and found that overall, 33% were of a local Qumran origin, and a large portion of the ceramic assemblage, including jars of the scroll type, matched the local chemical fingerprint of Jericho pottery, as well as that found near Hebron and in the Transjordan.⁶¹

Gunneweg and Balla identify a total of 41 of sampled vessels, including what they term as “scroll jars,” jugs, bowls, cups, stoppers and other storage jars as originating from Jericho (their chemical group III). The clay from one of the squatter jars that they call the “bulging cylindrical type scroll jar” (QUM 198) from Cave 1, one of two complete “scroll jars” on display at Israel Museum’s Shrine of the Book (Fig. 5.2), was actually shown to have come from Jericho (as was a similar jar from Cave 3 [QUM 256]).⁶² The other complete jar currently on display, the taller “classic” scroll jar, surprisingly is not from local Qumran clay either. Instead it closely resembles the Motsa Clay Formation, which the authors claim was taken near Beit ‘Ummar (Hebron) (Fig. 5.2).

⁶⁰ Yellin, Broshi, and Eshel, “Pottery of Qumran and Ein Ghuweir: The First Chemical Exploration of Provenience,” *BASOR* 321 (2001): 65-78. However, a few methodological concerns lurk behind this publication, such as the relatively small sample size taken (only 31 from Qumran) and the high standard deviation in the results. Compare also the results in Gunneweg and Balla, “Neutron Activation Analysis,” 5.

⁶¹ They compare this group to the provenance established by excavations at Herodian Jericho, in Yellin and Gunneweg, “The Flower Pots from Herod’s Garden at Jericho,” *IEJ* 39 (1989): 87-90.

⁶² Gunneweg and Balla, “Neutron Activation Analysis,” 18-19. Testing the cover of this jar, Yellin, Broshi and Eshel find that it originated in Jerusalem, in “Pottery of Qumran and Ein Ghuweir,” 69, table 1, no. 27.

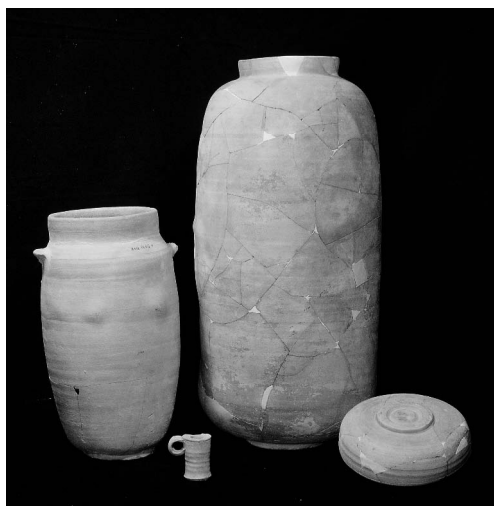


Photo Marianna Salzberger, Courtesy Israel Antiquities Authority

Figure 5.2 “Scroll Jars” from the Shrine of the Book, Israel Museum

The Motsa Clay stratum runs below Jerusalem as well, and the clay for this “scroll jar” could have been taken from nearly anywhere along the horizontal layer. Independent analyses of this jar’s cover by Yellin et al. also find it matches the Motsa Formation clay, but they assume it came from closer to Jerusalem. Either way, the clay was not taken from near Qumran, and it is worthwhile to note the conclusions of Yellin et al.:

The results of the chemical analysis show that some of the ceramics analyzed originated in Jerusalem, thus pointing to clear contact between Qumran and Jerusalem. As Qumran was not self-sufficient in agricultural products, perhaps such commodities as wine (Broshi 1984:32) and oil had to be imported. So perhaps it should come as no surprise to find pottery from Jerusalem in Qumran.⁶³

Certainly there must have been some sort of a Jerusalem-Qumran connection, but the data is somewhat surprising. Theoretically, these two independent tests could mean that just the clay was transported

⁶³ Yellin, Broshi, and Eshel, “Pottery of Qumran and Ein Ghuweir,” 75. For 15 of their samples, they find them to be of a Jerusalem origin, including all four cylindrical jars tested (KHQ 21, 22, 24, 25), and three lids (KHQ 23, 27, 28); although under close scrutiny, only KHQ 28 (and possibly 27 and 23) were truly for scrolls. The remaining portion of tested pieces also included pottery from the community center, the limestone caves, the marl plateau caves and the encampment, and all were shown to be of a similar composition, which they took to be local to Qumran.

to Qumran—what would have been a cost-prohibitive endeavor; more likely it was the jars and their contents that were transported from Jerusalem to Qumran. We are left to wonder when this classic Qumran “scroll jar” made its way from the outside to the Qumran caves and if it carried scrolls with it.

5.1.2.4 *Pots and Peoples: What Can the Ceramic Evidence Really Tell Us About the Yahad?*

About two “scroll jars” from Jericho (Group III), Gunneweg and Balla remark, “If the jars were used for storing scrolls, we have here two scroll jars that resemble the bulging cylindrical jar usually considered as the jar for storing the scrolls and thus a possibility that the scrolls, which were found with them, could have come from Jericho too.”⁶⁴ The idea of traveling scrolls is certainly attractive for the study at hand, but we should be skeptical of making any definite conclusions from INAA alone, keeping in mind its limitations.

First, all that INAA really tells is where the clay originates, not where the vessel itself was made, and secondly, the Qumranites could have utilized multiples sources of clay, one of which they shared with Jericho or Jerusalem potters. However, this is less likely given the distance and costs of transporting the clay, and further, according to Gunneweg and Balla, that “local Jericho potters made these vessels [Jericho ‘scroll jars’] is much more likely because of the uniformity and the workmanship of these wares.”⁶⁵ But even if the finished product, not just the clay, came from Jericho, we do not know if they were actually transporting scrolls at the time.

Nevertheless, the results are interesting and challenge the *prima facie* assumption that all of the jars and their contents originated within the Qumran community. At the least, we can be sure there were trade and other interactions between the *khirbeh* inhabitants, exchanges that easily included written material as well.

5.1.3 *Burial Customs*

Burial practices reflect a people’s religious and/or world views, and no less has been assumed for the graves at Qumran. The nearly 1200 individual, simple graves identified near the *khirbeh* reflect the convictions of those they housed and were for some time thought to be unique among early Roman Palestine. Because of their distinctive

⁶⁴ Gunneweg and Balla, “Neutron Activation Analysis,” 18.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

traits, these burials have been called *Yaḥad*, or “Essene,” burials, and some have used them as markers for related communities elsewhere.⁶⁶ Yet new findings have complicated any simple equation between these earth-dug shaft graves and *Yaḥad* members.

5.1.3.1 *Second Temple Burial Practices*

Information about Jewish burial practices during the Second Temple period comes mainly from tombs near Jerusalem, Jericho, and ‘Ein Gedi,⁶⁷ with the cemeteries unearthed near Jerusalem and Jericho being particularly similar.⁶⁸ The most common type of known burial for this period seems to have been the rock-hewn, family tomb rather than the individual grave. Of the family tombs, the most prevalent is the loculi (*kokhim*) tomb, consisting of a square entrance and square burial chamber, often large enough for a person to stand upright, with individual burial niches branching off from this central room. According to Rachel Hachlili, these tombs were designed primarily for the permanent interment of family members in coffins, rather than for secondary ossuary burials.⁶⁹ The rock tombs from Jerusalem

⁶⁶ For a few examples, see Boaz Zissu, “Field Graves at Beit Zafafa: Archaeological Evidence for the Essene Community,” in *New Studies on Jerusalem: Proceedings of the Second Conference* (Ramat Gan: Bar Ilan University, 1996) 32-40; and A. Baumgarten, “The Temple Scroll, Toilet Practices, and the Essenes.”

⁶⁷ For a thorough analysis, see Rachel Hachlili, *Jewish Funerary Customs, Practices, and Rites in the Second Temple Period* (Leiden: Brill, 2005). Concerning the Jerusalem necropolis, note A. Kloner and Zissu, *‘Ir ha-kevarim shel Yerushalayim bi-yeme ha-Bayit ha-Sheni* (Jerusalem: Yad Yitshak Ben-Tsevi: ha-Hebrah la-hakirat Erets-Yisrael ve-atikoteha, 2003) [Hebrew]; and also L.V. Rahmani, “Ancient Jerusalem’s Funerary Customs and Tombs,” *BA* 45 (1982): 43-53, 109-19; and “Ancient Jerusalem’s Funerary Customs and Tombs,” *BA* 44 (1981): 171-77, 229-35. For the excavation of the Jericho cemetery, note Hachlili and Ann E. Killebrew, “Jewish Funerary Customs during the Second Temple Period, in Light of the Excavations at the Jericho Necropolis,” *PEQ* 115 (1983): 109-39; and *Jericho—The Jewish Cemetery of the Second Temple Period* (Jerusalem: Israel Antiquities Authority, 1999). Kathleen M. Kenyon also illustrates graves from Jericho, in *Excavations at Jericho II* (London: British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem, 1965); and *Digging up Jericho* (London: Benn, 1957). On the ‘Ein Gedi cemeteries, reference Avigad, “Expedition A,” *Hadashot Arkheologiyot* 86 (1985): 30; and Hachlili, *Jewish Funerary Customs, Practices, and Rites*, 12-13.

⁶⁸ Hachlili, *Jewish Funerary Customs, Practices, and Rites*, 475.

⁶⁹ Hachlili, however, notes that there are two distinctly different types of loculi-type burials in the Jericho cemetery: primary burials in wooden coffins and secondary burials in individual ossuaries. By her calculation, the second type of burials were chronologically later than the primary burials in wooden coffins, which were replaced at some point during the early first century C.E. She observes that up until now no theory has accounted for the drastic change in burial customs and speculates

are highly decorated with a wide variety of funerary art, and nearly all of the “normative” burials from this period exhibit a wide variety of grave goods, from personal possessions to objects of daily use, such as ceramic vessels, spatulas, glass amphoriskos, and sandals.⁷⁰ At ‘Ein Gedi, for instance, graves of this period contained a large number of personal effects, such as cosmetic vessels and personal toilet items.⁷¹

Hachlili and Zdzislaw Kapera maintain that these types of rock-cut family tombs, followed by ossuary burials, were the two primary ways of burying the deceased in the Second Temple period.⁷² Nevertheless, they do not fully acknowledge that the owners of the known graves must have been from the upper economic stratum of society, a factor influencing the style and presence of grave goods that contrast those in the simple graves found at Qumran.

5.1.3.2 *Burial Customs at Qumran*

According to Hirschfeld, the most unique element of the Qumran cemetery is its very existence, since cemeteries of this type have not been discovered at most contemporaneous sites.⁷³ But the graves themselves are also rare among other contemporaneous burials. The vast necropolis at Qumran, housing between 1100 and 1200 graves, is carefully organized in rows of single graves, rather than in family arrangements. Located adjacent to the ruins, this cemetery contains primary, rather than secondary, burials of individuals, each one marked by a heap of stones on the surface.

These graves are unusually made up of one vertical shaft, dug seven to nine feet down into the earth, instead of the larger, rock-

on various reasons for the sudden appearance of ossilegium (“Ancient Jewish Burials,” 446-84).

⁷⁰ See, for instance, Rahmani, who describes the large amount of the deceased person’s goods found among the burials of Jerusalem, in “Ancient Jerusalem’s Funerary Customs and Tombs.”

⁷¹ Hachlili, *Jewish Funerary Customs, Practices, and Rites*, 467.

⁷² Hachlili, “Burial Practices at Qumran,” *RevQ* 62 (1993): 247-64, esp. 260-62. Note similar conclusions in Zdzislaw J. Kapera, “Some Remarks on the Qumran Cemetery,” in *Methods of Investigation of the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Khirbet Qumran Site: Present Realities and Future Prospects* (ed. M.O. Wise, et al.; Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences 722; New York: The New York Academy of Sciences, 1994), 97-113, esp. 106.

⁷³ He notes that no burial sites were found at all outside of his excavations of the Herodian building complexes at Ramat Hanadiv, in Hirschfeld, *Qumran in Context*, 153.

hewn tombs prevalent in contemporary Judea.⁷⁴ Each grave also contains a burial niche at the bottom, usually under the east wall of the shaft, and this niche is covered by mud bricks or flat stones (Fig. 5.3). The bodies in these cavities are almost always oriented in the north-south direction, with the individual lying supine. The feet generally face north, and the head lies towards the south, resting on a large stone “pillow.”

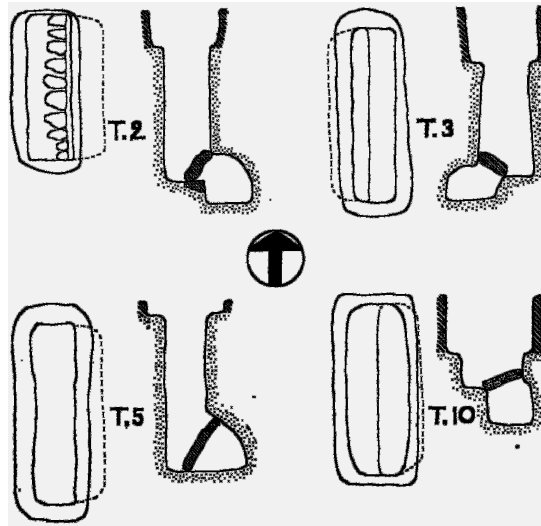


Figure 5.3 Drawings of Shaft Graves from Khirbet Qumran (de Vaux, “Fouille au Khirbet Qumrân: Rapport Préliminaire,” 97)

In contrast, the graves of Jerusalem are oriented in various directions, normally following the lay of the land. In general, Hachlili notes:

The Qumran cemetery was a central burial place for the community. The proximity of the cemeteries to the site at Qumran proves that they belong together. The graves in these cemeteries are very well organized, carefully dug, and thoughtfully arranged, and are evidently not family tombs. These differences in grave form and burial customs re-

⁷⁴ It is worthy of note that some shaft graves (not in caves) have been found in other areas of ancient Palestine, but they appear to have been found from the later Roman and Byzantine periods. See Z. Weiss, “Jewish Burial in the Galilee during the Rabbinic Period: An Architectural Analysis in Light of Talmudic Sources” (M.A. thesis, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1989). Eshel and Hiam el-Sagha note that the shaft graves from Qumran, ‘Ein el-Ghuweir, and Hiam el-Sagha are different from these later shaft graves, the latter contained two top covers and their burial cysts were dug parallel to the shaft of the grave (“Hiam El-Sagha, A Cemetery of the Qumran Type, Judean Desert,” *RB* 100 [1993]: 252-59, esp. 256, n. 11).

flect an out-of-the-ordinary distinctive community, that no doubt deliberately used different customs.⁷⁵

The Qumranites surely utilized grave types and burial practices that accorded with their ideology of death, for their unique customs cannot be explained by regional trends alone (see below, 5.1.3.4). More common Judean rituals are attested at nearby Jericho, ‘Ein Gedi, Naḥal David, and Naḥal Arugot.⁷⁶

5.1.3.3 “Yaḥad” Burials Elsewhere?

The important question for this study, then, is whether we can use these burial types as markers of other *Yaḥad* communities. Although it is tempting to do so based on burial practices alone, such actions would prove problematic without other verification. At most, these burials indicate the presence of those who held related views on death (and resurrection?) as the *Yaḥad* members at Qumran.

‘Ein el-Ghuweir

The inhabitants at ‘Ein el-Ghuweir are sometimes cited as a Qumran satellite community because they interred their dead in a similar manner.⁷⁷ Their cemetery, located approximately 800 meters north of the main building, was contemporaneous with that found outside of Qumran, dug roughly between 100 BCE and 100 CE. Here Pesah Bar-Adon excavated 18 of the 20 tombs, all of which exhibited a type very similar to that found at Qumran.⁷⁸ Individuals were found in shaft tombs in a supine position, oriented in a north-south direc-

⁷⁵ Hachlili, *Jewish Funerary Customs, Practices, and Rites*, 476.

⁷⁶ Eshel and Greenhut, “Hiam El-Sagha, A Cemetery of the Qumran Type, Judean Desert,” 256. For the report on the Jericho cemeteries, see Hachlili and Killebrew, *Jericho—The Jewish Cemetery of the Second Temple Period*; and Hachlili, *Jewish Funerary Customs, Practices, and Rites*. The reports on ‘Ein Gedi can be found in Avigad, “Expedition A.” But unlike those in Jerusalem or other Judean sites, the graves at Qumran contain almost no grave goods—individuals were buried with very few identifiable personal items. Only a few broken jars were discovered on the tops of a small number of graves at Qumran, a custom almost unknown elsewhere. Perhaps this custom is a version of that from Jericho’s main cemetery, where storage jars were sometimes placed outside of tombs (Hachlili, “Ancient Jewish Burials,” 4).

⁷⁷ Pesah Bar-Adon, “A Second ‘Qumran’ Settlement Discovered,” *Ariel* 26 (1970): 73-77; “Another Settlement of the Judean Desert Sect at ‘Ein el-Guweir on the Dead Sea,” *ErIsr* 10 (1971): 72-89; “Another Settlement of the Judean Desert Sect at ‘Ain el-Guweir on the Dead Sea,” *BASOR* 225 (1977): 2-25; cf. Puech, “The Necropolises of *Khirbet* Qumrân and ‘Ain el-Ghuweir and the Essene Belief in the Afterlife,” *BASOR* 312 (1998): 21-36, and below.

⁷⁸ Bar-Adon, “Another Settlement of the Judean Desert Sect at ‘Ain el-Guweir on the Dead Sea,” 12-17.

tion, with their heads facing south. One large stone or several small stones were placed under or near the head as a headrest.⁷⁹ These graves, unlike those at 'Ein Gedi and elsewhere, contained few to no grave goods, thus making them nearly identical to the burials found at Qumran. Both cemeteries exhibit a high degree of organizational homogeneity throughout, and the parallels in burial customs, when taken alongside the other material and architectural similarities with Qumran, open wide the possibility that the two communities were related. The excavator, Bar-Adon, concludes:

There is no doubt about the close social and religious affinity between the two settlements; one can assert that the inhabitants of 'En el-Ghuweir and Qumran belonged to the same Judean Desert sect. On the basis of the small dimensions of the cemetery at 'En el-Ghuweir, it seems to me that the center of this sect was at Qumran. 'En el-Ghuweir was a secondary settlement—perhaps one of a string of settlements spread out over the Judean Desert and along the shores of the Dead Sea, many of which have not yet been discovered.⁸⁰

At a minimum, we can conclude that these two communities were related given their strong parallels (see also 4.2.2).

Beit Zafafa

Some have identified Essenes also in a cemetery found outside of Jerusalem. Boaz Zissu has discovered nearly 50 shaft graves at Beit Zafafa, only four kilometers from Mount Zion in the Rephaim Valley.⁸¹ Nearly identical to that discovered at Qumran and 'Ein el-Ghuweir, the cemetery here contains all vertical shaft graves with a horizontal burial niche dug out at the bottom where the body was covered with stones. These graves are also quite homogeneous and for the most part lack grave goods found with those interred. According to Zissu, these burials are contemporaneous with Qumran, dating from the first century BCE to the first century CE and “have almost nothing in common with the elaborate family tombs typical of

⁷⁹ Bar-Adon also observes red or purple stains on many of the skeletons, which he attributes to the use of colored robes on the bodies, in “A Second ‘Qumran’ Settlement Discovered,” 76. Yet it would be unusual that no textile remains are extant if this were the case.

⁸⁰ Bar-Adon, “Another Settlement of the Judean Desert Sect at ‘Ain el-Guweir on the Dead Sea,” 20.

⁸¹ Zissu, “Odd Tomb Out: Has Jerusalem’s Essene Cemetery been Found?,” *BAR* 25 (1999): 50-55, 62; and “Field Graves at Beit Zafafa: Archaeological Evidence for the Essene Community.”

Jerusalem in this period.”⁸² He also points out that there is a Second Temple rock-hewn cistern at the edge of the cemetery and a *miqveh* less than 300 meters away, both features characteristic of Qumran. Based on these similarities, he affirms similar peoples lived here, saying that “if the inhabitants of Qumran were Essenes, then there must have been a contingent of Essenes living in Jerusalem.”⁸³

Nevertheless there are some differences, and we should be more skeptical of making any definite identification. Certainly, *miqva'ot* were not at all exclusive to *Yahad* members. Also, although not arranged haphazardly, only half of the graves at Beit Zafafa are of a north-south orientation; the rest lie east-west. And in contrast to the Qumran and 'Ein el-Ghuweir cemeteries, this burial ground does not contain heaps of stones marking the individual tombs. Nevertheless, Zissu brings up the likely possibility that these stones were reused later for nearby terrace walls and structures.⁸⁴

But were those interred at Beit Zafafa related to the *Yahad*? Following Zissu, Hachlili affirms that these are Essene burials but goes further to claim that this area was settled by Essenes who came from Qumran. She suggests that this was their temporary home when they left Qumran during the rule of King Herod following the earthquake of 31 BCE.⁸⁵ Others also believe that *Yahad* members settled in Jerusalem during the time when Qumran was said to be uninhabited,⁸⁶ but as mentioned previously, it is important to ask whether

⁸² Zissu notes that out of the 41 excavated tombs, only a few potsherds, a bronze ring, two earrings, 39 beads and a Herodian lamp have been discovered, in “Odd Tomb Out,” 52.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 62. See also his conclusions in “Field Graves at Beit Zafafa: Archaeological Evidence for the Essene Community.”

⁸⁴ Zissu, “Odd Tomb Out,” 54.

⁸⁵ Hachlili, *Jewish Funerary Customs, Practices, and Rites*, 13.

⁸⁶ Rainer Reisner raises the possibility that the Essenes left Qumran for Jerusalem during the 30-year period de Vaux claims Qumran was uninhabited. Reisner concludes that Jerusalem must have been their destination because Josephus mentions an Essene Gate in Jerusalem and because, with Herod in power, the political climate would have been in their favor, again based on Josephus's depiction of Herod holding the Essenes in high regard (*Ant.* 10.371-9). However, Reisner ventures into even less-substantiated conclusions when he states that Qumran was smaller when it was resettled, thereby indicating that some stayed in the Jerusalem Essene quarter, in “Jesus, the Primitive Community, and the Essene Quarter of Jerusalem,” in *Jesus and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. J.H. Charlesworth; New York: Doubleday, 1992), 198-234. Similar conclusions can be found in Bargil Pixner, “Das Essenerquartier in Jerusalem und dessen Einfluss auf die Urkirche,” *HL* 113 (1981): 3-14; and “The History of the ‘Essene Gate’ Area,” *ZDPV* 105 (1984): 96-104.

Qumran was ever even abandoned at all.⁸⁷ Puech also accepts the Essene attribution to the graves, suggesting that they, in addition to a few other graves uncovered inside Jerusalem, were related to this long-standing Essene quarter thought to have existed in the southwestern part of Jerusalem.⁸⁸ But generally speaking, there is no need to assume that they could not have already been established in the area before (or even after) the earthquake took place (see 4.2.4, below).

A few summary statements can be drawn about the cemeteries located adjacent to Qumran, 'Ein el-Ghuweir, and Beit Zafafa⁸⁹:

(1) These burial grounds are marked by the consistent use of vertical shaft tombs, dug into the earth, which were usually identified by a pile of stones on the surface (but contrast Beit Zafafa). These tombs markedly contrast the layout and orientation of known rock-hewn, loculi tombs uncovered at Jerusalem, Jericho and 'Ein Gedi.

(2) The shaft tombs are almost exclusively single burials, rather than the family tombs common elsewhere. This burial custom highlights the importance of the individual at Qumran, which was part of a consistent ideology that broke from the common family orientation.⁹⁰

(3) The shaft tombs contain very few grave goods, in contrast to other graves uncovered in Jerusalem and Jericho, which contain many items such as vessels, jewelry and other grave goods. However, the grave goods uncovered elsewhere likely had something to

⁸⁷ Most recently, Magness claims that there is no doubt the sectarians continuously inhabited Qumran without a break, in *Archaeology of Qumran*, 63-69.

⁸⁸ A. Kloner and Y. Gat excavated two of these shaft graves in the Talpiyot area, south of Abu-Tor, and conclude that these tombs could be related in some way to the Essenes ("Burial Caves in the Region of East Talpiyot," *Atiqot* 8 [1982]: 74-76); and see also Kloner and Zissu, *'Ir ha-kevarim shel Yerushalayim bi-yeme ha-Bayit ha-Sheni*. However, one of these graves is not oriented in the usual north-south direction, weakening their connection to Qumran's graves. Yet Puech still maintains it is an Essene burial based on all of its other similarities with Qumran burials—and its uniqueness among contemporary Jerusalem graves. See Puech, "The Necropolises of *Khirbet* Qumrân and 'Ain el-Ghuweir," 28.

⁸⁹ No tomb as of yet has been discovered at 'Ein Feshkha. Puech proposes that perhaps the secondary south cemetery at Qumran was connected with this site ("The Necropolises of *Khirbet* Qumrân and 'Ain el-Ghuweir," 27). Given the relative size and location of the Qumran cemetery, those from 'Ein Feshkha were likely buried there.

⁹⁰ Hachlili points out that "the individual burial should be stressed, it proves that the community did not follow the old Jewish tradition of burying the dead with their ancestors which seems to indicate that the residents of Qumran were not families. Thus the importance of the individual rather than the family is indicated by the burial customs at Qumran," in "Burial Practices at Qumran," *RevQ* 62 (1993): 247-64, esp. 263.

do with the inhabitants' social location rather than strictly their religious beliefs.

(4) These shaft tombs include no commemorative inscriptions or decorations. Many of the Jerusalem tombs, at least of the ossuary type, contain the name of the deceased or other ornamental decorations. The monumental tombs from Jerusalem are highly decorated both inside and outside and clearly differ from that of the shaft-grave type; however, again, this difference may have more to do with the status of the deceased in the tombs uncovered in Jerusalem than anything else.⁹¹

(5) The shaft graves were used for primary interments, rather than secondary burials common elsewhere. Except for one empty ossuary found at Beit Zafafa, no other evidence of secondary (ossuary) burials is evident within the Qumran-type interments.⁹²

(6) Unlike at nearby Jericho and 'Ein Gedi, nearly all of the graves at Qumran and 'Ein el-Ghuweir are oriented north-south, yet only half of the Beit Zafafa cemetery follows this orientation; the rest lie uniformly in an east-west direction.

In sum, the cemeteries at Qumran, 'Ein el-Ghuweir, and Beit Zafafa indicate that each person was buried in similar individual graves, lacking distinctive markers for class, such as are found in the monumental family tombs of the Kidron Valley. The shaft tombs found at 'Ein el-Ghuweir and Beit Zafafa are nearly identical in shape and size, and they share few of the features known to have been characteristic of contemporary burials around Jerusalem, Jerusalem, and 'Ein Gedi. Therefore, it is promising—but not proven—that these cemeteries contained *Yahad*-related burials, with the graves at 'Ein el-Ghuweir being the most likely candidates due to their geographical proximity and uniform north-west orientation.

Ḥiam el-Sagha

Hanan Eshel and Zvi Greenhut claim to have found additional Essene burials near the Dead Sea at Ḥiam el-Sagha, located ap-

⁹¹ Zissu notes that the poorest inhabitants of Jerusalem were buried in shallow field graves, which, although unadorned, still are different in size and practice from the graves found of the shaft-type, in "Odd Tomb Out," 55.

⁹² These burials contrast those from Jerusalem and Jericho, where some individuals were laid in family tombs for approximately a year before their bones were transferred to an ossuary. Nevertheless, Hachlili believes that the use of the ossuary was a later first-century phenomenon ("Burial Practices at Qumran," 261-62). Zissu does not delimit the use of ossuaries to any particular chronological period. Therefore he does not conclude that the lack of these burials at Qumran could be due to the fact they were only introduced in Palestine towards the end of Qumran's settlement ("Odd Tomb Out," 54-55, 62), even though that is a feasible explanation.

proximately 15 kilometers from Qumran, just south of 'Ein el-Ghuweir and north of Wadi Murabba'at.⁹³ This site contains 20 different burials, nearly all of which are oriented in a general north-south direction.⁹⁴ These tombs are almost identical to those found at Khirbet Qumran and related cemeteries, and as at these cemeteries, practically no grave goods have been found with the dead. These deep pit graves are of the shaft type, marked by a pile of stones in an oval pattern. A large stone is located underneath the head of the adult, similar to the "stone pillows" found at Qumran, and the graves also contain a large stone placed above the deceased.⁹⁵

Because these burials are nearly identical to those at Qumran, Eshel and Greenhut claim that most likely a group of Essenes lived near Hiam el-Sagha during the late Second Temple period.⁹⁶ However, this proposal is stalled by the fact that no central, communal architecture has been found close to the cemetery, such as those buildings at Qumran and 'Ein el-Ghuweir, unless one accepts their feeble resolution that a building of this type has not yet been discovered.⁹⁷ It is worth noting the similarities of these graves to *Yahad* burials at Qumran; yet, without other material or written evidence, we cannot conclude that these graves belonged to *Yahad* members.⁹⁸

⁹³ See Eshel and Greenhut, "Hiam El-Sagha, A Cemetery of the Qumran Type, Judaean Desert"; and also the report by Dan Reshef and Patricia Smith, "Two Skeletal Remains from Hiam el-Sagha," *RB* 100 (1993): 260-69. However, this cemetery was originally discovered by Bar-Adon, who already had proposed that it was related to the Essene sect based on the layout of the graves ("Excavations in the Judean Desert," *Atiqot* 9 [1989]: 15-17 [Hebrew]).

⁹⁴ The only exception is grave 13 lying east-west, which may have been a later Arab burial, in Eshel and Greenhut, "Hiam El-Sagha, A Cemetery of the Qumran Type, Judaean Desert," 254, n. 2.

⁹⁵ Reshef and Smith point out that of the two graves excavated, "the two individuals were buried in the same typical Essene orientation with legs to the north, head to the south. In both the face was directed eastward and the upper part of the body was turned right while the left hand was situated above the other" ("Two Skeletal Remains from Hiam el-Sagha," 267).

⁹⁶ They try to support their idea that a community lived near this cemetery by citing later evidence that people lived at least temporarily in the caves in Wadi Murabba'at during the winter season. Eshel and Greenhut, "Hiam El-Sagha, A Cemetery of the Qumran Type, Judaean Desert," 258-59.

⁹⁷ Eshel and Greenhut highlight the fact that a large oval tumulus found 120 meters from the cemetery and its related stone groupings may have been this building, but this interpretation remains uncertain ("Hiam El-Sagha, A Cemetery of the Qumran Type, Judaean Desert," 258, n. 16).

⁹⁸ Hachlili notes that the graves found at Hiam el-Sagha and around Jerusalem show "no real proof" that they are Essene or even Jewish graves. She insists that the most we can conclude about them is that they are from a group with similar burial customs to those at Qumran and 'Ein el-Ghuweir, in *Jewish Funerary Customs, Practices, and Rites*, 22.

Khirbet Qazone

Finally, locating a uniquely “*Yahad*-type” burial is further complicated by some recent findings at Khirbet Qazone in Jordan. The excavator, Konstantinos Politis, has studied some of the nearly 3,500 tombs dug here during the first and second centuries CE, and he has found a large number of shaft tombs similar to those found at Qumran.⁹⁹ The graves are comprised of five to seven foot shafts, containing a burial niche at the bottom covered by stones. Compared to Qumran’s graves, relatively more grave goods were discovered here, such as a laurel wreath, iron bracelets, earrings, beads, a scarab, a wooden staff, and sandals. And the layout of the graves is quite disorderly compared to the carefully arranged Qumran cemetery.

Politis maintains that the site is Nabatean, based on the site’s general location and because of some simple geometric designs inscribed on funerary stelae, known to represent the Nabatean deity, Dushara. Except for some shards in the fill of the grave shafts, few strictly Nabatean remains have been discovered. In light of the scarce material evidence, some have questioned the uniquely Nabatean nature of the community¹⁰⁰; nevertheless, even though Politis’s argument does make it likely that Nabateans were at least a prominent population group here. Yet the population appears to have been ethnically diverse.

The Shaft Grave

Following Politis, J. Zangenberg finds Khirbet Qazone’s cemetery to reflect Nabatean burials, rejecting any connection between the shaft grave and the Essenes, and he asserts that they are of no particular religious group.¹⁰¹ Both Politis and Zangenberg raise some valid observations. The similarities between the Qumran and Qazone cemeteries are undeniable, and it would be very difficult to maintain that both cemeteries were either Nabatean or both related to the *Yahad*. The discovery of comparable shaft-type burials at Qazone, as well as possibly at two other nearby sites, leads me to reject the idea

⁹⁹ Konstantinos Politis, “The Nabatean Cemetery at Khirbat Qazone,” *NEA* 62 (1999): 128; and “Khirbat Qazone,” *AJA* 102 (1999): 596-97.

¹⁰⁰ H. Granger-Taylor proposes that the population of Khirbet Qazone was made up of different ethnic groups, although the majority may have been Nabatean (“The Textiles from Khirbat Qazone [Jordan],” in *Archéologie des textiles des origines au V^e siècle* [Montagnoc, 2000]). Hershel Shanks insists on the Essene connection, in “Who Lies Here? Jordan Tombs Match Those at Qumran,” *BAR* 25 (1999): 48-53, 76.

¹⁰¹ J. Zangenberg, “The ‘Final Farewell’. A Necessary Paradigm Shift in the Interpretation of the Qumran Cemetery,” *QC* 8 (1999): 213-17.

that this type of shaft grave exclusively marks the presence of a *Yahad* community.¹⁰²

Nevertheless, first, certainly the burial rituals at Qumran did not develop in a cultural vacuum, and overall, we cannot deny that this individual, shaft grave appears only in patterned clusters and not randomly. This burial type was not employed at neighboring 'Ein Gedi, for instance, even though many types of graves are found there. When it was used, it was used uniformly and intentionally, as we see in the homogenous cemetery for the *Yahad* at Qumran. Second, what is frequently not emphasized is the relatively late date of the Qazone cemetery, namely 100-200 CE, which means that it was founded later than that of the last *Yahad* grave dug at Qumran. It is not impossible that these grave types were later adopted through regional influences from across the Dead Sea, especially since some of the population must have been dispersed from Qumran following the Roman destruction.¹⁰³ Certainly, we can say that there were intercultural affinities in the region of the Dead Sea, where cultural exchanges took place.

Joan Taylor and Magness are probably correct to suggest that the sectarians intentionally adopted shaft-type graves that were already the burial customs for the poorer segments of society.¹⁰⁴ As suggested above, the simple shaft grave type easily could reflect a lower economic stratum, and as Taylor and Magness recall, the *Yahad* identified with this group, calling themselves the "poor" (אביון), or the "congregation of the poor" (עדת אביון).¹⁰⁵ However, if it was

¹⁰² Politis acknowledges that grave robbers have opened what also may be "Qumran-type" shaft graves from 'Ein Sekine, near Khirbet Qazone, and farther south at Feifa, in "The Discovery and Excavation of the Khirbet Qazone Cemetery and its Significance Relative to Qumran," in *Qumran, the Site of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Archaeological Interpretations and Debates: Proceedings of a Conference held at Brown University, November 17-19, 2002* (ed. K. Galor, J.-B. Humbert, and J. Zangenberg; STDJ 57; Leiden: Brill, 2006), 213-19, esp. 219.

¹⁰³ Although Qazone does not appear to have been an Essene settlement, it is possible that some Essenes may have fled to this general area after the Roman destruction of 68 CE. It is curious to note that Epiphanius, writing in the fourth century, records the tradition that the Ossaeans, a Jewish sect, were located in the Transjordan area, which is perhaps based on a kernel of historical truth.

¹⁰⁴ Magness, "Women at Qumran," in *What Athens has to Do with Jerusalem. Essays on Classical, Jewish and Early Christian Art and Archaeology in Honor of Gideon Foerster* (ed. L.V. Rutgers; Leuven: Peeters, 2002), 89-123; and Taylor, "The Cemeteries of Khirbet Qumran and Women's Presence at the Site," *DSD* 6 (1999): 285-323.

¹⁰⁵ For instance, 4Q434 1 i, 1 uses this terminology. L.E. Keck ("The Poor Among the Saints in Jewish Christianity and Qumran," *ZNW* 57 [1966]: 54-78, esp. 68) points out that the phrase "the congregation of the poor" (עדת האביונים) is used in both some *hodayot* and 4QpeshersPsalms^a (1-2 ii, 8-10 and 1-2 iii, 10). In the

only limited to the poorer classes, who utilized this burial, it still would not explain the unique orientation of the graves, the unusual positioning of the deceased and the absence of funerary objects, even of the poorest quality. But regardless of these burials' origins, they were adopted whole-scale by the sectarians and adapted as their own.

5.1.3.4 *Conclusions about Burial Customs*

In her thorough book on Second Temple burial practices, Hachlili analyzes the funerary customs of Qumran. According to her, the unique finds of its cemetery:

... reinforce the thesis that the Qumran community was a specific religious group, a separate Jewish sect, who fashioned their own divergent practices as well as some typical Jewish customs . . . The separate and isolated cemetery and the burial practices (also at 'En el-Ghuweir and Beth Zafafa), which deviate from the regular Jewish tradition, show a distinctive attitude to death and burial customs.¹⁰⁶

She stresses that the sectarians no longer followed the old Jewish tradition of burying the dead with their ancestors; instead they must have regarded the individual more highly than family relations. Puech similarly equates Essene grave types with their belief in the afterlife. For him, the homogeneity of the burials at Qumran and related cemeteries is striking and could only mean that the related communities observed a "peculiar rule." Following similar regulations, they rejected the "defiled city" of Jerusalem (reflected in their rejection of the usual east-west tomb orientation towards the city), and they looked towards paradise, which was in the north according to their theology (as seen in the north-west direction of their tombs). Finally, the care with which they buried their bodies and protected them in niches clearly indicates the Essenes had a strong belief in the resurrection of the body. From these practices, Puech maintains, perhaps a bit too conclusively, that "archaeology and texts show that Essene burials existed undoubtedly, at least at Qumrân, 'Ein el-Ghuweir, Jericho, and Jerusalem."¹⁰⁷

pesher on the Psalms, "the congregation of the poor" are those "who will tolerate the period of affliction and will be delivered from all the snares of Belial." In this case it most certainly refers to those at Qumran. For some discussion on this, see David Rolph Seely, "The *Barki Nafshi* Texts (4Q434-439)," in *Current Research and Technological Developments on the Dead Sea Scrolls: Conference on the Texts from the Judean Desert, Jerusalem, 30 April 1995* (ed. D.W. Parry and S.D. Ricks; STDJ 20; Leiden: Brill, 1996), 194-214.

¹⁰⁶ Hachlili, *Jewish Funerary Customs, Practices, and Rites*, 478-79.

¹⁰⁷ Puech, "The Necropolises of *Khirbet Qumrân* and 'Ain el-Ghuweir," 28-29, esp. 29.

But again, we must be wary of circular reasoning when identifying *Yahad* burials elsewhere based on our assumption that only the sectarians utilized this method of interring the dead. Qumran's cemetery can be confidently connected with the religious beliefs of the *Yahad*, as we know them from their written remains, but it is reckless to equate every such burial with a *Yahad* community.¹⁰⁸ What we can note is the strong degree of homogeneity between the contemporaneous graves at Qumran and those found at 'Ein el-Ghuweir, Hiam el-Sagha, Beit Zafafa, and a few neighbors in Jericho and how these relatively uniform graves contrast starkly with the family tombs of Jericho or the mixed cemetery at near-by 'Ein Gedi.¹⁰⁹ Their shared characteristics reflect a common ideology concerning death and burial, and, taken with other evidence, strengthen the idea that we are potentially dealing with sectarian graves. But they alone cannot affirm this conclusion.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁸ Jonathan Norton concludes, "Given the discovery of 'Qumran-style' shaft graves at Qumran, 'Ain el-Ghuweir, Beit Safafa and Qazone we must question the notion both that shaft-graves were anomalous in Second Temple Judaism and that 'Qumran-style' shaft grave [*sic.*] is a phenomenon exclusive to Essenes," in Norton, "Reassessment of Controversial Studies on the Cemetery," in *Khirbet Qumrân et 'Ain Feshkha II: Études d'anthropologie, de physique et de chimie* (ed. J.-B. Humbert and J. Gunneweg; Fribourg: Academic Press, 2003), 107-27, esp. 124.

¹⁰⁹ Here, for instance, Hachlili notes that there are at least four different types of tombs of roughly the same period (1st century BCE to 1st century CE), and their differences cannot be attributed to chronological development, in *Jewish Funerary Customs, Practices, and Rites*, 465-66. Cf. Hachlili and Killebrew, "Jewish Funerary Customs During the Second Temple Period, in the Light of the Excavations at the Jericho Necropolis," *PEQ* 115 (1983): 109-39, esp. 110. The shaft grave may be, as Politis asserts, more a "feature of multicultural society" prevalent in at least certain areas of the Dead Sea in the Roman Period, in "The Discovery and Excavation of the Khirbet Qazone Cemetery," 219.

¹¹⁰ Zias suggests that there are four shared criteria for identifying an Essene cemetery: (1) the orientation of the burials, (2) the architectural style of the graves, (3) the relative lack of personal grave goods, and (4) the diverse demographic makeup of those buried, in "The Cemeteries of Qumran and Celibacy: Confusion Laid to Rest?," *DSD* 7 (2000): 220-53, esp. 243-44.

5.2 SATELLITE SETTLEMENTS OF THE *YAHAD*?¹¹¹5.2.1 *‘Ein Feshkha*

Some scholars have already identified other sites as being related to the Qumran community, the closest of which is ‘Ein Feshkha (Hebrew, ‘Einot Zukim). This site lies only three kilometers south of Qumran near some brackish springs on the shore of the Dead Sea. After excavating Qumran, de Vaux conducted two separate excavations here in 1956 and 1958 and quickly concluded that it was settled at the same time as the sectarian community at Qumran. Based on ceramic and numismatic evidence, de Vaux optimistically determined that the first two phases of occupation at ‘Ein Feshkha (Periods I and II) were equivalent to his Period Ib and Period II at Qumran, with both sites exhibiting a break in occupation after the earthquake of 31 BCE. Further, ‘Ein Feshkha was also destroyed by the Romans at the time of the First Jewish Revolt.¹¹² Recent assessments have nuanced our understanding of ‘Ein Feshkha’s chronology; it was more likely settled somewhat later than de Vaux’s Period I at Qumran and had only one phase of occupation, beginning in the reign of King Herod until it was destroyed c. 68 CE.¹¹³

5.2.1.1 *Architecture*

Based on architectural and other parallels, de Vaux and his followers determined that ‘Ein Feshkha housed Essenes and was a satellite site

¹¹¹ Other proposals have been made in the past, but they are unsubstantiated and will be left untreated here. For one, we cannot be sure about an Essene community living on Mt. Carmel, as Goranson proposes. Offering mostly circumstantial evidence, he concludes that the spiritual ancestry of the Carmelites (if not also their organizational history) is indeed ancient (Essene?). Of the various points he makes is one about Judas the Essene mentioned in Josephus: when Josephus reports that Judas speaks about “Straton’s Tower,” he was not referring to that found in Jerusalem, as is often supposed, but is rather thinking of Caesarea, formerly called Straton’s Tower, a city close to Mt. Carmel. He goes further to speculate that there was a tradition of altars on Mt. Carmel dating back to Zadok’s time, established by David. Because Zadok also appears in the Scrolls, the Essenes may have venerated this site, although there is not nearly enough evidence to make such an assumption. See “On the Hypothesis that Essenes Lived on Mt. Carmel,” *RevQ* 9 (1977-78): 563-67.

¹¹² De Vaux, “Fouilles de Feshkha: rapport préliminaire,” *RB* 66 (1959): 225-55, esp. 246-55.

¹¹³ Broshi, “The Archaeology of Qumran,” 111-12; Hirschfeld, “Excavations at ‘En Feshkha, 2001: Final Report,” *IEJ* 54 (2004): 37-74, esp. 39-42. Magness observes that no building seems to have been affected by the earthquake of the same year (*Archaeology of Qumran*, 217-19).

of the Qumran community.¹¹⁴ Its communal-type architecture suggests to some that it imitates Qumran. The complex at 'Ein Feshkha consists of a large, central building, a sizable enclosure with an adjacent porch or shed, and an industrial area to the north of the main building. The main building is a large rectangle, measuring 24 by 18 meters and consisting of a central, open courtyard surrounded by rooms on all sides. Humbert sees this building as a definite link to Qumran in that it measures half of the size of the square residences there, with both buildings being of the same proportionate ratio.¹¹⁵ A second story of rooms lay above those on the western side, and de Vaux comments that "clearly it is not a private dwelling, and is more suitable for the requirements of a community."¹¹⁶ It most likely did function as a type of communal building at 'Ein Feshkha, but it is not clear in what way.¹¹⁷

North of the main building lies what de Vaux identified as an industrial area, complete with a system of water channels and basins. The exact purpose of these basins is contested; no less than six proposals have been given as to their function.¹¹⁸ This debate does

¹¹⁴ This close connection to Qumran was first maintained by de Vaux in a preliminary report ("Fouilles de Feshkha: rapport préliminaire") and also in his field notes and photographs published in Humbert and Chambon, *Fouilles de Khirbet Qumran et de Aïn Feshkha 1*. Note that Cross also made this argument, in *The Ancient Library of Qumran*, 57. Cf. Laperrousaz (*Qoumrân, l'établissement essénien des bords de la Mer Morte, histoire et archéologie du site* [Paris: 1976], 91-92); and the discussion of these sites in Magness (*Archaeology of Qumran*, 210-55).

¹¹⁵ Humbert, "Remarks on the Archaeology of Qumran," 26.

¹¹⁶ De Vaux, *Archaeology and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 62. De Vaux suggests that many of the lower level rooms were storerooms because, for example, L.21, L.36, L.22 were all connected, and L.7 and L.10 were paved and only separated by thin walls. He (cf. Magness) proposes that adjacent rooms, such as L.3, L.5 and L.11B were possibly residential quarters or offices. Compare Magness, *Archaeology of Qumran*, 210-11; and Humbert and Chambon, *Fouilles de Khirbet Qumran et de Aïn Feshkha 1*. However, it is difficult to see how one could call L.3 a residential room, as it too was paved, contained much pottery, and even included a terracotta inkwell; it seems best to identify this room as a communal work area.

¹¹⁷ Hirschfeld, for one, rejects its communal function, finding the entire building to be a large private residence, or another *villa rustica* smaller than, but related to, Qumran. He offers only the general statement that "the architectural remains and the small finds from the structure attest that this was a residential building in which people lived, ate and stored their belongings," in "Excavations at 'En Feshkha, 2001," 44-55, esp. 49.

¹¹⁸ De Vaux notes that these basins probably were not cisterns, given their shallow depth, nor could they have been baths, as they lacked any steps. He suggests that these industrial installations were tanning basins, even though no deposits of tannin have been found. He explains that the inhabitants must have produced parchment here, such as for scrolls, rather than leather, which requires tannin ("Fouilles de Feshkha," 233-37). Magness contests de Vaux's interpretation that the

not have a clear bearing on the theory offered here. Clearly these installations were used to produce something for which water was necessary. The large enclosure found to the southwest of the main building contained a porch or shed which opened towards the south. Rooms or enclosed areas adjacent to the porch may have provided shelter for animals living there or alternatively may have been, as de Vaux advances, a place for drying dates, a product most easily grown by the brackish springs.¹¹⁹

What is more interesting for the present study is the long wall, partially preserved that links the two sites (Fig. 5.4). Hirschfeld, although convinced that neither Qumran nor 'Ein Feshkha were sectarian, is sure that the two sites are related for a number of reasons, not the least of which is that both are connected by this long wall (de Vaux's *long mur*), most likely built during the Early Roman period.¹²⁰ The function of the wall is not altogether clear¹²¹—although it probably marked out different agricultural regions. Nevertheless, it does conjoin the two sites in an ostensible way.

basins were used for tanning because no animal hairs were found from the basin deposits (*Archaeology of Qumran*, 215-16). Zeuner suggests that fish were raised in these basins, but de Vaux correctly notes that they were too small for such a purpose (Zeuner, "Notes on Qumrân"). Ehud Netzer interprets them to be date presses to make date wine ("Date 'Winepresses' in the Royal Estate at Jericho," *JSRS* 11 [2002]: 69-80), while G. Hadas believes they produced date honey ("The 'En-Gedi Oasis and the Dead Sea Valley during the Roman Byzantine Period" [Ph.D. diss., The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 2002]). Hirschfeld believes that the basins played a role in the perfume industry, in "Excavations at 'En Feshkha, 2001," 64, even though the necessary ovens and hearths for the processing of balsam have not yet been found at the site. Most recently, Mireille Bélis proposes that the installations at 'Ein Feshkha were part of an indigo factory, in "The Production of Indigo Dye in the Installations of 'Ain Feshkha," in *Qumran, the Site of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Archaeological Interpretations and Debates: Proceedings of a Conference held at Brown University, November 17-19, 2002* (ed. K. Galor, J.-B. Humbert, and J. Zangenberg; STDJ 57; Leiden: Brill, 2006), 253-61.

¹¹⁹ De Vaux, *Archaeology and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 73-75.

¹²⁰ Hirschfeld, "Excavations at 'En Feshkha, 2001," 69-70.

¹²¹ It was too small to serve as a defensive fence. Humbert claims—with little support—that this wall marked out an ancient *eruv*, bounded at the north by Qumran and 'Ein Feshkha in the south, with the Dead Sea serving as the eastern boundary. He seems to be unduly influenced by later rabbinic concerns; however, he does admit that the wall may have had more than one function besides a symbolic one, in "Remarks on the Archaeology of Qumran," 28.

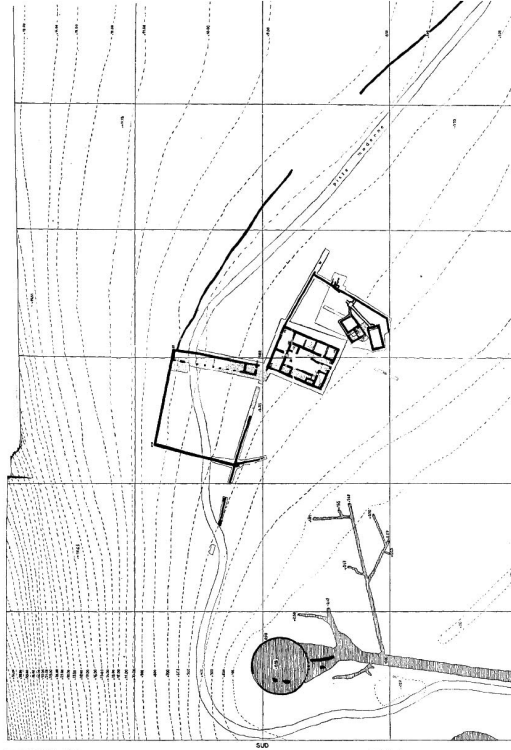


Figure 5.4 Plan of 'Ein Feshkha Showing the "Long Wall" (de Vaux, "Les manuscrits de Qumrân et l'archéologie," *RB* 66 (1959): 87-110, Pl. II)

5.2.1.2 *Ceramics*

Pottery has also been used to link 'Ein Feshkha to Qumran. In the buildings de Vaux found pottery identical to that from Period II at Qumran. He states generally that the ceramics from the main period of settlement (Period II) at 'Ein Feshkha "est identique à celle de la Période II de Qumrân,"¹²² an assemblage which represents by and large nearly every type found at Qumran. But unfortunately much of the pottery he uncovered is not available or illustrated for further study.¹²³ Gunneweg and Balla have recently found that both sites

¹²² De Vaux, "Fouilles de Feshkha: rapport préliminaire," 237.

¹²³ These finds include nearly 70 fragments of stone vessels, also represented at Qumran. Stone vessels were found at other contemporary Jewish sites as well. Speaking of Qumran types found at 'Ein Feshkha, de Vaux says: "On y retrouve toutes les formes caractéristiques de ce groupe: cruchettes sphériques, ampoules, lampes 'hérodienne,' assiettes à bord mouluré, gourde dissymétrique, marmite à large ouverture" in "Fouilles de Feshkha: rapport préliminaire," 244.

produced similar clay balls, perforated by a needle to make varying numbers of holes, usually 90 degrees from one another (with 48 examples from Qumran and 3 from ‘Ein Feshkha). According to them, these clay balls functioned as reminders for certain guard, prayer or kitchen duties for members, or they may have been the means to make calculations. In any case these similar finds are proof that related human activity took place at the two sites.¹²⁴

The real question for this study is whether ‘Ein Feshkha housed a related *Yahad* community or if scribal activity took place at ‘Ein Feshkha. Although de Vaux does not report finding any “scroll jars” at ‘Ein Feshkha, Magness notes that under a broader definition, one cylindrical jar with an everted rim (similar to Bar-Nathan’s type 2d) and one ovoid “scroll jar” jar are illustrated from ‘Ein Feshkha.¹²⁵ An even more concrete connection to Qumran, however, is an inkwell that de Vaux discovered in the area of the main building he called the offices (L.3), an object that is otherwise rarely known from contemporaneous Palestine outside of those found at Qumran.



Photo Marianna Salzberger, Courtesy Israel Antiquities Authority

Figure 5.5 Terracotta Inkwell from ‘Ein Feshkha

¹²⁴ Gunneweg and Balla, “Neutron Activation Analysis,” 9-10.

¹²⁵ Magness, *Archaeology of Qumran*, 81.

This terracotta vessel is similar in design to those uncovered at Qumran, and recent INAA determined that it was made from local Qumran clay.¹²⁶ These finds reveal that the two sites were clearly connected in some way and that scribal activity took place at 'Ein Feshkha. However, one can only speculate about the kind of literacy that existed there; it may have only been of a basic nature for book-keeping activities for local agricultural activities.

5.2.1.3 *The Relationship of 'Ein Feshkha and Qumran*

Did 'Ein Feshkha house a community related to the one at Qumran? Evidence weighs in favor of such a verdict. Its physical proximity and contemporaneous inhabitants make it possible, as does its similar architectural proportions, but the presence of a wall linking the sites makes it nearly certain. Looking at structural resemblances, Davies has concluded, "The entire history of the Feshkha building closely matches that of Qumran periods I-III, and there is no reason to doubt that the installation here was an integral part of the Qumran complex."¹²⁷ The ceramics from Qumran and 'Ein Feshkha share similarities that one would expect of contemporary, Judean sites, yet both are also unique both in the types they include (imitation Eastern Sigillata A ware, cylindrical-type jars, inkwells) as well as in what they do not (imports, Western Terra Sigillata, Roman mold-made lamps). Even so, the absence of some of these vessels may be due to the relatively small amount of pottery found at 'Ein Feshkha in general.

Other material remains also link the two sites. As mentioned, the 'Ein Feshkha inkwell was determined to be local to Qumran; according to Gunneweg and Balla:

This is of particular interest because it is the first time that we can actually prove that one wrote in 'Ain Feshkha . . . Could it be that the Qumranites produced inkwells for other sites? . . . The Inkwells of those writing or copying in 'Ain Feshkha, did not come with them from a remote site; it is a local potter's product in Qumran.¹²⁸

Further, carbonized dates were found at the southern edge of the Qumran settlement related to a date-press found there. Magness suggests that dates could not have been cultivated immediately at

¹²⁶ Gunneweg and Balla, "Neutron Activation Analysis," 13.

¹²⁷ Davies, *Qumran* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1982), 68.

¹²⁸ Gunneweg and Balla, "Neutron Activation Analysis," 13.

Qumran, but only by the springs located at 'Ein Feshkha, thus suggesting the Qumranites closely utilized this peripheral site.¹²⁹

After his excavation of 'Ein Feshkha, de Vaux also proposed that dates and other agricultural products were raised at 'Ein Feshkha, in addition to the raising of livestock or possibly the production of scrolls manuscripts. In his words, "Feshkha, then, can be considered as an agricultural and industrial establishment used to benefit the community of Qumran."¹³⁰ Cross also advocates a close connection between the two sites, being convinced that the entire area around Khirbet Qumran—from two miles to the north and two miles to the south, including 'Ein Feshkha—was occupied by Essenes during the Hellenistic and Roman periods:

The people of this broad settlement lived in caves, tents, and solid constructions, but shared pottery made in a common kiln, read common biblical and sectarian scrolls, operated a common irrigation system, and . . . depended on common stores of food and water furnished by the installations of the community center.¹³¹

It is likely that the industry and/or agriculture of 'Ein Feshkha benefited the Qumran community members as part of a related settlement. 'Ein Feshkha housed scribal activities of some sort, as attested by the rare discovery of an inkwell here. If the industrial area was used for preparing parchment for writing, as de Vaux originally argued, then we know they at least had concerns with Scrolls production, although it may be more likely that these basins were used in the production of dates or other similar industry.¹³² Therefore, a mediated position suggested here is that there was some relationship between the communities of Qumran and 'Ein Feshkha—yet to be fully understood—and no evidence to disprove 'Ein Feshkha housed a peripheral community, one of the *Yahad*'s many dwelling places (מגורים) or camps (מחנות).¹³³

¹²⁹ Magness, *Archaeology of Qumran*, 21.

¹³⁰ De Vaux, *Archaeology and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 84; Murphy-O'Connor agrees, stating "...it is clear that Khirbet Feshkha was a dependency of Qumran, to whose industrial and agricultural needs it catered," in "Khirbet Qumran," in *Anchor Bible Dictionary* (ed. D.N. Freedman; New York: Doubleday, 1999), 590-94, esp. 594.

¹³¹ Cross, *The Ancient Library of Qumran*, 57.

¹³² De Vaux, *Archaeology and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 78-82. However, Magness points out that animal hair has not been found in the deposits. Because skins used even for parchment needed to be depilated, this absence makes his interpretation unlikely (*Archaeology of Qumran*, 216); and see also Netzer's proposal, n. 119.

¹³³ That 'Ein Feshkha was one of the "camps" (מחנות) mentioned in D was already proposed by Schiffman, *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 59.

5.2.2 *'Ein el-Ghuweir*

Another settlement said to be related to Qumran is located nine miles south at the springs of 'Ein el-Ghuweir (Hebrew, 'Ein Qaneh). Located just south of 'Ein Feshkha, this small cluster of Roman-period ruins lies along the shore of the Dead Sea, north of 'Ein el-Tureibeh. In 1969 Israeli archaeologist Bar-Adon excavated the site and immediately identified the occupants as Essene. Here he uncovered the remains of a large building (measuring 43 by 19.5 meters) and an adjacent cemetery of at least 20 graves. Based on the material remains found here, Bar-Adon, perhaps unduly influenced by Qumran, determined that the main settlement (Area C) was contemporaneous with Qumran Ib and II and that the settlement was destroyed in 31 BCE and 68 CE, paralleling the destructions at Qumran and 'Ein Feshkha.¹³⁴

Bar-Adon associates 'Ein el-Ghuweir with Qumran partly because of their structural similarities. The ruins at 'Ein el-Ghuweir are dominated by the remains of a large courtyard, identified by Bar-Adon as a meeting hall (Building I), and a long, semi-partitioned porch or room on the north end of the courtyard (Building II). The large hall (I) has a similar layout to the meeting hall of Qumran, which included an adjoining kitchen with two ovens and two granaries.¹³⁵ The hall also contained the remains of many cooking pots, bowls, flasks, jugs and storage vessels, in addition to a spouted stone "measuring cup." Because of these finds and the layout of this structure, Bar-Adon proposes that it was used for ceremonial and gathering purposes, as for that found at Qumran, although the settlers themselves must have lived in tents and caves outside the settlement.¹³⁶ Unlike at Qumran, however, no *miqveh* has been identified here, although Bar-Adon is overly optimistic to think that one probably existed in two structures north of the large building, which have not yet been excavated.

¹³⁴ Bar-Adon, "A Second 'Qumran' Settlement Discovered," 73-77. Magness suggests, however, that his chronology is not clearly supported by the ceramic evidence. According to her, the settlement at 'Ein el-Ghuweir was founded no earlier than the reign of Herod the Great and that it is impossible to determine exactly when the first fire and destruction took place from the published evidence (*Archaeology of Qumran*, 219-20).

¹³⁵ Greenhut also points out that the structure of 'Ein el-Ghuweir closely resembles architecture at Qumran, where we find a large structure with stone-built cells and a long retaining hall. This is also similar to a building found at Khirbet Mazin. See "The City of Salt," *BAR* 19 (1993): 32-43, esp 38.

¹³⁶ P. Bar-Adon, "Another Settlement of the Judean Desert Sect at 'Ain el-Guweir on the Dead Sea," 20.

The ceramics at 'Ein el-Ghuweir, as at 'Ein Feshkha, generally resemble those found at Khirbet Qumran.¹³⁷ Unlike neighboring 'Ein Gedi, the assemblage at 'Ein el-Ghuweir is missing the same vessels conspicuously lacking from Qumran, such as imports of any kind, Herodian amphorae, or Eastern Sigillata A or B ware. One may note that no "scroll jar," either of the cylindrical or ovoid type, was found here either. But Bar-Adon draws unnecessary conclusions about the architectural and ceramic ties between 'Ein el-Ghuweir and Qumran, ones that may have been due only to regional influences. As for the parallel pottery assemblage, it is difficult to make much of the absence of any of these types, as relatively few ceramics were uncovered at 'Ein el-Ghuweir.

A more convincing parallel with Qumran lies in its cemetery, as the residents of 'Ein el-Ghuweir ostensibly shared the same burial ideology as their northern neighbors (see 5.1.3.3). As at Qumran, a cemetery was constructed adjacent to 'Ein el-Ghuweir, relatively close to the main building. The close affinity of the two cemeteries has prompted many to believe that the inhabitants of the two sites were members of the same sect.¹³⁸ Yet of the 18 tombs uncovered on the northern hill, 12 were men and 6 were women. Proportionately, then, more women were found here than at Qumran, indicating a different demographic (non-celibate?) population.

Bar-Adon is convinced that 'Ein el-Ghuweir was closely related to Qumran based on its proximity, chronology, and architectural and burial similarities. For him, the Essenes were the primary—if not the only—settlers here.¹³⁹ Others, such as Cross, have echoed Bar-Adon, calling 'Ein el-Ghuweir another "satellite site" of the Qumran community.¹⁴⁰ Others are more cautious in calling 'Ein el-Ghuweir a similar sectarian settlement, and probably justly so. De Vaux observes that this settlement was some 15 kilometers south and beyond the "natural barrier" of Ras Feshkha; nevertheless, he concludes that "it is tempting to see a connection between the cemetery and building here and the installations at Qumran and Feshkha."¹⁴¹ Magness

¹³⁷ Bar-Adon, "A Second 'Qumran' Settlement Discovered"; and "Another Settlement of the Judean Desert Sect at 'Ain el-Guweir on the Dead Sea," 72-89.

¹³⁸ Hachlili, "Ancient Jewish Burials," in *Anchor Bible Dictionary* (ed. D.N. Freedman; New York: Doubleday, 1992); *Jewish Funerary Customs, Practices, and Rites*; and Puech, "The Necropolises of *Khirbet Qumrân* and 'Ain el-Ghuweir and the Essene Belief in the Afterlife," *BASOR* 312 (1998): 21-36.

¹³⁹ Bar-Adon, "A Second 'Qumran' Settlement Discovered"; and "Another Settlement of the Judean Desert Sect at 'Ain el-Guweir on the Dead Sea."

¹⁴⁰ See n. 77, above.

¹⁴¹ De Vaux makes summary remarks in *Archaeology and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 88-89, esp. 89.

points out that no “scroll jar,” bone deposit, nor any *miqveh* has been discovered at ‘Ein el-Ghuweir. Without these distinctive features, the archaeological evidence does not prove it was related to Qumran; but it does not disprove it either.¹⁴²

Recently scientists have tested pottery from ‘Ein el-Ghuweir and Qumran through INAA to see if the two sites shared the same clay source. It appears that none of the eight samples Yellin et al. tested from ‘Ein el-Ghuweir came from the same area as those local to Khirbet Qumran. They look outwardly similar, but interestingly, all of the vessels from ‘Ein el-Ghuweir matched the same Jerusalem clay source as 15 of the 31 samples tested from Qumran.¹⁴³ Therefore no smoking gun is present, linking the two sites. Otherwise said, the two communities did not share a common kiln, as Cross had previously proposed. If it was a *Yahad* settlement, it must have functioned somewhat independently of Qumran itself, yet nothing speaks against its being one of their self-contained residences (מגור).¹⁴⁴ As Broshi rightly concludes, new INAA “does not preclude the possibility that there was a religious or organizational affinity between the two communities, but if this were so it will have to be proved by other methods.”¹⁴⁵

5.2.3 Jericho

In the past, some have discovered allegedly “Qumran-type” remains a few miles to the north at neighboring Jericho, including some shaft graves. Jericho’s cemetery contains a number of graves from the late Second Temple period, most of which are loculi tombs common in Jerusalem and elsewhere. During her excavations in the 1950s, Kathleen Kenyon uncovered a group of Roman period shaft tombs dug in the northern end of Trench II at Jericho’s Tell es-Sultan.

¹⁴² Magness makes similar conclusions in *Archaeology of Qumran*, 222-23.

¹⁴³ Yellin, Broshi, and Eshel, “Pottery of Qumran and Ein Ghuweir,” 75.

¹⁴⁴ Two unpublished fragments in the Rockefeller Museum archive (PAM) are labeled as coming from ‘Ein Ghuweir, although their exact location of discovery is unknown. Fragment 1 is written in cursive Greek on papyrus and frag. 2 is written in a Semitic script. Unfortunately, we do not know anything more about the contents or dating of these fragments, but reference Stephen A. Reed, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Catalogue: Documents, Photographs and Museum Inventory Numbers* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1994), xlii, 281.

¹⁴⁵ Broshi, “The Archaeology of Qumran—A Reconsideration,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Forty Years of Research* (ed. D. Dimant and U. Rappaport; Leiden: Brill, 1992), 103-15. For more on the recent INAA of the ceramic evidence, consult Yellin, Broshi, and Hanan Eshel, “Pottery of Qumran and Ein Ghuweir: The First Chemical Exploration of Provenience,” *BASOR* 321 (2001): 65-78.

Unlike the surrounding burials, these graves were of individuals, rather than families, and the interred body was placed in a supine position, in an undercut recess under the cover of a rock. The structure of these tombs and their near-complete lack of grave goods make them almost identical to the ones found nearby at Khirbet Qumran. Looking at their similarities, Kenyon suggested that an Essene cemetery may have existed at Jericho as large as the one at Qumran.¹⁴⁶

Puech also comments on these unique graves, insisting that the Jericho burials were undoubtedly of Essene origin.¹⁴⁷ He concludes that because “these tombs are contemporaneous with and quite parallel to those of the south cemetery at Qumrân and even to those on the extensions of the main cemetery,” they must be Essene burials.¹⁴⁸ But one should keep in mind that these graves, although uniformly oriented, do not lie in the north-south direction. That all of these graves lie east-west, like some at Beit Zafafa, does not bother Puech, whose criteria for Essene burials includes that the tombs are arranged in any uniform direction.¹⁴⁹ Finally, at least some of these graves reused Middle Bronze Age tombs, which may have influenced the shaft shape of the tombs, even though the special burial niche was added by the Second Temple period inhabitants.¹⁵⁰ The similarities are unmistakable, but we need to explore further evidence before concluding these graves were the products of a *Yahad*-related community.

5.2.3.1 Pottery

Other ceramic finds support a Qumran-Jericho connection. The pottery assemblage found at Herodian Jericho is overall quite similar to that found at contemporary Qumran, as one would expect due to regional distribution patterns. But pottery that was found almost exclusively at Qumran has also been uncovered at Jericho, most

¹⁴⁶ Kenyon, *Digging up Jericho*, 264.

¹⁴⁷ Puech, “The Necropolises of *Khirbet Qumrân* and ‘Ain el-Ghuweir,” 28-29.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁹ For Puech, the criteria for Essene burials are: graves laid out in any fixed direction and graves lacking any burial goods or family orientation. He does observe, however, that whether the graves are oriented north-south or east-west, the head is always facing the north. For him, this is because the Essenes believed that Paradise was located in the north, as recorded in the Enochic literature, and they probably wished to be buried facing their future divine home, in “The Necropolises of *Khirbet Qumrân* and ‘Ain el-Ghuweir,” 30.

¹⁵⁰ See the report by C. Bennett, “Tombs of the Roman Period,” in Kenyon, *Excavations at Jericho II*, 516-45.

notably the ovoid jar. This jar Bar-Nathan labels as a “scroll jar.” As noted above, most examples come from Khirbet Qumran and the surrounding caves, but the second-largest number of these jars is preserved at Jericho.¹⁵¹ Bar-Nathan finds this scroll-type jar at Jericho from as early as the reign of Herod the Great,¹⁵² and most examples (Types 2a, b, c) come from an industrial setting. She tries to connect these “scroll jars” to Qumran by noting that there was a *miqveh* found nearby the place of discovery at Jericho, but certainly *miqva'ot* were not uncommon in Judea in this period.

Although regional influences were at play, these and other ceramic vessels closely imitate the wares of Qumran. Magness notes that the similarities between the ceramic assemblages from Herodian Jericho and Qumran are conspicuous and that we do not find similar assemblages from other regional sites such as 'Ein Gedi, etc. Magness says:

The parallels between the ceramic assemblages from Herodian Jericho and Qumran are striking. Bar-Nathan is certainly correct in attributing these parallels to regional distribution patterns. Could they also reflect the presence of the same community?¹⁵³

Evidence favors the idea that similar community members did live there (further supported by INAA, below); at least one thing is certain, those at Qumran maintained close ties to those living in Jericho.¹⁵⁴

5.2.3.2 *The Qumran “Yahad” Ostraca*

A rare inscription also links Khirbet Qumran with Jericho. In 1996 two inscribed ostraca were found *in situ* near the eastern perimeter wall at Qumran. According to Cross and Esti Eshel, the writing on

¹⁵¹ See the summary in Magness, “Pottery,” 683-84, and note that there has been significant confusion over the descriptive terminology of these jars, recounted in Magness, *Archaeology of Qumran*, 80-81, and above.

¹⁵² Bar-Nathan, “The Pottery of Jericho,” 69-70, pls. 1:2; 17. These types are pervasive throughout Second Temple Jericho; most of them (ten examples) come from this industrial area and adjacent storerooms. Bar-Nathan reports that a cylindrical jar of the same type as the Qumran “scroll jar” (her type SJ 2b) was found in a context dated 31-15 BCE by the excavators (Pool 176). See also Netzer, *Hasmonean and Herodian Palaces at Jericho: Final Reports of the 1973-1987 Excavations* (3 vols.; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2001), 3.24-25 and pl. 2, no. 8.

¹⁵³ Magness, “Pottery,” 684.

¹⁵⁴ Bar-Nathan defends this conclusion: “The similarity between the pottery of Jericho and Qumran, as well as their close geographical proximity, indicates, without doubt, that the inhabitants of both sites shared a close affinity” (“Qumran and the Hasmonean and Herodian Winter Palaces of Jericho,” 277).

Ostrakon 1 records the deed of a gift (or possibly a draft thereof) written in a Late Herodian script.¹⁵⁵ Although broken and badly weathered, it records a transaction of a certain Honi, who assigns his property to what is most likely the *Yahad*, perhaps fulfilling his vow at the end of his year as a neophyte.¹⁵⁶ At this point, the text is broken and what remains are only the tops of the *yod*, *het*, and *waw*; although not irrefutable, there seems to be no more viable reading than “*Yahad*.”¹⁵⁷

Given the place of discovery, these ostraca clearly link Khirbet Qumran and the *Yahad*. Yet more than this, Jericho (יריחו) is mentioned right where one would expect the site of transaction to be named according to the standard formula. The name is clearly legible but surprising if this location is where a “deed of gift” was given to the *Yahad*. Cross and Eshel explain that this unexpected referent was mentioned because Qumran fell within the district of Jericho, and therefore Jericho, rather than some other name for Qumran, was mentioned.¹⁵⁸ Yet there is no need to skirt the *prima facie* reading of the text, which speaks of Jericho itself.¹⁵⁹ Even if “*Yahad*” were not the correct reading, the discovery of this document at Qumran does present a connection between its community members and Jericho, a link already suggested by the burial and ceramic evidence. The Scrolls themselves offer a few other references to Jericho, in particular in the Copper Scroll (3Q15), which locates some of its treasures

¹⁵⁵ Cross and E. Eshel, “A New Ostrakon from Qumrân,” *Qad* 30 (1997): 134-36; “Ostraca from Khirbet Qumran”; and “The Missing Link (An Ostrakon of the First Century C.E. from Qumrân),” *BAR* 24 (1998): 48-53, 69.

¹⁵⁶ On line 8, Cross and E. Eshel read *וּכְמִלּוֹתָו לִיחֻד* “when he fulfills (his oath) to the community” (assuming *כְּמִלּוֹתָו* is written for *בְּמִלּוֹתָו*). It is not unusual for laryngeals to be omitted in Qumran orthography, as they appear to be quiescing in spoken Hebrew at this time, but the *mem* is not as clear. Others have offered alternate readings of this line, although none is more convincing. See the discussion by Cross and E. Eshel in DJD 36.497-501.

¹⁵⁷ Cf. Yardeni, “A Draft of a Deed on an Ostrakon from Khirbet Qumrân,” *IEJ* 47 (1997): 233-7; F.H. Cryer, “The Qumran Conveyance: A Reply to F.M. Cross and E. Eshel,” *SJOT* 11 (1997): 232-40; Golb, “Qadmoniot and the ‘Yahad’ Claim,” *QC* 7 (1997): 171-3; and Callaway, “A Second Look at Ostrakon No. 1 from Khirbet Qumrân,” *QC* 7 (1997): 145-70.

¹⁵⁸ They note “it is possible that ‘Jericho’ refers to the district or toparchy, and that a specific place-name appeared at the end of line 1, possibly the ancient name of Khirbet Qumran,” yet they themselves add that there would hardly be enough room to reconstruct this at the end of the line, in “1KhQOstrakon,” 501.

¹⁵⁹ One would expect to find the specific site of transaction mentioned, as it is in other deeds of conveyance. See, for instance, the fifth century BCE Aramaic documents of conveyance from Elephantine, nos. 4, 6, 9, 10, etc. in Emil G. Kraeling, *The Brooklyn Museum Aramaic Papyri: New Documents of the Fifth Century B.C. from the Jewish Colony at Elephantine* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1953).

in the Jericho area.¹⁶⁰ The evidence further suggests some sectarian link to a nearby community at Jericho.

However, even more intriguing data has surfaced about this inscription. Gunneweg and Balla subjected 41 inscribed Qumran ostraca to INAA to determine the provenance of the pottery, and 10 were shown to have originated in Jericho. Unfortunately, these tests do not indicate where the inscription was *written*, but only where the clay originated because most of these inscriptions were copied only after the pot was fired. Luckily, however, the “*Yahad*” inscription is one exception, as the dedication to Eleazar son of Nahamani was inscribed into the clay *before* firing. Thus, a Jericho provenance for the inscription is further confirmed (as it is in the text itself), and this dedication to Eleazar is on “a bowl that was made and inscribed in Jericho and was brought to Qumran where it was found.”¹⁶¹ Individual data do not offer positive identification, but the whole of the evidence does strongly supports that a *Yahad*-related community lived at Jericho, some of whom brought their written records to the site of Qumran. Did copies of S follow as well?

5.2.4 Jerusalem

As we have seen, the uniform cemetery discovered outside of Jerusalem resembles that found at Qumran. But what other clues may indicate that *Yahad* members resided there? If we borrow from written sources, investigated in chapter four, there is historical record of Essenes living in Jerusalem with which *Yahad* members must have ideologically identified. In *Jewish War* (5.142-48), Josephus mentions the “Essene Gate” when he describes Jerusalem before the

¹⁶⁰ This unusual text speaks of treasure deposits in and around Jericho, which may indicate that they had some familiarity with the area. Puech concludes that these references show an Essene community lived there. He points out that the Copper Scroll mentions such sites (7.9, 11.9, etc.) where a Ha-Qoş family was established. Based on his analysis, Tell Kohlit could be identified with Tell es-Sultan and is the place where another copy of the *Copper Scroll* was hidden, further linking the two sites (“The Necropolises of *Khirbet Qumrân* and ‘Ain el-Ghuweir,” 29, 33 n. 34; and his discussion in “Some Results of the Restoration of the Copper Scroll by EDF Mecenat,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Fifty Years after Their Discovery: Proceedings of the Jerusalem Congress, July 20-25, 1997* (ed. L.H. Schiffman, et al.; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, in cooperation with The Shrine of the Book, Israel Museum, 2000), 889-94.

¹⁶¹ Gunneweg and Balla, “Possible Connection [*sic.*] between the Inscriptions on Pottery, the Ostraca and Scrolls Found in the Caves,” in *Khirbet Qumrân et ‘Ain Feshkha II: Études d’anthropologie, de physique et de chimie* (ed. J.-B. Humbert and J. Gunneweg; Fribourg: Academic Press, 2003), 389-94, esp. 392.

fall of the city in 70 CE. He mentions that the western wall started at the northern tower called Hippicus, and “it descended past the place called Bethso to the gate of the Essenes and thereafter, facing south, extended above the fountain of Siloam” (145).

In 1894, archaeologist F.J. Bliss claimed to have discovered this “Essene gate” when excavating the First Wall, south of the present Turkish wall and Zion Gate (Fig. 5.6).¹⁶² Later scholars confirm its location on the southern slope of Mt. Zion,¹⁶³ although Yadin argued that this gate was farther west based on his interpretation of the reference point, “Bethso.”¹⁶⁴ He and others note that “Bethso” was apparently a transliteration of Hebrew *בת צאה*, or latrine.¹⁶⁵ Yadin points out that the Temple Scroll directs the sectarians to set up a “place of the hand,” or a latrine, outside of the city of Jerusalem (an elaboration on Deut 23:12-14) according to their concern to keep the camp holy. This gate, then, must have existed for purity reasons to accommodate the Essenes’ special regulations on defecation, and the adjacent gate must have been named for the community who passed through it. Yadin believes the Temple Scroll confirms Josephus’s account, thereby forging a strong argument that an Essene community, related to Qumran, lived in Jerusalem.¹⁶⁶ In this, he follows

¹⁶² F.J. Bliss, “Third Report on the Excavations of Jerusalem,” *PEFQS* (1895). Upon examining this gate, Bliss noticed four layers of well-worn sills, indicating to him that the gate had been used for many generations. Bliss’s Essene gate lies near the present Protestant cemetery, on the road to Mount Zion, where Pixner notes there is still a depression presumably left by the excavations done by Bliss’s team, in “An Essene Quarter on Mount Zion?,” *ST 1* (1975): 245-85, esp. 251.

¹⁶³ G. Dalman, *Jerusalem und sein Gelände* (Gütersloh: Deutschen Palaestina-Instituts, 1930), 88. More recently, see Pixner, “An Essene Quarter on Mount Zion?”; “The History of the ‘Essene Gate’ Area”; Pixner, Doron Chen, and Shlomo Margalit, “Mount Zion: The ‘Gate of the Essenes’ Re-excavated,” *ZDPV* 105 (1984): 85-95. Rainer Riesner also affirms the presence of this gate, in “Josephus’ ‘Gate of the Essenes’ in Modern Discussion,” *ZDPV* 105 (1984): 105-9.

¹⁶⁴ Originally Yadin accepted Bliss’s location for the Essene gate (“The Gate of the Essenes and the Temple Scroll,” in *Jerusalem Revealed* [ed. Y. Yadin; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1976], 90-91, esp. 91). In his last work on the Temple Scroll, Yadin changes his mind and locates it in the southwestern angle of today’s city wall, where Broshi found sparse remains of a gate. His new location is closer to where he finds the “place called Bethso” that Josephus mentions. See Yadin, *The Temple Scroll*, 180-82.

¹⁶⁵ Joseph Schwartz, a 19th century Jewish philosopher, was the first to suggest that “Bethso” was *beth-soa*, or latrine, in *Tevuot Haares* (ed. Lunz, Jerusalem, 1900), 335 [Hebrew]. See also Pixner, “An Essene Quarter on Mount Zion?,” 255-57; and Reisner, “Jesus, the Primitive Community, and the Essene Quarter of Jerusalem,” 208-13.

¹⁶⁶ For further discussion about the Essenes’ purity concerns and the possible role of an Essene Gate in Jerusalem, see A. Baumgarten, “The Temple Scroll, Toilet

earlier scholars who surely are correct in concluding that Josephus's "Gate of the Essenes" was so named for the adjacent community that utilized it.¹⁶⁷

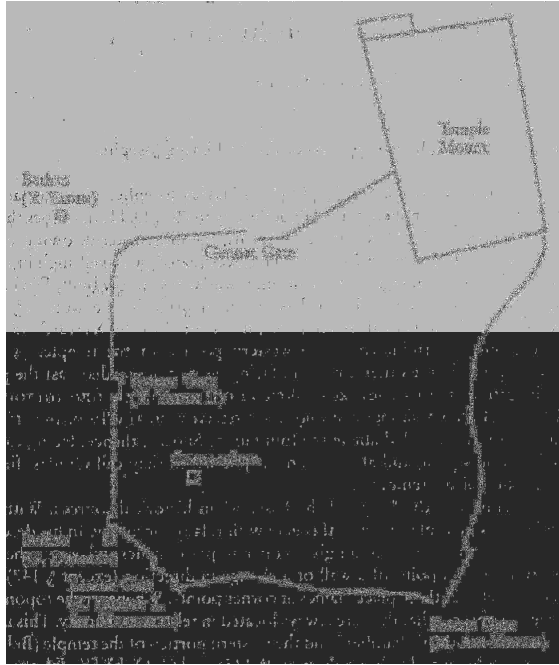


Figure 5.6 The "Essene" Gate, from Riesner, "Josephus' 'Gate of the Essenes,'" 106.

Recently, others have revived interest in the sometimes-forgotten Essene link with Jerusalem.¹⁶⁸ Historically, the *Yahad* must have been closely tied to Jerusalem before some moved to Qumran—at the impetus of the Teacher of Righteousness or otherwise—and probably afterwards, as attested by what must have been a long-

Practices, and the Essenes," 11-15; and also Zissu, "Field Graves at Beit Zafafa: Archaeological Evidence for the Essene Community."

¹⁶⁷ Pixner, "Das Essenerquartier in Jerusalem und dessen Einfluss auf die Urkirche"; "An Essene Quarter on Mount Zion?"; "The History of the 'Essene Gate' Area." Earlier, other scholars also made this claim, such as P. Seidensticker, "Die Gemeinschaftsform der religiösen Gruppen des Spätjudentums und der Urkirche," *LÄ* 9 (1958-59): 94-198.

¹⁶⁸ Elgvin mentions the "Essene Gate" in his argument that the *Yahad* extended beyond Qumran ("The *Yahad* is More than Qumran," 277, citing Richard J. Bauckham, "The Early Jerusalem Church, Qumran, and the Essenes," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls as Background to Post-Biblical Judaism and Early Christianity: Papers from an International Conference at St. Andrews in 2001* [ed. J.R. Davila; STDJ 46; Leiden: Brill, 2003], 63-89, esp. 66-72).

standing presence of Essenes in Jerusalem. Given these connections, one wonders what scribal activity took place at Jerusalem, before and after the sectarian settlement of Qumran, as it must have been the source of at least some of the S material.

5.3 CONCLUSIONS: ARCHAEOLOGY AND THE *YAḤAD*

5.3.1 *Archaeology of Qumran and Related Sites*

The archaeological assemblage at Qumran attests to the expected, namely that its inhabitants were Jews like their contemporaries in Palestine. Yet still we find anomalous features at Qumran, such as an uncommon, homogeneous cemetery, a relatively high number of *miqva'ot*, and ritual bone deposits, all suggesting the presence of a particular religious community. Recent arguments which attempt to divorce the Scrolls from the site in the end do not stand up against the whole of the evidence. Nevertheless, even the most provocative new challenges raise valid questions and bring the “Qumran community” debate into new arenas where we can better nuance previous generalizations and oversimplifications.

A few conclusions can be made from our review of the evidence:

(1) The archaeological record at Qumran may be less unique than previously assumed, especially in light of some of its pottery types, such as the “Hellenistic lamp” and “scroll jar,” and its shaft-style graves. Nevertheless, the clustering of certain features is unusual and reflect sectarian concerns. For instance, the lack of imports there is unusual, possibly due to purity regulations. Qumran’s cemetery indicates a consistent ideology of death and contrasts strikingly in form and layout with those found at neighboring communities, such as ‘Ein Gedi or Jericho.

(2) The presence of any one Qumran feature elsewhere does not prove the existence of a related *Yaḥad* community. In combination with other finds, however, these features can indicate the presence of those who shared a similar ideology (e.g. the orientation and simple character of the shaft graves) and at the very least, increase the odds that *Yaḥad* members resided elsewhere.

(3) Recently available comparative finds, alongside new INAA data, show that Qumran and its pottery had strong external connections. The Qumran inhabitants were not isolated from outside trends and trade, and therefore they were positioned within the larger system of ideological exchange as well.

(4) The Qumran community maintained close ties to Jericho, if not sharing a similar religious population. A number of vessels of a Jericho origin were found at Qumran, including at least two “scroll jars,” as well as some important inscriptional evidence. The “*Yahad*” ostrakon, found at Qumran, mentions the *Yahad*, yet it also records Jericho as the site of transaction. And INAA indicates it was also made and inscribed there. Further clusters of finds at Jericho, such as “scroll jar”-types and some Qumran-type shaft graves, cements the conclusions that Qumran and Jericho were closely affiliated.

(5) ‘Ein Feshkha also likely housed *Yahad* members. The similarities in the ceramic assemblage can be attributed to expected regional distribution patterns, and the contemporaneous settlement layers may be a coincidence. But it is hard to deny that Qumran and ‘Ein Feshkha were related given their proximity, the long wall built to connect the two sites, and the presence of dates at Qumran, which most reasonably came from date groves near the southern springs. Also, the discovery of a Qumran-type inkwell at this smaller site, proven to be of the same chemical fingerprint as those at Qumran, cements the ties between the two communities.

(6) It is reasonable to locate a *Yahad* community in Jerusalem, as it seems likely that some *Yahad* or pre-*Yahad* members resided there. No archaeological find alone proves this connection, but some ideological connections exist between the “Essene burials” at nearby Beit Zafafa and those near the Dead Sea, and written and archaeological records support a Jerusalem sectarian community, adjacent to the Essene Gate mentioned by Josephus. At Qumran, INAA indicates there were a number of vessels from Jerusalem, including “scroll jars,” highlighting the fact that at the very least, close interrelations were maintained between the sites.

(7) Other sites such as ‘Ein el-Ghuweir or Hiam el-Sagha, which share similar burial types with Qumran, or in the case of ‘Ein el-Ghuweir, also certain structural similarities, could be satellite *Yahad* communities, but this remains unconfirmed in the absence of further discovery.

We must be cautious in using the archaeological evidence too conclusively. If there were indeed communities scattered throughout the countryside or in quarters of other Jewish cities, we may never without written evidence, which would be a rare find outside of the dry Judean desert. Indeed, without the Scrolls, would scholars have concluded that the inhabitants of Qumran were Essenes from the material remains alone? According to Magness, they probably would have not. Qumran would have been identified as an anomalous site,

but not necessarily an Essene one.¹⁶⁹ By extension, sites already known could have housed *Yahad* members yet remain unidentified.

In general, we can conclude that the whole of the archaeological evidence suggests that Qumran had closer external ties, and no strong evidence precludes these related communities from being examples of “all of their dwelling places” (כל מגוריהם) mentioned under the description of the *Yahad* in S (1QS 6.2).

5.3.1.1 *What has Archaeology to do with S?*

Without further manuscript evidence, we do not know which peoples may have self-identified as the *Yahad* or what their libraries may have contained. However, archaeology can tell us a few things: first, later dates for the *Yahad* settlement of Qumran weaken the hypothesis that S was solely a Qumran innovation or could have undergone all of its complex history there. Second, new INAA analyses have given us more footing to stand on when raising the possibility that related scribal activity happened outside of Qumran. The presence of scroll-type jars at Jericho and the rare discovery of an inkwell at ‘Ein Feshkha hints at *Yahad* scribal activity outside of Qumran, but we can only wonder what that writing actually entailed. Finally, archaeology can support increasing claims that a large portion of the Qumran collection originated elsewhere. We find physical proof of the Qumranites’ ties to the outside world, including ceramics and jars having been brought from outside the community. Whether some of these external “scroll jars” brought Scrolls with them to the community remains a mystery, but an interesting one.

5.3.2 *The Function of Qumran within the Yahad*

Finally, if multiple communities existed, members of whom self-identified with the *Yahad*, we are brought back to the question of Qumran’s relative function—and that of its library—within the movement at large. Many distinguished scholars have already theo-

¹⁶⁹ Magness writes that it would not have been identified as a Jewish sectarian settlement, but neither would it have been interpreted as a villa or fortress. The unique concentration of *miqva’ot* found there, unusual animal bone deposits, and the adjacent cemetery would have ruled against the latter identifications. However, she also challenges those who would wish to disregard the written evidence, claiming that there is no reason to ignore this wealth of information, in *Archaeology of Qumran*, 13.

rized that Qumran was the center of the Essene movement,¹⁷⁰ but some evidence seen above helps clarify Qumran's relationship to the whole of the *Yahad* membership.

First, the cemetery at Qumran suggests that Qumran was a revered center. De Vaux uncovered five wooden coffins out of the 43 graves excavated in 1953 and 1956, and a coffin was recently discovered made out the otherwise rare metal, zinc, known elsewhere to have special religious significance.¹⁷¹ The presence of these indicates that some members were brought from far away to be buried at the site. Further, that some of the excavated skeletons were found disjointed or with parts missing also indicates that these were secondary burials of, according to Broshi, "persons who had died elsewhere and were first buried in a different place before being moved to Qumran."¹⁷² These factors, as well as the relatively large size of the cemetery (1200 graves) for the size of the community at the *khirbeh* suggest that members from the outside must have sought burial there. It may have been for them as the Mount of Olives is today for Jews who wish to be buried near the Temple mount, and it seems quite plausible that the site of Qumran may have held a similar sacrosanct place for the members as well.

From S itself we know that a physical location in the desert played an important role in their own theology, a place replete with prophetic expectation. The wilderness was unique as it was far from the "tumults, disorders and calamities of the cities" (cf. Philo's *Contempl. Life*), which surely were regarded as sinful or potentially defiling places. The wilderness was for the *Yahad* a symbolic locale, the site of the greatest covenantal activity at Sinai which the covenants celebrated annually.¹⁷³ There, with their Moses-like Teacher,

¹⁷⁰ Some of this argument is summarized in Boccaccini, "Qumran: The Headquarters of the Essenes or a Marginal Splinter Group?," in *Enoch and Qumran Origins: New Light on a Forgotten Connection* (ed. G. Boccaccini; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2005), 303-9.

¹⁷¹ The discovery of five wooden coffins (graves 17-19, 32-33) means to Broshi that they must have been brought from a "considerable distance," in "The Archaeology of Qumran," 112. The zinc material, which interestingly enough is also used to bury the Popes in the Vatican, may also suggest that this particular person was brought from abroad (cf. Hachlili, *Jewish Funerary Customs, Practices, and Rites*, 470).

¹⁷² Broshi, "The Archaeology of Qumran," 112.

¹⁷³ That this community attempted to relive the original law-receiving community at Sinai is clear given the language that they use to describe themselves as Israel encamped in the wilderness, outlined fully in Schofield, "Wilderness Motif." Many of the connections between the sectarians and Israel in the wilderness had already been noted previously, as in VanderKam, "The Judean Desert and the Community of the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Antikes Judentum und Frühes Christentum: Festschrift für*

they describe themselves as if they are Israel *redivivus* encamped in the wilderness (Num 1-2; Exod 18:21-22; 15; cf. CD 13.1; 1QS 2.21-22).¹⁷⁴ The desert was also the site of prophetic restoration and where a divine theophany was expected (Isa 40:3; cf. 1QS 8.14; 9.19-21; 4Q176 1 i, 6-9) and apparently the final great battle as well (cf. mention of the “wilderness of Jerusalem” in 1QM 1.3). Thus, the Qumran settlement must have held a significant place among the theological self-understanding of the *Yahad*.

Further, archaeological remains at Qumran paint the picture of a community concerned with purity and ritual. We find a relatively large number of *miqva'ot*, which correlate nicely with their mention of ritual immersion, entering the waters in what must have been total immersion (1QS 5.13; CD 10.10-11, etc.). As mentioned, the fact that they manufactured their own pottery reflects their desire to ensure the purity of their vessels, a concern recorded in 4QMMT (B 56-58, etc.). The unusual activity of depositing animal bones around the outside of the buildings also attests to significant religious or other ritual practices, as well as evidence of what likely was some type of ritual meal.¹⁷⁵

From textual sources, it has been well-documented that, at least eventually, the *Yahad* developed a theology of the community serving as a replacement for the Temple,¹⁷⁶ and Qumran was proba-

Hartmut Stegemann zum 65. Geburtstag (ed. B. Kollmann, W. Reinbold, and A. Steudel; Berlin; New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1999), 159-71.

¹⁷⁴ See also Wieder, “The ‘Law-Interpreter’ of the Sect of the Dead Sea Scrolls,” 172; Stegemann, *The Library of Qumran*, 165; and Cross, *The Ancient Library of Qumran* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1995), 70-71.

¹⁷⁵ Some find these to be remnants of animal sacrifices made at Qumran, but there are many reasons to challenge this interpretation. The Scrolls themselves speak against the atonement of sins through animal sacrifice (1QS 9.4-5, etc.), and no trace of an altar has been uncovered. Humbert identifies the remains of an altar (“L’espace sacré a Qumrân”), but most rightly disagree with his conclusions (cf. Magness, *Debating Qumran: Collected Essays on its Archaeology* [Leuven: Peeters, 2004], 93, etc.). But the bone deposits must attest to some type of ritual meal, by which the remains needed to be carefully collected and disposed of inside jars or between large potsherds, flush with the ground, filling in the picture of sacred activities taking place there. Several of the bones were charred and showed signs that they were roasted or boiled. Zeuner points out that “the fact that it was considered worthwhile to place in a pot and then to bury scraps of a meal that was useless for human consumption strongly points to a ritual character of the custom,” in “Notes on Qumrân,” 29.

¹⁷⁶ The theological kernel of this idea developed early in the sect’s history, as found in Micah 6, allusions to which may be found in 1QS 5.3-4 (cf. Hultgren, *From the Damascus Covenant to the Covenant of the Community*, 308-9). For Hultgren, the sectarian’s idea that a righteous life can act as a substitute for the temple sacrifice may have existed even before the rise of the *Yahad*, whom he takes to be a

bly was the focal point of that “community-as-temple” arrangement, most fully developed in IQS 8.1-16a and 9.3-11. The idea of the community-as-temple would have encouraged stricter purity laws (celibacy?) for those members approaching or residing at the center of Qumran.

In this regard, Qumran functioned as a special religious center for the *Yahad* members living in the area of the Dead Sea and beyond. Humbert defends this theory, believing that Qumran had a special function for worship.¹⁷⁷ I would agree that Qumran served as a special place within the larger *Yahad* movement and not just because it is the only sectarian site for which we have clear remains. It may have been, as Talmon suggests, the “spearhead of the Community,” reserved for special liturgical functions. Most likely, it was a place where members could dedicate themselves to live a life of extra purity, whether permanently or on a temporary basis.¹⁷⁸ More importantly, Qumran functioned served as a hierarchical center and place of central exegetical activity, a source of many legal and religious traditions for the *Yahad*. These codified traditions would have made their way to the outside and transferred back and forth in with the ebb and flow of members. For archaeology has shown us that, while retaining its own unique archaeological footprint, Qumran maintained close interactions with many of its neighbors.

But ultimately, this desert settlement would have served also as a final place of refuge, very likely sought out in the face of the Roman destruction, when incoming members—and their scrolls—may have fled in even larger numbers before 68 CE.

later offshoot of the “Damascus covenant” (cf. D). See also his nice summary of the “community-as-temple” phenomenon, in *ibid.*, 308-15.

¹⁷⁷ However, he uses only ambiguous evidence to assert that these activities were associated with the sun. The unique architectural alignment of L.77, which is oriented to the east and the sunrise, and L.86, angled directly towards the south, or the zenith, affirms for him that worship at Qumran was oriented towards the sun. More evidence would need to be discovered to prove the latter. However, Humbert does rightly note that the relatively large cemetery at Qumran must have meant that outside members sought to be buried there, and therefore it must have had a special function within the sect. See “Remarks on the Archaeology of Qumran,” 36; and his article “L’espace sacré à Qumrân.” Talmon finds Qumran to be a holy center of a much larger movement, from which a rotating population of males took up residency and temporary celibacy to serve at the Qumran, thereby solving the discord between the “celibacy” often attributed to the Qumran community and the frequent mention of marriage, families, etc. in the Scrolls (“The Community of the Renewed Covenant,” 3-24).

¹⁷⁸ However, there is no specific evidence to suggest that Qumran served only as a temporary “retreat” center, as mentioned in Talmon, “The Essential ‘Community of the Renewed Covenant,’” 332.

CONCLUSIONS

The idea that *Serekh ha-Yahad* is the quintessential Qumranic text has ridden out the waves of Scrolls scholarship. S was found only near Qumran, and resultingly, these fragments seemed to imply that the *Yahad* itself was the artifact of a remote community. But surely the Scrolls withhold from us the details of what must have been a long and rich history. Although the audience of S certainly included those at Qumran, previous equations of the *Yahad* with the community living there have limited our ability to understand not only the development of S, but also of the movement at large.

In many ways, my investigation engages larger questions of methodology in the study of the “Qumran Sect” and the resulting impulse to read Qumran into the sectarian texts. A re-reading of S outside of this paradigm proves to be a telling test-case. A broader heuristic model—accounting for both time and space—better explains both the commonalities and the divergences of S, not sufficiently addressed by previous chronological models.

TEXT-CRITICAL CONCLUSIONS

A close textual analysis of the most-extant versions (1QS, 4QS^{b,d}, and 4QS^e) reveals that no simple direction of textual evolution is evident. When 1QS and the Cave 4 copies are forced into an artificial textual comparison, as is frequently undertaken, the resulting data are mixed. That is to say, no copy can be shown to be a “daughter” manuscript of another as we have them. Overall, 4QS^{b,d,e} are shorter and preserve a more pristine text than 1QS, supporting the idea that they represent earlier versions of S than 1QS; contrarily, the Cave 4 copies, especially 4QS^{b,d}, also contain a number of longer, secondary-looking readings and unique material. This material did not make its way into the “later” 1QS version, nor was it the basis of the many textual corrections made in 1QS. Therefore, this “new” material tradition must have resulted from development that took place after the traditions diverged from common roots.

Thus we cannot say, as Metso argues, that the Cave 4 traditions were combined to form 1QS, nor can we align the manuscripts along a simple chronological continuum of development. Even if we have lost intermediary manuscripts, at best we can conclude that core

traditions diverged relatively early in the history of S, with no strong evidence that they were mutually influencing each other in the latter stages of transmission. It is possible that these divergences took place within the same scribal circle, or, I argue, they were more likely the product of multiple scribal circles not limited to Qumran. The latter explanation is further supported by the fact that different scribal conventions are employed in the copies (e.g. the *paragraphos* sign in 1QS), and incompatible orthographic systems are used (e.g. 1QS's "super-full" spellings contrasting 4QS^d's alignment with the defective system of the MT).

Finally, the different versions of the penal code argue particularly persuasively for different socio-historical contexts. Outside of 1QS, only a small portion of the penal code is preserved in 4QS^e, yet even within this small section we find contradictory punishments. For instance, we saw that in 4QS^e, one who lets his nakedness be seen is punished 60 days, while 1QS records a 30-day punishment (4QS^e 1.11-13//1QS 7.13-14). If these developed in the same community, the earlier Cave 4 version would have been copied (and employed?) alongside 1QS with a conflicting punishment length. It is possible that the scribes did so without updating the prescription, but this directly counters the kind of scribal emendation we find elsewhere. For instance, in 1QS 7.9, a scribe deleted and updated the punishment of one who holds an undue grudge from six months to one year, a move that most likely reflected an actual change in punishment length.

The scribal intervention in 1QS strongly supports that the Rule texts were not static archival or literary inventions, but ones that correlated to community regulation. The most divergent (or "messy," in the case of 1QS) sections of S are those that were the most susceptible to changing community praxis and their *raison d'être*: the admission and examination of members (1QS 5), penal code (1QS 7.8-15), and their general theological mission (1QS 8.1-9.12). One would expect 4QS^e to have been updated in the same manner of 1QS if it was copied alongside 1QS; thus there is no direct indication that it *was* developed by and for the same circle. Nor should we assume that S's penal code legislated *only* for Qumran and that it was not at some point engaged within different socio-historical *milieus*.

"Radial-Dialogic" Development of Traditions

Redfield's "structure of traditions" approach has proven useful in understanding the transmission of literary and religious traditions in

antiquity. On a macro level, this transmission took place between (a) Jewish hierarchical center(s) near the Temple (=“great traditions”) eventually making its way to what became the *Yahad* movement (=“little traditions”), which broke away from that hierarchy. The smaller movement arose from the soil of wider Jewish literary and religious traditions, but as they began to adapt, modify and innovate, their own literary traditions—the sectarian literature—diverged from the codifying center(s)

But Redfield’s model highlights that even outlying traditions are never completely isolated from primary cultural centers. Even as the *Yahad* members codified their own traditions—and identity—they were still in a dialogic exchange with the center. Literally, we find this conversation spelled out in *MMT* (cf. *Prayer for King Jonathan*), and indirectly, we find they were not shut off from most widely-known Jewish literary traditions, as they retained texts such as *Jubilees*, *Enoch*, *Sirach*, and multiple biblical versions. Further they correlated their calendar with that of the Jerusalem Temple. In the ideological sense, they were increasingly—but never fully—isolated from the religious Other(s) of their day.

But more importantly for S, this pattern of literary transmission took place on the micro level, within the movement itself. That is to say, as the *Yahad* began to crystallize as an independent movement, a new center was created, probably first at Jerusalem and later at Qumran. As the community began to replace the Temple itself, it became the new codifying center, where we can image much of the interpretive and literary production took place. These new traditions would have percolated out into the reaches of the *Yahad* movement, developing outside of the center but at the same time in a dialogic exchange with it.

This “radial-dialogic” model of semi-independent development is nowhere better illustrated than in the penal code. Similar regulatory material is shared by S, D, and 4Q265, enough to assume they came from the same basic set of regulations, which they retain in generally the same order. Yet each was adapted to fit the needs of their respective audiences. Each version added unique regulations, and their punishment types and lengths were modified. 1QS evolved to include relatively stringent punishments. D and 4Q265 instead develop a two-part punishment system, but only 4Q265 assumes a setting where members share communal food (cf. S). All three texts hint at different social settings, but their regulations overlap considerably.

The Rule texts must have circulated independently, but they were not unknown to each other. At least, they ended up in the same collection in the Dead Sea caves. Some of these so-called “external”

texts (D, 4Q265, 4Q159, 4Q502, etc.), describing “non-Qumranic” contexts, were all found near Qumran and exemplify the process of literary exchange I propose at least for some S versions. Moreover, if there is indeed an identifiable “Qumranic recension” layer to D (cf. Davies, Knibb, Hempel, Metso, etc.), this type of revision indicates these “outside” texts were still being engaged and makes it even more difficult to argue that Qumran scribes were copying outdated S versions without updating them. Rather, specific scribal communities were constantly reshaping the Rule material, and we should assume no less for the S material.

COMPARATIVE EVIDENCE: THE CONTEXT OF S

The scholarly construction of two bounded, diametric “S” and “D” communities is no longer tenable. In reality, there was a spectrum of community formations over time, rather than two centers with their respective “Welcome to...” signs above the door. Following Hultgren, we saw that D reflects earlier exegetical traditions, closer to the biblical Priestly source, but ones that were further expanded and refined by the time of the S copies. From D to the time of S, the authors continuously define themselves against the Jerusalem Temple, but that ideological break becomes more acute by the time of S. Thus, the authors of S constituted a later, natural outgrowth of the earlier movement described in D; in a similar way, the *Yahad* also grew out of the camp structure described in D. Thus, there is no reason to assume that the *Yahad* housed only the Qumran community, even though this particular center played a special theological and central role in the wider movement.

A study of the community terminology in the entire corpus supports this reconstruction. Texts that are closely aligned with S, either citing or overlapping S material and/or mentioning the “*Yahad*,” are also directed to a variety of family structures (e.g. 4Q159, 4Q265, 4Q502), never advocating directly for a celibate life. Concerning geographical information, the Scrolls do not offer much information about the *Yahad*, except that, most notably, the regulations of S are said to apply to members “in all of their residences” (מגוריהם; 1QS 6.1b-8). Also, the camp structure, although not named as such in S, appears to be a basic organizational arrangement of the movement (e.g. Jerusalem as the “Chief of Camps” 4Q395 62) and is associated with the primary governing body of the *Yahad*, the Many (“Camps of the Many”; 4Q477 2 i, 3).

Consistently in the Qumran corpus, the Many is an egalitarian governing body of all fully-fellowshipped members gathered together for judicial functions (1QS 6; CD 13.7; 14.7; 15.8, etc.). It likely functioned as an early administrative structure, but one that persisted in various *Yahad* contexts (such as in “the Camps”), even away from the movement’s hierarchical center. Thus we need not read either of the different primary leaders of 4QS^{b,d} and 1QS (“the Many” and the “Sons of Zadok,” respectively) as chronological replacements of the other; they existed alongside each other. Moreover, there is no evidence of a Zadokite *coup* elsewhere in the Scrolls; indeed, 1QS, the only version to mention the Zadokites, also *adds emphasis* to the rule of the Many, not found in other versions of S, without a hint of hostility.

The Classical sources offer the most demographic information about the Essenes, associated with the *Yahad*, even though the precise relationship between these two remains unclear. Geographically, the Essenes are most active in Jerusalem, never limited to one location in Josephus’s or Philo’s accounts. The Essenes live in great numbers (*Good Person* 13.91; *War* 2.138) in various cities and towns in Judea (*Hypoth.* 11.1). Pliny the Elder’s account is anomalous in that he describes an Essene community that resides by the Dead Sea (*Nat. Hist.* 5.17). Nevertheless, neither Pliny nor any other Classical author prohibits a broader reading of the *Yahad*; generally, they encourage it. And it is said that each of these communal centers had its own meeting house, open to members from other quarters that travel between communities (*War* 2.124). Members are trained in the holy books, prophets, and Essene traditions (*War* 2.159), swearing to “preserve in like manner the books of their sect” (*War* 2.142). Thus, among the Essenes, we can imagine the fluid transmission of the literary traditions developed in various circles.

Neither do archaeological findings preclude the present theory. In light of a new, earlier date for the *Yahad* settlement at Qumran (100-50 BCE), one that is approximately the same time 1QS was copied, it is highly unlikely that the long redactional history behind 1QS took place entirely at Qumran. The archaeological remains at Khirbet Qumran also represent diverse origins and influences, mimicking a similar pattern of exchange of ideas and trends as the one I propose for Qumran’s literary traditions. That is, Qumran appears have created its own unique footprint in the archaeological record, but it was not isolated from the surrounding trends (the imitation Eastern Sigillata A bowls, etc.) and the local trade of Second Temple Palestine. Similarities in ceramic remains, as well as INAA analysis, show that much of the pottery from Qumran, or at least its clay, came from

Jerusalem and Jericho, including some of the “scroll jars” from Cave 1. It is tempting to believe that these “scroll jars” brought scrolls with them to Qumran from these two sites, but all we can really conclude with certainty is that Qumran was more involved in external trade and was not as isolated (*via* trends, raw materials, etc.) as previously thought.

Nevertheless Qumran is still unusual within the archaeological record. Some features, such as relatively numerous *miqva'ot* and certain pottery types, may have resulted from the community's heightened purity concerns (cf. 4QMMT B 56-58), and the unusual animal bone deposits suggest that some significant ritual activity took place there. Finally, the presence of coffins in the cemetery, including the rare zinc coffin, indicates that some members came from afar to be buried there. All of these features may suggest that Qumran had a special function within the *Yaḥad* membership.

The Wilderness Calling

One should carefully define the label “sect” before applying it to the *Yaḥad*, as the term strongly connotes the church-sect dichotomy of the Christian paradigm from which it arose. However, based on a broader definition, the *Yaḥad* qualifies as a sectarian movement because its members distinguished themselves from the Jewish Other(s) primarily through the setting of ideological boundaries. They lived out these boundaries in a literal way through their legal praxis, and therefore, the proper interpretation of the law was of utmost importance in maintaining their identity (cf. preparing the “way,” 1QS 8.14-16). As I showed above, it was these ideological boundaries, rather than their physical separation from the Other, that laid the foundation of their religious identity; thus, a *physical* withdrawal to the desert was not essential for all members in order to self-identify as adherents of the *Yaḥad* (or עושי היחד).

Nevertheless, one cannot ignore that a wilderness calling takes a special place in a few S versions and may even challenge the present hypothesis that the *Yaḥad* members were more than the Judean Desert community. Certainly a wilderness theology is developed in some S versions and must have culminated in the settlement at Qumran. The wilderness was a place of revelation and restoration, where a special community withdrew eventually to become a replacement for the Jerusalem Temple (1QS 5.6-7; 8.1-16a; 9.3-11, etc.). It was for them a new sacred camp, as it was for the Israelites encamped in the wilderness; for in their own *Endzeit-Urzeit* theol-

ogy, the *Yahad* members envisioned themselves as the Israelites *redivivus* in the wilderness, at the foot of Sinai.

But, as I show above, from early on, this wilderness calling was deeply embedded in the movement's own prophetic vision of itself, inherited from biblical traditions. This strain of prophetic expectation underlies even early material (4QS^e, the "camps" of D, etc.). A well-developed wilderness theology already appears in an early copy of S, 1QS, the seeds of which must have preceded the move to Qumran proper. In their account of this move, the authors of S describe a break-away body that was chosen to carry out a wilderness mission, feasibly the same group mentioned in D as the "Men of Perfect Holiness" that others have convincingly have shown to be living a life of celibacy (cf. Baumgarten, Qimron, Collins, Hultgren, etc.). Whether for a short time or for life, some members served in this capacity in a nucleus of the "camps," but this arrangement did not mean that there were not other marrying members or outside communities, as one would expect in a movement built on claims of lineal priesthood.

RETURNING TO S: TENTATIVE REFLECTIONS

Beyond the above general conclusions, I can offer what are only unconfirmed or speculative reflections:

(1) Although the hierarchical center of the movement conceivably started out in Jerusalem, there are reasons to believe that it shifted to Qumran, particularly after the *Yahad* members increasingly rejected the Temple and further cultivated the idea of the community-as-temple.

(2) The unique material from each manuscript offers us a few subtle clues about the histories of the S copies: It may be that 1QS was the authoritative text of Qumran, the product of activity at the hierarchical and exegetical center of the movement. It exhibits the most developed self-awareness and the greatest degree of scriptural support for its theological ideas. Further, it contains a number of additional references to "covenant" (ברית) and one additional mention of their atoning function, the expressed purpose of the wilderness community (1QS 5.5-6, but lacking in 4QS^b 9.5//4QS^d 1.4-5). 1QS is the only version that specifically forbids that the unworthy *enter the waters*, which may refer to Qumran.¹ The care with which

¹ This may suggest the close presence of the enemy, or it may simply refer to internal members that have converted insincerely, as suggested by Hempel, "The Community and Its Rivals," 53; and Knibb, *The Qumran Community*, 110-11.

1QS was wrapped and preserved in Cave 1 may also indicate that it had an important place at Qumran.

(3) D mentions two groups: the “Men of Perfect Holiness” and those who live according to the rule of the land and the law. 1QS alone adds a second criterion for the annual examination of members (5.24), unknown in the Cave 4 copies. It says that a member is to be judged by his insight and “*the perfection of his way.*” If the “perfection of his way” alludes to the same phenomenon of the “Men of Perfect Holiness” (CD 7.6-7), then the phrase may refer to this particular group. Interestingly, in 4QS^{b,d}, members are annually examined on their insight and, in contrast to 1QS, their “*works in the Law*” (added two times to the base text of 1QS). 4QS^{b,d} also are entitled uniquely as a Rule for the “People of the Law” (אנשי תורה). This may have been an earlier designation for community members, but one should point out that it sounds similar to those contrasted with the “Men of Perfect Holiness,” i.e. “those who walk according to the rule of the land, according to the law” (CD 7.6-7).

(4) Overall, 4QS^{b,d,e} generally preserve a text that is shorter and closer to the original shared material than 1QS. These shorter texts, especially 4QS^e, most likely derive from pre-Qumran material and were developed partially, if not wholly, outside of Qumran. An extra-Qumranic setting may partially explain why 4QS^{b,d} have a longer section of prohibitions against intermingling with outsiders, including an otherwise unknown prohibition against eating with the “Men of Injustice” (4QS^b 9.8//4QS^d 1.7-8).

(5) Jerusalem was a likely home for some *Yahad* members, where S traditions were kept and at least partially developed. The Scrolls themselves mention Jerusalem more than any other site (64 times). It is the head of the “camps” (ראש מ[חנות ישראל], MMT B 29-31) and we find the curious phrase “Congregation of Jerusalem” (העדה הירושלית, 1QM 3.11). Josephus directly ties the Essenes to Jerusalem, and his “Essene Gate” most likely has been recovered by archaeologists. Finally, INAA indicates that some ceramics at Qumran originated from Jerusalem clay, including a few “scroll jars.” Given its priestly ties, it is likely that *Yahad* members spent at least some time in Jerusalem, as also suggested by 4QOtot, appended only to 4QS^e, which presumes an original Temple *milieu*. At the very least, these finds indicate that the community at Qumran maintained a relatively high degree of interaction with and concern for Jerusalem.

(6) Given both archaeological and textual clues, other related *Yahad* communities include ‘Ein Feshkha and Jericho, and less likely, ‘Ein el-Ghuweir, although these will remain unconfirmed in the absence of further discovery.

Areas of Future Research

In future studies, this non-Qumranic model should be applied to other so-determined sectarian texts to further test its usefulness. At a minimum, it offers new interpretive possibilities. First, it offers us a more realistic framework for understanding the *Yahad* members' encounter with their enemies, not only in the historical setting of their disputes but also in the substance of their disagreement. It may clarify whether the "Men of Injustice," who threaten to share meals with and touch the purity of the *Yahad* members, were really nearby—and a threat—just to the Qumran inhabitants. Second, the penal code deserves further study, particularly through a non-Qumranic model. That is, further studies would be fruitful, which assume a more diverse background to the penal code than a two-community (D and S) paradigm. Third, Jerusalem and other locales should seriously be considered as the backdrop to other literary traditions in texts such as the *War Scroll*, relating the *Yahad*'s traditions to a broader Jewish phenomenon than just that at Qumran. And finally, as my study of the Many and the Zadokites shows, further reevaluation of community functionaries would be beneficial, both in S and the entire corpus, outside of a single-community model.

In conclusion, this historical reconstruction will remain unproven in the absence of new evidence. I rely here only on textual clues, historical possibilities and analogous cases. Nevertheless, methodologically it is also not disallowed—and is even suggested—by all bodies of evidence. A new radial-dialogic model accounts for both time and space, solving lingering problems of previous chronological models. It encounters fewer difficulties than those explanations of S that are built on the assumption that all sectarian texts *were* a product of the Qumran community. Thus, at its core, this study offers a methodological challenge to reconsider the future of Scrolls studies, and at the very least, it opens up new scholarly dialogue about what increasingly appear to be diverse communities behind the Dead Sea Scrolls.

APPENDIX A
COMPARISON OF THE PENAL CODES

<i>Offense</i>	1QS	4QS ^c	4QD ^a	4QD ^e	4Q265
Lies about property knowingly	Exclusion: 1 year from pure food; fined ¼ food		[Exclusion] from pure food: 2[00] days; punishment: 100 days		
Deceives another	Punishment: 6 months	<i>Not preserved</i>			[Exclusion: 6] months; punishment: ½ food
Insults another	Exclusion; punishment: 1 year	<i>Not preserved</i>	Exclusion: 1 year; punishment: 6 months?	<i>Not preserved</i>	[Punishment?]: 30 days
Dozes at assembly	Punishment: 30 days	<i>Not preserved</i>	Exclusion: 30 days; punishment: 10 days		Punishment: 30 days
Bears unjust grudge	Punishment: *6 months*, corrected to 1 year	[Punishment: 6 months?]			
Goes naked before others	Punishment: 6 months	Punishment: 6 months	Exclusion: 6 [months]		

Allows nakedness to be seen	Punishment: 30 days	Punishment: 60 days	Exclusion: 30? days; punishment: 10 days	[Exclusion: 30 days?; punishment: 10 days?]	
Guffaws foolishly	Punishment: 30 days	Punishment: 30 [days]	Exclusion: 30 days; Punishment: 15 days	[Exclusion: 30 days?; Punishment: 15 days?]	Exclusion [30 days]; punishment: [15 days]
Gesticulates with left hand	Punishment: 10 days	[Punishment: 10] days	Punishment: [10 days]	Punishment: [10 days]	
Slanders another	Exclusion from pure food of the Many: 1 year; punishment	<i>Not preserved</i>		Exclusion: 1 year; [Punishment?]	
Utters a foolish word	Punishment: 3 months		Punishment: [20 days]; exclusion: 3 months		
Speaks during fellows speech	Fined: 10 days		[Punishment: 10] days		
Leaves session without permission	Punishment: 30 days	[30 days]			
Falls asleep 3 times at a session	Punishment: 10 days	[punishment: 10 days]			

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The Rule of the Community
***Serekh ha-Yaḥad*¹**

4Q255 Serekh ha-Yaḥad A

4Q256 Serekh ha-Yaḥad B

4Q257 Serekh ha-Yaḥad C

4Q258 Serekh ha-Yaḥad D

4Q259 Serekh ha-Yaḥad E

4Q260 Serekh ha-Yaḥad F

4Q261 Serekh ha-Yaḥad G

4Q263 Serekh ha-Yaḥad I

4Q264 Serekh ha-Yaḥad J

¹ 4Q262 Serekh ha-Yaḥad H was not included because of its relatively fragmentary state and the contested readings of the extant text.

KEY TO THE HEBREW TEXT

- () Deletion or erasure in the manuscript
[] Missing text
vacat Space left empty on the Scroll
The spacing of the Hebrew transcription does not reflect the spacing on the Scroll but is spaced as such only to align the various manuscripts
◦ Reading is conjectural
· Reading is likely, but the letter is not fully preserved
D9 Indicates a new line from 4QS^d, column 9 (as per Alexander and Vermes, DJD 26)
Bold Indicates significant variation from the text of 1QS

IQS Col. 1

- 1 ל] [שים לחיו] כ היחד לדרוש
]A1 [ספר סרכ היחד A1
]C1 [
- 2 אל ב] [לעשות הטוב והישר לפני כאשר
]A1 [ו]ל נפש לעשות A1
]C1 [ובכ]C1 [
- 3 צוה ביד מושה וביד כול עבדיו הנביאים ולאהוב כול
A1 צוה ביד מושה A1]
]A1 [יהוב כ]ל
]A1 [ו]ל
- 4 אשר בחר ולשנוא את כול אשר מאס לרחוק מכול רע
]A1 []A1 []
- 5 ולדבוק בכול מעשי טוב ולעשות אמת וצדקה ומשפט
]ולעש] []
- 6 בארצ ולוא ללכת עוד בשרירות לב אשמה ועיני זנות
7 לעשות כול רע ולהבי את כול הנדבים לעשות חוקי אל
8 בברית חסד להיחד בעצת אל ולהתהלכ לפניו תמים כול

9 הנגלות למועדי תעודותם ולאהוב כול בני אור איש
10 כגורלו בעצת אל ולשנוא כול בני חושב איש באשמתו
11 בנקמת אל וכול הנדבים לאמתו יביאו כול דעתם וכוחם
12 והונם ביחד אל לברר דעתם באמת חוקי אל וכוחם לתכן
13 כתם דרכיו וכול הונם כעצת צדקו ולוא לעמוד בכול אחד
14 מכול דברי אל בקציהם ולוא לקדם עתיהם ולוא להתאחר
15 מכול מועדיהם ולוא לסור מחוקי אמתו ללכת ימין ושמאל
16 וכול הבאים בסרכ היחד יעבורו יעברו (א)לפני אל לעשות
] B2 [בסרך היחד יעבורו] * בבן]

17 ככול אשר צוה ולוא לשוב מאחרו מכול פחד ואימה ומצרפ
] B2 [מכול פן] ימה ומצרף

18 נסוים בממשלת בליעל ובעוברם בברית יהיו הכוהנים
] B2 [ם

19 והלויים מברכים את אל ישועות ואת כול מעשי אמתו וכול
] והלן [

20 העוברים בברית אומרים אחריהם אמן אמן *vaca*
21 *vaca* והכוהנים מספרים את צדקות אל במעשי גבורותם
] B2 [גבורתן]

22 ומשמיעים כול חסדי רחמים על ישראל והלויים מספרים
[B2]

23 את עוונות בני ישראל וכול פשעי אשמתם וחטאתם בממשלת
[יונות בני י] B2

24 בליעל [ל' העוברים בברית מודים אחריהם לאמור נעינו
25 [שֶׁעָנּוּ] [אָנוּ הרשענו אנו [בֹּוֹתֵינוּ מלפנינו ב(ה')לכתנו
26 [אמת וצדיק'] [ל'] משפטו בנו ובאבותי'] [

IQS Col. 2

1 ורחמי חסדו גמל עלינו מעולם ועד עולם והכוהנים מברכים את כול
2 אנשי גורל אל ההולכים תמים בכול דרכיו ואומרים יברכה בכול
3 טוב וישמורכה מכול רע ויאר לבכה בשכל חיים ויחונכה בדעת עולמים
4 וישא פני חסדיו לכה לשלום עולמים ואלויים מקלים את כול אנשי
[והלויים] B2
C2 והלויים מקלים את כול אנשי

5 גורל בליעל וענו ואמרו ארור אתה בכול מעשי רשע אשמתכה יתנכה
[B2]
גורל בל' ועל וענו ואמרו ארור C2 תת']ל' [אשמתכה יתנכה

- 6 אל זעוה ביד כול נוקמי נקם ויפקוד אחרובה כלה ביד כול משלמי
[B3]
אל זעוה ביד כול נוקמי] C2
- 7 גמולים ארור אתה לאין רחמימ כחושך מעשיכה זעום אתה
[] [ור אתה לאין רחמימ כחושך]
[ל] [רוך אתה C2] [חושך] []
- 8 באפלת אש עולמים לוא יחונכה אל בקוראכה ולוא יסלה לכפר עוונך
[B3] [עולמים לוא]
באפלת C2] [לוא ין]
[ונכה]
- 9 ישא פני אפו לנקמתכה ולוא יהיה לכה שלום כפי כול אוחזי אבות
[B3]
[C2] [שלום] [C2] []
- 10 וכול העוברים בברית אומרים אחר המברכים והמקללים אמן אמן
[] [C2] [] [המברכים]

11 vacat והוסיפו הכהונים והלויים ואמרו ארור בגלולי לבו לעבור

[אִי אָרוּר]

[אִי גֵן]

12 הבא בברית הזות ומכשול עוונו ישים לפניו להסוג. בו והיה

13 בשמ'ען את דברי הברית הזות יתברך בלבבו לאמור שלום יהי לי

14 כיא בשרירות לבי אלך ונספתה רוחו הצמאה עם הרווה לאין

15 סליחה אפ אל קנאת משפטיו יבערו בו לכלת עולמים ודבקו בו כול

16 אלות הברית הזות ויבדילוהו אל לרעה ונכרת מתוכ כול בני אור בהסוגו

17 מאחרי אל בגלליו ומכשול עוונו יתן גורלו בתוך ארורי עולמים

18 וכול באי הברית יענו ואמרו אחריהם אמן אמן vacat

19 vacat ככה יעשו שנה בשנה כול יומי ממשלת בליעל הכהונים יעבורו

20 ברשונה בסרכ לפי רוחותם זה אחר זה והלויים יעבורו אחריהם

21 וכול העם () יעבורו בשלישית בסרכ זה אחר זה לאלפים ומאות

22 וחמשים ועשרות לדעת כול איש ישראל איש בית מעמדו ביחד אל

23 לעצת עולמים ולוא ישפל איש מבית מעמדו ולוא ירום ממקום גורלו

24 כיא הכול יהיו ביחד אמת וענות טוב ואהבת חסד ומחשבת צדק

25 אִישׁ לרעהו בעצת קודש ובני סוד עולמים וכול המואס לבוא

26] ללכת בשרירות לבו לוא] [חד אמתו כיא געלה

לוא י.] אמן] כִּן אִי גֵן]

IQS Col. 3

- 1 נפשו ביסורי דעת משפטי צדק לוא חזק למשוב חיו ועם ישרים לוא יתחשב
נפשוֹ]C3[]משפטןִ]חזקןִ]משיב חיו ועם יןִ] יתחןִ]
- 2 ודעתו וכוחו והוגו לוא יבואו בעצת יחד כיא בסאון רשעִ מחרשו וגוֹלים
ודעתוֹ]וכחוֹ]והוגוֹ]לואִ]יבואוֹ]בעצתִ]יחדִ]כִןִ]סאוןִ]רשעִ]C3]מחרשוֹ]וגאִ]םִ]C3]
- 3 בשובתוֹ ולוא יצדק במתור שרירותִ לבו וחושבִ יביט לדרכיִ אור בעיןִ תמימים
בשׁ]בתוֹ]לואִ]יצדקִ]במתןִ]שרירותִ]C3]לבוֹ]וחושדִ]יִ]לֵ]]אורִ]בעיןִ]תמימיםִ]
- 4 לוא יתחשבִ לוא יזכה בכפוריםִ ולוא יטהרִ במיִ נדהִ ולוא יתקדשִ בימיםִ
לואִ]יתחןִ]]C3]לואִ]יזכהִ]בכפוןִ]]אִ]יטהרִ]במיִ]נדהִ]ולואִ]יתקדִ]C3]
- 5 ונהרותִ ולוא יטהרִ בכלִ מיִ רחצִ טמאִ טמאִ יהיהִ כולִ יומיִ מואסוֹ במשפטיִ
הִרִןִ]הִרִןִ]לֵ]]הִרִןִ]לֵ]]C3]]מוֹאסוֹ]]שִפטיִ]
- 6 אלִ לבלתיִ החיטרִ ביחדִ עצתוֹ כיאִ ברוחִ עצתִ אמתִ אלִ דרכיִ אישיִ יופפרוֹ כולִ
אִ]C3]]וחִ]עןִ]]אמתִ]אלִ]
- 7 עוונותוֹ להביטִ באורִ החייםִ וברוחִ קדושהִ ליחדִ באמתוֹ יטהרִ מכולִ
A2]וברוחִ]קודשוֹ]ליחדִ]בִאמתִ]]יטהרִ]]
]C3]]טִ]בִאִ]]

8 עונותיו וברוח יושר וענה תכופר חטתו ובענות נפשו לכול חוקי אל יטהר
A2עונותו וברוח ישר וענן] [ך חטן] A2נפשו לכול חוקי אל יטהר
]C3 [אֵה תְּכַוֵּן]

9 בשרו לחזות במי נדה ולהתקדש במי דוכי ויהיין פעמיו להלכת תמים
]A2 מי זדה ולהתקדש בְּמִי דוכי ופן] A2להלכת תמים
]C3 [אִים] אִה לחזות]

10 בכול דרכי אל כאשר צוה למועדי תעודתיו ולוא לסור ימין ושמאל ואין
בכול דרכי אל כאשר] A2למועדי תעודתו ולן] [לסור ימין A2ושמאל ואין
בכול]]C3 [מִיין] ין]

11 לצעוד על אחד מכול דבריו אז ירצה בכפורי נוחח לפני אל והיתה לו לברית
לצעד על אחד] A2אז ירצה בכפורי נוחח והיתה] [

12 יחד עולמים vacat
]A2 [אִי עולמין]

13 vacat למשכיל להבין וללמד את כול בני אור בתולדות כול בני איש
14 לכול מיני רוחותם באותותם למעשיהם בדורותם ולפקודת נגיעיהם עם
15 קצי שלומם מאל הרעות כול הויה ונהייה ולפני היותם הכין כול מחשבתם
16 ובהיותם לתעודותם כמחשבת כבודו ימלאו פעולתם ואין להשנות בידו

17 משפטי כול והואה יכלכלם ככול חפציהם והואה ברא אנוש לממשלת
18 תבל וישם לו שתי רוחות להתהלכ בם עד מועד פקודתו הנה רוחות
19 האמת והעול במעון אור תולדות האמת וממקור חושב תולדות העול
20 ביד שר אורים ממשלת כול בני צדק בדרכי אור יתהלכו וביד מלאך
21 חושב כול ממשלת בני עול וברכי חושב יתהלכו ובמלאך חושך תעות
22 כול בני צדק וכול חטאתם ועוונותם ואשמתם ופשעי מעשיהם בממשלתו
23 לפי רזי אל עד קצו וכול נגועיהם ומועדי צרותם בממשלת משטמתו
24 וכול רוחי גורלו להכשיל בני אור ואל ישראל ומלאכ אמתו עזר לכול
25 בני אור והואה ברא רוחות אור וחושב ועליהון יסד כול מעשה
26 לָ] [הן כול עבודה ועל דרכיהן] [לָ] [אִדָּה אחת אהב אל לכול

IQS Col. 4

1 [עדי עולמים וכול עלילותיה ירצה לעד אחת תעב סודה וכול דרכיה שנה לנצח *vacat*
2 *vacat* ואלה דרכיהן בתבל להאר בלבב איש ולישר לפניו כול דרכי צקד אמת ולפחד לבבו במשפטי
3 אל רוח ענוה ואִרֶכ אפים רוב רחמים וטוב עולמים ושכל ובינה וחכמת גבורה מאמנת ככול
4 מעשי אל ונשענת ברוב חסדו ורוח דעת ככול מחשבת מעשה וקנאת משפטי צדק ומחשבת
[ומחשבת]]C5

5 קודש ביצר סמוכ ורוב חסדים על כול בני אמת וטהרת כבוד מתעב כול גולילי נדה והצנע לכת
[קִדְשׁ וְדֵשׁ]]C5
[אֵת כבוד מִתְעַבֵּת כול גולילי]]C5

6 בערמת כול וחבא לאמת רזי דעת אלה סודי רוח לבני אמת תבל ופקודת כול הולכי בה למרפא
[דעת אלה סודי רוח]Cs]

7 ורוב שלום באורכ ימים ופרות זרע עם כול ברכות עד ושמת עולמים בחיי נצח וכליל כבוד
[ב שלום באורכ ימים ופרות זרע]Cs]

8 עם מדת הדר באור עולמים vacat
[] [vacat]]ע[]Cs[

9 vacat ולרוח עולה רחוב נפש ושפול ידים בעבודת צדק רשע ושקר גוה ורום לבב כחש ורמיה אכזרי
[]Cs]]צדק [

10 ורוב חנפ קצור אפים ורוב אולת וקנאות זרון מעשי תועבה ברוח זנות ודרכי נדה בעבודת טמאה
[]Cs]]את זרן מעשי תו[] [

11 ולשון גדופים עורן עינים וכבוד און קושי עורפ וכובוד לב ללכת בכל דרכי חושכ וערמת רוע ופקודת
]Cs]]

12 כול הולכי בה לרוב נגועים ביד כול מלאכי חבל לשחת עולמים באפ עברת אל נקמה לזעות נצח וחרפת
]Cs]]

עד עם כלמת כלה באש מחשכים וכול קציהם לדורותם באבל יגון ורעת מרורים בהיות חושב עד]
]אָבֶל יִגוֹן יָגוֹן C3]

14 כלותם לאין שרית ופליטה למו vacat
]הֶ לְמוֹ]

15 vacat באלה תולדות כול בני איש ובמפלגותן ינחלו כול צבאותם לדורותם ובדרכיהן יתהלכו וכול פעולת]C5
]לָ]

16 מעשיהם במפלגיהן לפי נחלת איש בין רוב למועט לכול קצי עולמים כיא אל שמון בד בבד עד קצ
17 אחרון ויתן איבת עולם בין מפלגות¹⁶ תועבת אמת עלילות עולה ותועבת עולה כול דרכי אמת וקנאות
18 ריב על כול משפטיהן כיא לוא יחד יתהלכו ואל ברזי שכלו ובחכמת כבודו נתן קצ להיות עולה ובמועד
19 פקודה יישימדינה לעד ואז תצא לנצח אמת תבל כיא התגללה בדרכי רשע בממשלת עולה עד
20 מועד משפט נחרצה ואז יברר אל באמתו כול מעשי גבר יזקק לו מבני איש להתם כול רוח עולה מתכמי
21 בשרו ולטהרו ברוח קודש מכול עלילות רשעה וז עליו רוח אמת כמי גדה מכול תועבות שקר והתגלל
22 ברוח גדה להבין ישרים בדעת עליון וחכמת בני שמים להשכל תמימי דרכ כיא בס בחר אל לברית עולמים
23 ולהם כול כבוד אדם ואין עולה והיה לבושת כול מעשי רמיה עד הנה יריבו רוחי אמת ועול בלבב גבר]ג C6
]ג C6

24 יתהלכו בחכמה ואולת וכפי נחלת איש באמת יצדק וכן ישנא עולה וכירשתו בגורל עול ירשע בו וכן]אִוִּי C6f
]ב C6f]

25 יתעב אמת כיא בד בכד שמן אל עד קצ נחרצה ועשות חדשה והואה ידע פעולת מעשיהן לכול קצי
[C6]

26 [וינחילן לבני איש לדעת טוב] [ל] פיל גורלות לכול חי לפי רוחו ב [] [הפקודה

IQS Col. 5

1 *vacat* זה הסרכ לאנשי יחד המתנדבים לשוב מכול רע ולהחזיק בכול אשר צוה לרצונו להבדל מעדת
B9 מדרש למשכיל על [B9] אשר צוה ולהבדל מעדת
D1 מדרש למשכיל על אנשי התורה המתגדים להשיב מכל רע ולהחזיק בכל אשר צוה D1 ולבדל מעדת

2 אנשי העול להיות ליחד בתורה ובהון ומשובים על פי בני צדוק הכהנים שומרי הברית על פי רוב אנשי
א]

D1 אנשי העול ולהיות יחד בתור [] ובהון ומשיבים על פי הרבים

3 היחד המחזקים בברית על פיהם יצא תכון הגורל לכול דבר לחורה ולהון ולמשפט לעשות אמת יחד וענוה
לכול דבר לתורה
לכול דבר D1 לתורה ולהון ולעשות ענוה

4 צדקה ומשפט ואהבת חסד והצנע לכת בכול דרכיהם אשר לוא ילכ איש בשרירות לבו לתעות אחר לבבו
B9 חסד והצנע לכת בכול דרכיהם אש []
וצדקה ומשפט ואהבת [] צנע לכת בכל דרכיהם D1 [לא ילך איש בשרירות לבו לתעות

5 ועינודי ומחשבת יצרו יאאם למול ביחד עורלת יצר ועורפ קשה ליסד מוסד אמת לישראל ליחד ברית
B9

כי אם ליסד מסד אמת לישראל ליחד
כי אם ליסד אמת לישראל ליחד

6 עולם לכפר לכול המתנדבים לקודש באהרון ולבית האמת בישראל והגלוים עליהם ליחד ולריב ולמשפט
[כול]
לכל D1המתנדב לקדש באהרן ובית אמת לישראל והגלוי [ע]הם ליחד

7 להרשיע כול עוברי חוק ואלה תכון דרכיהם על כול החוקים האלה בהאספם ליחד כול הבא לעצת היחד
וכול הבא
וכל הבא לעצת D1]ד

8 יבוא בברית אל לעיני כול המתנדבים ויקם על נפשו בשבועת אסר לשוב אל תורת מושה ככול אשר צוה ככול
B9 באסר לשוב אל תורת משה
בכול יקם על נפשו
בכל [ל]ורת משן [

9 לב ובכול נפש לכול הנגלה ממנה לבני צדוק הכוהנים שומרי הברית ודורשי רצונו ולרוב אנשי בריתם
לב וכל נפש כל הנגלה מן D1 התן [ל] [

10 המתנדבים יחד לאמתו ולהחליט ברצונו ואשר יקים בברית על נפשו להבדל מכול אנשי העול ההולכים
B9 **עצת אנשי הייחוד ולהבדל מן [ל אנשי העול ו]**
עצת אנשי [הייחוד] [העול] שׁוֹר

11 בדרכ הרשעה כיא לוא החשבו בבריתו כיא לוא בקשו ולוא דרשהו בחוקוהי לדעת הנסתרות אשר תעו
[

12 בס לאששמה והנגלות עשו ביד רמה לעלות אפ למשפט ולנקום נקם באלות ברית לעשות בס (ג)שפטים
13 גדולים לכלת עולם לאין שרית אל יבוא במים לועת בטהרת אנשי הקודש כיא לוא יטהרו
B9 **הקודש ואל יוכל אתו [בי]היחוד**

לא **יגעו לטהרת אנשי D1] ש ואל יוכל אתו ב[**
14 כי אמ שבו מרעתם כיא טמא בכל עוברי דברו ואשר לוא ייחד עמו בעבודתו ובהו(י פן ישיאנו
15 עוון אשמה כיא ירחק ממנו ככול דבר כיא כן כתוב מכול דבר שקר תרחק ואשר לוא ישוב איש מאנשי
ואשר ל[א]
[יש מאנשי

16 היחד על פיהם לכול תורה ומשפט ואשר לוא יוכל מהונם כול ולוא ישתה ולוא יקח מידם כול מאומה
B9 **לכול תורה ומשפט] שר לוא זיח**]
[עבודה ואל יזאכל איש מאנשי הקדש

17 אשר לוא במחיר כאשר כתוב חדלו לכם מן האדם אשר נשמה באפו כיא כמה נחשב הואה כיא

18 כול אשר לוא נחשבו בבריתו להבדיל אותם ואת כול אשר להם ולא ישען איש הקודש על כול מעשי
[D1] [ל] [ה] ולא ישענו על [שי]

19 הבל כיא הבל כול אשר לוא ידעו את בריתו וכול מנאצי דברו ישמיד מתבל וכול מעשיהם לנה
[B9] [ש] [ם] [נה]
ההבל כי הבל כל אשר [D1] [י] ומעשיהם לנה []

20 לפניו וטמא בבול הונ(ו)ם וכיא יבוא בברית לעשות ככול החוקים האלה להיחד לעדת קודש ודרשו
[לפניו]
ל [] [ל] [D1] [] [ם גוים ושבעות וחרמים ונדדים בפיהם] []

21 את רוחום ביחד בין איש לרעהו לפי שכלו ומעשיו בתורה על פי בני אהרון המתנדבים ביחד להקים
[D1] [דש ל] [ל] [ל] [D2] [ואת מעשיהם בתורה על פי בני אהרון המתנדבים להקים

22 את בריתו ולפקוד את כול חוקיו אשר צוה לעשות ועל פי ר(י)ב ישראל המתנדבים לשוב ביחד לבריתו
את בריתו ולפקוד את כל הקיו אשר צוה[D2] לעשות על פי רוב ישראל המתנדבים לשוב ביחד
[G1] [הו ול] [וקו אשר צוה לע] [G1] [ב יש] [ם לשבת יחד

23 וכתבם בסרכ איש לפני רעהו לפי שכלו ומעשיו להשמע הכול איש לרעהו הקטן לגדול ולהיות
ולהכתב איש לפני רעה **בסרך איש** לפי שכלו [D2] ומעשיו בתורה להשמע הכול איש לרעהו [הקטן לגדול ולהיות
ולכתב] [G1] [י רע] [] שככלו ומעשו בתור[D1] [G1] [הקטן]

24 פוקדם את רוחם ומעשיהם שנה בשנה להעלות איש לפי שכלו ותום דרכו ולאחריו כנעותו להוכיח פוקדים את רוחם ומעשיהם **D2** בתורה שנה בשנה ל^העלות איש כפי שכלו] ולאחריו כנעותו להוכיח **G1** [**G1**]נעו]

25 איש את רעהו בא]ת ועונה ואהבת חסד לאיש *vacat* אל ידבר אלוהיהי באפ או בתלונה איש את רעהו ואהבת חסד **D1** ואל ידבר איש אל רעהו באף או בתלונה

26 או בעורפ] רוח רשע ואל ישנאוהו]ל[לבבו כיא ביומ() יוכיחנו ולוא או בקנאת רשע **I1**]ע[

Col. 6
1 ישא עליו עוון וגם אל יביא איש על רעהו דבר לפני הרבים אשר לוא בתוכחת לפני עדים ב(“)לה וגם אל יבא איש על רעהו דבר לרבים **D2** אשר לא בהוכח לפני ע[]ובאלה **I1**] כח לפני עדים ובאלה]

2 יתהלכו בכל מגוריהם כול הנמצא איש את רעהו וישמעו הקטן לגדול למלאכה ולמזון ויחד יואכלו תהלכו בכל מגוריהם כל הנמצא את רעהו ויש[**D2**לגדול למלאכה ולה[**G2** כלו]תהל[**I1**]ע [הקטן לגדול למלאכה ולה[

- 3 יחד יברכו יחד יועצו ובכול מקום אשר יהיה שם עשרה אנשים מעצת החיד אל ימש מאתם איש
 יִדְיִבְרְכוּ יוֹחַד יוֹעֲצוּ [ב]ל [תם] $D2$ אנשים מִן []
 כֹּן [$G2$]
- 4 כוהן ואיש כתובנו ישבי לפניו וכן ישאלו לעצתם לכול דבר והיה כִּיֹּא יַעֲרֹכּוּ הַשּׁוֹלְחַן לֵאמֹר או התירוש
 כֹּן [ש כתובנו יש] $D2$ והיה כִּי [ירוש]
 כְּתוּבִין [] יִשְׂא []
 וְשִׁבְתוּ []
- 5 לשנות הכוהן ישלח ידו לרשונה להברך בראשית הלחם או התירוש לשתות הכהן ישלח ידו לרשונה
 [כוהן יש] []
- 6 להברך בראשית הלחם והתירוש ואל ימש במקום אשר יהיו שם העשרה איש דורש בתורה יומם ולילה
 $D2$ והתירוש []
- 7 תמיד על יפות איש לרעהו והרבים ישקודו ביחד את שלישית כול לילות השנה לקרוא בספר ולדרוש משפט
 [קד?]
- 8 ולברך ביחד *vacat* וזה הסרך למושב הרבים איש בתכוננו הכוהנים ישבו לרשונה והזקנים בשנית ושאר

9 כול העם ישבו איש בתוכו וכן ישאלו למשפט ולכול עצה ודבר אשר יהיה לרבים להשיב איש את מדעו
D3
איש את מד]

10 לעצת היחד vacat אל ידבר איש בתוכ דברי רעהו טרם יכלה אחיהו לדבר vacat וגם אל ידבר לפני תכנו הכתוב
B11
[ידבר]

11 לפני האיש הנושאל ידבר בתרו ובמושב הרבים אל ידבר איש כול דבר אשר לוא להפצ הרבים וכיא האיש
B11
[הרבים אל יד]
D3 הרבים אל ידב]

12 המבקר על הרבים וכול איש אשר יש אתו דבר לדבר לרבים אשר לוא במעמד האיש השואל את עצת
B11
[איש אשר יש]
D3 לרבים אשר]

13 היחד ועמד האיש על הגלוה ואמר יש אתי דבר לדבר לרבים אם יזמרו לו ידבר וכולה מתגב מישראל
B11
[ידבר וכול המת]

14 להוסיף על עצת היחד יזרשהו האיש הפקוד ברוש הרבים לשכלו ולמעשיו ואם ישוג מוסר יביאהו
15 בברית לשוב לאמת ולסור מכול עול ביה"נה ככול משפטי היחד ואחר בבואו לעמוד לפני הרבים ונשאלו
16 ככול על דבריו וכאשר יצא הגורל על עצת הרבים יקרב או ירחק ובקורבו לעצת היחד לוא יגע בטהרת
B11 הכול]
[B11 סהרת]

17 הרבים עד אשר ידרושה לרוחו ומעשו עד מלאת לו שנה תמימה וגם הואה אל יתערב בהן הרבים
הרבים עד [ש] [B11] [ל] שנה תמימה

18 ובמולאת לו שנה בתוכ היחד ישאלו הרבים על דבריו לפי שכלו ומעשיו בתורה ואם יצא לו הגורל
ישא]

19 לקרוב לסוד היחד על פי הוהננים ורוב אנשי בריהם יקר(ב) גמ את הונו ואת מלאכתו אל יד האיש
20 המבקר על מלאכת הרבים וכתבו בחשבון בידו ועל הרבים לוא יוציאנו אל יגע במשקה הרבים עד
21 מולאת לו שנה שנית בתוך אנשי היחד ובמולאת לו השנה השנית יפקודו על פי הרבים ואם יצא לו
22 הגורל לקרבו ליחד יכתובו בסך תכונו בתוכ אחיו לתורה ולמשפט ולטו"רה ולערב את הונו ויה עצתו
צתו] [G2]

23 ליחד ומשפטו vacat
ליח] [

24 vacat ואל"ה המשפטים אשר ישפטו במדרש יחד על פי הדברים אם ימצא כם איש אשר ישקר
G3] [שר ישפטו
על פי] [G3] [G3]

25 בהון והואה יודע ויבדילהו מתוכ טהרת רבים שנה אחת ונגעשו את רביעית לחמו ואשר ישוב את
ממון והוא יודע והב] [G3] [ש] [ע"ת לח]

26 רעהו בקשי עורף ודבר בקוצר אפים לפרוע את יסוד עמיתו באמרות את פי רעהו הכתוב לפנהי

[] 27 [שיעה ידו לוא ונ(א)נעש שנה אח] []

[] G4 [הי] []

IQS Col. 7

1 ואם קלל או להבעת מצרה או לכול דבר אשר לו () הואה קורה בספר או מברכ והבדילהו [] G4 [צרה] []

2 ולוא ישוב עוד על עצת היחד *vacat* ואם באחר מן הכוהנים הכתובים בספר דבר בחמה ונענש שנה [] G4 [באה] [שנה] []

3 אחת ומובל על נפשו מן טהרת רבים ואם בשגגה דבר ונענש ששה חודשים *vacat* ואשר יכחס במדעו [] G4 [לרבים] []

4 ונענש ששה חודשים והאיש אשר יצחה בלו משפט את רעהו בדעהא ונענש שנה אחת

5 ומובל ואשר ידבר את רעהו במרום או יעשה רמיה במדעו ונענש ששה חודשים ואם

6 *vacat* ברעהו יתרה¹ ונענש שלשה חודשים *vacat* ואם בהון היחד יתרמה לאבדו ושלמו (ב) (

7 ברדשו *vacat*

8 ואם לוא תשיג ידו לשלמו ונענש ששים יום² ואשר יטו³ () לרעהו אשר לוא () משפט ונענש (ששה חודשים) שנה אחת

[] E1 [שם]

9 וכן לנוקם לנפשו כול דבר ואשר ידבר בפיהו דבר נבל שלושה חודשים ולמדבר בתוכ דבלי רעהו]G5[]ר']G5[

10 עשרת ימים ואשר ישכוב ושן במושב הרבים שלושים ימים וכן לאיש הנפ(ר) במושב הרבים]G5[]אשר ישכב] E1
[ישן במו]ב] G5[]רבי']

11 אשר לוא בעצה וחנם עד שלוש פעמים על מושב אחד ונענש עשרת ימים ואם יז(י) vacat אש(ר) אשר לא ב'צה] G5]
[נשן]ר'ת ימים G5]

12 ונפטר ונענש שלושים יום ואשר יהלך לפני רעהו ערום ולוא היה אנש ונענש ששה חודשים]G5[]נענש שלושים יום ואשר יה'] E1
[היה אנש']נש] אשה הו']א היה אנוס G5]

13 ואיש אשר ירוק אל תוכ מושב הרבים ונענש שלושים יום ואשר יוציא ידו מתחת בגדו והואה]D5[] ידו מת]
]G5[]ה'ת בגד']G5[]א'ת הו'] E1
]ה'ת בגד']G5[]הוא']

14 פוח ונראתה ערותו ונענש שלושים יום ואשר ישחק בסכלות להשמיע קולו ונענש שלושים
[E1] ונענש שלושים יום ואשר ישחק [E1] קלו ונענש שלשים
[אָשׁוּר]

15 יום והמוציא את יד שמאלו לשוח בה ונענש עשרת ימים והאיש אשר ילכ רכיל ברעהו
[יָ] [וְהוֹי] [E1] לְשׁוֹחַ בֵּן [מִי] [G6]] נשן [רת] [

16 והבדילהו שנה אחת מטהרת הרבים ונענש ואיש ברבים ילכ רכיל לשלח הואה מאתם
[G6]] נה [חַתּ מְטוֹה] [נענש [אי] [G6]] [שלוחומוא]ם

17 ולא ישוב עוד והאיש אשר ילון על יסוד היחד ישלחהו ולא ישוב ואם על רעהו ילון
[יָ] [עוֹד] [אִישׁ] [G6]] [יְיַחַד לְעֹלָה וּלְאֵ] [G6]]

18 אשר לוא במשפט ונענש ששה חודשים והאיש אשר תזע רוחו מיסוד היחד לבגוד באמת
[שׁ]ה חד [

19 וללכת בשרירות לבו אם ישוב ונענש שתי שנים ברשונה (לוא יגע בטהרת הרבים *vacat*

vacat רבִּיִּים) ובשנית לוא יגע (בטהרת^{משקה} הרבים ואחר כול אנשי היחד ישב ובמלואת
[E2] כ ובמלאות

21 לו שנתיים ימים ישאלו הרבים *vacat* על דבריו ואם יקרבנו ונכתב בתכוננו ואחר ישאל אל המשפט
[E2]] כִּינְיָ [ואחר ישאֵל

22) (כול איש אשר יהיה בעצת היחד) (על מלואת עשר שנים *vacat*
[E2]]ת היחד עד מלאות לו E2]

23) *vacat* (ושבה רוחו לבגוד ביחד ויצא מלפני
י]

24 הרבים ללכת בשרירות לבו לוא ישוב אל עצת היחד עוד ואיש מאנשי היחן]שר יתערב
[E2]]אנשי היחד אשר E2]

25 עמו בטהרתו או בהוננו אשן]הרבים והיה משפטו כמוהו לשלן
[E2]] והיה משפטו E2]

1 QS Col. 8
1 בעצת היחד שנים עשר איש וכוהנים שלושה תמימים ככול הנגלה מכול
[E2]]אנשים [כוהנים שלושה E2]

2 התורה לעשות אמת וצדקה ומשפט ואהבת חסד והצנע לכת איש אמ רעוו
[אמת צדקה ומשפט E2]

3 לשמור אמונה בארץ ביצר סמוך ורוח נשברה ולרצת עוזן בעושי משפט
[מִוְנָה בְּאַרֶץ בִּיֶצֶר סְמוּךְ וּבְעֵנָה E2] [שְׁבֵרָה וּלְרִצוֹת עֹזִין]

4 יצרת מצרף ולהתהלך עם כול ב(ל) מדת האמת ובתכונ העת להיות אלה בישראל
[מִצְרָף וְהִתְהַלַּךְ עִם כּוֹל E2] [הָאֱמֶת וּבִתְכוּןִי] [יִשְׂרָאֵל]

5 נבונה (ה)עצת היחד באמת (ל) vacat למעֵת עולם בית קודש לישראל וסוד קודש
נכונה עצת היחד E2] [שֹׁפֵט עוֹלָם] [קֹדֶשׁ]

6 קודשים לאהרון עדי אמת למשפט וב(ה)רִי רצון לכפר בעד הארץ ולהשב
[D6] [לְהֵשִׁיב]

קדשים לאהרֵן E2 עֲדֵי אֱמֶת לְמִשְׁפַּטְּ וּבַחֲרִי־וֹ] [רִצוֹן־לְכַפֵּר] [הָאֲרֶץ]

7 לרשעים גמולם vacat היאה חומת הבחן פנת יקר כל vacat
[לְרִשְׁעִים D6]]

לרשעים E2 גְּמוּלָם היאה חוֹמַת־הַבְּחִין פָּן] [לְ]

8 ידעונו יסודותיו ובל יחישו ממקומם vacat מעון קודש קודשים
[קוֹמָם] [מְעוֹן קוֹדֶשׁ קוֹדְשִׁים]

שִׁים [no space for cor] לֹא יַחֲשׂוּ מִמְּקוֹמָם E2 מְעוֹן קוֹדֶשׁ קוֹדְשִׁים

9 לאהרון בדעת כולם לברית משפט ולקריב ייחוח ובית תמים ואמת בישראל
[D6] אל
לאהרן [לברין [לרין [יחוח ובית E2 תמים ואמת ב] אל

10 להקם ברית לחו(י)ת עולם בהכונן אלה ביסוד היחד שנתים ימים בתמים דרך
להקם ברית לחקות עולם D6 [space for cor.] סוד היחד שנתים ימים D6
לן [עולם בהכין אלה E2 vacat [E3 vacat [

11 יבילו קודש בתוכ עצת אנשי היחד וכול דבר נסתר מישראל ונמצאו לאיש
[י היח] [נ] [ראל ונמצא D6 לאיש]
[לקדש בתוך עצת אנ] [E3] א [לאיש

12 הודוש אל יסתרהו מאלה מיראת רוח נסוגה vacat ובהיות אלה לייחד בישראל
[vacat ובהיות אלה]
הודוש אל י [תרה] [E3] אלה [יהוה]

13 יבדלו בתכנס האלה מתוך מושב הנשי העול ללכת למדבר לפנות שם את דרכ הואהא
[יבדלו מן D6 אנשי]
מבן [E3] שב אנשי ה' [ללכת המ'] ב [ה את דרך האמת

14 כאשר כתוב במדבר פנו דרך ישרו בערבה מסלה לאלוהינו
כאשׁ [E3] כתוב [בְּרַ פֶּ] [וְזוֹ בַעֲרֵבָה מִסְלָה לְאַלֹהֵינוּ]

15 היאה מדרש התורה אן [וְ] צוה ביד מושה לעשות ככול הנגלה עת בעת
[ה אשׁר צוה בן] [שות כל] [D6] ע [שׁוֹת כֹּל] [D6] ע [שׁוֹת כֹּל]
[E3]הואה [וְ] [וְ] צוֹה בִּיד מֹשֶׁה (9.12) until E missing (large space

16 וכאשר גלו הנביאים ברוח קודשו vacat וכול איש מאנשי היחד ברית
[שׁ מאנשי ברית]

17 היחד אשר יסור מכול המצוה דבר ביד רמה אל יגע בטוהרת אנשי הקודש
[ה] [D6]]

18 ואל ידע ככול עצתם עד אשר יזכו מעשיו מכול עול להלכ בתמים דרכ וקרבהו
[D6]]

19 בעצה על פי הרבים ואחר ית² בתכונו וכמשפט הזה לכול הנוספ ליחד
[D6]] [ליחד]

20 vacat ואלה המשפטים אשר ילכו במ אנשי התמים קודשי איש את רעהו
[D6]]

21 כול הבא בעצת הקודש ההולכים בתמים דרכ כאשר צוה כול איש מהמה
[כל ה']ל]

22 אשר יעבר דבר מתורת מושה ביד רמה או ברמיה ישלחו מעצת היחד
23 ולוא ישוב עוד ולוא יתערב איש מאנשי הקודש בה'נו ועם עצתו לכול
24 דבר ואם בשגגה יעשה והובדל מן הטהרה ומן העצה ודרשו המשפט
D7 והבדילו מן הטהרה ומן העצה ומן המשפט

25 אשר לוא ישפוט איש ולוא ישאל על כול עצה שנתים ימים אם תתם דרכו
שנתן]ם

26 במושב במדרש ובעצה]ל']י' [רבים אם לוא שגג עוד עד מולאת לו שנתים
ושב במדרש ובעצה אם לא הלך עוד D7 בשגגה עד מלאות לו שנתים

27 ימים vacat

IQS Col. 9
1 כיא על (שגגה אחת יענש שנתים ולעושה ביד רמה לוא ישוב עוד אב השוגג
כי על שגגה אחת יענש שנתים וליד הרמה לא ישוב עוד אך

2 יבחן שנתים ימים לתמים דרכו ו עצתו על פי הרבים ואחר יכתוב בתכונו ליחד קודש
D7 שנתים]מים יבחן לתמים דרכו ולעצתו על פי הרבים ונכתב בתכונו ליחד קודש

3 vacat בהיות אלה בישראל ככול החבונים האלה ליסוד רוח קודש לאמת
] D7 vacat [תֵּ אֱלֹהֵי בִּישְׂרָאֵל לִיחַד כְּתוּבִים הָאֵלֶּה לְ]סֵד רֹחַ קוֹדֵשׁ לְאֵמֶת

4 עולם לכפר על אשמת פשע ומעל חטאת ולרצון לארץ מבשר עולות ומחלבי זבח ותרומת
עולם לכפר על אשמת פשע D7]ל [תֵּ וְלִרְצוֹן לְאָרֶץ [עֲלֹת וְחֻלְבֵי זִבְחִים וְתִרְוּמוֹת וְנִדְבַת

5 שפחים למשפט בניחוח צדק ותמים דרכ כנדבת מנחת רצון בעת ההיא יבדילו אנשי
שפחים למן]ט בניחוח D7 [דֶּרֶךְ כְּנֻדָּב]צוֹן בַּעַת הַהֵיא יִבְדְּלוּ

6 היחד בית קודש לאהרון להיחד קודש קודשים ובית יחד לישראל ההולכים בתמים
בית אהרון לקודש לכל הן]אל D7 [רְאֵל הַהֹלְכִים בַּתִּיִּם]

7 רק בני אהרון ימשלו במשפט ובהון ועל פיהם יצא והגורל לכול תכון אנשי היחד
]רזן []ל [משפט ובהון vacat

8 והון אנשי הקודש ההולכים בתמים אל יתערב הונם עם הון אנשי הרמיה אשר
והון] D7 [ים בתמים אל יתען] הון [מין]אשר

9 לוא הזכו דרכם להבדל מעול וללכת בתמים דרכ ומכול עת התורה לוא יצאו ללכת
לא הזכו] D7 []רן [להתהלך

10 כּוּל שְׂרִירוֹת לְבַם וּנְשֻׁפְטוּ בְּמִשְׁפָּטִים הַרְשׁוּנִים אֲשֶׁר הִחֲלוּ אֲנִשֵּׁי הַיַּחַד לְחַסֵּר בִּם
[ב] [וּנְשֻׁפְטוּ בִּמְ] [

11 עַד בּוֹא נִיָּא וּמִשִּׁיחֵי אַהֲרֹן וַיִּשְׂרֹא לְ *vacat*
12 *vacat* אֵלֶּה הַחֻקִּים לְמִשְׁכַּל הַתְּהַלֵּךְ בָּם עַם כּוּל חַי לְתַכּוֹן עַת וְעַת וּלְמִשְׁקַל אִישׁ וְאִישׁ
אֵלֶּה הֵן [E3] לְמִשְׁ] [E3] וּלְמִשְׁ]

13 לְעִשׂוֹת אֶת רְצוֹן אֵל כּוּל הַנְּגַלָּה לַעַת בַּעַת וּלְמוֹד אֶת כּוּל הַשְּׂכַל הַנִּמְצָא לְפִי הַעֲתִים וְאֵת
[שׁוֹת רְצוֹן אֵל כּוּל הַנְּגַלָּה] [E3] וְ]

14 חוֹק הַעַת לְהַבְדִּיל וּלְשַׁקּוֹל בְּנֵי הַצְּדוּק *vacat* לְפִי רוּחֹם וּבַחֲזִירֵי הַעַת לְהַחְזִיק עַל פִּי
[E3] הָעֵת] [שְׁקוֹל אֶת בְּנֵי הָצְדֵק לְפִי ה' [חַמָּה E3] וְ] [עַל פִּי

15 רְצוֹנוֹ כְּאֲשֶׁר צוּה וְאִישׁ כְּרוּחוֹ כֵן לְעִשׂוֹת מִשְׁפָּטוֹ וְאִישׁ כְּבוֹר כְּפִיּוֹ לְקִרְבּוֹ וּלְפִי שְׂכּוֹ
[D7] [כְּבוֹר כֵּן] [D8] וּלְפִי שְׂכּוֹ
רְצוֹנוֹ כְּאֲשֶׁר צוּה וְאִישׁ E3] [וְאִישׁ כְּבוֹר כְּפִיּוֹ לְקִרְבּוֹ לְ] [E3]

16 לְהַגִּישׁ וּכְן אֲהַבְתּוּ עִם שְׂנֵאתוֹ *vacat* וְאֲשֶׁר לֹא לְהוֹכִיחַ וּלְהַתְּרוֹבֵב עִם אֲנִשֵּׁי הַשַּׁחַת
לְהַגִּישׁ וּכְן אֲהַבְתּוּ עִם שְׂנֵאתוֹ וְאֲשֶׁר לֹא יוֹכִיחַ אִישׁ וְלֹא יִתְּרַבֵּב עִם אֲנִשֵּׁי הַשַּׁחַת
[בְּתוֹ עִם שְׂנֵאתוֹ וְאֲשֶׁר לֹא לְ] [E3] וְ] [נְשֵׁי הַשַּׁחַת

17 ולסתר את עצת התורה בחוכ אנשי העול ולהוכיח דעת אמת ומשפט צדק לביחרי

B18]

D8 ולסתר עצתו בתוך אנשי העול ולהוכיח דעת אמת ומשפט צדק לבחרי ולסתר את עַ] **E3** [הַתּוֹרָה]

18 דרכ איש כרוחו כתבון העת להנחותם בדעה וכן להשכילם בריזי פלא ואמת בתוך]הַכּוֹן העת להנחותם בדעה וכן להשׁ[] **B18**]

דרך איש כרוחו וכתבון **D8** העת לַ]ם בדעה וכן להשכילם בריזי פלא ואמת בתוך]כרוחו וכתבונּו העת להנחותם **E3** בדעָה[]רְזי פלא ואם תתם דרך סוד

19 אנשי היחד לה() לכ תמים איש את רעהו כבול הנגלה להם (ה) היאה עת פנות הדרכ]הַיְחָד להלך תמים איש את רעהו כבּוֹל **B18**]

אנשי היחד להלך תמים איש את **D8**]נגלה להם היא עת פנות הדרך **E3** היחד לה] [את רעיו בכל הנגלה להם **E3** היאה] [

20 למדבר ולהשכילם כול הנמצא לעשות בעת הזואת והבדל מכול איש ולוא הסר דרכו]כּוֹ להשכילם כבול הנמצא לעשׁוֹת **B18**]

למדבר להשכילם בכל הנמצא לעשות *vacat* בעת **D8**] מכל איש אשר לא הסיר דרכיו למדבר ולהמשילם כבול **E4**] בעת הַ] להבֵן]

21 מכול עול *vacat* ואלה תכוני הדרכ למשכיל בעתים האלה לאהבתו עם שנאתו שנאת עולם
מכול עול[*vacat*] ל'] B18]

מכול עול *vacat* ואלה תכוני הור' למשכיל בעת[]D8] שנאתו שנאת עולם
E4] ואלה תכונ']' למשכיל[]לם

22 עם אנשי שחת ברוח הסתר לעזוב למו הון ועמל כפים כעבד למושל בו וענוה לפני
]א' B18]

עם אנשי השחת ברוח הסתר ולעזוב למו הון ובצע]D8]
]ב' H'] ה'סתר לעז'] E4] למו הון[]לפני

23 הרודה בו ולהיות איש מקנא לחוק ועתי ליום נקם לעשות רצון בכול משלח כפים
]ה' B18]

הרודה בו ולהיות איש מקנא לחוק ועתי ליום[] ל'] D8]
הרודה בו ול'] E4] איש מ'ק']' ליום[] F1]
[]ול משל']
]ל משלוח F1]

24 ובכול ממשלו כאשר צוה וכול הנעשה בו ירצה בנדבה וזולת רצון אל לו יחפצ
]כל ממשלו כאשר[]ל הנעשה בו ירצה כנדבה וזולת רצון] D8]
]ב' H'] אשר[]
]כול הנעשה

25]בבֹּלֵא אַמְרֵי פִּיָּהוּ יִרְצֶה וְלֹא יִתְאוּה בְּכֹל אֲשֶׁר לֹא צוּרָה לְמִשְׁפַּט אֵל יִצְפֶּה תְּמִיד
[אֵט אֵל יִצְפֶּה ת]]

26] קוֹה יִבְרַךְ עֹשֵׂיו וּבְכֹל אֲשֶׁר יִהְיֶה יִסְפֹּךְ]
[בְּרַכְנו] **Ds**

IQS Col. 10
1 עִם קָצִים אֲשֶׁר חִקְקָא בְּרִשְׁתָּא מִמְשַׁלַּת אֹר עִם תְּקוּפְתוֹ וּבִהֲאִסְפוּ עַל מַעֲוֹן חוֹקֵן בְּרִשְׁתָּא
[אֵט ת] [אִסְפוּ אֵל מַעֲוֹן חִקֵּן] בְּרִאשִׁית] **F2** בְּרִאשִׁית

2 אֲשִׁמּוּרֵי חוּשְׁב כִּיֵּא יִפְתַּח אֲצִרֹו וַיִּשְׁתַּהֲו עַלָּה וּבְתִקּוּפְתוֹ עִם הֲאִסְפוּ מִפְּנֵי אֹר בְּאוּפִיעַ
[אֵט] [אֵט]
[אִתְקוּפְתוֹ F2 עִם הֲאִסְפוּ]
[אֵט אֹר בְּהוּפֵעַ]

3 מֵאוּרוֹת מְזוּבֵל קוּדְשׁ עִם הֲאִסְפֵּם לְמַעֲוֹן כְּבוֹד מְבֹוֹא מוֹעֲדִים לִימֵי חוּדְשׁ יַחַד תְּקוּפְתֵם עִם
B19 מֵאוּרוֹת מְזוּבֵל קוּדְשׁוֹ עִם הֲאִסְפֵּם לְמַעֲוֹן כְּבוֹד מְבֹוֹא מוֹעֲדִים לִימֵי חוּדְשׁ יַחַד **B19** תְּקוּפְתוֹתֵהֶם עִם
[אֵט]
[אֵט לְמַעֲוֹן F2 כְּבוֹד וּבְבֹוֹא]

4 מסרותם זה לזה בהתחדש יום גרול לקודש קודשים ואת נ vacat למפתח חסדיו עולם לראשי מסר[ת]ם זה לזה בהתחדש יום גדול לקודש קודשים ואת B19 למפתח חסד[ו] ל[א]שי D9 בהתחדש יום גדול לקודש קודשים ואת [עולם F2 לר[א]שי]

5 מועדים בכל קצ נהיה vacat ברשית ירחים למועדיהם וימי קודש בתכונם לזכרון במועדיהם מועדים בכל קצ נהיה ברשית ירחים למועדיהם B19 וימי קודש בתכונם לזכרון במועדי[ש]

6 (תרותם שפתים הברכנו כחוק חרות לעת בראשי) שנים ובתקופת מועדיהם בהשלם חוק תרותם שפתים אברכנו כחן [חרות לעד B19] ת מועדים בהשלם חוק [שפת[ו] אברכנו כחק D9] רות לעד בראשי שנים ובתקון] [לם חוק

7 תכונם יום משפטו זה לזה מועד קציר לקצי ומועד זרע למועד דשא מועדי שנים לשבועיהם תכונם יום מ[ן] [B19] דשא מועדי[ש] D9 למועד [ש] [ם לשבועיה]

8 וברוש שבועיהם למועד דרור וכול היותי חוק חרות בלשוני לפרי תהלה ומנת שפתי (אשא) [B19] [תהלה ומן] [שפתי]

9 () אומרה בדעת וכול גניבתו לכבוד אל וכבוד נבלי לתבון קודשו וחלילי שפתי אשא בקו משפטו
אומרה D9 בדעת וכל גניבתו [לכבוד אל] [אכה נבל] לתבון [D9] [שא בק] [שפטו
F3 עס] אכה נבל [ל]

10 עם מבוא יום ולילה אבואה בברית אל ועם מוצא ערב ובוקר אמר חוקיו ובהיותם אשים
ען [יום] [לה אבואה בברית D9] [ם מוצא ערב F3 ובוקר א] [ובהיותם אשים
F3 עס]

11 גבולי לבלתי שוב ומשפטו אוכח כנעויותי ופשעי לנגד עיני כחוק חרות ולא אל אומר צדקי
D9] [שעי לנגד עיני D9] [בלתי שוב

12 ולעלין מכין טובי מקור דעת ומעון קודש רום כבוד וגבורת כול לתפארת עולם הבחרה כאשר
כזן טובי מק] [D9] [D10 באשר

13 יורני וארצה כאשר ישופטני בר () שית משלח ידי ורגלי אברכ שמו בראשית צאת ובוא
B20] [בריש] [B20] [ורגלי אברך] [יור]

14 לשובת וקום ועם משכב יצועי ארננה לו ואברכנו תרוסת מוצא שפתי במערכת אנשים
[ארננה לו וא] [B20] [

15 ובטרים ארים ידי להדשן בעדני תנובת תבל ברשית פחד ואימה ובמכון צרה עם בוקה
[לחדשן בעדני תנובת B20]

D10 בעדני תנין]ע

[אשית פחד ואימה] F4 צרה עם בוקה]

16 אברכנו בהפלא מודה ובגבורתו אשוחח ועל חסדיו אשען כול היום ואדעה כיא בידו משפט
]י בהפלא מודה ובגבורתו B20 [דעה כן]זו משפט

D10 אשען]

F4 בהפלא מאדה ובגבורתו]שוחח ועל חסדן [F4 כול היום משפט

17 כול חי ואמת כול מעשיו ובהפתח צרה אהללנו ובישועתו ארנה יחד לוא אשיב לאיש גמול
כול חי ואמת B20]תו אן]ל

D10 ובהפן]

[עשן]ובתן [F4 צרה אהללנו ובישועתן]חד לוא אשן [F4 לאיש גמול]

18 רע בטוב ארדפ גבר כיא את אל משפט כול חי והואה ישלם לאיש גמולו לוא אקנא ברוח
]שפט כול חי והואן]

D10 ישלם]

[גבר כן]את אלן [F4 כול חי הוא ישלם לאן]לו לוא אקנן]בן [רע לטוב]

19 רשעה להון חמס לוא תאזה נפשי וריב אנש חת לוא אן(טוֹר בֶּאֱפֹ לְשִׁבּוֹ) תפוש עד יים נקם ואפיא לוא
F4 רשעה ולהון חמן]נפשי הן [F4 שחת ללאן]אתפוש ען]ם ואפי לון

ולוא ארחם

20 אשיב מאנשי עולה ולוא ארצה עד הכון משפט לוא אטור באפ לשבי פשע [F5] [אנשי] [F5] [אנשי מאנשי עולה ולוא] [משפט] [אטור] [לשבי פשע] [F4] [אטור]

21 על כול סורי דרכ לוא אנחם בנכאים עד תום דרכם ובליעל לוא אשמור בלבי ולוא ישמע בפי על כול סורי דרך לוא אנחם בנכאים עד תום [F5] [ם ובליעל לוא אשמור בלבבי ולוא ישמע בפי]

22 נבלות וכחש עוזן ומרמות וכזבים לוא ימצאו בשפתי ופרי קודש בלשוני ושקוצים F5 נבלות וכחש עוזן [רמות וכזבים לוא ימצאו בשפתי F5 ופרי קודש בלשוני vacat ושקוצים]

23 לוא ימצא בה בהודות אפתח פי וצדקות אל תספר לשוני תמיד ומעל אנשים עד תום לוא ימצא F5 בה בהוד [ת] [vacat פי] [צדקות אלתם] [F5 לשוני תמ] [אנשים על] [ום]

24 פשעם רקים אשבת משפתי גדות ונפתלות מדעת לבי בעצת תושיה אסתתר דעת [משעם] [F5] [מ]

25 ובערמת דעת אשוב בעד גבול סמוכ לשמור אמנים ומשפט עוז לצדקות אל אהלקה [צדק אהבת חסד לנוכעים וחזק ידים לנמהר] [

IQS Col. 11

1 לתועי רוח בינה ולהשכיל רכנים בלקח ולהשיב ענהו לנגד רמי רוח וברוח נשברה לאנשי

2 מטה שולחי אצבע ומדברי און vacat ומקני הון כיא אני לאל משפתי וכידו תום דרכי עם ישור לבבי

3 ובצדקותי ימח פשעי כיא ממקור דעתו פתח אורי ובנפלאותיו הביטה עיני ואורת לבבי ברי

4 נהיה והויא עולם משען ימיני בסלע עוז דרך פעמי מפני כול לוא ייד עזרע כיא אמת אל היאה
5 סלע פעמי וגבורתו משענת ימיני וממקור צדקתו משפטי אור בלבבי מרזי פלאו בהוייא עולם
6 הביטה עיני תושיה אשר נסתרה מאנש דעה ומזמת ערמה מבני אדם מקור צדקה ומקוה
7 גבורה עם מעין כבוד מסוד בשר לאשי (בחר אל נתנם לאוחזות עולם וינחי) ׀ ׀ בגורל
[D12]לם בגו]

8 קדושים ועם בני שמים חבר סודם לעצת יחד וסוד מבנית קודש למטעת עולם עם כול
9 קצ נהיה ואני לאדם רשעה ולסוד בשר על עוונותי פשעי חטאתי (...עם נעות לבבי
10 לסוד רמה והולכי חושב כיא לאדם דרכו ואנוש לוא יכין צעדו כיא לאל המשפט ומידו
11 תום הדרכ ובעתו נהיה כול ודול הויה במחשבתו יכינו ומבלעדיו לוא יעשה *vacat* ואני אם
12 אמוט חסדי אל ישעתי לעד ואם אכשול בעוון בשר משפטי בצדקת אל תעמוד לנצחים
13 ואם יפתח צרתי ומשחת יחלץ נפשי ויכן לדרך פעמי ברחמיו הגישני ובחסדיו יביא
]J1

14 מִשְׁפָּטִי בַצְדָקָת אִמְתּוֹ שְׁפָטִי וּבְרוּב טוֹבו יִכְפֹּר בְּעַד כּוֹל עוֹוֹנוֹתַי וּבַצְדָקָתוֹ יִטְהַרְנִי מִנְדָת
[D13
]אִמְתּוֹ שְׁפָטִי וּבְרוּב טוֹב] J1]
]כִּפֹּר]D13]וְהִתְיָן]

15 אנוש וחטאת בני אדם להודות לאל צדקו ולעלין תפארתו : ברוכ אתה אלי הפותח לדעה
]ני א]D13]יִקְוִן]
]נוש וחטאת בני אדם להודות]J1]
[

16 לֹב עֲבֹדָה הֵן בְּצֶדֶק כּוֹל מַעֲשֵׂיו וְהֵקֵם לָבֵן אֲמַתְכָה כֹּאשֶׁר לְרִצִּיתָהּ לְבַחֲרֵי אֲדָם לְהַתִּיצֵב לָב עֲבֹדָךְ הֵן בְּ]ק[כֹּל מַעֲשֵׂי]וּן[

17 לַפְּנִיכָה לַעֲד כִּי־אֵי מִבְּלַעֲדִיכָה לֹא תַתֵּם דְּרַכְּ וּבְלוּ רַעוּנְכָה לֹא יַעֲשֶׂה כּוֹל אֶתְהָ הוֹרִיתָהּ לַפְּנִיךְ לַעֲד כִּי מִבְּלַעֲדִיךְ]וּן[וְרִיתָ

18 כּוֹל דְּעָה וְכּוֹל הַנְּהִיָּה בְּרַעוּנְכָה הִיָּה וְאִין אַחַר זֹולַתְכָה לְהַשִּׁיב עַל עֲצַתְכָה וְלְהַשְׁכִּיל כֹּל דְּעָה וְכּוֹל הַנְּהִיָּה]וּן[וְהַשְׁכִּיל

19 בְּכּוֹל מַחֲשַׁבְתָּ קוֹדְשִׁכָה וְלְהַבִּיט בְּעוֹמֵק רִזִּיכָה וְלְהַתְּבוּנָה בְּכּוֹל נִפְלְאוֹתֶיכָה עִם כּוֹחַ בְּכּוֹל מַחֲשַׁבְתָּ]וּן[בְּכּוֹל נִפְלְאוֹתֶיךָ עִם כּוֹחַ

20 גְּבוֹרַתְכָה וְמִי יִכּוֹל לְהַכִּיל אֶת כְּבוֹדְכָה וְמָה אִפֹּי הוּאָה בֶן־אָדָם בְּמַעֲשֵׂי פְלֹאכָה גְּבוֹרַתְךָ]וּן[אָדָם בְּמַעֲשֵׂי פְלֹאךְ

21 וְיִלּוֹד אִשָּׁה מֵהַ יֵשֵׁב לַפְּנִיכָה וְהוּאָה מַעֲפֵר מִגְּבֻלוֹ וְלַחֵם רֵמָה מְדוֹרוֹ וְהוּאָה מְצִירֻק וְיִלּוֹד אִשָּׁה]וּן[מֵמָה מְדוֹרוֹ וְהוּאָ מְצוּרְךָ

22 חֲמֵר קוֹרֵץ וְלַעֲפֵר תְּשׁוּקָתוֹ מֵהַ יֵשֵׁב חֲמֵר וְיוֹצֵר יָד וְלַעֲצָתָהּ מֵהַ יֵבִין *vacat* **B23**
(additional text, ? if part of 4Q5b) מֵמָה יֵבִין [

חֲמֵר]וּן[לַעֲצָתָהּ מֵהַ יֵבִין [כְּכּוֹל אֵל]וּן[**B23**