Social Identity and Sectarianism in the Qumran Movement

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Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah

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By

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BRILL

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[1] This article is not reproduced as it is but the results are summarized. I refer to the article where I rely on our joint work.

INTRODUCTION

Research Topic and Outline

"Identity" is a common concept in Qumran studies. Scholars employ it, or assume it, for discussing the religious, ideological, historical, and sociological nature of the Qumran movement. The study of identity of the Qumran movement may ask questions such as: Who were they? What did they think of themselves? What, in their perception, distinguished them from others? What made the members to join the group and hold together?

The starting point of this research is that identity is not exhausted by distinguishing unique beliefs and practices, or by being able to name the groups responsible for the production and preservation of the Dead Sea Scrolls, according to the categories known from other ancient sources. Identity is defined in relation to others. Sociology of sectarianism is found useful for depicting groups in general terms. The concepts of "sect" and "sectarianism" can be applied in a controlled manner. Seeking and applying this controlled manner is one major task of the present work. Beliefs and practices can be placed on a continuum, which shows the degree of tension with the surrounding society.

Identity is also a social psychological concept. Social psychological investigation answers these questions from its own perspective. A social psychological approach does not offer us the true understanding, the fundamental essence of identity, but it offers us one level on which to explore the phenomenon. The present study utilizes the social identity approach (social identity and social categorization theories) developed and tested from the 1970s to the present day.

In light of this approach, we may detect that identity itself operates on different levels: there is the individual level (personal identity) and the collective level (social identity). Social identity may be defined as "that part of an individual's self concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership of a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership."[1] Qumran studies

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[1] Tajfel 1978, 63.

have understandably concentrated on the collective level, but the individual is no less important and real, even though it may be difficult to grasp the individual in the texts. Understanding the interplay between the individual and collective identities is important for understanding what it means to belong to a religious group such as the Qumran movement. The social psychological perspective allows us to understand how the collective identity is constructed and maintained in the individual but is shared among the individuals and is thus more than a sum of its parts.

Furthermore, this kind of approach helps us to explain what social identity is about: perceiving oneself as similar to one group of people and different from another group of people. Identity is comparative in nature, which makes it dynamic and dependent on the context. Identity is not something that can be isolated, disconnected to time and place and handled as a frozen entity in discussing the meaning and implications of texts. We may detect continuous, or defining, elements in the collective identity of the Qumran movement, such as the belief that the insiders are the true heirs of God's promises, and the outsiders lack essential factors of the covenantal relationship with God.

However, we should not ignore the constructing process of identity, which implies that group boundaries have to be constantly rebuilt, and that what makes "us" as opposed to "them" includes several components, the cognitive aspect being only one of them. The group may argue for its "chosen" position in various ways (e.g., possessing knowledge that the outsiders do not have; labeling outsiders as wicked) so that the belief about "us being chosen" will be charged with emotional significance, and it comes to be valued over other possible competing beliefs (e.g., beliefs about other groups being right on some aspects).

Furthermore, one's position within the group will be evaluated in relation to other in-group members (in regards to commitment to the group, or to the group prototype). It will also be seen that a belief such as "the Temple is impure," does not suffice alone to create and maintain the social identity, the inner cohesion, which is needed to keep the critical number of members inside. Other identity constructing and maintaining strategies are called for. In the Qumran movement, the extensive admission procedures are only one example of how a member fulfilled and exemplified the group boundaries in a concrete way in his or her life. In addition to a distinct lifestyle, identification with biblical Israel or with the biblical poor, or placing one's group on a historical time line, for example, served as building blocks for group cohesion.

Understanding that the Qumran movement was sectarian in nature goes hand in hand with exploring the identity phenomena within it. Any group, not just a sectarian one, that has a distinct social identity has "boundaries," the understanding of what makes "us" versus "them," and the emotional and evaluative dimension of this awareness. What makes sectarianism relevant for this discussion, however, is the dynamism involved with identities. Acknowledging that certain forms of tension exist between a group and its social environment is necessary in order to evaluate the different aspects of group identity in the setting in which they belong, in order to "read the signs correctly." Conflicting interests and the consequent tension and struggle for achieving positive group identity, especially in the case of minority groups, create special circumstances that need to be taken into consideration in a fruitful analysis of identity.

This study will contribute to this discussion, exploring identity in some of the central "sectarian texts" of the Qumran movement, aiming to gain better understanding of how sectarian social identity is expressed and constructed in them. Sectarianism is most apparent in the rule documents, the *serakhim*.[2] The *Community Rule* (S) and the *Damascus Document* (D) will be the focus in the first part of the study. The *pesharim*, scriptural commentaries to prophetical texts,[3] are related to both the sectarian character of the movement and its identity maintenance. The latter part of the work will address the *Pesher Psalms* (4QpPs[a]) and the *Pesher Habakkuk* (1QpHab).

The work has in focus to search and explore useful concepts and theoretical perspectives from the social sciences in a controlled way. Social-scientific research on religious groups (sociology of sectarianism) and social-scientific research on collective identity (social identity approach) are the two theoretical frameworks that contribute to this study and insert a broader scope into the texts. On the one hand, sectarianism forms the background against which the specific sectarian identity construction in

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[2] The term *serekh*, "rule, order," occurs in few texts only, the *Community Rule* (S), the *Rule of the Congregation* (Sa), the *Damascus Document* (D), and the *War Scroll* (M), but also a similar text to S and D, 4Q265, is given the title 4Q*Serekh Damascus Document*, and scholars use the term for other rule-like texts; see Alexander 2000, 799–803. *Serakhim* are often considered, along with *pesharim*, a novel literary genre created by the Qumran movement, see Newsom 2004, 68, 101.

[3] The *pesharim* are designated according to their use of the term *pesher*, "interpretation," as an interpretative tool. They quote and interpret mainly the prophetic texts and psalms.

the *pesharim* is examined. The *pesharim* are read from the perspective of the *serakhim*, which lay out our social understanding of the movement. On the other hand, the social identity approach provides the general framework from which to explore sectarian groups. The theory is not restricted to certain kinds of groups (e.g., religious), and it therefore offers insights for understanding the general issues taking place within groups.

In Chapter 2, the much used and much reviled sociology of sectarianism will first be studied in retrospect, in order to make weighed choices between different typologies. After the acquaintance with three different approaches into sectarianism, the approach by Rodney Stark and William Sims Bainbridge will be further explored for its usefulness for analyzing the Qumran movement in its context. Finally, the joint work of Cecilia Wassen and myself on the *serakhim* and their sectarian tension will be employed, using this understanding of sectarianism.

The discussion on sectarianism is accompanied in Chapter 3 with insights from the social identity approach in seeking to understand the social identity in D and in S, especially the major group beliefs and their implications in interpreting the regulations of D and S. The social identity approach is wide-ranging; the present study will deal only with some of its parts and introduce the main assumptions relevant for the applications here.

In Chapter 4, some prerequisites for the study of the *pesharim* are first laid out by discussing their genre and nature as scriptural interpretation. One major argument is the need to acknowledge the scriptural base-text as a whole. The *Pesher Psalms* and the *Pesher Habakkuk* will be read by paying due attention to the overall plot and the relation between the base-text and the interpretative solutions. After this, it is possible to fully appreciate their contribution to the identity construction in the movement by employing insights from the social identity approach. Lastly, the question about the enigmatic teacher will be addressed from two perspectives. First, it is argued that the overall reading of the *pesharim* is vital for correctly situating the information we can derive from the teacher and that this information appears to be very similar we derive from the group. Secondly, various theoretical scenarios about the historical teacher will be explored to find out how the information we derived from the teacher fits them. All in all, a fresh look at the *pesharim* from the identity construction point of view will be argued: the fulfillment pattern (scriptural texts are interpreted by the authors to be fulfilled in the community's experiences and future) and the consequent "historical reading" of the *pesharim* is one (traditional) side of the coin; the other is the adaptation and construction

of the social identity of the group through scriptural exegesis, and the consequent "social psychological reading" of the texts. The *pesharim* are often regarded as a unique form of biblical interpretation among the Qumran corpus. This study suggests understanding certain elements in them as part of identity construction processes present in every group in some form or other and seeing their allusive language as a feature which makes them applicable in several situations.

METHODOLOGY: SOCIAL-SCIENTIFIC APPROACHES TO THE STUDY OF QUMRAN TEXTS AND THE QUMRAN MOVEMENT

In his review of past scholarship, "Currents in Qumran Scholarship: The Interplay of Data, Agendas, and Methodology," presented in the 1997 SBL Qumran section, George Nickelsburg briefly mentioned the use of social-scientific methods.[4] He referred to the work of a few scholars associated with these methods, noting that this kind of methodology has not been heavily exercised so far: "As things stand, the practitioners of the social-scientific methods primarily occupy themselves with the canonical texts."[5] To some extent, this is true even today, even though many steps have been taken forward. A number of volumes exploring new approaches have appeared during recent years,[6] and more and more studies integrate some social-scientific perspective or concept in the main analyses.

What Makes an Approach "Social-Scientific"?

Social sciences emerged in the 19th and 20th century as the study of humans as social creatures. Nowadays, the concept embraces a great number of fields, such as anthropology, archaeology, cultural studies, demography, economics, ethnography, information science, political science, psychology, social psychology, social work, and sociology, to mention

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[4] Nickelsburg 1999a, 93–94.

[5] Nickelsburg 1999a, 94. Nickelsburg mentions S. R. Isenberg's study on millenniarism (Isenberg 1974, 26–46), C. A. Newsom's work (Newsom 1992a, 13–23; Newsom 1992b, 139–53; Newsom 1997), J. Duhaime's and A. I. Baumgarten's articles (Duhaime 1993, 265–76; Baumgarten 1992a, 121–42), and L. Schiffman's book (Schiffman 1994). In her response to Nickelsburg, Newsom 1999, 119, is suspicious about any revolutionary impact that the social sciences might bring, due to the difficulties in dating the Qumran texts and to the shortage of socio-historically detailed information. However, Nickelsburg remains more optimistic, see Nickelsburg 1999c, 145.

[6] For new approaches, see Campbell, Lyons et al. 2005; Grossman 2010.

some of the subjects frequently found in universities.[7] Consequently, "social-scientific" approaches in biblical studies embrace a great variety of questions, theory, and background assumptions.

The beginning of non-theological socio-historical interests in biblical studies dates back to the 19th century. Partly the interest was connected with the emergence of the form-historical method, which focused on the social settings of written and oral traditions. However, the real rise of social-scientific approaches came only from the 1960s and 1970s onwards.[8] David Horrell explains this rise by the expansion of fields among social sciences and by other radical changes during those decades. There was a shift from doing history "from above" to history "from below" and from focusing on great past figures of history to focusing on communities and social relations.[9] In contrast to many new approaches developed during this time, which took a distance from the significance of the "original" meaning and setting (such as new literary criticism), social-scientific criticism has always had a strong historical interest and is thus closer to traditional historical-critical study than some of the "new criticisms."[10] Similarly, Robert Wilson explains that Hebrew Bible scholars in this wave of social science approaches did not think they were developing any new method. Rather, they were working within the historical-critical approach and "practicing a sort of social history of the kind that was beginning to develop among historians and archaeologists."[11]

Social-scientific approaches in Hebrew Bible studies and in New Testament studies have both evolved separately and affected each other in the past. A noteworthy terminological difference between the study of early Judaism and the study of early Christianity is that New Testament scholars often speak more widely of social-scientific or social science approaches[12] whereas scholars in Hebrew Bible studies have more often

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[7] Cf. Chalcraft 2010. In his dictionary article, Gottwald 1992, 79, listed only anthropology, economics, political science and sociology under the social sciences.

[8] For Hebrew Bible studies, see Gottwald 1992, 79–89; Esler and Hagedorn 2006, 15–32; Wilson 2009, 505–22. For New Testament studies, see Horrell 2002, 4–10.

[9] Horrell 2002, 7.

[10] Horrell 2002, 3. Clines 2009, 544, places social-scientific criticism among the "historical criticisms," "inasmuch as the framework for social scientific criticism is the original context of a text."

[11] Wilson 2009, 514.

[12] For example, Elliott 1993; Horrell 1999; Blasi, Duhaime et al. 2002; Pilch 2001. However, there are notable exceptions: Theissen 1977; Holmberg 1990; Horsley 1994.

restricted themselves to "sociology" or "anthropology" or "social history,"[13] although these concepts may also have been misused.[14]

Recently, there have been attempts to clarify this situation and the nature of the methodology used. For example, Mario I. Aguilar has noted the anthropological tools utilized in biblical studies and the need to acknowledge differences between cultural anthropology and social anthropology.[15] David Chalcraft has expressed the desire to preserve the unique nature of sociology among social sciences. The primary interest in sociology is to understand the discontinuities and continuities brought about by "Modernity," all those forms of life that are commonly so titled, in distinction to the premodern. In his view, those approaches that are titled as "social-scientific" often confuse different approaches, and, on the other hand, approaches that fall outside this title (e.g., feminist or ideological approaches) can have a very close connection to sociology.[16]

Furthermore, in New Testament scholarship, the term "social-scientific" has often been juxtaposed with a "social-historical" form of investigation. This state of affairs goes back to the formation of distinct groups of scholars gathering in the Society of Biblical Literature conferences in the 1980's, as John Elliott explains.[17] Some scholars, often connected with the work of the Context Group, have preferred to consider their work as "scientific" in the sense that their use of theories and models is made explicit and that the models used are informed by non-anachronistic data and concepts.[18] In their view, they are doing more than a "social description" of

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[13] For example, Gottwald 1999; Gottwald 1985; Mayes 1989; Grabbe 1995; Berlinerblau 1996. However, the term "social-scientific" is also used, Wilson 2009. Mary Douglas was one of few anthropologists who attempted an anthropological reading of some of the Hebrew Bible texts but her books do not include the term "anthropological," Douglas 1993; Douglas 1999.

[14] For example, despite its title, *Sociological Approaches to the Old Testament*, the work by Wilson 1984 includes mainly anthropological perspectives on Israelite society.

[15] Aguilar 2004, 299–313.

[16] Chalcraft 2010, 4. However, Chalcraft also states that such confusion or shortcomings should not be taken as a hindrance to interdisciplinary efforts.

[17] Elliott 2008, 26–36. "Social-scientific criticism" is often connected with the work of the Context Group, a group of scholars who wish to commit themselves to the use of social sciences in biblical interpretation. Much of the work of the group has, more specifically, been associated with cross-cultural anthropological models for biblical interpretation, e.g., the ancients' perception of honor and shame, limited good, personality, illness and health, the evil eye, etc., see Malina 2001.

[18] Elliott 1993, 7, emphasizes, in his definition of social-scientific criticism, the explicit use of the social sciences: "Social-scientific criticism of the Bible is that phase of the exegetical task which analyzes the social and cultural dimensions of the text and of its environmental context through the utilization of the perspectives, theory, models, and

their object of study.[19] Others have expressed satisfaction with identifying themselves as social historians or seeing social-scientific work as closely tied to the work of a historian, and have also criticized "model-users" for their great faith in models. Model-making is not the solution to the challenges in scholarly investigations.[20]

Both sides in the debate have expressed the need to cooperate and learn from each other, and there is no need to continue building boundaries between the two sides. In my mind, a social-historical investigation is not free from theoretical conceptualization and from the sociological project of understanding the present in light of the past. In our research we are tied to the concepts, ways of thinking and theoretical backgrounds of the present day, and we should try to be as explicit as possible about our assumptions and ways of thinking. In this way, I am sympathetic to David Horrell's view that historical investigations cannot do without theoretical assumptions of the "social."[21] A sociological approach assumes a certain link between ideas and beliefs on the one hand and social forms and material factors on the other, but the link is not mechanistic or deterministic. Sociology illuminates the social conditions within which human action takes place. This does not mean that it does not allow for particularities. Moreover, sociologists have also been interested in the study of *past* societies. This is different from contemporary sociology in that by necessity it makes use of methods other than questionnaires and fieldwork.[22]

One useful distinction in this respect can be made between *emic* and *etic* perspectives, that is, the insider perspective and the perspective of the

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research of the social sciences." On the use and need of models, see also Holmberg 1990, 12–17, and Esler 1995, 4–8; and discussion by Horrell 2000, 83–105; Esler 2000b, 107–13, and Luomanen, Pyysiäinen et al. 2007b, 18–20.

[19] According to Elliott 1993, 13–14, social-scientific work goes beyond "social history" in the cultivation of a truly sociological imagination; social sciences assume that human behavior in groups is "tolerably" predictable, secure and sustainable, and thus social sciences may study these patterns of behavior. These results are then employed in the study of biblical texts. Also recently, Elliott 2008, 30, states: "A study is not sociological (or social-scientific) unless and until it presents a hypothesis concerning a relationship of some social phenomena, a hypothesis that guides a collection of data that are then used to illustrate and explain the relation, meaning and function of the social phenomena."

[20] Horrell 2000, 83–105; Horrell 2002, 3–28; Garrett 1992, 89–99. For the divide between "social historians" and "social scientists," see further Martin 1999, 129.

[21] Horrell 1996, 9–32. See also Delamarter 2010, 186, for a conviction that historical and sociological approaches are complementary.

[22] Berquist 1995, 242.

(investigators as) outsiders.[23] In our case the former includes appreciation of the Dead Sea Scrolls authors' own language, distinctions and symbolic worlds (e.g., systematic collection of the meanings and uses of אחרית הימים) whereas the latter includes investigations in terms of our systems and concepts (e.g., investigation of "apocalypticism" in the scrolls). This distinction and both routes are valid as long as we do not close our eyes to the fact that there are always *etic* elements in our perspective, even though we can try to look the world from the insider perspective and with insider concepts as much as possible. Both perspectives can be informed by social sciences when the question so demands (e.g., analyzing the changes in the use of the concept אחרית הימים or investigation of the social impact of apocalyptic beliefs).

In Hebrew Bible studies, there has not been a similarly vivid discussion about the proper procedure, at least terminologically. The debate in New Testament scholarship has, however, shown the need to clarify what model building in scientific work is and to be clear about the nature of the approach chosen.[24] For biblical scholars who wish to benefit from the contemporary research on human societies, it can also be helpful to understand some of the differences *within* social sciences. One such difference is often conceptualized as the interpretative versus the positivist conviction in the study. There is a difference between "imagination" and "science," between understanding the society in terms of meaningful individual actions versus analyzing or explaining the society as an objective entity.[25] A representative of the interpretative side, Mario I. Aguilar, states: "There are no discoveries but insights, no explanations but interpretations, and an absence of hypotheses but the presence of argumentation."[26] Representatives of the explanatory side, Rodney Stark and William Sims Bainbridge, state: "Our theory successfully builds propositions and explanations out of basic concepts."[27] To some extent, it could be argued that this division is arbitrary and can be overcome by acknowledging different

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[23] For the emic-etic distinction, see Lawrence 2004, 10; Esler 1995, 4–8. Lawrence refers to the linguist Pike 1967, who first coined the terms on the grounds of the distinction between the terms "phonemic" and "phonetic."

[24] Grabbe 2007, 4–5, emphasizes that modern social science theories are not to be taken as "facts" but rather suggestions to be tested and analogies to be compared.

[25] Chalcraft 1997, 16; Mayes 1989, 118–20, and see Mayes' introduction of both "conflict tradition" and "structural-functionalist tradition" in sociology, identified with Max Weber and Emile Durkheim respectively.

[26] Aguilar 2004, 304.

[27] Stark and Bainbridge 1987, 17. See also Stark 2006, 17–23.

levels of analyses or different degrees of explicating the social mechanisms involved or even different underlying epistemological assumptions,[28] but in practice scholars may have great difficulties in overcoming the division, the general conviction and goal in their work, and this metatheoretical knowledge may be important for appreciating the nature of a particular study or theory. All in all, using social sciences in biblical studies includes a great variety of different methodological assumptions and paths taken, and each of them must be evaluated individually. A "social-scientific approach" is just a catchword for identifying the conviction that sometimes the complementary help from other disciplines is indeed useful.

Social-Scientific Questions in Second Temple Jewish Studies

Generally speaking, the study of late Second Temple Judaism is often associated with points of view from social sciences.[29] Specifically "social-scientific" studies labeled as such are few. A systematic survey of the questions and theoretical frameworks that have attracted the most attention is not the task here. Yet certain central areas can be sketched in order to map the field under investigation and to place the present study in it. The research questions that have drawn on and had the greatest potential to benefit from models, concepts, data, theories and heuristic thinking from social sciences have inquired into a) the nature and roles of various social classes in the making of the society, especially the leadership roles (priests, scribes, governors, prophets and visionaries, wisdom teachers),[30] b) the politics and economy under various foreign rulers and during the Hasmonean period as well as Jewish-Gentile relations,[31] c) the influence of other societies and cultural patterns on Judaism, and the comparison between Second Temple Jewish groups and Greco-Roman associations,[32] d) the relationship between particular theological beliefs or programs and

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[28] Work done in the area of analytical sociology is now being brought into biblical studies: the social mechanism approach seeks a middle way between simple descriptions and general social laws; see Luomanen forthcoming; Uro 2011, 272–88.

[29] Second Temple studies in general of course overlap with much of Hebrew Bible studies. If one looks for social-scientific or sociological studies in the field, all surveys of the Old Testament/Hebrew Bible from social-scientific perspectives are relevant. By restricting ourselves to the late Second Temple period, we aim to focus more on the period relevant for studying the fully developed Qumran movement.

[30] E.g., Grabbe 1995; Perdue 2008.

[31] E.g., Grabbe 1992a; Horsley 2007.

[32] E.g., Hengel 1989, 167–228; Weinfeld 1986; Baumgarten 1998b, 93–111.

social changes,[33] e) the differentiation of distinct socio-religious groups (sects) during this period, and the identity production in these groups, including the distinct discourses of various groups,[34] f) concrete religious life and its rituals, especially purity issues, and their role in keeping or changing the religious landscape,[35] g) family life and the role of women and education in maintaining and living the religion,[36] h) literacy, scribal and oral culture, transmission of traditions, and the study of language in mediating information and in the creation of distinct social realities.[37]

The list is by no means exhaustive and the themes are in many ways overlapping. The rough map is meant to show the great variety of areas in Late Second Temple studies. Following the terminology present in social sciences, research could also be categorized under macro and micro levels of analysis: a–e dealing more with the macro level (societal structures, states, large scale economy and other material circumstances, sectarian distinctions), and f–h with the micro level (household, networks, village and town setting, everyday life). The present study moves both at the macro level (sociology of sectarianism) and the micro level (the social identity construction of individual members who make up the movement).

More narrowly, concerning the Qumran corpus, many scholars could be mentioned who operate with social sciences or address social-scientific questions, their studies ranging from investigations of a certain aspect of social history to comparative studies and to studies employing specific social-scientific theories. Social-historical questions have dealt with economic issues, prayer practices, the Qumran movement as one apocalyptic movement of the time, and the role of women, to mention a few examples.[38] Comparative investigations have looked at the Qumran evidence both against the contemporary voluntary associations and against the later sectarian evidence.[39] Particular theories applied to viewing

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[33] E.g., Hanson 1975.
[34] Baumgarten 1998a, 125–47; Baumgarten 2002, 301–15, and his book Baumgarten 1997a; Blenkinsopp 2005, 10–25; Chalcraft 2007c; Stern 2011.
[35] Klawans 2000; Klawans 2006; Regev 2001, 243–61.
[36] E.g., Sivertsev 2005; Ilan 1999.
[37] Carr 2005.
[38] E.g., study on wealth by Murphy 2002; prayer practices touched upon by Falk 1998; study of the Dead Sea sect as an apocalyptic movement by Collins 1997; study on women by Wassen 2005.
[39] E.g., Weinfeld 1986 and Klinghardt 1994, 251–70, compare the Qumran organization to Hellenistic associations; Regev 2004, 146–81, compares it to North American sects (the Shakers, the Hutterites, the Mennonites and the Amish); Baumgarten 1997b, 137–56, views

the Scrolls include the sociology of sectarianism,[40] theory of relative deprivation,[41] Mary Douglas's group and grid model,[42] theory of religious conversion,[43] theory of deviance and labeling theory,[44] and theory of cognitive dissonance.[45] Many studies easily go unnoticed since they deal with a "non-Qumranic" text corpus in the first place.[46]

In view of the sociology of sectarianism and the social identity approach that are the focus of the present study, Carol A. Newsom's research deserves a special mention. Newsom employs several philosophical, literary, and anthropological points of view in exploring the role of language and rhetoric in the sectarian community. Her book, *The Self as Symbolic Space: Constructing Identity and Community at Qumran*, looks at culture as conversation and the Qumran community as a community of discourse in which speech both constructed and expressed identity.[47] Language and the functions of language are therefore revealing areas of research for studying the community as a subculture, or "social dialect," as Newsom puts it.[48] Her study includes many observations that lend themselves to comparison with ideas that arise from the social identity approach.

Another work that could be mentioned in this connection is that of Maxine Grossman, *Reading for History in the Damascus Document: A Methodological Study,* which focuses on the rhetoric and reader response criticism.[49] Grossman criticizes the restriction of the "meaning" of the texts to the most "original" or authorial meaning, and underlines the

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revelation from the point of view of religious authorities and compares this to Pauline congregations and the nineteenth-century Shakers.

[40] E.g., Martens 1990, 27–46, employs a model of sectarianism. On this, see Jokiranta 2001, notes 8 and 37. For other references, see note 35 above.

[41] Duhaime 1993.

[42] Davies 1999, 151–63, uses Mary Douglas' work on purity.

[43] Brooke 2005a, 73–87, employs John Lofland and Rodney Stark's theory of religious conversion.

[44] Pietersen 2005, 166–81; Collins 2009b.

[45] Paper by Ginsburskaya 2010. I am grateful for having been given the pre-publication draft of this paper.

[46] Thus, New Testament scholarship is a good example of a field where Qumran texts often play a comparative role. The New Testament is also a much-explored text corpus from the social science perspective, and here Qumran studies may benefit from the methodological discussion in the past research. New Testament studies may also provide an impetus to explore the phenomena in the Qumran corpus, as Philip Esler's study on sectarianism did in my case; Esler 1994 devotes a chapter to the sectarianism in D and S; see further Chapter 2.

[47] Newsom 2004.

[48] Newsom 2004, 10.

[49] Grossman 2002. For a rhetorical reading, see also Newsom 1990a, 121–31.

importance of the construction and reconstructions of meaning in the readings of a text. The focus of research has thus moved towards acknowledging that the texts carry many meanings and that their view of history is ideologically colored.[50] The events "behind" the texts are only a part of understanding the texts and their world.[51] It is equally important to explore the literary (textual) world and its internal "rules" (e.g., rhetorical devices; intertextuality; potential meanings; symbolic world), as well as the socio-cultural premises for understanding the context in which these texts worked and were received. The understanding of the texts must aim at producing relevant information of the "textual world" as well as the "symbolic world" and the "social world," in cooperation with, rather than contrasting with them.[52]

On Social-Scientific Methodology

Two important points ought to be considered when the profitable methodology is pursued. It is obvious that social-scientific methods are not the aim *per se*. The aim is to better understand the texts themselves, in their circumstances, settings and meanings.[53] Social-scientific approaches may offer one set of angles that rely on other approaches into the dynamics of human life, helping to make the ancient texts more comprehensible. In the New Testament scholarship, social-scientific methods arose in response to the concentration on the history of ideas instead of the history of social groups.[54] In the Qumran field, by contrast, scholars have assumed some form of social reality in the background, often taking the existence of a "Qumran Community" for granted. The study of the "sectarian texts" presumed in the past a fairly straightforward relationship between the texts' image of reality and the history of the movement. More recently, scholarly consensus on the "Qumran community" has been broken down, and the challenge is rather to work with the present situation, either following a chosen theory of the community or communities but keeping eyes open for revisions, or doing a detailed study of individual scrolls and themes

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[50] Most recently, the articles in Campbell, Lyons et al. 2005 attempt to utilize the newer methodologies as well as narrative, ideological and post-colonial criticism.

[51] Cf. Grossman 2002, 39–40.

[52] In the Finnish context, Kari Syreeni's model of "three worlds" has been influential, Syreeni 1995 ("New Testament Hermeneutics: Fragments of Interpretation"); Syreeni 1999, 33–46.

[53] Kugler 2010, 228, stresses the nature of our questions in determining the choice of approaches.

[54] Elliott 1993, 12.

without committing oneself to a set theory. In any case, texts should not be read as direct windows into social realities,[55] and the assumed social reality should not be read into the texts. Social-scientific thinking is especially helpful in moving between these two areas: letting ourselves question both the texts' claims of reality and our reconstructions of the texts' image of reality, yet offering positive questions to pose on the evidence and suggestions for ordering the data.

Another point to be made is that social-scientific methods in biblical and cognate studies are not to be set above other methods; they do not offer the final word in any sense. Social-scientific issues have been dealt within the traditional historical-critical methods (e.g., exploring the function and *Sitz im Leben* of the texts). Old issues are sometimes discussed with new concepts to connect to wider interdisciplinary approaches. For example, the concept of "collective memory" has been used in sociology and in sociology of religion in past decades as a tool to describe the memory that goes beyond an individual's lifetime and which shapes the understanding of the present.[56] The idea is familiar in biblical scholarship: groups interpret their past in their contemporary situation, and choose, arrange, re-create, and underline relevant memories in order to address the needs of the present. Texts that are reworked often testify to a re-evaluation within the new community. In terms of social memory, the group identity of "us" includes perceptions of "us" in the past and also the perception of what "we" may become in the future. Social-scientific methods may approach familiar issues from a slightly different angle and help focusing, bringing in new insights and evidence, questioning former assumptions, and recalling of the groups responsible for the creation and preservation of the texts.[57] And even more importantly, social-scientific approaches may facilitate dialogue between biblical scholars and other scholars in relevant fields, and help in placing biblical studies among

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[55] As warned by Grabbe 2007, 5, concerning Hebrew Bible studies.
[56] Halbwachs 1992.
[57] Concerning the concept of time, for example, Esler 2003, 252–56, notes that ancient and modern understandings of time may differ considerably. Another example is given by Newsom 2004, 6–9: she points out how traditional form criticism has identified specific social locations (*Sitz im Leben*) of different speech forms (genres), but in doing so, the method has isolated the different genres, and ignored the individuals who moved among them and who had their own relationships to different language systems. Newsom approaches "genres," social dimensions of language, by employing the ideas of the "Bakhtin circle," Russian thinkers in the 1920s and 1930s. Various language systems are seen as cultural discourses: "master discourse" affects the individual's relationship to other forms of discourse, which are themselves dialogically related to each other.

the wider research of human societies and religions. But in all instances, methodological pluralism, rather than promoting one approach over the other, should be the rule, and methodological critique should always be part of our work.

Social-scientific questions are thus tools that are suitable for working with some material and questions and not others.[58] The legitimacy for speaking of "social-scientific methods" comes only from the need *not* to neglect the present research available and from the need to articulate precise and well-reasoned questions in all studies of human societies.

In the following chapters, two areas of social-scientific study are explored in more detail and will be used to ask questions about the nature of Qumran movement and its identity building: the sociology of sectarianism and the social identity approach.

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[58] Cf. Esler 1995, 7: "No ontological status is accorded to the models; they are seen merely as heuristic tools," and, "The debate is really about what assumptions we should adopt, not whether we model or not."

SERAKHIM AND SECTARIANISM

Sociology of Sectarianism in Retrospect

Problematic "Sect"

How to speak about the people of the Dead Sea Scrolls? Qumran scholars have largely abandoned the concept of "monastery" in describing the presumed group behind the Scrolls.[1] This terminology of "sect" and "sectarian" has been used throughout the research history of the Dead Sea Scrolls.[2] In fact, it had already appeared before the discoveries of the Scrolls, in studies of the Cairo Genizah copy of the *Damascus Document*.[3] It is well recognized that this terminology is not unproblematic, either. However, merely abandoning the term "sect" does not solve the problem.[4] The terms and their definitions are tools for expressing ideas; more

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[1] See the critical view about preconceptions by Davies 1996d, 82–83. Boldly enough, Collins 2009a, 74, suggests an analogy between the spiritual aspects of later Christian monasticism and the Qumran movement, but does this in a very cautious way. For the comparison to Greco-Roman associations, see Weinfeld 1986. For the comparison to rabbinic *ḥavura*, see Fraade 2009, 433–53.

[2] Cf., for example, the titles of some early studies: Dupont-Sommer 1954; Braun 1957; Yadin 1985.

[3] Studies of CD: Schechter 1970 (reprint of the original 1910); Moore 1911, 330–77; Ginzberg 1972 (reprint of 1922 ed.). Martens 1990, 27–46, makes a distinction between a technical, sociological use of term "sect," and a loose, descriptive use of the term (meaning merely "group" or "party"), and notes that the earliest studies of CD represent the loose, general use, predating the sociological study of Troeltsch in 1911, see below.

[4] While some completely avoid the term "sect" within Qumran studies (e.g., Talmon 1994, 8), other concepts might appear equally problematic: some are restricted to certain texts (such as "*yahad*"), others to certain aspects of the texts (such as "the Community of the Renewed Covenant"), or to certain places (such as the "Qumranites"). For the terms "Qumran" and "Qumran community," see also Davies 1996a, 98–99. A useful comparison to voluntary associations is that of Walker-Ramisch 1996, 128–45. The concept "voluntary association" could function as a very general and neutral concept, if Walker-Ramisch's definition is broadened, as Wilson 1996, 8, suggests, to include also groups with separatist tendencies. Recently, Kooij 2011, 109–28, has argued that the term *yahad* itself points to a type of national assembly (*demos*) or *synedrion:* "noun *yahad* was created in order to designate a group of people 'sitting together' in the sense of a council in session." This suggestion gives further reason not to adopt any one term from the texts to characterize the whole movement, especially if those terms described activities (assemblies) rather than organizational units.

important than debating over a term is to determine which factors are relevant for the study at hand, and which ways would be the most helpful in describing it.

It could be claimed that there is a certain *emic* foundation for using the term "sect" for ancient Jewish groups. Josephus uses the term *haireseis* (lit. "choices") when he presents the four "philosophies" in Judaism, the Pharisees, the Sadducees, the Essenes and the Fourth Philosophy (*Ant.* 13.171; 18.11; 18.23; *J.W.* 2.119; also of the group of Judas the Galilean, *J.W.* 2.118). The meaning of the term varies between "schools of opinion" (in a positive or negative sense, i.e., right or wrong opinions—cf. the English "heresy") and "adherents of particular opinions/customs; distinct groups; factions."[5] The English term "sect" derives from the Latin *secta*, which is equivalent to the Greek *hairesis*. However, the translation of Josephus' *haireseis* as "sects" does not itself legitimate the use of "sect" of the group or groups behind the Scrolls. First, the groups behind the scrolls were not identical with the Essenes that Josephus described; even though the Essene theory (of the identification of the people of the scrolls) was accepted as the most probable one, the sources may derive from different societal circumstances and the nature of the sources affects the choice of terminology. Second, there were also various types of Jewish groups other than the *haireseis*, and thus this terminology should not be regarded as the only alternative to describe Second Temple Jewish groups.[6]

In studies of ancient Judaism and early Christianity the terms "sect" and "sectarian" have both carried this Greek-Latin sense, deriving from Josephus and others, as well as a more technically and sociologically colored sense, deriving from modern understandings. For some readers, the term might be perceived as a general, imprecise term for speaking about different "parties" in Second Temple Judaism. For others, the term "sect" immediately works as a technical term, and conveys, for example, an understanding of a minority group, which is in a schismatic relationship with a larger group. We end up with different terminology for the same groups, one scholar calling them "parties" or "factions,"[7] another distin-

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  [5] See also Jokiranta 2009c.
  [6] See the critical view of Josephus in this respect by Goodman 1995, 161–66. Nevertheless, it is noteworthy that Josephus compares the Jewish groups to Greek philosophies—to a foreign element. See Mason 1996, 31–58.
  [7] Talmon 1994, 8, says that, "at that time it was still an open question which faction would win the upper hand, and which others would then be relegated to the status of 'dissenters' or 'sects.'" Elliott 1995, 75–95, speaks of Qumranites/Essenes as a coalition, along with Pharisees, Herodians, Jesus' group and John the Baptist's group.

guishing between "reform movements" and "sects,"[8] and a third speaking of "reformist sects" and "introversionist sects."[9] When the terminology is not defined or reflected on, the situation easily causes misunderstandings and hinders scholarly discussion. The recognition that the term has its roots in sociology will help to exclude unintended connotations and, more importantly, will lead into specification of the aim and nature of questions of a particular understanding of sectarianism. Seeing that sectarianism is not one model but a research field of its own will aid in reflecting what might prove beneficial in this area. First, I will outline an overview of the developments in the sociology of sectarianism and then present three theorists in more detail.

Main Developments in the Sociology of Sectarianism During the 1900's

Sectarian models grew out of the desire to investigate the relationship between patterns of beliefs and social behaviour and organizational forms. The typologies have thus always been tied to historical investigations and specific circumstances. Often there has been a wider view on illuminating how certain historical forms have contributed to the present state of "modernity," the form of life that can be contrasted to "pre-modern." It is important to notice that the sociology of sectarianism was not meant to offer some kind of universal theory of religious groups in the first place, nor to classify religious groups according to universally accepted criteria.

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[8] The Qumran group is often seen as a classic example of "sect," a group that has separated from a parent group, the dominant "mainstream" Judaism. For example, Sanders 1993, 123, rejects calling early Christianity a sect but regards the Qumran group as a classic example of a sect: it diverged from the Jewish "church" and rejected the dominant symbols of Jewish culture, especially the temple. Stanton 1993, 7, 93, argues that both the *Damascus Document* and the *Gospel of Matthew* functioned as legitimation of a sectarian stance; however, he defines the parent community of the *Damascus Document* more narrowly (Essenism). In comparison to this, Esler 1994, 70–91, finds evidence of a reform movement in the *Damascus Document* and of a sect in the *Community Rule*.

[9] Baumgarten 1997a, 11–12, prefers using the term "sect" for various Jewish groups, leaving open the degree and form of boundary marking. By such usage, scholars may wish to give emphasis to the pluralistic nature of Judaism, or to bring the presumed "marginal" groups such as the Qumran group to a more central and common position in Judaism: sects are understood as constituting the essence of Judaism—thus they are not schismatic or despised but only something particularistic, cf. Grabbe 2000, 207. There has been criticism of using the term "sect" in this way, since not all the groups were regarded as deviant. In Second Temple Judaism, "particularism" has been defined as expressing the loss of one ethnic religious identity in a better way than "sectarianism," see Christiansen 1998, 69–97.

The 19th and 20th century European theorists are usually presented as the key figures in the beginning of sociology of religion. Most notably, *Max Weber* and *Ernst Troeltsch* were interested in describing the organizational forms of Protestant groups in pre-19th-century Europe as social expressions of their doctrine and teaching.[10] The types "church" and "sect" were characterized as polarized extremes.[11] In the Weberian sense, voluntary membership in sects was the key to understanding the difference from a church in which members did not make a voluntary choice to join and which thus did not cultivate their members in a similar way (figure 1). In the Troeltschian sense, the sect was egalitarian, radical, appealing to the outcast and in tension with the world. The church was hierarchical, traditionalist, appealed to the dominant classes and was integrated with the world. Church membership was received by birth, while joining the sect was voluntary. The church was highly institutionalized whereas the sect was almost uninstitutionalized, "a fellowship of love" (figure 2). Seen against this background, the English term "sect" often became to carry a pejorative connotation: the movement had heretical beliefs and "non-official" practices.

However, later in the 20th century, it was discovered that the sect was not always—or not for long—a spontaneous, uninstitutionalized group of people. In American society, sects were seen to accommodate to the world in the course of one generation and evolve into "denominations."[12] The sociology of sectarianism was confronted with the emergence of "new religious movements" as well as secularization and religious conflicts, and the different conceptions of sect were modified accordingly. Not only were the characteristics of sect reconsidered but also its corollary of church was questioned. Post-modern Western societies did not have an established state-approved church that enjoyed a monopolistic position. Pluralism prevailed instead. Thus, more comparative and cross-cultural theories

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[10] Weber 2002a; Weber 2002b, 199–209; original work appeared in German in 1904–1905, see bibliography in Chalcraft 2007c, 106–11; Troeltsch 1931. See introduction and evaluation of this church-sect model: Wilson 1973, 11–16; Beckford 1973, 9–18, 92–102; Stark and Bainbridge 1985, 21–22; McGuire 1997, 142–47.

[11] The third social form for Troeltsch was *mysticism*, which was radical religious individualism and indifference towards any dogmas, ethical norms, or organization. See, e.g., Bainbridge 1997, 38–42, for a concise overview of the church-sect theory and its modification.

[12] Niebuhr 1929.
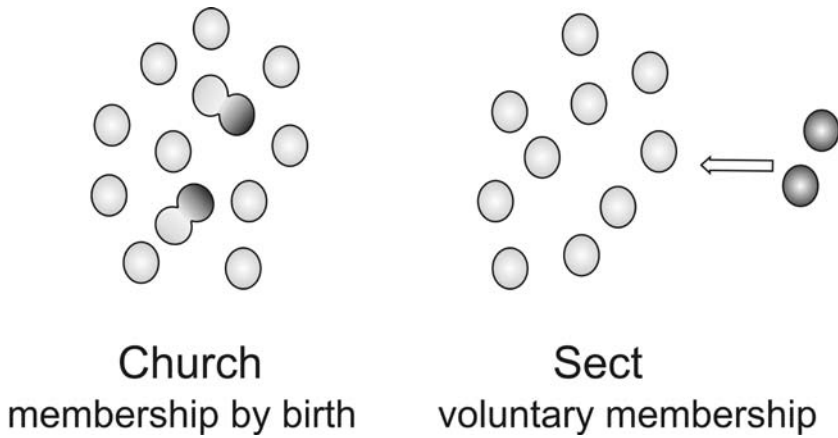
Figure 1. Weberian approach to sectarianism.
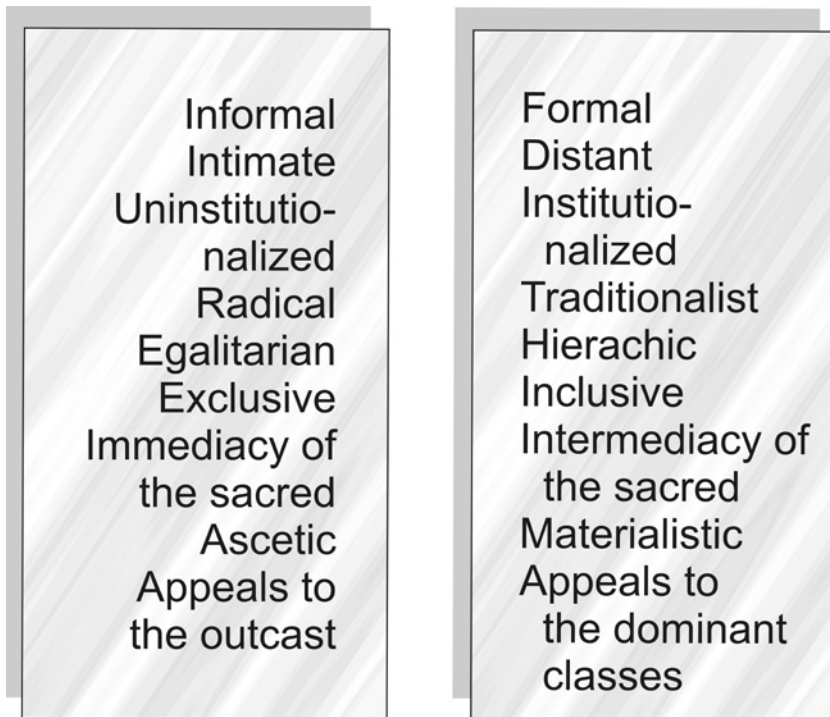
Figure 2. Sect and Church: Troeltschian approach to sectarianism.

of sectarianism were sought.[13] In the subsequent research sociologists argued that "sect" was *not* to be defined either in terms of *organizational* form, or their *doctrine*, or the s*ocio-economic status* of the members. In other words, sects are not *necessarily* without any formal structure—and consequently, sects do not *necessarily* form a commune, either. Sects do not *necessarily* have heretical doctrines, and the members of sects do not *necessarily* come from the lower classes. In modern pluralistic culture, not even the presence of a dominant church was seen as a necessary part of the definition—a group could protest against a wider socio-cultural environment. In other words, sects could arise *outside* churches, not within or against churches.[14]

Since the 1960's, one of the central variables in sect-typologies has been the notion of *tension*. This is present in the works of Benton Johnson, Rodney Stark and William Sims Bainbridge, and Bryan R. Wilson, for example.[15] Religious groups are placed along a tension axis: sect-like groups are in higher tension with the socio-cultural environment, and church-like groups in lower tension with the socio-cultural environment (figure 3).[16] The approach limits the number of defining features and thus allows variety in other features in sects.[17]

Instead of the opposing types of "church" and "sect," some sociologists suggested taxonomies of religious organizations, and "cult" emerged as a new, frequently used category.[18] For example, Roy Wallis and

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[13] Stark and Bainbridge 1985, 21, note that the church-sect typology was redefined by almost every user with new cases to classify.

[14] See, for example, Beckford 1973, 92–102; Wilson 1973, 11–18.

[15] For example, Johnson 1963, 539–49; Stark and Bainbridge 1987; Wilson 1973; Wilson 1990.

[16] Wallis 1975, 41, has expressed the distinction between church and sect in terms of *deviance* instead of *tension*: church is respectable while sect is deviant. Baumgarten 1997a, 5, notes that in contrast to Christian Western context, some religious groups have fostered *harmony* between their members and the social order—these groups would not fit in the definition of sectarianism which is built on the concept of *tension*. A universal typology of sects is not a possibility, or, demands such a high level of abstraction that it is no longer useful, see Wilson 1982, 100–01.

[17] Dawson 1997, 368–81, argues for the "uni-dimensional typology," or "the continuum approach," centered on one variable, instead of "the cluster of attributes approach." The latter may be helpful in *documenting* and *describing* distinctions made by the religions themselves, but the dimensional approach facilitates *comparisons* and *explanations*. See also Stark and Bainbridge 1985, 20–22, who distinguish between *correlates* and *attributes*: correlates are properties that tend to go together but since they are not always present, they cannot be used as defining features. Attributes, on the other hand, are features always present, and when limited in the desired fashion they form the basis of a definition.

[18] E.g., Robertson 1972; Wallis 1975, 35–49; McGuire 1997.

CHURCH   SECT

low   high
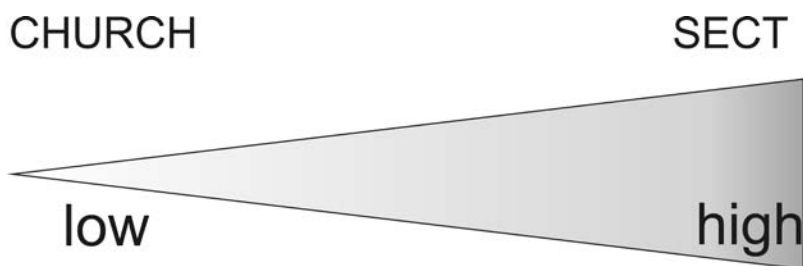
Tension with the socio-cultural environment

Figure 3. A dimensional approach to sectarianism.

Meredith B. McGuire add another variable along with the tension variable: the extent to which a religious group considers itself to be uniquely legitimate.[19] These two dimensions can be modeled as four different stances (figure 4). Thus, groups in the *sectarian and churchly stances* consider themselves to be uniquely legitimate while the *denominational and cultic stances* are pluralistic. The *sectarian and cultic stances* represent groups in negative relationship with their socio-cultural environment, whereas the *churchly and denominational stances* represent groups in a positive relationship.[20]

Recently, Lorne L. Dawson has argued against the variable of tension, which, according to him, is close to the Troeltschian idea of the degree of accommodation with the secular world and is subjective and value-laden: "Beliefs and practices that may appear world-rejecting from one vantage point, may appear world-affirming or accommodating from another."[21] Others remain convinced that this variable can sufficiently be measured

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[19] Wallis 1975, 35–49; McGuire 1997, 147.

[20] McGuire 1997, 147–58. The model also distinguishes *individual orientations* since different orientations can occur within the same collectivity. There are two central variables: (1) the extent to which the member's role as a religious person is segmented into a separate role or is expected to be diffused throughout every aspect of the person's life, and (2) the extent to which the individual judges self and others according to standards of 'mass' religiosity or normative virtuosity. Thus, the *sectarian orientation* is characterized by diffusion of the religious role and the striving towards religious perfection.

[21] Dawson 1997, 372, prefers the Weberian variable, the mode of membership, with its consequent implications for the organization and commitment patterns. For a Weberian approach, see Chalcraft 2007d, 2–23, and discussion below.
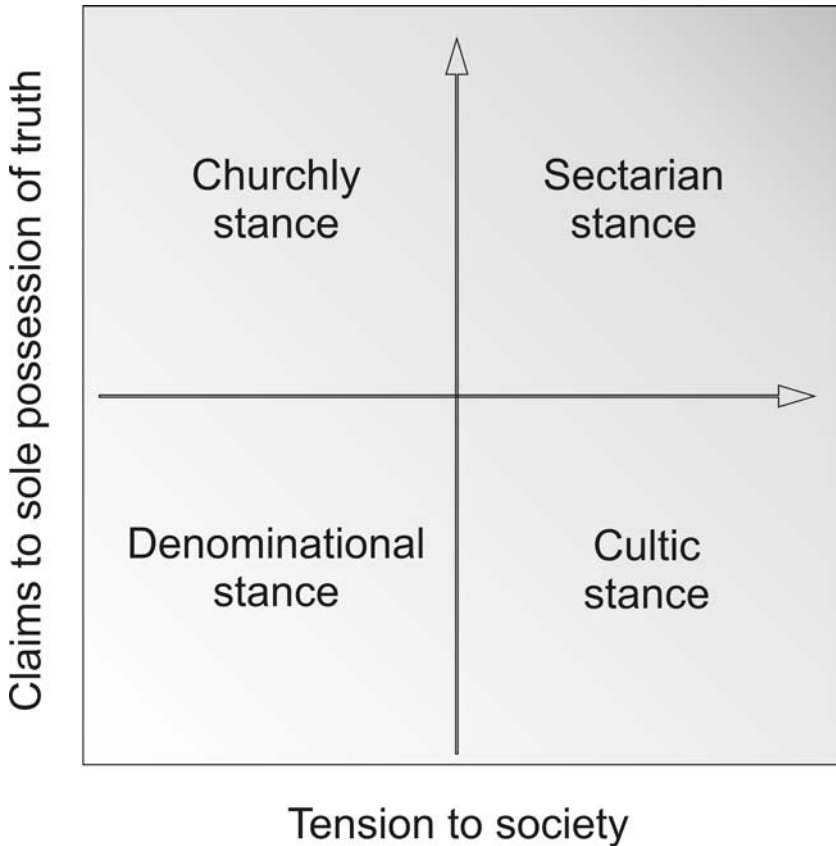
Figure 4. Stances of religious groups. (Modified from Robertson 1970, 123, and McGuire 1997, 148.)

and is important for bringing forward differences between groups and their impact on their members.[22]

Even this brief overview shows that the chosen framework bears direct relevance on scholars who wish to analyze the sectarian (or non-sectarian) nature of the Qumran movement.[23] In the four-stance model, most Qumran scholars, with few exceptions,[24] would place *some* stage or *some*

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[22] Stark and Bainbridge 1985, 23, 66, distinguish between religious *institutions* that adapt to change, and religious *movements* that wish to cause or prevent social change.

[23] Several scholars note that there is no consensus in sociology about the sect-typology; e.g., Dawson 1997, 364; Wilson 1996, 5–6.

[24] Stegemann 1992, 83–166, advanced a non-sectarian view of the "Qumran Essenes."

form of the reconstructed movement behind the Qumran texts towards the sectarian stance: we find claims of having *the* truth and marks of setting boundaries against all other groups.[25] However, this does not yet answer the question of which stages of the movement are so characterized and which texts are reflective of this stance. The implication of such a sectarian stance is also another question.

In the following, the three most influential theoretical approaches are briefly highlighted in order to illustrate the variety within sociology of sectarianism and the directions into which these different approaches might take us.[26] The Weberian approach is often bypassed as outdated but deserves a closer look and shows marks of return. The Wilsonian approach has been very popular among biblical scholars but is repeatedly shown to be problematically used. Stark and Bainbridge represent a specific orientation among social sciences, which both parallels other approaches but also deviates from them.

Weberian Approach: Ideal Types and Virtuoso Personality

Important for Max Weber's (1864–1920) conception of sect, as well others after him, is its *ideal typical* nature. Weber's philosophical starting point is to be found in the view that reality is too complex to be understood in the mind in its totality; abstractions and simplifications are needed in order to comprehend it. Many of the concepts of the social sciences are neither "individual" (describing individual events) nor "general" (formulating universal laws) but rather "typical": they are a "one-sided accentuation" of those aspects that are culturally significant.[27] In Weber's words: "An ideal type is formed by the one-sided *accentuation* of one or more points of view and by the synthesis of a great many diffuse, discrete, more or less present and occasionally absent *concrete individual* phenomena, which

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[25] Cf. the definitions of "sect" by Baumgarten 1997a, 6–7: "...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," and by Davies 1996b, 163: "Where a social group separates itself, not as a distinct member of a wider society, in which it plays a part and interacts with other such groups, but as a complete and autonomous society within itself, be that understood as an alternative to the society in which it is physically located, or an expression of that society's ideal, then this social group constitutes, in my definition, a sect. That wider society from which it secedes could be a nation, state, ethnos, or an even smaller group—for instance some sects arise within other sects."

[26] See further Jokiranta 2010, 200–31.

[27] Hekman 1983, 18–26; Gerhardt 2001, 236.

are arranged according to those one-sidedly emphasized viewpoints into a unified *analytical* construct."[28] Ideal types are thus intentionally unreal extremes. The characterization of the "Calvinist ethic," for example, was derived from several pastoral and historical writings of Calvinists. Weber did not summarize all of the points in common in them but accentuated features that were considered of value to the topic of the inquiry, the formation of the capitalist spirit.[29] Ideal types, then, can help organize research and offer suggestions of where to look for explanations about human behavior as well as to make the reality more comprehensible to us.[30]

Weber insisted that the ideal type is not found in any single concrete case. It cannot be proven "wrong" by cases that do not "fit" since it is not a comprehensive description of a single social institution or process but is rather a means towards the proposition of causal hypotheses. Ideal types are historically defined and are subject to change.[31] Weber himself studied historical cases, traditional Chinese, Indian and ancient Israelite societies, in comparison to modern Western society, thus making theoretical concepts serve historical case studies. Ideal types are not the *ends* of scientific inquiry but the *means* to facilitate analysis of the subject to be explained.[32]

"Sect" and "church" can serve both as descriptive concepts and as ideal typical concepts.[33] As a descriptive concept, sect presents a synthesis of those features that are common to certain empirical cases and are distinct from church. As an ideal typical concept, sect accentuates certain culturally significant features. What is viewed as culturally significant will change according to time and the interest of the inquiry.[34] For Weber, sect was a conceptual tool for investigating those features that influenced the rationalization of modern culture.[35] Weber sought to identify the value-orientations in a society that contributed to rational, systematic forms of conduct (in contrast to irrational, random forms). In his theory, such values were characteristic of modern societies and capitalist economy, and, for their part, the systematic, disciplined conduct of Protestant sects was

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[28] Weber 1949, 90.
[29] Giddens 1971, 141–42; Kalberg 2005, 14–22.
[30] Hughes, Martin et al. 1995, 133–34; Chalcraft 2007b, 206.
[31] Hekman 1983, 36.
[32] Hughes, Martin et al. 1995, 135–41; Giddens 1971, 139–44.
[33] Giddens 1971, 142.
[34] Bruun 2001, 156.
[35] Chalcraft 2007a.

contributing to the formation and expansion of such values. Weber's use of the term "sect" was free of value judgment, and, for Weber, sects could be of many kinds (religious, "aesthetic," even scientific—Weber mentioned Freudian circles): "Specific, firmly articulated ideals can be brought into life in no way other than in the founding of a sect whose enthusiastic followers strive to realize them fully, and who therefore unite with one another and set themselves *apart* from others."[36]

In Weber's work, the accentuated feature of a sect was *a voluntary membership based on some merit or qualification.* A key for Weber's understanding of sect is his idea about associational life (*Vereinswesen*), voluntary membership in all kinds of associations, "from a bowling club to a political party."[37] The archetype of associational life was the Protestant sect but associational life could characterize a whole society—Weber identified North America as a "sect-like society." Associations select and cultivate their members, making them channels of change. A member has to qualify, "to assert himself," and, once qualified, the member will be disciplined according to the group's norms. Self-monitoring becomes a habit, both because of internal competition within a sect and external competition between sects.[38] Weber was fascinated to find that sect membership functioned as a moral certificate in American society, e.g., in obtaining loans and credit. Sect membership meant that a person had qualified, passed an examination, and "asserted" him/herself both externally and internally. Sects developed individual personalities, *virtuosi*s, in ways that had an impact not only on the lives of the individual members, but also on society as a whole.

Virtuoso mentality combined with certain religious ideas had an influence on the formation of modern capitalism. In his *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*,[39] Weber identified "the spirit of capitalism" which was to work well, to make a profit, and to use one's time wisely. The Protestant ideal was to fulfill one's God-given task in the practical, *secular* life.[40] The calling of Catholic monks into an other-worldly life was replaced by the inner-worldly asceticism of Protestant sects.[41] Which underlying beliefs enforce this type of character formation? For Weber,

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[36] Weber 2002b, 206–07.
[37] Weber 2002b, 199–209.
[38] Kim 2002, 196.
[39] Weber 2002a.
[40] Hughes, Martin et al. 1995, 100–01; Kalberg 2005, 24–27.
[41] For the development of Weber's ideas about sects, see Chalcraft 2007a.

it was the predestinarian beliefs in the Calvinist tradition that were seen to have the most effects in the creation of rational, secular asceticism. According to Calvinist teaching, people's eternal fate was predestined by and known only to God. There was no external proof whether one was among those predestined for eternal life or not. This uncertainty, however, caused salvation anxiety in people's minds and a need to ascertain one's status. Such anxiety led people to carry out the spirit of capitalism in their everyday life—working hard, making wise investments, being efficient—in order to assure oneself that one's lot was among those predestined for salvation, or at least to clear away doubt.

In wider terms, "rationalization" meant the tendency to systematically organize, plan and conduct one's affairs—this was expressed, in particular, in the areas of science and business.[42] "Disenchantment" referred to the process by which the world became a less magical place and more governed by predictable rules.[43] Although Weber saw a clear connection between the Protestant sects and the new rational, capitalist spirit, he also recognized roots of rationalization going further back in time, to ancient Israel and Greece.[44] By rejecting magic and demanding an ethical way of everyday life, pre-exilic biblical prophets contributed to inner-worldly action. Rationalization in ancient settings was exemplified by systematization of laws, the existence of publicly verifiable norms, trained experts and abstract rules as well as by economic "asceticism," the idea that trustworthiness goes together with the best possible profit.[45] However, the post-exilic period was, in Weber's view, characterized by the decrease of this tendency, by the social segregation of the Jewish people, and the observance of concrete norms rather than abstract principles.[46]

Wilson: Responses to Evil and Sectarian Sub-types

The next approach into sectarianism to be illuminated has been much more popular in biblical studies. According to this approach, the focus is not so much on the individual personality formation and its influence on society but on the interplay between the sect and the society and the types of sects emerging in different societies and settings. In one way, this

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[42] Hughes, Martin et al. 1995, 96.
[43] Hughes, Martin et al. 1995, 121.
[44] Hughes, Martin et al. 1995, 119–20.
[45] Mayes 1989, 22–25.
[46] Schluchter 1989, 165–68.

perspective often views the sect in more responsive/reactive (rather than active/affirmative) ways: the sect is a protest against values or practices in society, and sects offer different solutions to the perceived problems.

Bryan Wilson (1926–2004) did his life work mainly on the emerging sects in the colonial settings and new religious movements in the western context. To distance himself from the former research tradition, Wilson emphasized that sects stand in tension to their socio-cultural environment but are not necessarily otherwise similar to each other in their doctrine, organization, origins, and so on.[47] However, the reader of Wilson's work might find the understanding of sect both as a schismatic, heretical offshoot from the church—at least, Wilson recognized this as a common, traditional understanding of Christian sects—and as a non-schismatic protest group which was in tension with the wider society.[48]

Also Wilson's conception of sect is ideal typical. This is most obvious in Wilson's typology of sectarian "responses to evil," which, according to him, were not found in pure forms.[49] These sectarian sub-types helped to analyze the great variety of new religious movements. Originally, Wilson formulated four sub-types of sects (four "types of mission") in contemporary Christianity.[50] Later, he expanded this to seven[51] and to non-Christian contexts ("responses to evil").[52] The typology was thus designed to facilitate comparative study, although the starting point was within the Christian context.

"Responses" are various kinds of religious answers to perceived evil. Briefly put, "introversionists" seek a purified community; "conversionists" seek a transformed self; "manipulationists" seek a transformed perception of evil; "thaumaturgists" seek specific dispensations and miracles; "reformists" seek to reform or change the world; "revolutionists" seek a world transformed (by God); and "utopians" seek a reconstruction of the world (by humans). In addition to these seven sectarian responses, the eighth, the dominant response in society, is acceptance of the world.[53] It is noteworthy that, in Wilson's work, the "evil" is not defined.

Wilson sought to explain the conditions in which these types were most likely to arise, how they developed, and what influences they had

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[47] Wilson 1990, 46–47.
[48] See Wilson 1970, 15–16, 26.
[49] Wilson 1970, 35; Wilson 1982, 105.
[50] Wilson 1967, 22–45.
[51] Wilson 1970.
[52] Wilson 1973; Wilson 1982.
[53] Wilson 1973, 21–27.

in non-Western cultures.[54] In a Weberian fashion, he was interested in explaining rationalization: once people come to the view that their ills were not caused by spirits or their own actions alone but by deficiencies in social structures, they could expect a communal transformation in these structures. When the expectation of the transformation was not fulfilled, people turned again to their own "effort to work out salvation," but the experience could be the forerunner of more rational ideas about opportunities for structuring the new world.[55]

In a similar way as Weber, Wilson identified in religious sects the disciplinary, collective impact but saw it to be present *to a varying extent* in different types of sects, depending *on the conditions* and as *persisting* for a varying period of time. For example, conversionist sects generally put strong weight on the inner change of members. They emerged in individualistic societies and often became denominationalized, and thus endured for a long time. Revolutionist and introversionist ideas, by contrast, were very radical in their demands. Revolutionist sects were usually short-lived and thus did not make much of an impact on wider society.

In later studies, Wilson tended to work without any subtypes and instead developed the sociology of new religious movements that protested against modernity.[56] The "responses" typology, however, has continued to enjoy great popularity in biblical studies. Some of its critique will be discussed below.

Stark and Bainbridge: Movements, Institutions and Exchange

Similar to Bryan Wilson, Rodney Stark and William Sims Bainbridge belong to that tradition of sociology of sectarianism where sociologists continued to use church-sect typology but modified the defining criteria or reduced them to one, placing it a continuum. Benton Johnson was among the first to emphasize the relation to the social environment as the defining criterion: church accepts the social environment in which it exists; sect rejects the social environment in which it exists.[57] Many later studies adopted this view, as has been seen: sect was in tension with its socio-cultural environment.[58] Religions contain conflicts, small-groups,

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[54] Wilson 1970, 13.
[55] Wilson 1973, 7, 348–49.
[56] Wilson 1990, esp. 47; for Wilson's relation to Weber, see Chalcraft 2011, 235–86.
[57] Johnson 1963.
[58] For an overview of the church-sect theory and its modification, see Bainbridge 1997, 38–42.

and novel beliefs that challenge them to reform, renew, and reinvent. Religious movements are part of a constant and ongoing movement in religions whereby religions react to and effect cultural changes.

Stark and Bainbridge built their theory of religion in the 1980s.[59] The theory is an exchange theory (or a "rational choice theory"): it assumes that religion arises "through social exchanges in which individuals seek rewards and attempt to avoid costs."[60] Since rewards exist in limited quantity, people accept *compensators*, explanations that are treated as rewards. Religion is "a system of general compensators based on super- natural assumptions."[61]

Stark and Bainbridge's ideas on sects belong to this theoretical perspec- tive and are also based on empirical studies of religious bodies.[62] Devi- ance, or tension, means that a group develops or maintains a culture at variance with the dominant culture of society, incurring costs for those who maintain it. At the low-tension end, we find "religious institutions," which are close or nearly identical with the socio-cultural environment (social structures, roles, norms, values, and activities of the society). Insti- tutions adapt to change. At the high-tension end, on the other hand, we find "religious movements" (sects and cults), which attempt to cause or prevent social change (figure 5). Religious groups are thus always related to their context; no essence can be presented of either religious institu- tions or religious movements. According to the theory's definitions, a "church" (or denomination) is a conventional religious organization. A "sect movement" is a deviant religious organization with traditional beliefs and practices. A "cult movement" is a deviant religious organization with novel beliefs and practices in its environment.

In their *Future of Religion*,[63] Stark and Bainbridge outline three ele- ments that can be empirically used for measuring tension. The first is *dif- ference*: the extent to which the behaviour and practices of the members are different from the majority, or from the standards of the powerful members of the society—sectarians follow deviant norms. The second is *antagonism* towards other religious groups or society, usually expressed in particularistic beliefs denying the legitimacy of other competing groups,

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[59] Stark and Bainbridge 1985; Stark and Bainbridge 1987.
[60] Bainbridge 1997, 404; for a critical view on the rational choice theory, see Beckford 2003, 167–71.
[61] Stark and Bainbridge 1987, 39.
[62] Stark and Bainbridge 1987, 39.
[63] Stark and Bainbridge 1985, 48–67.
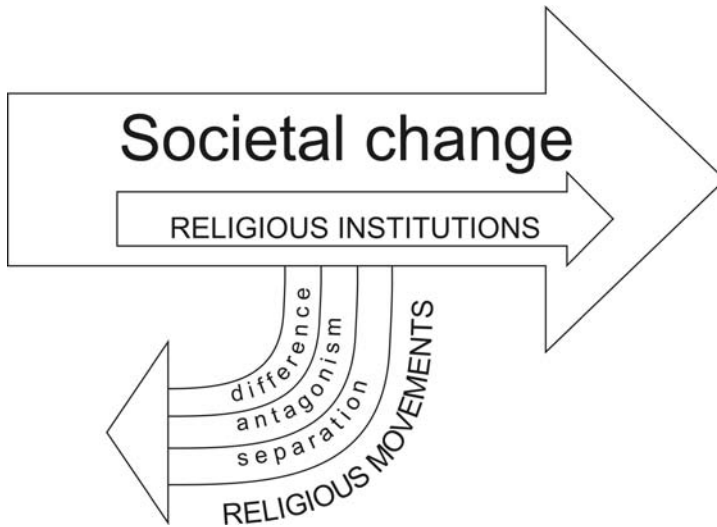
Figure 5. Stark and Bainbridge's model of religious institutions and religious
    movements (sects and cults). (Partly modified from Luomanen 2002.)

and resulting in rejection by them. The third is *separation*, restriction of
social relations and contacts mainly to in-group members. Group norms,
activities, or simply devotion to the group may restrict the social relations
of the members so that contacts and relations to outsiders are reduced. In
a later study, Bainbridge speaks of "aspects of tension" that can be mea-
sured: these are variations in beliefs, behaviour and social relations.[64] The
three elements/aspects are in close interplay and each one of them adds
to tension, usually by strengthening one or both of the other elements/
aspects as well. If a group has some deviant norms (difference) but also
some practices that maintain relations with the members of the outside
group, then the tension of this group is the average formed by the three
elements.

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[64] Bainbridge 1997, 42–47. These correspond roughly to Rambo's (Rambo 1993, 106)
"physical, social and ideological encapsulation." Stark and Bainbridge's later publications
do not seem to present the three elements equally explicitly, and Bainbridge 1997, 42–43,
even seems to favor many more aspects of tension by referring to twenty-two "facets" of
religious variation which correlate "more or less strongly with the abstract concept of ten-
sion". However, different norms, superior beliefs and nets of social relations are the three
elements that frequently come up in these studies as well, and can even be identified in
Bryan Wilson's work: see note 40 in Wassen and Jokiranta 2007, 231.

Once a movement is classified as being at the high-tension or at the low-tension end, one can proceed to analyze other questions, such as the social class of the members and its correlation to the degree of tension. The results suggest that high-tension groups generally attract people who suffer from "relative deprivation," i.e., deprivation of some valued reward, relative in the sense that the lack of rewards is judged in comparison to something else, e.g., to close associates or one's standard in the past. High-tension movements offer specific compensators that substitute for wealth, power, and status, whereas low-tension groups tend to offer concrete rewards. The higher the tension, the greater is the number and perceived value of the compensators.[65]

Central concepts of the theory will be employed below. The most useful part of the theory to me is the context-dependent and dynamic nature of sectarianism.[66]

Benefits and Limitations of Typologies

There might be many who would object and question whether we need a typology to speak about sectarianism in the first place. If the concepts confuse us, why should we use them? My conviction is that sociological studies on religious movements not only offer precise conceptualizations where to choose from but provide a perspective which helps to comprehend the research problem: what are we looking for? What is our research question? Sociology of sectarianism facilitates in formulating and explaining relevant observations (for example, seeing purity rules as part of the mechanism which restricts social relations and thus sets the group apart; understanding sectarian features in relation to societal change), and excluding unwarranted postulates (for example, regarding asceticism as always associated with sectarianism). They may also aid in seeing that religious movements can be studied at the level of the individual (for example, analyzing different modes of religiosity) and at the

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[65] Stark and Bainbridge 1985, 142–49; Bainbridge 1997, 50–59.

[66] The most vulnerable part seems to be the framework in rational theory. Stark and Bainbridge present a complete theory of religion, not just sectarianism. Some of the problems of their general exchange theory was discussed (in Finnish) by Luomanen 2004 and Ylikoski 2004, 545–48 ("Rational Choice and the Sociology of Religion: Comment on Luomanen's Article"). For example, contrary to the claim by Stark and Bainbridge, Ylikoski argues that their propositions do not logically derive from the axioms and definitions that they present. "It is more feasible to see the theory as a collection of separate theoretical ideas that can be independently applied." This is the justification, I believe, for using only the model on sectarianism of their theory.

level of religious collectives (for example, analyzing the relationship to
the wider society).

Sociology of sectarianism is not a given, a package that either fits
or does not fit the material at hand. It is a tool that highlights certain
features over others and provides empirical and theoretical elements for
hypotheses.[67] In order to see what is unique in the Qumran movement,
we need to study its nature in all possible ways, drawing a more and more
sharp picture, with clearer details. Its nature as a socio-religious group is
one angle that is necessary for placing the group in question correctly on
their social map.

However, a remark should be made on applying *modern* sociology to
groups in *antiquity*. Pieter F. Craffert attacks the whole idea of using the
sociology of sectarianism as ethnocentric and anachronistic.[68] He is not
alone in calling for a moratorium on sect models,[69] but I will focus on his
criticism since he also deals specifically with Bryan Wilson's model, which
is widely applied in biblical studies.

Craffert starts by admitting that the question is not whether models
should be used or not, but whether they are used consciously and explic-
itly. In this enterprise, however, Craffert notes, the principle of "goodness
of fit" has been forgotten. A fit between the data and the model cannot
be assumed but the interpreter has to argue and demonstrate that the
model and the evidence address the same phenomena.[70] Craffert asserts
that a social-scientific model, even cross-cultural, can just as easily result
in an anachronism in the same way as a modern "theological" model or
commonsense assumption.[71] Appealing to T. F. Carney's work,[72] Craffert
calls for a critical and self-critical use of models. This means a conscious
reflection on the *limitations* of the models and even the *disadvantages*

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[67] Thus, categories of religious groups should not be the aim but a tool. In his study
of religious groups, Bainbridge puts it: "We will recognize that each religious organization
is unique and cannot be placed perfectly in any category. Instead of thinking in terms of
restrictive categories, we will concentrate on understanding the social and cultural pro-
cesses that create and sustain the differences we observe between religious groups. That
is, we will view religion not as a set of distinct organizations arranged in conceptual boxes,
but as dynamic systems of beliefs, practices, socioeconomic structures and human beings;"
Bainbridge 1997, 25. Every category is a simplification and does not perfectly describe any
one case. Yet, they are needed to bring us into the systems of beliefs and practices and to
grasp these complex mechanisms.

[68] Craffert 1992, 217–39; Craffert 2001, 21–46.

[69] E.g., Craffert refers to the work of Bruce Malina; see his note 1.

[70] Craffert 2001, 22–23.

[71] Craffert 1992, 226–27.

[72] Carney 1975, 34–38

that their use may have in the application to ancient material, as well as a constant monitoring of corrections and updating of the models. Craffert calls this the "historical approach" in contrast to the "non-historical approach," which ignores the native's point of view.[73] In short, the models must be subjected to careful testing, and the choice of the model has to be well argued.[74]

In all this, I agree with Craffert. I have attempted to avoid anachronism in this study by discussing the starting points of each sectarian model (above) and by employing the model to pose questions, not to determine the result, by discussing the suitability of the chosen sect model in the ancient context (next chapter), its limitations and purpose, and by defining the level of examination. Sect definitions are made explicit and open for discussion. The native's point of view is important to bear in mind. However, if the issue is, as in the following, a comparison between two documents regarding the tension expressed and reflected in them—and no incontestable outside evidence exists—it is not much help to repeat what the documents say of their worlds. A tool is needed to arrange the data and to hypothesize what significance the indicators have that illustrate a certain type of stance in society.[75] Furthermore, it is my conviction that the sociology of sectarianism may not have all those tools that biblical scholars want it to have, and other approaches are also needed.[76]

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[73] Craffert 1992, 218–24. The native's (*emic*) point of view means "characterizing a society or culture in its own terms." The first step is to create the mental world (social and cultural codes and conventions) behind the texts (p. 233). Craffert prefers an inductive approach (first collecting evidence and then looking for the best theoretical interpretation of it) over a deductive use of models (pp. 231–233). Social reality is not a system but a construction of meanings (p. 222).

[74] Craffert 2001, 23–25.

[75] Craffert points out the limitations that Carney 1975, 34–38, mentions, but not Carney's responses to these possible shortcomings. Carney, for example, recommends operating with several models simultaneously, at different levels, so that inappropriate models become evident. In the end, Carney seems more optimistic than Craffert, and states, a little sarcastically: "Models may admittedly not be a very rigorous technique for controlling the selectivity of our frames of reference. They have imperfections. They are awkward and tricky to use. Really, all that can be said for them is that, for their purpose, they are the best thing we have by way of a technique."

[76] Craffert refers to B. Malina's article (Malina 1995, 96–113) as an example of the direction in which scholars should proceed. Malina studies group formation and group development in five stages. However, the point of view is essentially different when one uses a *social psychological* model of development in *any* kind of small group, and when one uses a *sociological* theory and tries to see general trends in religious minority movements in their settings. The two aspects can cross (e.g., the idea that "sect" takes a less conflicting stance with the society with a second generation of sectarians—the group has gone through the "normal" group stages and the second generation brings forward challenges

Craffert presents a short history of the sect models, with many similar observations that I made above. The definitions of "sect" have varied, and users of the term have actually studied different phenomena, ranging from religious organizations, to religious experiences, descriptions of schismatic groups, and to attitudes towards the wider society.[77] The long historical development of the models and the somewhat unfortunate, flexible use of the term "sect" make, in my opinion, most of Craffert's comments justified. I concur with the view that carrying along the traditional list of "sectarian characteristics" can mislead and be incorrect. Some of the confusion for non-experts in the sociology of religion is brought about by the fact that Wilson has used the term "sect" synonymously with "minority religious movement" but still having some of the "sectarian characteristics" of previous scholarship.[78] Craffert rightly notes the variety of purposes and levels of analysis for which Wilson's model has been used in NT scholarship.[79] However, at least partly, this is a problem of the users of the model; it is only natural that sociologists have refined their definitions in changed circumstances and different settings.[80] I do agree that biblical

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that cause the group stages to start all over again), but they remain distinct sets of phenomena and cannot replace each other. Malina (p. 113, n. 8) argues that, since Christian groups never got to the performing stage, they are not sects, but this is not inevitable, because two different sets of questions are involved: where the groups described in the NT were located with respect to their internal development, and what kind of stance these groups had in the wider society. Furthermore, Malina's analysis of the two basic types of groups (categorized according to their *objectives*) deals with issues that have been and can be analyzed with concepts and theories used in the sociology of sectarianism. For example, Stark and Bainbridge speak of sects as movements that either promote societal change (Malina's Jesus movement) or try to prevent it (Malina's Pharisees, which he classifies as a "countermovement organization"). Largely similar questions may be analyzed with different concepts, and typologies naturally vary according to chosen variables.

[77] Craffert 2001, 28–31. However, defining "sect" in terms of tension with the sociocultural environment does not, in my view, concern only attitudes but also behavior and social networks.

[78] Wilson 1967, 23–24; Wilson 1990, 46–48, 106. This is the reason, as Craffert 2001, 38, 40, notes, for the fact that many biblical scholars adopt Wilson's model and at the same time add their understanding of "sect" to the picture.

[79] In Craffert's view, Wilson's typology has been used for four purposes: for describing the organizational development in early Christian groups, for classifying such groups according to their responses to evil, for presenting the typical characteristics of "the" sect, and for identifying various sectarian responses within a document, Craffert 2001, 25–28. To this could be added the use of Wilson's model more generally in Second Temple Judaism studies, for the purpose of comparing various groups and for recognizing differences in their circumstances (e.g., Baumgarten 1997a).

[80] In the words of Carney 1975, 8, "A model generally comes to us as a refined version of its predecessors. Cumulatively built up, by other people, by trial and application over time."

scholars have to be aware of revisions of the models, but biblical scholars do not have to become sociologists in order to use sociological research.

Craffert's more challenging observations concern his analysis of what Wilson's model is actually designed to do. Wilson was among those sociologists who sought to understand religious movements outside the Western world, more specifically, in countries that had been in contact with Westerners. Wilson distanced himself from the traditional church-sect typology: "sect" is not a protest against the church but against the wider society.[81] Wilson's special interest was in the kinds of responses people had to the "evils" they experienced in the world, and in the cultural circumstances that led to these responses.[82] New Testament scholarship seems to have taken up these responses and labeled their observations with them, but neglected the cultural conditions involved in the model. For example, an individualized culture is, according to Wilson, a prerequisite to "conversionist" and "manipulationist" responses, but such individualism did not exist in ancient societies.[83] Moreover, Craffert raises the question of what the responses would look like if the dominant way of dealing with evil in the society is itself one of the seven responses, e.g., "thaumaturgical" or "revolutionist."[84] This is a relevant question in an ancient setting where the belief in magical powers, for example, is the norm, and therefore a certain amount of "thaumaturgical" response is present in all strands of society.

Craffert is correct in that Wilson seems to define the counterpart of sect ("the world") ambiguously.[85] When the dominant response is left open, every user of the model has only his or her understanding of it.[86] I will discuss the meaning of the "socio-cultural environment" later in this work.[87] If a model is dynamic, it allows for different conditions, and a

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[81] Craffert 2001, 32.

[82] Wilson 1973, 18–50; Craffert 2001, 32–36.

[83] Craffert 2001, 35–36.

[84] Craffert 2001, 37–38.

[85] For Wilson, the counterpart of sect may be a variety of things: "... the sect challenges, usually explicitly, the adequacy of the *teachings, explanations, religious practices, social mores, life-style, and ethos of all other religious bodies,* and *of the public at large*" (emphasis mine, Wilson 1990, 47); "The seven responses ... reject *cultural goals* and *the soteriological theories and facilities that exist*" (emphasis mine, Wilson 1973, 22); "[The protest] may be against the *state*, against the *secular institutions* of society, or in opposition to or separation from *particular institutions or groups within society*" (emphasis mine, Wilson 1973, 12).

[86] See the criticism by Luomanen 2002, 110–13, that the contents of the counterpart can vary even *within* the application of the model by an individual biblical scholar.

[87] One of the problems with Wilson's model in applying it to an ancient context, for example, is the strong secular contents of the "world."

sect is defined *in relation to* those conditions.[88] A too narrow or specific
definition of the counterpart, therefore, is not desirable either. A greater
difficulty in Wilson's model, in my view, is the ambiguity in the level of
analysis—the responses may refer either to an individual or a group[89]—
and the fact that it remains unclear where the responses are found (in ide-
ology, activities, teaching, goals) and what its purpose is.[90] These reasons
have led me to turn to another sect model in this study. However, also
Wilson can be useful for certain set of questions. For example, we may
heuristically ask what the main orientation (response) in a given group is,
if this could be explained by the circumstances, and if the evidence then
shows that its response follows a typical pattern of development or not,
and whether or not it has a predictable effect on the wider society.[91]

The sociology of sectarianism is not to be abandoned because one
disagrees with one of its models.[92] Models are theoretical constructs
that can always be questioned and redefined.[93] Some may feel that sect
models carry such a load of various connotations and definitions that it
is easier to work with a fresh set of concepts—this may be justified but
that does not make these new models any less in need of testing and
demonstration.[94]

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[88] Carney 1975, 11, acknowledges the existence of both static and dynamic models,
and "dynamic models enable us to focus on the flux of action or of change in a society
or situation over time." At times, Craffert seems to forget that Wilson's "base-line" is not
acceptance of evil (as he states in Craffert 2001, 37), but acceptance of the main or most
dominant *response* to this evil.

[89] See Wilson 1973, 23–24.

[90] The focus of the responses, as I understand them, is in the kinds of orientations that
can be found in groups, not in the kind of groups that can be found in society, cf. Wilson
1973, 18–20. Craffert 2001, 25, n.3, 39, claims that Wilson's model does not address questions
of group development, but this is not correct, see Wilson 1967, 22–45; and the chapter
"How sects evolve: issues and inferences" in Wilson 1990, 105–27.

[91] I have explored these questions in comparison of the Qumran movement and emerg-
ing Christian groups in Jokiranta 2009b, 177–209.

[92] Contra Craffert 2001, 46, who in the end rejects all sect models on the basis of reject-
ing Wilson's model.

[93] See Craffert 1992, 234–36, for some suggestions for methodological principles: avoid-
ing law-like explanations in favor of the heuristic use of models, focusing not only on simi-
larities but also on idiosyncrasies in the data, and starting with the native's point of view.

[94] The group objectives, which Malina 1995, 96–113, (see above) takes as a variable,
brings to my mind at least the following question: If fictive kin groups (elective associa-
tions) focused on inward well-being and placed the "social change" in the future, does
this mean that "social change (extra-group) goals" did not exist in these groups? If the
conditions in the society changed, did not these groups also seek to improve their stance
in society and look for societal change, at least in the form of enlarging their influence?

To come back to other approaches on sects in our discussion, the traditional categorical church-sect typology is seen as less useful for at least two reasons: it comes from certain Christian context and is presented in the way that tends to create the illusion of certain characteristics typical to all sects. The idea of certain correlative attributes has been very persistent and influential. Wilson, who was one to criticize the Troeltschian model and to develop more dimensional sect typologies, repeatedly presented a list of general attributes of sects,[95] although he has also emphasized that these attributes are limited to the Western Christian context.[96] The advantage of the more dimensional typologies in this respect is that they concentrate on the few sociologically important variables, and see the groups in a continuum. The types are not fixed categories but may change according to time period and level of analysis (national, regional, local).[97]

However, the earliest church-sect model was an ideal-typical construction, which deliberately accentuated a certain feature in order to investigate the correlation of things in a macro perspective, and cannot be accused of posing a set of attributes on the data. The Weberian approach took as its starting point the voluntary membership based on merit or qualification, and suggested also a basic difference between voluntary Protestant mentalities in comparison to voluntary Catholic monasteries in their impact on the secular sphere of life. Both of them were "sectarian" by definition but the way of demonstrating one's qualification originated

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[95] (1) Sects tend to be *exclusive*. (2) Sects tend to claim that they have a *monopoly of the complete truth*. (3) Sects tend to be *lay* organizations. (4) Sects tend to *reject the religious division of labour*. (5) Sects are marked by *voluntarism*. (6) Sects exercise concern for sustained *standards* among their members, and it is usually the case that they exercise *sanctions* against the inadequate or wayward, to the point of expelling such individuals from the sect. (7) Sects tend to demand *total allegiance*. A member is sectarian before he is anything else. (8) Sects are *protest* groups. Sect challenges, usually explicitly, the adequacy of the teachings, explanations, religious practices, social mores, life-style, and ethos of all other religious bodies, and of the public at large. At one time, a sect was protest first and foremost against the Church, its teachings, and its priests. In contemporary world and pluralist societies, a sect often protests against the secular society, and possibly against the state; see Wilson 1982, 90–95; Wilson 1990, 1–3.

[96] In the case of Qumran, for example, our first impression often is that the reconstructed group does represent some of the attributes listed above, but not all of them: it is not a lay movement, and it does not practice egalitarianism in relation to women, for example. The individual attributes are rarely found in any one group and don't seem to correlate enough for the typology to be predictive. It would be better to study these factors as *comparable*, not *given* elements of sects; cf. Wilson 1990, 106.

[97] See McGuire 1997, 150: for example, the nineteenth century American Catholic organization may differ at the national level and at the level of local congregation.

from different belief systems and resulted in different modes of conduct. Questions from the Weberian tradition on the Qumran evidence have recently been addressed by David Chalcraft and more work on this could certainly be done.[98] Chalcraft has also insisted on practicing sociological imagination in this field. It is not just a matter of making informed choices between existing sect typologies, but also of developing the ideal type we use.[99]

The present study led me to turn to the work of Stark and Bainbridge for at least two reasons. First, it offered a new and to me a corrective perspective in comparison to previous applications in which Wilson's work had been employed. Second, it provided the most comprehensive conceptual tool for the research question at hand: What can be said about the socio-religious stance of the Qumran movement in light of its most concrete regulatory and codifying texts, the *serakhim*? What is sectarian about the Qumran movement?

Whereas Wilson's work focused on the type of religiosity (type of response), Stark and Bainbridge's work directs one to understand groups on a continuum with a varying degree of "sectarianism" or tension. Group boundaries sociologically perceived are not only ideological but often materialize in social forms. Therefore, observing ideological tension in texts (deviant beliefs, polemic language, dualistic ideology) is not sufficient to demonstrate that a group existed which viewed itself as a distinct social group and which was in tension with the surrounding society—social boundaries are needed too. Stark and Bainbridge's elements of tension provide a useful conceptual tool for analyzing social boundaries as regards to their degree of tension: a sectarian group is one in which antagonism is strong, social norms deviant and social relations restricted. The greatest advantage of the *tension with* perspective comes from the context-dependent nature of sectarianism. A sect is not a sect as such but in relation to other groups of people and to societal change.

In the next chapter, the degree of sectarian tension in the *Community Rule* and the *Damascus Document* will be investigated in light of this understanding of sectarianism. The detailed analysis is based on the joint work by Cecilia Wassen and myself,[100] and the results of this work will be summarized and reflected upon.

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[98] See Chalcraft 2007c and his three chapters and Introduction there.
[99] Chalcraft 2011, 235–86.
[100] Wassen and Jokiranta 2007, 205–45.

Shared Sectarian Outlook in *Serakhim*

Assessing the sectarianism of the Qumran movement often has to do with the most explicit texts that preserve regulations and reflections on the community's life, that is, the *serakhim*, the *Community Rule* (S) and the *Damascus Document* (D) in particular.[101] However, the early theories about the "Qumran community" also arose from historical reconstructions based on the *pesharim*. The *Pesher Habakkuk* (1QpHab) was among the first texts found in Cave 1. Moshe Bernstein has aptly shown how our interpretation of the pesher *genre* might be different had some other pesher, a multiform *Pesher Isaiah* (4QpIsaᶜ), for example, been found first.[102] A similar case can be made for our historical reconstructions of the groups of people behind the scrolls. The theory of the emergence of the Qumran sect as a result of conflicts with the Hasmonean priesthood is substantially based on a reading of the evidence in the *pesharim*. The theory would have been different had it been based solely on the *serakhim*, which do have clear indications of critical attitudes towards the temple and its practices but no signs of individual "wicked priest(s)" who persecuted the founders of the movement. This is not to say that the traditional theory is necessarily mistaken, but to note that the "skeleton" of the theoretical framework is always created by giving preference to some material over other.[103]

Since more of the sapiental, as well as liturgical, material has been published and come into focus, the picture of the "Qumran sectarianism" has been seen in new light. It has been noted, for example, that only a minority of all the manuscripts display a dualistic outlook or dichotomous

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[101] For editions of the *Community Rule* from Qumran caves 1, 4, and 5, see Burrows 1951; Barthélemy and Milik et al. 1955; Charlesworth, Milgrom et al. 1994; Metso 1997; Alexander and Vermes 1998. For the editions of the *Damascus Document* from the Cairo Genizah and Qumran caves 4, 5, and 6, see Zeitlin 1952; Broshi 1992; Charlesworth, Davis et al. 1995; Baumgarten 1996.

[102] Bernstein 1994, 65–70, argues that the common division into "continuous" and "thematic" *pesharim* should not be seen too strictly. I fully agree that the *pesharim* are more properly classified on a continuum concerning the pesher technique (ways of quoting the scriptural texts, presence or absence of citation formulae and repetition of quotations). A further problem for classification is the fragmentary nature of many of the *pesharim*, which renders many conclusions on the continuity or discontinuity of the biblical text and the interpretation of the different formulae even more uncertain.

[103] Similarly, the recent theory presented by Collins 2009a, which questions the presumed dispute over the high priest and redates the conflict between the "Teacher" and the "Wicked Priest" to the first century B.C.E., gives preference to some data over against other, most notably, arguing that the chronological framework presented in CD 1 is irrelevant to the dating of the conflict.

language.[104] New approaches into the previously explored material have brought valuable new insights, suggestions and corrections.[105] When scholars reevaluate the whole Qumran corpus, it is necessary to reassess the phenomenon of sectarianism in even the most certainly "sectarian" texts, the *serakhim* and the *pesharim*. However, before discussing the sectarianism in light of these texts, it is necessary to deal with the ambiguous concept of "sectarian texts" itself.

Defining "Sectarian Texts"

The Qumran corpus includes over 900 manuscripts or manuscript parts.[106] Scholars attempt to manage this vast amount of material by dividing it into categories, either into two parts, canonical scrolls and non-canonical scrolls, or more frequently, into three parts: canonical (biblical) scrolls; apocrypha and pseudepigrapha; and "sectarian" or Qumranic scrolls.[107] Sometimes merely a division to previously (before the discovery) known texts and previously un-known texts is a good reminder of what we have in the corpus but this division soon falls short in discussing the individual manuscripts.

The category of "sectarian texts" is a necessary scholarly tool but not an unproblematic one. Controversy exists whether some texts belong to the category or not.[108] The criteria that were first established (style of language, terminology, theological ideas, history of community)[109] are

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[104] Frey 1997, 277–80; Davies 2000a, 28.

[105] Different collections of texts are brought into closer dialogue with each other. For example, Hempel 2002, makes important remarks on the Qumran sapiental texts and *serakhim*. Both sapiental and rule texts include redaction, which should be taken into account. Rule documents include sapiental elements so that the categories are not mutually exclusive.

[106] In the Foreword to VanderKam and Flint 2002, ix, Emanuel Tov provides the figure of 931 manuscripts, which is based on the data in the introductory and index volume of DJD: Tov 2002. Many compositions are represented in multiple copies; the number of compositions according to Tov is 445 works.

[107] Dimant 1984, 483–550; Dimant 1995; VanderKam and Flint 2002, 103, 210. For biblical scrolls and apocrypha and pseudepigrapha, see also Flint 2001. For the prominence of "non-biblical" and "non-sectarian" scrolls in the collection, see now García Martínez 2010b. It is still widely held that the Qumran corpus forms a relatively unified collection. Even if it were argued that the texts are a random collection of Second Temple literature, these texts would require an explanation in the theories of the Qumran movement, and thus would be relevant for the study of Second Temple sectarianism.

[108] Opinions vary, for example, for the *Temple Scroll*, see, e.g., Yadin 1980, 153–69; Stegemann 1996, 137–38, and for *4QInstruction*, see Goff 2003, 219–28.

[109] Cf. Chazon 1992, 3–17; Dimant 1995, 27–29; see the review and literature by Hempel 2000, 746–47.

matters under discussion. Furthermore, the category of "sectarian texts" has often been regarded as identical with the phenomenon of sectarianism: the texts in this category have been read *with the presupposition* that they testify to a schismatic relationship, or to other characteristics regarded as "sectarian." There is the danger of circular reasoning in defining the criteria for sectarian texts, and then forming a picture of the sect according to those texts.

Newsom has made a crucial contribution in showing that a "sectarian text" is an ambiguous concept and it can function on different levels: whereas it was previously almost always understood as a text *authored* by a particular group, it may also denote a text *used* by a particular group, or a text with a particular *rhetorical function*.[110] The last level seems most useful to her:

> A sectarian text would be one that calls upon its readers to understand themselves as set apart within the larger religious community of Israel and as preserving the true values of Israel against the failures of the larger community.[111]

According to Newsom, a text achieves this self-conscious separation in various ways: e.g., by polemical rhetoric, by the teaching of the community's history or its institutional structure, and by constitutional liturgies.[112] This understanding moves closer to interpreting the category of "sectarian texts" as reflecting a *certain type* of religious *movement*. Yet a sectarian text so defined does not necessarily provide information that would guarantee that the text is connected to a living "sect." I have suggested a specification to this level of understanding, a more "sociological one," that would indicate sectarianism *most explicitly*.[113] Even polemical rhetoric is not a guarantee that its users were "set apart" from the larger society—or the absence of polemic is not a guarantee that they were integrated with the society.[114] A sectarian text would be a text in which sectarianism, defined

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[110] Newsom 1990b, 167–87.

[111] Newsom 1990b, 178–79.

[112] It is important that this understanding of "sectarian texts" is not based on merely common terminology but calls for a polemical orientation or "some self-conscious reference to separation." However, the indicators of this stance might need more clarification: for example, "teaching about the institutional structure of the community" would not itself be a sufficient indicator of sectarianism, but the *nature* of this teaching, cf. Hempel 1998, 20.

[113] Jokiranta 2001.

[114] Similarly, Hempel 1998, 20, rightly notes, referring to Newsom's definitions, that "it is questionable, furthermore, whether 'teaching about the institutional structure of the community' is necessarily always a form of *sectarian* self expression."

as being in tension with the socio-cultural environment (expressed in the claim for religious monopoly, in deviant norms, and separation; see above), is clearly detectable, for example, on the basis of explicit halakhah or regulations, which—if followed—would cause the group to be deviant within the society. In this definition, preference is given to practices over beliefs.[115] However, also this definition only works for establishing the *most likely* cases—they do not prove that the sectarian groups of this movement produced or used *only* these texts.[116] This category of "sectarian texts" does not signify a clear-cut static sect that produced or used these texts and these texts only.[117] If we are looking for sectarianism, many texts do not contain enough evidence in order to judge one way or the other. The point made is that the sociological stance of the authors and users of these texts does not fully correspond with any of our categorizations of texts. While we cannot avoid classifying the texts somehow in biblical and non-biblical, in non-sectarian and sectarian texts,[118] we should avoid presuming that our text-categories can be identified with historical social distinctions.[119]

Even more importantly, there is a growing awareness that the texts are multidimensional in that they include various redactional layers and that they may be used for different purposes. A sectarian movement can

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[115] Recently, Davies 2005, 69–82, argues that "ideas do not of themselves make sects;" an ideological definition for sects is inadequate. He, too, looks for a sociological definition, and correctly notes that, although the sociological definition is the most appropriate, we need caution, and traditional historical-critical methodology is first needed in reconstructing *sects* on the basis of *texts*.

[116] Similarly, Newsom's discussion of the definition, while suggesting a restrictive use of "sectarian texts," actually argues that sectarian texts may exist where we cannot detect them, and that nonsectarian texts may equally influence the ideology of the group, thus being relevant for the study of the "sect." Therefore, for answering the question whether a text is sectarian or not, she uses all the three levels of understanding "sectarian text" (using the *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice* as an example).

[117] For discussion on the relationship between the texts and the history, see Davies 1992, 156–59; Davies 2000a, 27–30; Walker-Ramisch 1996, 128–29.

[118] Or non-Qumranic and Qumranic. The difficulty is not removed by giving up the language of "sectarianism." If we were to identify texts that originated in the Qumran movement (authorship criterion above), without making any assumptions of whether the movement was in a sectarian or non-sectarian stance in its environment, we are back at discussing the criteria for such an authorship, and the understanding of the makeup of the movement plays a role in defining these criteria.

[119] Thus, discussion on the features in the texts that represent a sectarian stance, and those that are more "denominational," or "churchly," or perhaps "cultic" in stance—if we allow these sociological terms—is needed. For example, the absence of community terminology does not *necessarily* witness to a "churchly" stance. Unfortunately, not all the texts provide sufficient sociological information.

include an earlier source in its own compositions,[120] and it could adopt a text that it did not compose but which it read from a sectarian point of view.[121] If judged on the basis of authorship, rhetorical function, or sociological indicators, there are no (purely) sectarian texts—or there are only partly sectarian texts, in the strict sense.[122] In its most loose sense (judged by the use of the text), *all* the texts are potentially sectarian: they may be read in the community in a way that new meaning and significance is ascribed to the text, compatible with the sectarian ideology and setting, even without any explicit written interpretation.[123] Therefore, *all* texts in the Qumran corpus are relevant for adding to our knowledge about the nature and operation of the movement. Furthermore, one "sectarian text" may not derive from exactly the same group of people as another "sectarian text." We may continue to list the most explicit "sectarian texts" (texts most likely produced and used in a "sect," sociologically defined) but we must bear in mind that this does not necessarily reflect a single community behind those texts, and that other texts remain equally important in studying the movement.

This last point has also been made by Newsom in her more recent discussion, which is a response to Nickelsburg's article "Religious Exclusivism: A World View Governing Some Texts Found at Qumran."[124] Nickelsburg characterizes his definition of a "sectarian" text as being based on Newsom's but modified in a "theological" direction. By "sectarian texts" he refers to "texts whose religious world view portrays one's group as the sole and exclusive arena of salvation and thus sees those who are not members of that community as cut off from God's favor and bound for damnation." Within this definition, Nickelsburg is able to include texts that were not produced by the Qumran community (*1 Enoch, Jubilees*), and a text

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[120] Such as the halakhah layer in D discovered by Hempel 1998, or possibly parts of the discourse on the two spirits in S, see Duhaime 1987, 32–56; Collins 1997, 292–96; Frey 1997, 295–300. Furthermore, Davies 1992, 152–63, is of the opinion that the "Qumran community" did not create the rule documents, but rather this material developed along with the emergence of the community.

[121] The use of various scriptural material in the sectarian compositions well illustrates that it is not always the predictable terminology or world view that causes the adoption of certain scriptural traditions; rather it is the way these traditions are interpreted, read, and highlighted within the group. Cf. "How to make a sectarian," Newsom 2004, 91–190.

[122] Cf. Hempel 1998, 20: "Not all the components of works that are sectarian in their final form should be defined as sectarian themselves."

[123] Newsom 2004, 91, refers to sectarian talk in the sense that most of its features (terminology, genres, metaphors) would not be unique; it is the combination of these features that would mark the speaker as somehow distinctive.

[124] Nickelsburg 1999b, 45–67; Newsom 2003, 162–75.

that does not clearly envision an exclusivist ideology but was used by the Qumran community to promote such a worldview (*Visions of ʿAmramᶠ*). In doing so, he seems to contradict his own definition by including a dualistic text, without an indication of being "the sole and exclusive arena of salvation". Nickelsburg regards his definition as "theologically oriented" but in fact it has a sociological touch: it demands a group that claims to be uniquely legitimate.[125] However, as I will discuss below, this variable, reflecting beliefs rather than practices, is the most problematic one among the three elements of "tension" and does not work alone as a criterion of sectarianism.

Similarly, Newsom criticizes Nickelsburg's approach: not all texts produced by the sect necessarily have an exclusive worldview, and secondly, some nonsectarian texts that *lack* an exclusive ideology may yet have several links to sectarian texts and add to our understanding of the sect. Therefore, the exclusivist ideology alone is more confusing than clarifying when discussing the *category* of sectarian texts. This does not mean that Nickelsburg's study of exclusive ideology is unwarranted. On the contrary, one of the core issues is to see that exclusivistic ideology is not unique to Qumran. Perhaps this "exclusivism" has to be further divided into "social exclusivism" (exclusion of outsiders) and "ideological exclusivism" (exclusion of wrong practices, beliefs, authorities or the like).[126] Furthermore, Nickelsburg's attempt is not so much to revise the definition of "sectarian texts" than to broaden the study of the texts to include those not produced at Qumran,[127] which is the same interest that Newsom has.

Organization
One of the criteria proposed for the definition of sectarian texts deserves to be further discussed. Scholars often assume that pre-Essene material

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[125] Newsom 2003, 163, notes that Nickelsburg's definition is close to what I have presented. She regards these as somewhat sharper definitions compared to hers and the "softer-edged" definition by A. Baumgarten. I agree that "exclusivism" (similar to a "claim for unique legitimacy") is a sharper definition than Baumgarten's "boundary marking mechanisms" that may exist in various intensities. However, see my discussion above. My definition favors "tension" (claim to legitimacy being only a part of it) which again is a softer-edged definition.

[126] Distinguishing between different forms of dualism serves the same purpose. There is, for example, ethical dualism, according to which humankind is divided into the righteous and the wicked, and cosmic dualism, the division of the whole world into spheres of light and darkness. On the other hand, psychological dualism internalizes the division between good and evil so that the individual is the battlefield of the two forces; see Frey 1997, 283–85.

[127] Nickelsburg 2003, 169–70.

does not derive from any "organized community," any known community at the least. The *Damascus Document* serves as an example. Hempel ascribes some of the laws to a "Halakhah" stratum, partly on the basis that they do not "presuppose a particular organized community within Israel."[128] She rightly concedes that, "inevitably, like every text, it [i.e. halakhah] goes back to (a) particular group(s) in the society in which the authors were at home."[129] Traditional exegetical methods have viewed the texts as products of communities, not just individuals.[130] For understanding the dynamics of sectarianism, the form of the community or the level of its "institutionalization" are not the primary matters. *An organized community can be sectarian or nonsectarian.* More important is, for example, a minority position: to what degree a certain idea or behavior was prevalent in the wider society. Thus, the halakhah of D may or may not have been composed in an "organized community" but more interesting is the cultural conversation with other stances in society that it reflects, and the acceptance or rejection of the halakhah in changing circumstances. It remains relevant, of course, whether the halakhah was understood to be addressed to the wider society or only to a segment of society, but this may be difficult to determine.[131] If a halakhic interpretation does not refer to community officials or community organs, it may be still addressed to a limited group of people.[132] On the other hand, it would be difficult to find a Sabbath Law, for example, that would not have relevance for a larger group of people since nearly every person faced the issue about what is acceptable on the Sabbath.

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[128] Hempel 1998, 188. However, this "frame of reference" is only one of the four criteria. Others are vocabulary, form, and polemical/ideological stance.

[129] Hempel 1998, 26.

[130] E.g., New Testament scholars speak of Matthean or Johannine communities. In comparison to these, it may be that the designation "Qumran community" has been interpreted too narrowly, and understood as referring to a locally defined "Qumran commune," whereas it could be understood more widely as a network of groups, cf. Collins 2006, 81–96.

[131] See Shemesh and Werman 2003, for a suggestion that different genres of halakhah might be addressed to different audiences, either the wider public, or to the learned elite and sectarians themselves.

[132] E.g., Hempel 1998, 30–37, 91–93, assigns CD 9:8b–10a (on oaths) to the Halakhah stratum (with strong scriptural orientation), but CD 9:10b–16a (par. 4QD[b] 9 1; 4QD[e] 6 4; on restoration of lost or stolen property) to the Community Organization layer. However, the latter also includes strong scriptural references (Lev 5:1; Num 5:11–31; Num 5:5–10; Lev 5:21–26), as shown by Schiffman 1983, 111–32. There are perhaps formal grounds for distinguishing between the laws (the heading and the introductory formula in 9:8b-9a; the camp terminology in 9:11), but the setting of the laws seem very similar.

In my opinion, an organized community is itself an unclear concept, which has not been reflected sufficiently upon. Which factors suffice to make an organized community: common goals, shared norms, distinctive roles, and coordinated activities; or a leader/leaders, admission procedure, regulations for expulsion, rules for meetings? In recent sociological studies, "organization" may function as almost a synonym to a "group."[133] In the above-mentioned discussion, Nickelsburg notes that, since no community rule of the Enochians or of the Jubilees-community exists (if there ever were one), "we really know nothing about the community organization of those who generated these texts, and only a little about their daily life."[134] Even if there were an "organized community" behind them, it is the degree of tension that defines its socio-religious character, not the organization as such. Therefore, we do not know how sectarian the groups responsible for the production of these texts were.

Only after it is decided what is meant by the formation of an "organization" (whether it includes a recognized status, a codified admission procedure, a division of roles, or something else) can one start to investigate where such organizational evidence can be found, how such a process effects the people involved and how such an organization might change in the course of time. The nature and development of the Qumran movement awaits further sociologically reflected work and thinking.[135] Recently, I have touched upon this issue by approaching the movement from the perspective of both the social identity, identification with a particular group of people, and the sameness of this identity over time.[136] Persons who have a shared social identity perceive themselves as different from others and as similar with each other. This deliberately loose understanding highlights that belonging to an "organization" too is context-dependent—an individual would have such an identity salient in some situations but not in all—and individuals differ in their identification with the group—

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[133] Haslam 2004, 2, adopts three core features for an organization: it is a group with a social identity, characterized by coordination, and it is goal-directed. Haslam admits that these features "define organizations more generally as *any internally differentiated and purposeful social group that has a psychological impact on its members*" (emphasis by Haslam).

[134] Nickelsburg 2003, 172. See also Collins 1999, 43–58.

[135] Recently, Collins 2009a, and Regev 2007, have suggested that *yahad* is to be understood as composed of various small groups rather than as one settlement. Collins sees much in common with S and D groups whereas Regev distinguishes the two socially. Hempel has mainly seen the relationship between the two as one between a parent group and a later community, e.g., Hempel 1996, 269.

[136] Jokiranta 2009a, 309–29.

some would be closer to the theoretical prototypical member whereas others would be further away from the group prototype. The formation of such an organization need not be marked by any official commencement or codified activity; thus the coming together of like-minded individuals[137] could certainly be enough to create a group with a distinct social identity. Further and more elaborate rules for admission into the group or leadership roles might follow from the expansion and complexity of the group. The function of written rules may be to collect the existing practices for future generations rather than regulate the existing practices. Whether or not such changes make the group more sectarian or not is a matter to be demonstrated, not presumed.

Such a perspective into what "organizations" can be is a new one and it is not yet certain if it solves the problem. Nevertheless, the fact that the Qumran movement most clearly had an "organization" of some kind should be placed in the context where also other groups existed with other organizations, even though not similar ones, and where previous generations were equally part of social groups, whether or not we perceive of them as being "organized" or not.

Groups in Tension

In our joint article, Cecilia Wassen and I studied the nature of the groups reflected in the *Community Rule* and the *Damascus Document*, using a specific unidimensional definition of sect.[138] Of those definitions, which place tension in a continuum ranging from low-tension groups to high-tension groups, the definition by Rodney Stark and William Sims Bainbridge

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[137] As expressed by Hempel 2012, 231.

[138] Wassen and Jokiranta 2007, 205–45. We decided to work on the article together once we discovered that we were simultaneously working with the same question and were both part of the Nordic Network in Qumran Studies. My research involved comparing the *Damascus Document* and the *Community Rule*, using the work of Stark and Bainbridge to study areas in which the group's tension with its socio-cultural environment might be most explicitly reflected and thus "measured." The preliminary stage of this work, with the economy as an example, was published as an article Jokiranta 2004, 515–23 (in Finnish). At the same time, Cecilia Wassen presented the paper "Sectarianism in the *Damascus Document* and the *Community Rule*" at the Annual Meeting of the Nordic Network in Qumran Studies in Oslo. She had studied common markers of sectarianism reflected in the documents (ideology, "boundary-marking") as well as analyzed the proposed differences between the documents on several areas (marriage, property, slavery, gentiles, temple). Together we adopted Stark and Bainbridge's model of sectarianism. We engaged in discussions on the topics, modified, focused and expanded the arguments together; yet Cecilia Wassen has the major role as the first author of the article.

specifies tension in a concrete way and provides easily applicable empiri-
cal studies for examples of measuring tension. Other definitions that are
not far from theirs might prove suitable for adoption as well. However, the
most common definition applied in Qumran research, that of Bryan Wil-
son, though taking tension as its central variable, distinguishes between
different types of sects and thus brings in at least another sub-variable
("response to evil"). For "measuring" tension specifically, we thus wanted
to distance ourselves from Wilson's definition.

Stark and Bainbridge's definition is the following: *a sect movement is
a deviant religious organization with traditional beliefs and practices*. In
contrast, *a church* (or denomination) is a conventional religious orga-
nization. *A cult* is a deviant religious movement with novel beliefs and
practices. Deviance, or tension, means that a group develops or maintains
a culture in variance with the dominant culture of society.[139] That is, at
the low-tension end, we find churches and religious *institutions*, which
are close or nearly identical with the socio-cultural environment (social
structures, roles, norms, values, and activities of the society). Institutions
adapt to change. At the high-tension end we find religious *movements*,
which attempt to cause or prevent social change.[140] Religious groups are
thus always related to their context; no specific list of attributes can be
presented of either institutions or religious movements.

Applicability of the Model
The crucial question is how this understanding of sectarianism suits in
the ancient context. Bainbridge admits that the variable of tension may

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[139] Stark and Bainbridge 1985, 49.
[140] Stark and Bainbridge 1985, 23. Note that, for Stark and Bainbridge, the term "move-
ment" functions in a specific way, denoting groups that resist or promote social change.
In this study "movement" is used in a more general way for groups related in time and
space. The "Qumran movement" stands for those groups that are responsible for preserv-
ing, composing, transmitting, and interpreting the Qumran corpus and other traditions
not preserved to us. The designation is not to meant to convey the idea that the groups
were restricted to the settlement at Qumran, but it is assumed that this location played
some important role in the wider movement. "Movement" allows the idea of development
and continuity over time; it is not restricted to a certain moment. The Qumran movement
is, in my opinion, an Essene movement, but the name "Essene" is not used here since it
comes from later, classical sources. Also no single *emic* (native) designation exists which
would be shared by a wide range of texts, and therefore, an *etic*, outside designation is
needed. In the joint article, Cecilia Wassen and I used the terms "Damascus community"
and "Serekh community" for those groups that are reflected in the *Damascus Document*
and in the *Community Rule*, but again, these designations must be understood in a wider
sense, not referring to one single group at one time and location.

not be universally applicable.[141] What makes it relevant for a discussion of Second Temple religious groups? And what does rejecting socio-cultural environment mean exactly?

As described above, Stark and Bainbridge outline three elements that can be heuristically used for measuring tension, difference, antagonism and separation.[142] All elements have variation in degree. Antagonism can vary from a mild expression of protest to violent annulling of the other party. Separation can vary from few restrictions in social intercourse to total enclosure, and difference can vary from one instance of deviance from a central norm to the creation of subculture where deviant practices are the norm. In the following, the usefulness of the three elements in the context of the Qumran movement is evaluated.

Element 1: Difference
For Stark and Bainbridge, *difference* refers to norms of the religious group that deviate from the norms of the surrounding society.[143] However, not all deviance counts similarly in creating tension with the socio-cultural environment.[144] It may be relevant to differentiate between the *kinds of norms* a group supports. In this, Bryan Wilson's list of the significant (modern) areas of life where tension is usually experienced may serve as a starting point. According to Wilson, tension is caused either by actions where the sect rejects the practices of the larger society (and receives exemption), or by actions where the sect imposes its values and practices on the wider society (affirmative action). Issues that are rejected in modern Western societies belong to several social institutions: defense, polity, economy, status, education, recreation, and health. Areas in which the

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[141] Bainbridge 1997, 41–42, refers to the case where a group rejects some parts of their society (e.g., art) while accepting others (e.g., politics).

[142] Stark and Bainbridge 1985, 48–67.

[143] Thus, in a modern context, a member of a sect may disapprove of dancing or gambling or other behavior that the society normally approves. Stark and Bainbridge 1985, 51–52, expect that issues of personal morality would be the most likely areas of disagreement.

[144] In a modern context, an example could be a religious organization in which the majority of members follow a diet of some kind. If these members are otherwise non-deviant in their wider setting, the diet does not take them into the high-tension end. But if a religious organization decides to organize their own education for their children, the society and the populace would probably have more doubts concerning the group. In an ancient agrarian setting, a different diet was probably a much more stronger cause of deviance than in the modern Western context.

sect seeks to impose practices include public behavior, proselytizing, and family relations.[145]

In the Hasmonean society, the central "institutions" where tension was most probable were related to family, cult,[146] economy, and land (relations to foreigners).[147] In these areas, there seems to have been both common practices that were rejected in the Qumran texts (most notably, the unquestioned participation in the Temple cult was rejected), and practices that were imposed on the society (e.g., the "welfare" system of providing for the needy). Identifying whether a practice of the sect means denying existing societal values (rejecting societal demands), perhaps being a response to societal *changes*, or whether a sectarian practice itself introduces new practices into the society (cf. Stark and Bainbridge's category of "cult") may help to analyze the nature of our evidence (and possibilities of answering our questions).

Furthermore, Wassen and I looked at several indicators of deviance without making a hierarchy of their importance. Some general principles about the significant differences may supplement that article. Understandably, imposing a minor *addition* to some institution (e.g., the halakhah of slaughtering fish ritually) would have caused less deviance than a *replacement* of a major institution (e.g., a different festival calendar). Furthermore, rejecting a *common* practice (e.g., the uncle-niece marriages) would probably have caused more deviance than rejecting something that no one would normally do (e.g., walking naked in front of others). Finally, demanding a *costly* practice (e.g., denying one's kin relations) would have caused more deviance than proposing a practice that was fairly easy to follow (e.g., washing oneself with clean water instead of dirty water).[148]

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[145] Wilson 1990, 52–66.

[146] "Cult" is understood here in a broad sense, including matters related to the Temple, priests, legal interpretations, purity, revelation, etc.

[147] Grabbe 2000, 316–17, mentions two main forces in Jewish religion, the Temple and the land. Gregory E. Sterling attempts to find a common ethic in Second Temple Judaism. Instead of a common ethical code, he arrives at a common set of themes that appear in Philo, Josephus, Pseudo-Phocylides, and, to some extent, in the Qumran texts. These themes are found in nine clusters of laws that deal with sexual offences, violations of others, a household code, disregard for others, concern for others, burial practices, reproductive practices, weights and measures, protection of animals; Sterling 2004, 176–78. A large number of these laws are somehow economic in nature or relate to the family. For the average Jew, the primary concern was making a living, and these ethical concerns were probably subordinate to practical concerns; Grabbe 1992b, 532.

[148] The halakhot that D and many other halakhic documents deal with are often assumed to be discussed since they were not followed. Often the halakhot seem demanding; not many issues can be considered "easy" to follow. On the other hand, the commu-

Purity issues were among the most important causes of tension to the extent that they restricted *normal contacts* with outsiders. Within the movement, the severity of the punishments has also been thought to give a clue to the importance of the norm that was violated.[149] Despite this, it is important to note that even a minor deviance may become one of symbolic importance for a group or for outsiders who perceive it as deviant, such as a specific dress code or manner of speech. In the Qumran ovement, we do not have evidence of deviant dress (in contrast to Josephus' Essenes) and we have little to go about to find candidates for such symbolic markers in the textual evidence.

The standard by which to measure "deviant" is especially relevant concerning this element of tension. In order to evaluate sectarianism, it is necessary to know its counterpart, the socio-cultural environment. Stark and Bainbridge refer to both the average for the (secular) population and to the powerful elite who defines the general norm.[150] Often the high-tension end seems to mean a rigid or intense form of religion but in theory it could equally well mean a more liberal, open-minded stance, if the society was very strict and conservative. Therefore, a study of sectarianism cannot be undertaken without some understanding of the society. In the Hasmonean setting, the first thing to be noted is that it is not a secular society in the modern sense. There are no secular "masses" whose life is perfectly normal with little or no religious participation, and with whom religious groups and religious ideas could be contrasted.[151] In the ancient society, the common norm can hardly be defined as the general secular opinion. Furthermore, traditional sect-typologies contrasted small heretical "sect" to an orthodox "church," but it is often claimed that, in Second Temple Judaism, no normative Judaism existed either. The time was marked by the emergence of several Jewish "sects." If we do not have the "church"—monolithic religious orthodoxy—and we do not have a secular society, what, then, is the determinant of deviance?[152]

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nity practices required that the members had already left behind their previous lives and subordinated themselves to the sect.

[149] On the penal code of D and S, see below.

[150] Stark and Bainbridge 1985, 50–51.

[151] In modern Western Europe and North America, several low-tension denominations are not quite equal to a secular society but very close to it; Bainbridge 1997, 59. See also Stark and Bainbridge 1985, 51.

[152] Luomanen 2002, 114, makes a valid statement in this regard: "If the concept of a sect is to be useful at all in New Testament studies, it can only be applied if a reasonable amount of cohesion and centralized power can be shown to have existed among different 'Judaisms.'"

Societal Context   The concept of "socio-cultural environment" in the period of the Qumran movement may seem diffuse but proves to be necessary. Tension is always experienced in a specific context of the society and is influenced by it.[153] Anchoring the low-tension end to stances that are close to centers of power is the best option, since accepted practices are seldom disconnected from central authorities. Moreover, most scholars would agree that there was substantial overlap among the different groups, including the ordinary population, in the late Second Temple Judaism in Palestine, allowing us to speak of some kind of shared Judaism, despite its complexity.[154] Those who identified themselves with the Jewish people shared many beliefs, practices and concerns.[155]

Recently, some scholars have preferred to translate *Ioudaios* as "Judean," emphasizing the ethnic tone of the term.[156] The permeable nature of religious matters in politics and in the domestic field should be respected. Philip Esler emphasizes the anachronism of the concept "religion" in the ancient setting; religion did not form a separate entity but was embedded in the political system and in the household. Rather, there was a distinction

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[153] Tension is never fixed but is always dependent on societal change, see Wassen and Jokiranta 2007, 210.

[154] Extensive scholarly discussion has certainly not ended on this issue. It is noteworthy that we are dealing here with the Hasmonean period, whereas many scholars in the debate look at the subject from the first century setting. E. P. Sanders' term "common Judaism" is well-known, (Sanders 1992, 47–303); Hengel prefers to speak of "complex Judaism." Neusner, on the other hand, speaks of individual "Judaisms," but also of the experiences of "all Judaisms," Neusner 2001, 13–14. It may well be, as Luomanen 2002, 118, points out, that "the concept of 'Judaisms' . . . places too much emphasis on the language of insiders." For the discussion on the diversity of the 1st century Judaism, see also Craffert 1993, 233–62; and Hakola 2005, 22–30. Recently, see discussion on "common Judaism" in McCready and Reinhartz 2008.

[155] E.g., Sanders 2000, 8, presents four common characteristics shared by the "vast majority of Jews:" belief in the God of Israel; acceptance of the Hebrew Bible as revelation; observance of Mosaic Law; identification with the history of the Jewish people. Grabbe 1992b, 527–28, regards the Temple cult and the inheritance of the land as ideals that were important to all Jews. He thinks that the ordinary people in this period followed the teachings of the temple priests, and rarely went beyond what the minimal purity regulations in the Pentateuch demanded, Grabbe 2000, 327. Davies 2000a, 27–43, compares systems of Judaisms within the Qumran texts on three aspects: Israel, Torah and Temple.

[156] Esler 1998, 3–4; Malina and Pilch 2000, 64–66. See also Esler 2003, 63–68, and the literature there. According to Esler, "Judaism" is rather one form of ethnicity. *Iodaismos* should be translated as "Judeanism," and *Ioudaios* had a territorial/ethnic overtone in it: "In the first century CE, this word referred to a member of the ethnic group who lived in, or originated from, Judaea and which worshipped its god in the temple in Jerusalem," Esler 2001, 25–28. According to Hengel 1989, 167, "Judaism" means those belonging to the Jewish *ethnos* both in Palestine and the Diaspora.

between the elite and the non-elite, which penetrated religious issues as well.[157] The political religion (of the elite) and the domestic religion (of the non-elite) may have had different values in some areas (e.g., in taxation).[158] Presumably, there was also substantial overlap between the two. In the Hasmonean period, "Judaism" had already become "Hellenistic Judaism,"[159] a modified form of the ancestral tradition. According to Martin Hengel, Hellenism "spread through almost every class and group of people." The Maccabean revolt also gained support among the peasants.[160] The emergence of various influential groups during this time served the interests of both the elite and the non-elite. All in all, the determinant of deviance would best be defined as a combination of the norms set by the elite and by the average of the Judean population.[161]

We may also look at the Qumran evidence as providing a window into the societal counterpart. For some practices and beliefs, a wide range of possibilities exist, and we may not be sure what degree of tension each of them reflects if we do not know what was the general norm. However, for some, there are not that many possibilities. If we find, for example, a halakhah that prohibits the lifting of an animal out of a well on the Sabbath,[162] it is hard to imagine a stricter version of this practice.[163] By contrast, the alternative, *less* strict position is easily conceivable and also shown to be known at some stage (Matt 12:11; Luke 14:5; cf. Deut 22:1–4). The general, cautious assumption can be made that, *unless there is evidence to the contrary*, the more *difficult* or *costly* option is more likely exceptional and deviant and thus at the higher-tension end. Nevertheless, there is no need to suppose that the Qumran movement argued for a costly solution at every point; each case has to be considered separately.

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[157] Esler 2001, 25–28.

[158] Esler 2001, 30–40.

[159] Hengel 1989, 227–28. However, the change of Jerusalem into a *polis* probably intensified the distance between the aristocracy (the citizens) and the people in the countryside; Grabbe 1992a, 268.

[160] Grabbe 1992a, 268–69.

[161] In Wassen and Jokiranta 2007, 215–22, both aspects are examined where possible; see, for example, the discussion on marriage.

[162] CD 11:13–14; 4Q265 6 5–6.

[163] Of course, denying help to a *human being* fallen into a pit or a well may be perceived as a stricter version, but this is seen as a separate case, though close to the case of the animal; on this halakhah, see Schiffman 1994, 278–81 for a "milder" interpretation on the basis of 4Q256, which allows the use of a garment in helping a human being out of the well. In this case, the rabbinic interpretation seems to agree with the view that the Qumran movement cherished.

Recently, Vered Noam has argued that the stringency of the Qumranic law is not "objective" but relative. It is important to note that the general difference in the norms investigated here is not equal to strictness: difference can vary in strictness, depending on the context, exactly as Noam argues.[164]

Beliefs and Practices   One assumption, made by using the three elements (difference, antagonism and separation) as inherent parts of tension, is that *beliefs* and *practices* seem to reinforce each other.[165] This is, however, not an automatic process. We may imagine a group with deviant beliefs, which still practices common norms with the rest of the society.[166] However, at some stage or in some form, deviant beliefs are difficult to maintain without deviating in practices, and therefore they often seem to correlate. The conscious choice is made here, however, to prefer practices over beliefs, since this provides a sounder basis. Deviant beliefs are more difficult to infer from scripturally-loaded language. When several groups argue for their beliefs with the same terms and theological ideas, it is difficult to make distinctions according to their claims.[167] Furthermore, there seems to be a widely-held but false assumption that dualistic language equals with sectarian practices; if this were the case, it could be argued that most of the Biblical Psalter derives from sectarian groups. When dualistic/dichotomous language is not directly tied to any specific ethnic groups, social classes, or other commonly known social entities, it is safer to take it as referring to open categories, despite its inherent claim, and see it as exhortative to act in certain ways or to identify oneself with certain social stances over against other stances.

The preference of practices serves to tie together the unique apocalyptic, halakhic, and sapiental beliefs in the Qumran movement with the social consequences that these beliefs propose. It also moves the focus from one foundational belief (e.g., correct calendar or impure Temple) to a web of beliefs which strengthen each other, and both influence— and are influenced by—practices which go along with them. In the past,

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[164] Noam 2009, 342–55. See also Noam and Qimron 2009, 55–96.

[165] Bainbridge 1997, 45, refers to religious beliefs as explanations about the nature of existence that thus "stipulate or imply religious actions." He mentions that beliefs and practices may sometimes diverge but usually they tend to harmonize.

[166] As is correctly noted by Davies 2005, 78: "Ideas do not of themselves make sects."

[167] Only in few cases can we make distinctions on the basis of beliefs, e.g., Josephus was able to distinguish among the "sects" he described, according to their beliefs about the afterlife.

various factors in the emergence of the Qumran movement have been detected, and some factors are given more weight than others. I believe that the study of the beliefs, practices and social relations of the movement underline the complex set of issues involved in the formation and maintenance of the movement.

Yet beliefs must be discussed, not only from the perspective of deviance (whether the belief system of one group differs from other groups and whether these beliefs lead to deviant practices), but also from the perspective of uniqueness claims: whether or to what extent a group believes itself to be uniquely legitimate. Here we turn to the second element of tension.

Element 2: Antagonism
The element of *antagonism* is perhaps the most ambiguous of the three elements of Stark and Bainbridge. The claim to unique legitimacy is more difficult to put on a continuum than the other two, the difference and the separation. A group either believes that it is the only alternative, or if there is any doubt of this, it already moves far from the high-tension end by not claiming unique legitimacy. Nevertheless, the *way* in which the group lays these claims can be seen as a matter of degree. As was pointed out above, the use and cultivation of dualistic language can be an initial step towards beliefs and claims about the unique legitimacy of a specific group. Further steps could be labeling other groups,[168] creating more and more theological arguments for this group to be the chosen one, setting up membership criteria and rules for expulsion, demanding symbolic markers to be worn or used by members, creating mechanisms for controlling the commitment of members, and so on (see further below).

Yet the somehow distinct nature of this element is seen in the sect model by Meredith McGuire where it forms its own continuum, creating the vertical axis, whereas "tension" forms the horizontal axis (see p. 24). This model allows for a religious group—institution in Stark and Bainbridge's terms—that is in low tension with the society but yet claims to be uniquely legitimate. However, such institutions are relatively rare.[169] In the Hasmonean setting, the Temple Establishment held a monopoly on some issues (e.g., the sacrificial system) and thus may have laid claims

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[168] For labeling strategies, see Collins 2009b, 196–207.
[169] McGuire 1997, 148, mentions the Roman Catholic Church of fifteenth-century Europe and the Theravada Buddhism of feudal Southeast Asia as examples of such religious institutions.

to unique legitimacy without being otherwise different in their general norms.[170] However, cultic practices were discussed among various groups, and during the Hasmonean period, the authorities faced challenges and criticism; their position was not at all stable and monolithic. Even though they could claim monopoly to the cult run by them, they could not do without the general endorsement by the populace and run the cult by themselves. Most probably that monopoly was also denied by some.[171]

Pluralistic Group in Tension   McGuire's model further allows another kind of religious group (in that model called "cult"), which is pluralistic (not claiming unique legitimacy) while being in tension. This kind of group would accept the legitimacy claims of other groups but yet be in a deviant position in the society. Examples in modern societies would be healing cults, which tolerate other "truths" but deviate from society's normal medical treatment.[172] These kinds of groups are conceivable in the era where Hellenistic associations flourished and people in polytheistic religions were able to seek help from various sources. A group like this would not demand that everyone should join their group exclusively and would not regulate what their members may do outside their group. However, finding evidence of such pluralistic groups among the Judean population in this period is difficult.[173] Therefore, the claim to unique legitimacy may nevertheless be more fruitful to be considered as one element of tension, not a separate variable.

It is, however, necessary to attempt to imagine what a group with *particularistic* beliefs might actually claim and how particularistic beliefs might

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[170] Priestly circles themselves could also be placed towards the higher tension end on the basis of their higher degrees of purity and restriction of social relations of the priestly class. There seemed to have been different forces in the society, some of which wished to stress the uniqueness of the priesthood, and others that wished to stress the holiness of the whole nation.

[171] See discussion on the possibility of separation from the Temple by Ginsburskaya 2010.

[172] McGuire 1997, 150.

[173] Grabbe 1996, 108, 17–18, refers to astrology, divination, necromancy, exorcism, magic, and to possible Jewish roots of Gnosticism that speak for the pluralistic stance of Judaism. However, many such aspects were integrated within "normal" limits of Judaism (e.g., angelology perhaps represented an ancient pantheon; the practice of astrology was widespread; Grabbe 2000, 318, 31–32). Individual healer-exorcists were probably popular; Grabbe 1992b, 530. Evidence for specific esoteric *groups* is scarce, probably because of their preference for secrecy. The evidence of Hellenistic associations to which Weinfeld compares the "Qumran sect" comes mainly from Ptolemaic Egypt and from first and second century C.E. Greco-Roman associations; Weinfeld 1986, 9.

differ in their intensity. The questionnaire items that Stark and Bainbridge present are so strongly set in modern Christian American environment that they are of little help.[174] First of all, polemical language tied to specific social groups can be presumed to be one indicator of particularistic beliefs. Attempts to increase the value of the in-group and to devalue the out-groups would testify to particularism. The members may perhaps not demand that all must join their group—not all would qualify—but an exclusive membership mechanism increases particularistic claims. Deterministic beliefs, for example (e.g., belief that God has predetermined a chosen group of people for receiving secret knowledge and obeying his statues while others go astray), are not pluralistic even though not all are meant to be insiders. In the end the group usually envisions a future where everyone is required to make a choice set by the group, thus making claims of unique legitimacy.

Less particularistic beliefs would go along the lines: "We believe that this is the best way but perhaps it is not the way for everybody" (we bring the light to the world), or "you may belong to us but we are willing to listen to what you might suggest we should do" (we need your support), or "we believe God has given us a new revelation but our knowledge is not perfect" (we are human but God is perfect)—if these are not too modern expressions.

In the end, particularistic beliefs may best be seen by their realization in practice. Thus, the extent to which a group is ready to "be on its own" if necessary, despite the costs, may be an indicator of the strength of its self-conceived legitimacy. If a group creates a subculture of its own, meeting all the needs of the members within the group, the easier it becomes to claim to be the only alternative—and this condition again is

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[174] E.g., the response to the proposition "only those who believe in Jesus Christ can go to heaven" shows that sect members are more likely to agree with this than members in denominations; Stark and Bainbridge 1985, 56–59. However, rather than showing the degree of antagonism of the entire group, this response might reveal the proportion of secularized members in denominations. It is difficult to imagine what a similar sort of proposition could be in the Second Temple context. A proposition like "there is only one God, and Israel is his chosen people" might not reveal the differences among groups, as several of them claimed to be the real Israel. Propositions like "Keeping the Sabbath rules is absolutely necessary for maintaining the covenant relationship with God" would perhaps better bring forward the dissenting voices among the groups but this comes close to studying the different norms of the groups. The other questionnaire of the Stark and Bainbridge model, which inquired about attempts to *convert* outsiders and about feelings about missionary work, is also problematic since not all sects seek to actively convert others (Bainbridge 1997, 40, himself mentions the Amish as an example).

close to the element of separation: the restriction in the patterns of social relationships.

Element 3: Separation

Separation is the most concrete marker of rejection of the socio-cultural environment. A group in high tension encapsulates itself through its norms and beliefs, and possibly through strict membership codes. Nevertheless, this element of tension may also be questioned. Timothy Ling discusses "virtuoso religiosity" as a religious form that is expressed by religious orders and monasticism.[175] Whereas a religious order certainly separates itself from the wider society by its discipline and severity, it is accepted by the "church" and the wider society. It thus presents itself as an "alternative perfect mirror society," which is not in tension with the society, or, the protest it presents is only implicit. Ling discovers a possible substratum for this form in the first-century Judea, and specifically mentions the Essenes as an example of virtuoso religion.[176]

On a theoretical level, we must first ask if the Stark and Bainbridge model of tension allows for the special character of such "virtuoso" groups to be described and explained correctly. Theoretically, I would answer, yes: these groups would be at the lower-tension end, with some deviant practices and restriction of social relations but little or no antagonism towards the elite or the masses (cf. the discussion above about the lack of claim to unique legitimacy, and about the claim to uniqueness in some areas of life without being different or independent in other areas of life). Stark and Bainbridge would probably refer to the centers of power that define the deviance and non-deviance; if these accept the group, it is closer to religious institutions. Nevertheless, it is to be noted that many high-tension groups, similar to "virtuoso groups," follow norms that at least some in the society regard as the *ideal* form of piety. Sects not only reject common practices but they maintain a morality that approaches perfection. Dissociation from the wider world can therefore serve two ends: explicit protest

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[175] Ling 2004, 227–58. An alternative form is "charismatic religion," which proclaims a new message; it comes close to what Stark and Bainbridge call "cult."

[176] Ling 2004, 248–49. See also application of "virtuoso religiosity" to 1QS by Lawrence 2005, 83–100, and her more cautious view that similarities between the virtuoso type of religiosity and 1QS "do not warrant the categorization of the community as a virtuoso religious group *per se*." In her study, the comparison of 1QS to "virtuoso religiosity" brings to fore the important observation that the criticism in 1QS tends to concentrate on dissenting members rather than negatively defined out-group members.

against the society and exclusion of others in order to realize that protest (sects), or implicit protest against the society and inclusion of all social classes in order to gain power in the world (virtuoso religiosity). How far this *latter* form could be and was realized in the ancient Judean setting is another matter.[177] Things such as Torah study, knowledge and wisdom certainly seem to have been *valued* widely in different kinds of sources of the Second Temple era; some elite groups attempted to promote in writing education and intellectual piety. The possibility of such ideal microsocieties calls attention to the societal impact that religious movements can have, both by being exclusive and drawing a wide adherence, or by being inclusive and showing the world the model to be imitated.

Schism   Schism has been one characteristic often attached to sect models. Is the Stark and Bainbridge model of sectarianism suitable for discussing schismatic groups, such as early Christian movements (if these are regarded to be schismatic)? John Elliott, working with Bryan Wilson's typology, argues that the Jesus movement began as a "Jewish faction," and only after the death of Jesus did it become a "Jewish sect."[178] Fundamental in this shift, according to him, was the dissociation of the group from its parent body and the subsequent mutual differentiation. Before the period of emergence of this "Jewish sect" (the Jesus movement), Elliott argues that "the classification 'sect' does not apply, and should no longer be used."[179] However, Elliott's definition is bound, to a large extent, to the understanding of "sect" as a schismatic movement.[180] The faction/sect model may be helpful as a heuristic device for creating a sharper picture of early Christianity and for emphasizing its Jewish character,[181] but it does not work as a general model of Jewish groups of the same period. Most of the

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[177] There are many arguments which could be raised against the identification of the Essenes as "virtuoso religion;" e.g., the possibility that they were excluded from the Temple service and thus not approved by the religious leaders of the time, see Baumgarten 1994, 169–83. Furthermore, although Josephus provides an admirable portrait of the Essenes, the Essenes themselves may have been hostile to outsiders, as their criticism of riches (*J.W.* 8.122, 127), their policy of secrecy (*J.W.* 8.142), or their expulsion of sinners (*J.W.* 8.143–144) suggest.

[178] Elliott 1995, 75–95.

[179] Elliott 1995, 78. Therefore, Elliot also holds that the Qumranites and the Essenes are Jewish coalitions or Jewish factions, although the Qumranites "also assumed sectarian tendencies" (Elliott 1995, 81, 92).

[180] E.g., the central role of the "parent body" in the study.

[181] Elliott 1995, 91.

developments Elliot assigns to the shift from faction to sect actually fit the Qumran movement, according to my understanding, and thus this movement would be a "sect," not a "faction." Elliot lists eight such developments in a faction: (1) increase of social tension; (2) recruitment of persons previously excluded from the parent body; (3) claim to embody the authentic identity of Israel; (4) replacement of major institutions of the parent body; (5) viewing oneself as distinct from the parent body; (6) dissociation by the parent body from the faction; (7) perception of the faction as distinctive by the society; (8) interaction with outsiders previously condemned by the parent body.[182] Developments 1, 3, 4, 5, and 7 were already taking place in the Qumran movement: tension, claim to be uniquely legitimate, self-sufficiency, distinctiveness, and deviant interaction are matters that Wassen and I have suggested.[183] Determining on number 6 in the Qumran case is uncertain. Numbers 2 and 8 are clearly Christian features (boundaries renewed so that gentiles are included); in the Qumran movement, reconstruction of the previous boundaries was happening but in a different way (excluding members that were previously part of the parent body). From the perspective of Stark and Bainbridge's three elements of tension, many of Elliot's "sectarian developments" are suitable for analyzing Judeo-Christian groups on the basis of these three elements: regarding their degree of *antagonism* (e.g., claim to unique legitimacy through messianic beliefs, hostility against Jewish leaders),[184] their possible *difference* (e.g., possible deviant norms regarding Mosaic Law, and contacts with gentiles), and their amount of *separation* (e.g., membership rituals, meeting in households and other practices that may restrict social relations). The question arises to what extent these sectarian features could already be experienced in the "faction." In my mind, the features might again be more fruitful to regard on a continuum rather than as a shift from one stance to another, and Stark and Bainbridge's model may be suitable to look at the Christian context, too.[185]

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[182] Elliott 1995, 79–80.

[183] Wassen and Jokiranta 2007, 205–45.

[184] Elliot makes an important suggestion about what the group is protesting: in the beginning, as a faction, it protests against perceived economic and societal disparity and repression, but later it protests against "unbelievers." There are possible ways of seeing a similar tendency in the Qumranic movement: first, it was emphatic in its social and cultic protest, but later protested against nonmembers generally. This possible tendency should be further investigated and explored to see how it relates to the social identity formation of the group.

[185] The only feature that is central for Christian groups and problematic for the Qumran movement and is difficult to put in a continuum is recruiting people from classes or groups

Results of Comparison between the Damascus Document and the Community Rule

After the methodological discussion, we shall turn to the main results of Cecilia Wassen's and my analysis of sectarian tension.[186] The relationship between the *Damascus Document* and the *Community Rule* has puzzled scholars for decades, even more now when the multiple manuscript copies of these texts are more thoroughly examined and the composite nature of the documents more fully understood.[187] The relationship is difficult to describe in simple terms. Is there literal, ideological, or sociological dependence? Are the documents foundational rulebooks in the strict sense, or rather compilations of changing rules and reservoirs of past traditions? Which kind of socio-religious stance is reflected in the rules?

The *Damascus Document* has often been seen as a product of a group whose "sectarianism" was not yet fully developed or had not reached full maturity.[188] Philip Davies has stressed the basic difference between the Judaism of the *Damascus Document* and the *Community Rule*, seeing in them full "systems."[189] However, in Wassen and my view, the adopted model of sectarianism works best where concrete clues about the way of life and ethos of the groups exist. It provides tools for describing and explaining the tension *with* the socio-cultural environment, not as an independent symbolic world. We arrived at the conclusion that D and S have considerable overlap in their degree of tension with the wider world as suggested by their ideology, norms and practices. Both documents reveal relatively high level of tension to the world, based on the difference, antagonism and separation that they promote. Naturally, the extent to which the beliefs and practices in the documents are believed to correlate with the beliefs and practices of the Qumran movement in reality, is debatable and has to be judged from case to case, but exactly the discrepancies and differences between the documents seems to me to be the

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previously excluded from the parent body. Apparently, the question of the inclusion of gentiles and the stage where "joint membership" is no longer possible (cf. Esler 1994, 13) is central in understanding the formation of early Christianity. Nevertheless, there may be other ways to tackle the problem, e.g., Stark and Bainbridge's concept of "cult" as a religious movement with novel beliefs and practices is successfully applied by Luomanen 2002, 107–30.

[186] Wassen and Jokiranta 2007, 205–45.

[187] See more recently, e.g., Metso 2000, 85–93; Collins 2003, 97–111; Dimant 2006, 615–30; Regev 2007; Jokiranta 2009a, 309–29; Hempel 2010, 115–31.

[188] See Wassen and Jokiranta 2007, 206, and the quotation from Michael Knibb.

[189] Davies 2000b, 219–32; Davies 2000a, 27–43.

best evidence against the utmost skeptical attitude, according to which the texts only speak about an utopian world which never existed.

Although the two documents contain many similarities, it is now often, and rightly, emphasized that they could not be effective simultaneously in the same community, and that the material in both documents has multiple layers so that no single community is reflected in either of the documents.[190] Although we spoke in our article technically of the "D community" and the "S community," it was stressed that it is preferable to consider both in the plural as communities, groups responsible for transmitting these documents. A single group in a given moment in history may not have had all the characteristics represented in the D and S documents, but it was yet part of those traditions. I have coined the term "movement" for speaking of such continuity of traditions and practices followed by groups of people over a period of time.[191] We did not argue for the *social, organizational similarity* between the groups reflected in D and S in all their details, only for the similarity of their sociological stance and social identity in their wider settings.

First, in their ideology, both documents display *antagonism* (particularism) towards out-group members.[192] In its most extreme form, this was seen in the division of people into the children of light and the children of darkness: the discourse on the two spirits is placed, in S, in the *context* which clearly requires membership in the *yahad* for "membership" among the children of light (in itself, the discourse of light and darkness could be used almost by any religious group). In D, the same cosmic division is possibly present, if the reconstruction of "children of light" in the beginning of 4Q266 is correct.[193] The basic distinction in D between those who have entered the covenant and those who are under Belial's rule is similar

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[190] See e.g., Metso 1998; Hempel 1999b, 69–70; Metso 2000, 85–93.

[191] I used the term in my dissertation in 2005 where it was chosen also on the basis of Stark and Bainbridge's use of terminology (movement vs. institutions), and then in Jokiranta 2009a, 309–29 and Jokiranta 2010. Recently, the term is being used more widely, instead of "community," e.g., Collins 2009a, and the note by Knibb 2009, 308.

[192] Wassen and Jokiranta 2007, 210–12.

[193] However, the "children of light" and "children of darkness" terminology appears in Aramaic *4QVisions of 'Amram^f* (4Q548) frgs. 1 ii–2, a document that does not in itself include any evidence for being accepted by the Qumran movement only. Therefore, this cosmic division may not necessarily signify sectarian tension but yet remains an important mark of antagonistic beliefs, which can then be used in a group with other sectarian tendencies to claim that, in their present reality, the division comes true. The dualistic ideology in itself could be held by groups that did not go as far in their realization of particularistic beliefs.

but more ethically oriented way of expressing particularistic beliefs. That this antagonism was practiced in reality is evident from the regulations of both documents concerning outsiders and those who fall short of the community's principles.

Secondly, *difference* is displayed by the norms that result in deviant behavior. In our article, we used the division of norms into halakhah and community regulations,[194] but the community regulations may be further roughly divided according to their contents into rules for admission/expulsion, and rules for meetings. First, *halakhic ideals* are found in D, concerning matters with which many Judeans, but especially priestly circles, would be acquainted and would have had experiences, such as Sabbath laws and priestly portions and purity maintenance. Hempel rightly calls for caution in taking these rules as a direct window into the community life because of the strong scriptural orientation in many of them.[195] These norms, however, were cherished in the movement, not only in D but also in other documents, and their correct interpretation was considered to have been revealed to the community. Revelations may have changed but the group held such high ideals and carefully sought for the correct practice on every issue.[196] S does not include similar halakhic rulings, but it too refers to correct interpretations of the laws (1QS 1:1–7; 5:8–10). The punishment for violating the Mosaic Law was, according to both documents, permanent expulsion (1QS 8:21–23; 4QDᵃ 11 5–8, 16 //

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[194] Wassen and Jokiranta 2007, 212–13. The definition of "halakhah" by Davies 1996c, 116, works for our purposes: "A body of law governing Jewish behavior which in practice or in theory derives from scripture and acquires its authoritative status thereby." However, Sarianna Metso has frequently asked whether the distinction between halakhah and community rules actually is accurate, e.g., Metso 2010, 11–25. Both types of rules could be argued by scripture and both types of rules could be presented without any explicit scriptural foundation. The members might not have made any difference between the violations of the two sets of rules.

[195] Hempel 1998, 36–37. In a similar way, Metso 2004, 332–33, points out that the *Community Rule* is not a prescriptive law book in the community. Although the rules in S and D do not reflect the exact practice of a single community in a given time, they reflect the *kinds* of rulings the groups developed and considered necessary. We have no access into the life of a particular group through any of the rule documents, but we must not close our eyes and think that no real groups existed.

[196] Metso points out that the community legislation may have been worked out at communal meetings without scriptural study, Metso 2000, 91–92; however, scripture probably played some role in the communal meetings since the members oriented their lives and thoughts according to the scriptures. On progressive revelation in the community, see Schiffman 1983, 29.

4QD^e 7 1:19–21).[197] These norms were seen to set higher demands compared to the average as well as place restrictions on common practices—as such, the observance of these norms express tension with the society. However, a full evaluation of all evidence (such as *4QMMT, the Temple Scroll* and other halakhic documents) would be needed to determine the degree to which this applies to all practices; here the judgment concerns only the halakhot in D.

Another type of rule collection in D and S are the communal rules about joining the movement, keeping its ideals, and rules concerning proper behavior with outsiders. After becoming a member, there is an indication of a change in one's status as perceived by the outsiders since one cannot freely associate with nonmembers (CD 6:11b–7:9; 13:14–16;[198] 20:7; 1QS 5:15–17) and as perceived by insiders who then can exchange information with the newcomer (CD 15:10–11; 1QS 8:18).[199] Furthermore, there are rules concerning community meetings expressing the ideal order, function and arrangement in the group. Most of the sanctions in the penal code of S

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[197] Permanent expulsion is also the sentence in 1QS 7:16b-17 for going around and defaming the *rabbim* and for complaining about the foundation of the *yahad*. This latter may also refer to breaking the Mosaic Laws. It is difficult to say what the difference is between the actions described by different terms, ילון על יסוד היחד, and ילך רכיל ברבים, if there is any. These can be compared to 1QS 7:18–21 and 8:16b-19 where the crime is something similar (deviating from the foundation of *yahad* by forsaking the truth and by walking with a stubborn heart, תזוע רוחו מיסוד היחד לבגוד באמת וללכת בשרירות לבו, and departing from the commandments arrogantly, יסור מכול המצוה דבר ביד רמה) but punishment is not permanent expulsion. We may have a need for specification about the permanent expulsion in 1QS 7:22–25 and in 8:20–9:2: according to the former, the one who has been in the community for ten years cannot return; according to the latter, the one who has acted deliberately cannot return. Conversely, for a member who has been in the community less than ten years or who has not acted deliberately, there is a possibility of coming back: both passage prescribe this person to be in the initiate state for two years and tested again in front of the *rabbim*.

[198] It is not certain if the manuscript reads בני השחת, "sons of the pit" (thus the passage would limit monetary transaction with opponents), or בני השחר, "sons of the dawn" (thus the passage would speak about dealings amongst members); for the former, see Hempel 2003a, 64–67; for the latter, see Baumgarten and Schwartz 1995, 55.

[199] Above, I suggested that the concept "organization" can be used as an open category, different from our common usage in modern times of organizations in legal sense (e.g., "registered organization"). The change in one's social behavior and exchange of knowledge as a result of participating in common actives of the group could already take place without an elaborate admission procedure, simply by following stricter purity rules and by following the perception that divine revelation is received in the communal study of the Law. The more elaborate admission process described in 1QS 6:13b–23 can either be interpreted as belonging to the movement's practices all along, as argued recently by VanderKam 2009, 416–32, or as being one type of systematization of practices in the movement and clarification of leadership roles.

and D concern conduct at these meetings.[200] In addition to the penal code, S includes the yearly evaluation of members' standing which results in their being ascribed to a deserved place in the community hierarchy (1QS 5:24). This hierarchy is also familiar in D (CD 13:11–12; 14:3–6), and, although there are no clear references to an annual examination, there is a reference to a (yearly) meeting "in the third month" when all those who tend to the right or left of the law will be cursed (4QD[a] 11 16–18 // 4QD[e] 7 2:11–12).[201] Both the rules that require a clear change in the member's status through admission into the movement and taking upon its obligations, and the rules for the community meetings, require that a person controls his or her behavior in many areas of life: property, work, sex and marriage, speech, exchange of information, report of misconduct, and so on.

The third element of tension was *separation*. Whereas many of the norms may not have been completely unique in the Jewish setting and in voluntary associations, together they add up to the creation of circumstances where group members will become socially isolated and thus distinguishable in their environment. Separation did not have to mean physical withdrawal. Initiation rites and expulsion rituals created a sense of being separate, and this was reinforced by purity norms which restricted normal contacts with outsiders, and by the internal "informant system" where attention was drawn to the behavior of an in-group member but not to that of outsiders. An important marker of separation was also the overriding of familial relations by sectarian superiors (CD 13:15–17).[202]

The analysis of these three elements in D and S therefore suggests that both documents reflect a widely shared sectarian outlook. This view is in contrast to the often-held opinion according to which D is more open to the world, or less sectarian, than S, and S is the model of sectarianism *per se*. In our opinion, both documents reflect largely similar mechanisms indicating relatively high tension with the socio-cultural environment. The Hellenistic world had, however, associations with various regulations, exclusion and fines, which were necessarily not sectarian in their contexts.[203] It is important to note that membership in a voluntary group is

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[200] See the discussion below.

[201] Knibb 2000a, 138, interprets this as the ritual of expulsion at the time of *Shevu'ot*.

[202] Wassen and Jokiranta 2007, 217–18.

[203] Walker-Ramisch 1996, 131, distinguishes three kinds of voluntary associations: those fully integrated with the society, those integrated with the society but with some opposing values, and those which promote rejection of cultural values. Occasionally, the associations were suppressed by Roman officials.

possible without a remarkable degree of tension—antagonism, difference, separation—that is, a distinct identity and an organizational order do not make a group sectarian in the Stark and Bainbridge sense of the term.[204]

This sectarian outlook is, nevertheless, only one aspect of the complex relationship between D and S, and our suggestion of the shared sectarianism does not play down their differences. The texts speak of the community and the community officials in somewhat different terms;[205] D includes long hortatory "speeches" and an account of the community formation and theology whereas S includes teaching and liturgical accounts of admission and conduct within the community; D contains large sections of halakhic rulings and some organizational rules whereas S does not include any halakhah but many organizational rules; D and S use the terms "Israel" and "covenant" in multiple and slightly different ways;[206] D does not have the psychological dualism of the "discourse on the two spirits" as S does.[207]

The differences and similarities point towards a complex relationship, but the two documents may nevertheless have more in common than what the discrepancies seem to suggest. Their complex relationship itself and some recent studies suggest that the *serakhim* are not be read as the "*constitution*" of the community, but mirroring parts of the movement, introducing its officials and councils, looking back to its practices, and leading the community in the desired direction.[208] The texts probably had

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[204] But different sect models reveal their distinct character here. The Weberian understanding emphasizes the voluntary nature of the membership and its effects on the virtuoso personality: by joining a voluntary group, a person distinguishes him/herself from the "masses" and seeks to qualify in it. This is sectarianism in the sense that such voluntary groups make claims on their members often in a different way than communities to which one is born to. Voluntary groups also attract persons who seek opportunities to assert themselves and excel in society, Jokiranta 2010.

[205] See Jastram 1997, 356–60; Hempel 1999b, 67–92; Charlesworth 2000, 133–36; Knibb 2000a, 136–40; Metso 2002, 429–44. Metso shows that the motivation for different terms may well be theological; thus the addition of "Sons of Zadok" in 1QS 5:2–3, for example, does not necessarily mean a historical change in the community structure.

[206] See Christiansen 1998, 69–97; Davies 2000a, 27–43. However, it is incorrect to say that "For 1QS, the covenant of the past is no longer important" (Christiansen 1998, 96); similarly, Collins 2001, 32. It is precisely to recall the past history of the movement that D was preserved and partly also redacted by the groups responsible for transmitting S. Cf. also Newsom 2004, 71, 117. Grossman 2002, 164, remarks that "Israel" has multiple meanings in D since the possibility exists that a member of the "nation of Israel" will still join the community, the "true Israel."

[207] Frey 1997, 275–335; Duhaime 2000, 215–20.

[208] Contra Schiffman's statement about 1QS: "The *Manual* may be best described as a document envisaging a small closely-knit society, governed by a specific code, rejecting all outsiders except those seeking admission to the sect. The heart of the text is certainly the

different functions or were preserved by slightly different circles of people, which may explain a large part of their differences; it is clear that the texts are not *alternatives* to each other. The *serakhim* are not authoritative in the sense that they would contain a concise and definite manual of the community order; they are composite collections of various rules and theological sections, which also include repetitions. The fact that the various sections and repetitions were left in by the compilers of the *serakhim*, in S especially, suggests that the document was probably also *conceived* to be a historical documentation of the community's past principles as much as their present guidelines. Further, the fact that many of the sections are addressed to the *maskil*, wisdom teacher, points towards the possibility that the oral teaching was systematized (as education of the *maskil*), but not standardized, and the teaching roles were assigned more elaborate tasks.

Previous Applications of Stark and Bainbridge

Stark and Bainbridge's ideas of sectarianism have previously been employed in Qumran scholarship by Albert Baumgarten in his article "The Rule of the Martian as Applied to Qumran."[209] The "rule of the Martian" refers to mutual hostility among small and similar groups that attempt to distinguish themselves from those groups with which they might be confused. Hostility occurs both *between* similar sects and *within* a sect. Baumgarten argues that, whereas groups like the one at Qumran and the Essenes of the Classical sources may share many features, we must not downplay the differences between them. Differences may indicate that the one is an offshoot from the other or that they are not of the same family tree at all (and he tends to incline to the latter).[210] Baumgarten studies the level of tension in the Qumran group and among the Essenes in four areas: marriage, property (including slavery), place of habitation, and participation in the Temple cult. He concludes that, on the latter two issues, the Qumran community is at a higher degree of tension (living in the desert and not participating in the Temple cult), but on the issue of property, its tension is lower (having some form of private property), and

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legalistic sections of the Manual, . . . " (Schiffman 1983, 3). But compare this to what Schiffman already stated about the *moshav ha-rabbim* in 1975: "In short, it can be said that the sectarian assembly functioned like a New England town meeting rather than a constituent assembly" (Schiffman 1975, 70).

[209] Baumgarten 1992a, 121–42.

[210] Baumgarten 1992a, 125–26, 35–37; see also Baumgarten 2004, 174–90.

on the issue of marriage, it falls between the two kinds of Essenes ("deferring marriage as tainted" but allowing some to marry).

In our article, Wassen and I argued that in terms of marriage and property, the degree of tension of the D group was clearly high in their sociocultural environment, since marriage and property decisions and practices were regulated according to the community halakhah and subordinated to the community officials.[211] As regards the place of dwelling, Baumgarten notes that D mentions communities living in camps, "apparently on the fringes of settled areas," but yet he concludes that, on this point, the Qumran community is at the higher level of tension since it withdrew to a remote location.[212] In our study, we attempted to show how social separation was achieved in the D community, which lived in "camps," most probably in normal cities and villages, *without* withdrawal to uninhabited areas. Thus, our study on the elements of tension on the basis of D and S looks quite different from Baumgarten's view of the "Qumran community." A further objection is the more recently advocated view that "*yahad*" was not one community at a remote place but rather a network of groups,[213] a view to which I subscribe.

However, even more important is to take notice of Baumgarten's starting point, comparing the degree of tension of one group at one location and time to another group at another location and time, and also the fact that the information about these is derived through very different types of sources. This comparison seems to lack the recognition that sectarianism depends on the context. Society at the time of the flourishing of the Qumran movement was different from the time of the Roman Empire during which Josephus, Philo and Pliny wrote about the Essenes. To compare the Qumran community and the Essenes and conclude that these are probably not of the same "family" because their tension patterns differ is not warranted since the level of tension is not determined solely by the inner beliefs and practices of the group but in the interplay with the society. It should be demonstrated that the norms, beliefs and practices to which we compare the Qumran movement are the same to which we compare the Essenes. The issue of sending sacrifices to the Temple, for example,

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[211] Wassen and Jokiranta 2007, 210–45.

[212] Although being very skeptical about the "Essene theory" of the Qumran community, seeing their differences as irreconcilable, Baumgarten is yet able to accept the differences between CD and 1QS and believe these documents derive from the same movement, Baumgarten 1992a, 139–40.

[213] Elgvin 2005, 273–79; Collins 2006, 81–96; Collins 2009a; Schofield 2009.

which we agree is a crucial one in determining the degree of tension, by necessity appears quite differently in the aftermath of the pollution of the temple by Antiochus IV than it does in the society where the Essenes have an established position, not to mention that some of the sources on the Essenes were written after the Temple was destroyed.[214]

Secondly, Stark and Bainbridge's 1985 work *The Future of Religion* is also briefly employed by Eyal Regev in his *Sectarianism in Qumran*.[215] Rather than using it as an analytical tool for investigating the sectarianism in the Qumran movement, Regev uses the model to illustrate in the beginning of his book that the tension with society of both the "Damascus Covenant" and the "*yahad*" was high. While we agree with him about this general result, the brief "illustration" of sectarianism according to three elements of tension in just two pages unfortunately gives, in my view, the wrong impression of sectarianism as something inherent, not something that is viewed within the societal context and that has variations in degree. Regev states, as a conclusion of his comparison of the "Damascus Covenant" and the "*yahad*," that the *yahad*'s "declarations and laws reflect a higher state of tension with the external society and are more intensely concerned with maintaining strict segregation from the outside world."[216] This view is not argued for in any way but merely stated in this beginning of the study and, is in my view, unwarranted. Regev's statement has to be seen within the complete study, which includes a theory about the differences between the *Damascus Document* and the *Community Rule*, arguing for organizational differences between the two respective communities. In the rest of the book, Regev mostly relies on Bryan Wilson in his view of sectarianism and its subtypes, and Stark and Bainbridge's model remains a discrete piece in the beginning of the book.

Comparison to Other Studies on Sectarianism in the Serakhim

The benefits of understanding sectarian tension in the manner described above—as a matter of degree, rather than a matter of kind of tension, and the combination of elements of difference, antagonism and separation—can be demonstrated by looking at some previous applications with other

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[214] According to Eshel 1999a, 229–38, Josephus himself views the possibilities of Judaism's survival differently in the *Jewish War* and in the *Jewish Antiquities*, with less than two decades between them.

[215] Regev 2007, 34–37.

[216] Regev 2007, 37.

sectarian models. However, such comparisons have to be seen against the general development and changes in the field.

In the past scholarship, before the complexity of the *serakhim* was fully visible, it was commonplace to see the differences between D and S as differences of chronological development, or as D representing a parent movement and S representing a schismatic movement. One such explanation was that of Philip F. Esler in 1994. Esler was interested in the genesis of a *reform movement* and its transformation into a *sect* and used a model about this transformation. He compared the sectarianism in the *Gospel of John* to that of Qumran, arguing that the similar dualism derives from similar social setting in these communities.[217] What interests us here is his conclusion of the Qumran texts: the *Damascus Document* (CD) was, in Esler's view, written for a *reform movement*, and the *Community Rule* (1QS), as well as some other texts (1QSa, 1QM, 4QM), for *introversionist type of sectarians*. Esler defines "sect" as a group that has reached such a deep division between itself and its parent group that joint membership is no longer possible.[218] In the case of Qumran, the breaking point is, according to Esler, indicated in 1QS by the function of the group as an alternative temple, the multilevel rites of admission, the type of eschatology it includes, and its strong dualistic language. In the Damascus group, by contrast, the rejection of the dominant culture was not total, as can be seen, for example, from the continuing participation in the temple, from possible existence of members in Jerusalem, and from regulations of how to deal with Gentiles. Furthermore, CD presents strong criticism of the opponents of the group, as well as warnings of apostasy, which may reflect rivalry about the newly-arrived members between the community and the religious authorities outside the community. This kind of "dialogical" element can be seen in the actions and words of the adversaries; it seems as if the adversaries were trying to defame the community.[219]

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[217] Esler 1994, 70–91, explains the dualism in 1QS and the Gospel of John as a result of their sectarian character: it was their separation from the parent group that led them to use the strong dualism in their view of the outside world. Esler made the strong case for the argument that parallels in different texts in the ancient world do not necessarily propose a literary or social connection but may result from similar sociological circumstances.

[218] Esler 1994, 13–17, 52. In the context of first-century Judaism and early Christian groups, this breaking point was, according to Esler, indicated by practising of Jewish-Gentile table-fellowship and was evident in the expulsion from the synagogue.

[219] Esler 1994, 75–84.

This conclusion can now be corrected by noting the redactional complexity of the *Damascus Document* and of the *Community Rule* as well as the publication of other texts such as 4QSD—material that at the time of Esler's study was not yet available. It becomes very difficult to recognize a single breaking point from a reform movement to a sect *between* the documents.[220]

Here we may pause and notice how the chosen sect model influences the analysis. Even Esler himself recognizes sectarian features in the *Damascus Document*.[221] Had the Stark and Bainbridge dimensional model been used, it could have been possible to perceive stronger and weaker tensions, and a more or less sectarian stance.[222] Seeing the groups on a continuum usually provides a more nuanced picture than simply classifying a group as a sect or not a sect. Esler's model of a reform movement transforming into a sect makes the documents stand far apart.

Of course, some scholars might still consider Esler's model as legitimate, even though the division could not be neatly placed between the two documents. Seeing the similarities from afar is easy but recognizing the differences correctly in the two contemporary ancient cases is more difficult. The problem, however, is not only the lack of degree of tension but with Esler's concept of "joint membership" in the late Second Temple Judaism. In assuming that the groups behind the *Damascus Document* and the *Community Rule* originated against a common parent group (Temple establishment? and/or other pious groups in Judaism?) and the joint membership was denied at some time, we need evidence that the parent group denied joint membership from the offshoot (in Esler's study, form the *Community Rule* members). The evidence by Josephus is all

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[220] For example, Hempel 1999a, 316–29, has studied the passages in CD that speak about the origins of the community, and proposes the view that in its final stage the document is strong legitimation for the group's identity and separation from the "parent community," and that the earliest stages may have their origin *in* the parent community. See also Metso 2000, 87; Hempel 1998, 19–20; Davies 1991, 275–86. For shared traditions between D and S, Jokiranta 2009a, 309–29; Hempel 2010, 115–31.

[221] Esler 1994, 77. Cf. Stanton 1993, 91, and Davies 1996e, 163–77, who regard CD or part of it as sectarian.

[222] There may have been contradictory forces—both deviant, and general "accepted" orientations—within the groups, which caused schism. Some of the different orientations may have been preserved within single documents. When a group organizes its activities in a more systematic fashion, it is both able to succeed better and it will become more vulnerable to schism and divisions. Membership growth is a threat, since it demands for more organized system and for giving up small-group intensity, which again promotes a more denominational stance (McGuire 1997, 166–70).

but clear.[223] The *emic* evidence in the scrolls needs to be read carefully.[224] To support the reform movement-sect-model, it needs to be shown that the members' participation in the Temple cult and their social contacts with the fellow Jews and with the Gentiles dramatically changed at some point, evidenced somewhere in the transmission of traditions preserved in the *Damascus Document* and the *Community Rule*. I have argued that this evidence is not there, first, since the *Community Rule* is silent on central issues of halakhah (if we only looked at the laws, we would also have to assume that at some point the members stopped obeying the Sabbath laws since these are not mentioned in S), and secondly, since there are few contradictions between what the two documents actually say about the Temple and the relations to outsiders. It is also important to note that the Temple criticism of this time includes a variety of different kinds of criticisms,[225] and not all criticism counts as the denial of "joint membership."

Esler has rightly pointed out that "the texts must supply the answers, not the model."[226] Denial of joint membership as the defining criteria

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[223] See Baumgarten 1994, 169–83, on the meaning of Josephus regarding the possible exclusion of Essenes from the Temple. See also Hempel 1998, 6, for the view that Josephus and Pliny were also referring to the Qumran community, not just the wider Essene movement.

[224] It is clear that what we have in the Qumran texts is an "insider" point of view and segmentary information. Being schismatic turns upside down from the *emic* point of view: the group considered itself to be "normal" and the outsiders were guilty of division, Davies 1995, 136, n. 8. For example, we need to ask whether the (symbolic or real) "withdrawal" was in the first place the *reason* for a deviant status or the *consequence* of an already deviant status. See the brief introduction to deviance theories by Stegemann and Stegemann 1999, 244–47. A deviant is not a deviant for himself.

[225] Theissen 1992, 98–106, notes that the temple criticism of several groups, e.g. the Essenes and the Zealots, was mixed with the tension between the city and the rural life; most adherents of these groups came from rural areas. The Essenes seemed to have objected the urban life in principle, and in opposing the non-Zadokite high priests they in fact opposed the temple aristocracy. Due to urbanization, there emerged a new uprooted population which needed a new reference group (Baumgarten 1997a, 137–38). Sanders 1993, 129–36, 45–49, employing the model of deviance, proposes that society's identity crisis leads to strengthening its boundaries and punishing the deviants, and that this phenomenon was present in the Samaritan and the Essene case. Murphy 1999, 83–129, shows that financial and economical issues are present in every stage of the redactional work of CD, and that wealth is already a central issue in joining the community. However, according to (Baumgarten 1997a, 47, "members of these groups were men likelier to come from the economic, social and educational elite—the 'middling sort' and better—who could afford the 'luxury' of indulgence in affairs of spirit." Those members who joined for material reasons did not remain.

[226] Esler 1994, 13. Unfortunately, the attempt of Martens 1990, 27–46, to analyze CD seems to be the opposite, the model is made to produce answers: "The analysis of the CD

for sectarianism corresponds partly with the variable of exclusiveness or particularism discussed above. However, we have seen that this variable does not work alone. A group can impose rejection towards its social environment without being totally exclusive and without denying all other memberships—it can create an enclosure for its members' social relations by its practices without expressing this in dualistic and exclusive language.[227] Although the aspect of joint membership brings valuable observations into analyzing the two documents, for the purpose of distinguishing between different sociological positions, we must again look at the more dimensional typologies that do not raise the membership issue to the fore.

Conclusion

Despite some cautious remarks, I believe that the tension variable, broken into three elements, provides a useful foundation for approaching the Qumran material. However, the tension variable is not designed to distinguish *between* various sects, other than in a fairly general way, comparing the level of their tension, and this may be the reason for the appeal of Wilson's typology of seven responses to the world.[228] Furthermore, studying tension reveals a rough placement of the group on the social map of its time and some aspects of its inner dynamics in maintaining that place, but much more on this sectarian identity can be explored. By limiting

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community as a sect . . . will allow us to fill in some blanks . . ." Thus his chain of arguments goes: (a) a "sect" demands "church" according to the sectarian model; (b) there were sects in the Second Temple Judaism; (c) thus, we should also be prepared to speak of Judaism as "normative" or established religion. Another example is Marten's answer to the question of whether or not the CD community participated in the Temple: (a) the CD community fits in the ideal type of sect; (b) sect is characterized by its separateness and protest; (c) thus, it is unlikely that the CD community could participate in the Temple with the enemy. This kind of approach is likely to misuse the model; we cannot prove anything by the model. We can produce new questions or hypothesis but our arguments must come from the texts.

[227] Cf. Walker-Ramisch 1996, 140–41, who speaks about exclusiveness as a (sectarian) *ideology* that distinguishes the "Damascus congregation" from contemporary Greco-Roman voluntary associations: "There is no suggestion that the group did not participate in the (or a) Temple cult, but its claim to practice the 'one true way' suggests an exclusivism not found in the collegia." This ideology is reflected in the "language of separation" of the CD group, its social function and social behavior: the code of conduct regulates the conduct of its members not just with the insiders but also with the outsiders.

[228] Wassen and Jokiranta 2007, 208, and see other contributions in that volume.

ourselves to sectarianism, we might lose sight of the general group pro-
cesses and repeat the assumptions on the extraordinary nature of the
Qumran movement. Seeing the extraordinary is possible through see-
ing the normal. For this purpose, I will also employ the social identity
approach and study the *serakhim* and *pesharim* from this perspective.

SERAKHIM AND SOCIAL IDENTITY

The social identity approach has only recently appeared in biblical studies[1] and it has not yet been extensively used. Due to this, the approach is reflected here much more briefly than the sociology of sectarianism, which has been used for quite some time. Time will more clearly show what are the disadvantages and advantages of the social identity approach. Unlike the discussion of sectarianism, the approach does not primarily deal with religious groups. However, religious identities have definitely entered the stage, as have many other issues through the new coming of the approach.

The social identity approach was previously developed mostly by European social scientists but, according to the editors of one recent essay collection, research has been expanded into the "mainstream" (North American) publications.[2] Of its expansion into different fields, the statement by these editors is illuminating:

> The social identity theory was starting to receive much more attention from researchers outside social psychology. Illustrative of these developments, interest was beginning to be expressed by political scientists, sociologists, historians, geographers—even theologians.[3]

Perhaps the present study does not represent traditional theology, even though conducted in a theological faculty, but is more inclined towards history and sociology of religion. Nevertheless, this is the broad framework in which the social identity approach is being used and lies in the background of the appearance of the approach in this study.

Social Identity Approach

The social identity theory (SIT) was first formulated by Henri Tajfel and his colleagues at Bristol University in the late 1970s, and was elaborated

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[1] See below: Application in Ancient Setting.
[2] Haslam, Knippenberg et al. 2003, xv.
[3] Haslam, Knippenberg et al. 2003, xv.

in the 1970s and 1980s, especially by Tajfel's student and follower, John C. Turner, who created the self-categorization theory (SCT) as an extension of the social identity theory. These two theories and their later specifications are here called the social identity approach.[4] The fundamental argument was that human behavior cannot be explained solely psychologically (individualistically) or sociologically, but a truly *social psychological* explanation is needed. The theory claims that the study of the psychological processes of individuals in *interpersonal* relations is not sufficient to understand the psychological processes in *intergroup* situations. People live in a social system, and this social system has psychological implications for an individual's behavior, perceptions and emotions.[5] Groups change individuals. A person derives much of his self-definition from social groups. Groups are thus not merely collections of individual "inputs," but a system of shared patterns that makes collective behavior possible.[6]

As its name indicates, the approach offers theoretical abstractions of people's sense of themselves as social beings. Social identity is defined as "that part of an individual's self concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership of a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership."[7] In short, social identity is "self-conception as a group member."[8]

Let us take a person, a blond middle-aged Kindergarten teacher, mother of two boys, wife of a diplomat, leader of a gymnastic team, a Finn living in Budapest, who has various self-concepts. Social identities are defined by the awareness of belonging to groups (cognitive dimension of identity), by the emotional feelings this person attaches to these memberships (emotional dimension), and by the evaluation of herself in relation to other persons belonging to each social category (evaluative dimension).[9] Social identities are *context-dependent*:[10] the person in the example who lives outside her homeland may frequently be reminded of her national

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[4] See, e.g., Tajfel 1978; Tajfel and Turner 1979; Tajfel 1981b; Turner 1985.

[5] Turner 1996, 19.

[6] Turner 1996, 19; Haslam 2004, 17.

[7] Tajfel 1978, 63.

[8] Abrams and Hogg 1990b, 2. Elsewhere, Hogg and Abrams speaks of "self-identification," which includes self-descriptions and self-evaluations. These can be both personal identifications (e.g., "son of X"), and social identifications (e.g., "English"), Hogg and Abrams 1988, 24.

[9] Turner 1999, 8.

[10] "Different times, places, and circumstances render different self-identifications 'salient' self-images," Hogg and Abrams 1988, 25.

identity. She may have her professional identity salient at work, and her gender salient in a meeting where other participants are male. Several social identities may be "active" at one time. Social identities also form a hierarchy: the person is a city dweller, a Finn from Eastern Finland, a Northern European, a European.[11]

Social identity theory is based on an observation concerning categorization: "The perception of people in terms of their social group membership leads to a tendency to exaggerate the perceived similarities within groups and the perceived differences between groups."[12] This idea of stereotyping (accentuation) was further developed in the self-categorization theory.[13]

Self-Categorization

Social categorization theory is "concerned with the *antecedents*, nature and consequences of psychological group formation: how does some collection of individuals come to define and feel themselves to be a social group and how does shared group membership influence their behavior?"[14] A person's self-conception reflects self-categorization, "the cognitive grouping of the self as identical to some class of stimuli in contrast to some other class of stimuli."[15] Categorizing oneself as belonging to a group includes stereotyping: perceiving oneself as similar to one group of people and dissimilar to another group of people. This comparative nature of identity is essential for understanding the flexibility and the relative character of positive distinctiveness.

Self-categories exist on three levels of abstraction: the interpersonal level (personal identity, self as an individual), the inter-group level (social identity, self as a group member),[16] and the interspecies level (self as human being). Social categorization is accentuation of in-group similarities (and out-group similarities) and exaggeration of inter-group differences in order to form a distinct group identity.

The personal identity, those factors that distinguish oneself from other individuals (e.g., unique position in a biological family, special skills and

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[11] Cf., Turner 1999, 11–12.
[12] Turner 1996, 13.
[13] Turner 1985 Haslam 2004, 28–34.
[14] Turner 1985, 78. The emphasis mine.
[15] Turner 1999, 12.
[16] More than one level of social category is usually available. Thus, a person may define himself as a molecular biologist, a biologist, and a scientist, for example; Haslam 2004, 30. See also Jarymowicz 1998, 45, for different forms of social identifications.

experiences, interests), forms a complex mixture with the social identities of the person.[17] Theoretically, it is helpful to distinguish those situations where a person acts according to his or her self-concept as an individual and those situations where he or she acts as a member of a group. Personal and social identities are in close interplay, but it is suggested that one rather than the other is in focus in any given situation.[18]

The salience of a category depends on its relevance to the situation: a *comparative fit* determines the level at which differences from other in-group members are perceived to be smaller than differences from relevant out-group members.[19] For example, a biblical scholar might be categorized at a congress as a historian in contrast to a linguist, whereas at the university he or she may be a humanist compared to scientists. Differences between him or her and the other humanists are now smaller than differences between him or her and scientists. Furthermore, a *normative fit* refers to a person's previous experiences and knowledge, which affect the categorization process in determining what differences are perceived to be relevant.[20] The accentuation effect, the perception of in-group members as homogenous and respectively different from out-group members, is more pronounced when the category is important and of immediate relevance to the individual.[21] On the other hand, the in-group members are not perceived to be similar in every respect: the group *prototype* is the best (theoretical) representative of the group, which maximizes the out-group differences and minimizes the in-group differences with reference to the dimensions that are held to correlate with the categorization. Other in-group members will be viewed according to their proximity to the group prototype.[22] Social categories are never fixed but dynamic and flexible.

Positive Distinctiveness

The social identity theory further claims that the *positive* aspects of such social identities are inherently *comparative* in nature. In order to achieve

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[17] One of the critiques of the early social identity theory was that personal and social identities were seen as opposite poles. On this, see Deschamps and Devos 1998, 1–12.

[18] Personal and social identities are sometimes seen as opposite poles of a continuum, but this only works in the case of hypothetical conceptualization. An encounter between two persons can hardly be purely "personal", without any part played by their various social identities; Haslam 2004, 22–23.

[19] Haslam 2004, 34. This is called the meta-contrast principle.

[20] Haslam 2004, 34.

[21] Hogg and Abrams 1988, 20–21.

[22] Haslam 2004, 32.

positive social identity, members of the group compare themselves to out-groups and show a biased perception of themselves (thus being selective in the accentuation effect). The "minimal group paradigm" was developed to study the *minimal* conditions under which people discriminate in favor of their group and against the out-group.[23] It was seen that *mere* categorization of people into two groups (mere knowledge of belonging to a group), without any contact between group members and no common goals, was sufficient to produce discrimination and in-group favoritism.[24]

However, the theory does not claim that discrimination occurs automatically.[25] The conditions for the occurrence of the in-group bias have been understood slightly differently over time. More recent studies identify two major variables.[26] First, a member of the group may be placed on an *individualist-collectivist* continuum. This denotes the extent to which individual achievement and independence is stressed over collective achievement and group cooperation.

The continuum is related to Tajfel's *social mobility-social change* beliefs. In Tajfel's terms, personal (individual) identity is associated with *social mobility* beliefs, that is, assumptions that social systems are flexible and permeable and that one can freely move from one group to another. If a person finds his situation undesirable, he can pass into a high-status or more dominant group, in other words, improve his position *as an individual* (individualist end of the continuum). On the other hand, social (collective) identity is associated with *social change* beliefs, the assumption that one cannot escape one's group for self-enchantment (collectivist

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[23] Turner 1996, 15–16.

[24] Participants (schoolboys) were divided into two groups at random. They were told that the division was due to their stated preference for painter A or painter B. Their task was to assign points to anonymous in- and out-group members. Participants tended to favor in-group members when selecting a reward pair that awarded the in-group members more. They did not receive any personal benefit from this. The studies also showed that participants tended to maximize the differences between the in-group and out-group awards rather than maximize the benefits to the in-group, Haslam 2004, 18–19; Turner 1996, 15. See also Turner's response to the critique about the "minimal group paradigm" in Turner and Bourhis 1996, 25–63.

[25] One explanation for the minimal group study is that the subjects compared themselves to others in the only available dimension (knowledge of which group they belonged to); by favoring their group they found meaning in the situation and substance to their group identity. If the situation was changed so that this meaning was already provided (by stating that the preference for one painter over the other was related to personality type), then discrimination was reduced; the subjects already possessed a distinctive group identity, Haslam 2004, 21; Branscombe, Ellemers et al. 1999, 38.

[26] The concepts of Brown, Hinkle et al. 1992 are followed here; see also Brown 2000, 336–38.

end of the continuum).[27] Tajfel acknowledged that different cultures may promote either social mobility or social change beliefs;[28] thus it is not just a matter of free choice between different kinds of orientations.

Secondly, the in-group bias depends on the *autonomous-relational* continuum. This denotes the extent to which the individual is likely to evaluate the in-group in relation to other *groups* (the relational end of the continuum) rather than an abstract standard or the in-group's past outcomes (the autonomous end of the continuum).[29] Some groups are inherently more relational than others (e.g., political parties are competitive), and some settings encourage relational orientation (e.g., families might compare themselves to each other in a home-garden competition). All in all, social identity theory and its contribution to social comparisons are seen to work best with the *collectivist* and *relational* orientation: in these conditions, *the strength of group identification and in-group bias show a positive correlation*: the more a member identifies with the in-group, the more he is likely to show in-group bias.

This fact makes the approach relevant for our purposes too. In general, it is widely acknowledged that the ancient Mediterranean cultures are fundamentally group-oriented and group-embedded.[30] Moreover, religious groups are often inherently competitive,[31] and comparison with other groups is most probable in a group with voluntary admission. The theory's premises have thus great potential to be met satisfactorily in the case of the Qumran movement. However, the theory's suitability cannot be taken as a given but must be demonstrated in every case.

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[27] Tajfel 1981a-253; Haslam 2004, 23–24. The 'exit' from the group may be impossible for practical reasons, such as skin color, or for the cost of investment in group membership.

[28] Tajfel 1981a, 247–50, noted while speaking of behavior on either interpersonal (social mobility) or inter-group (social change) basis: "But unless this statement is seen in the perspective of diverse forms of social reality, it is likely to lead to unwarranted oversimplifications." The individualistic-collectivist continuum thus relates to the personal identity–social identity continuum, but it can be seen to express a wider idea, general orientation in society, Brown, Hinkle et al. 1992, 329.

[29] Brown, Hinkle et al. 1992, 329. Brown notes that this continuum relates to (but is not exactly the same as) what Tajfel described as the presence (or absence) of 'cognitive alternatives' to the *status quo* (or the *social creativity-social competition* strategies, see below). If a low-status group does not conceive any possibility of altered circumstances, it may be unwilling to compare itself to dominant groups at all, or it may restrict its comparisons to other low-status groups.

[30] E.g., Malina 2001, 58–80.

[31] Cf. Brown 2000, 339: "When people identify with a religious group they regard it in a more collectivist manner than when they identify with their subject of study."

The aim of Tajfel's research was to find explanations for *social change*.[32] When do people adhere to inter-group action rather than interpersonal action? And under what conditions do groups challenge the *status quo* rather than accept it? These questions were connected with people's drive for positive distinctiveness, both as individuals and as "social selves." When people's social identity is threatened by negative attributes, they attempt to change their social position, or at least the perception of their standing in relation to out-groups. But an inferior position is insufficient for social change to occur—groups may find their standing legitimate and stable, and the social order is not questioned.[33] In this case, "secure comparisons" take place; these are also called *social creativity* strategies.

On the other hand, where inter-group boundaries are perceived to be impermeable (an individual cannot merely change groups) and inter-group relations are considered to be *illegitimate* and *unstable* (insecure), that is, the in-group perceives cognitive alternatives to its position, the group may challenge the out-group's position and try to change its own relative place in a more positive direction.[34] This is called *social competition*; it may often result in open conflict between groups. It is important to note that social competition and social creativity are not opposite strategies but they often work side by side.[35] If the perceived cognitive alternatives are not very likely or there is some doubt about them, the in-group members may pursue both social competition and social creativity.[36]

Social identity theory identifies several *social creativity* strategies.[37] A group may find *new dimensions* with which to compare the in-group

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[32] Reicher 1996. Tajfel's interest was not in formulating an exhaustive theory on identity *per se*. According to Reischer, many of the aspects and concepts of the theory were actually only preliminary conditions for asking questions related to social change.

[33] Tajfel 1981a, 266, 320 mentions the Indian caste system in the past as an example of this. Cf. the case with high-status groups in Haslam 2004, 26–27.

[34] The aim of social competition in relation to objective competition is defined as changing the *relative* position of one's group, not necessarily the *objective* gains and losses, Hogg and Abrams 1988, 50.

[35] Later textbooks seem to simplify the model in stating that social change either takes a form of *social competition* (when social relations are perceived as insecure) or *social creativity* (when social relations are perceived to be secure, that is, legitimate and stable), Hogg and Abrams 1988, 54–59; Brown 2000, 329–33; Haslam 2004, 25–27. However, Tajfel 1981a, 228–343, saw considerable social *creativity* in changing public opinion, for example, and thus forming prerequisites for actual change and social action. Cf. Tajfel 1974, 70.

[36] Philip Esler, who has introduced the social identity approach into New Testament scholarship, argues that Paul's letter to the Galatians contains both strategies, Esler 1998, 52.

[37] Tajfel 1981a, 283–87, 330–43; Breakwell 1986, 128–47; Hogg and Abrams 1988, 55–59.

in relation to the out-group. For example, the feminist movement saw it important to argue that women's scientific abilities are not inferior to men's. New positive attributes to be added or revitalized may also be found in the group's past history and traditions. If the new characteristics are not accepted by the wider society, a distinctive subculture may be created. Secondly, a group may *redefine the value* attached to its attributes. This is what the slogan "black is beautiful" sought to do. A group may also try to become, either in reality or in redefinition, more like the dominant group. Thirdly, if the group is not willing to challenge the position of the dominant group, it may *select new out-groups* for inter-group comparisons. For example, a small business may wish to compare itself with equals rather than with large companies. In the study of the Qumran texts, these theoretical assumptions serve as heuristic tools in the investigation of the function of the different labels and of language in general.

In summary, the basic notions of social identity approach discussed above are the following. Group identity can be defined with more subtlety. It indicates one's *perception* of being similar to other members of the in-group and different from the members of the out-group, one's self-categorization at a certain level, and consequently, one's adoption of shared beliefs, norms, rules and goals that derive from that self-categorization. If a person is dissatisfied in her present situation, say at work, she may seek a change in these circumstances as an individual (e.g., by changing the job), or she may seek a change as a group member (e.g., by arranging a meeting with colleagues). Seeking to improve one's position relative to other groups, as a group member, is called social competition. The social identity theory seeks to understand the ways in which groups distinguish themselves in order to form a positive social identity. The so-called minimal group experiments showed that merely assigning people to different groups, without any previous acquaintance or any common characteristics, caused people to favor their "in-group" members and view the "out-group" in a biased way.

On the other hand, social identity within a group is not static but needs to be constantly re-created. Because of the interplay between personal and social identities and because a person may have several contesting social identities, group members may have a different idea of what it means to belong to the in-group. This also varies over the course of time, depending on the group development and the context. Achieving an agreement on the fundamental content of in-group identity is an ongoing process.[38]

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[38] See Condor 1996, 285–315.

Reducing the tension between contested identity arguments may involve several strategies, e.g., finding a new common in-group identity that is at a higher level of abstraction compared to subordinate differing identities (re-categorization), or denying the dimension on which difference is experienced (de-categorization).[39]

Prototypicality

Despite the accentuation of in-group similarities, members within one category vary in their typicality. "Members (of a category) do not all share a given set of defining features, but are related through their similarity to a prototype."[40] A group prototype is maximally representative of the shared social identity of the group: it simultaneously maximizes inter-group differences and minimizes intra-group differences.[41] It needs to be stressed that prototype is a fictitious concept; prototypes are abstract models that best embody a category.[42] The more a group member differs from out-group members and the less he or she differs from in-group members as regards the dimensions that are thought to be correlated with the categorization, the more that individual will be perceived as prototypical of the group. Thus, prototypicality depends on both inter- and intra-group comparisons.[43]

According to the social identity theory of leadership, a leader is a group member who appears to have the strongest social influence on the in-group. To be effective, the leader has to be close to the group prototype, that is, the leader best epitomizes the social category of which he or she is the member.[44] "Leadership is intimately bound up with the shared concerns of the followers."[45] Prototypicality is a major conceptual tool in the analysis of the righteous teacher later in this work.

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[39] See Brown 1996, 169–89.

[40] Oakes, Haslam et al. 1998, 75.

[41] Marques, Páez et al. 1998, 127. Prototypes have been seen to function as criteria for category membership, but rather than simple determinants of categorization, they should be seen as context-dependent outcomes of the categorization process, Oakes, Haslam et al. 1998, 85–91; Smith and Zarate 1990.

[42] Oakes, Haslam et al. 1998, 75–76. Esler 2003, 171–94, has employed the concept in the perception of Abraham in Romans.

[43] Abrams and Hogg 1990a; Oakes, Haslam et al. 1998, 80. Furthermore, prototypical images are not fixed but depend on judgments in different comparative *contexts*; Oakes, Haslam et al. 1998, 80–83, 87.

[44] Hogg 2001; Hogg, Martin et al. 2003; Haslam 2004, 45–48. Group prototype is a dynamic concept: the prototype both *defines* and *is defined by* the group.

[45] Haslam 2004, 45.

Application in Ancient Setting

In biblical scholarship, Philip Esler has been the initiator in applying the approach.[46] His interpretation of Paul's letter to Galatians utilized social identity perspectives for understanding Paul's rhetorical aims. Paul seeks to create positive social identity for the followers of Christ in Galatia in a situation where their identity was threatened by the demand to become Israelites by circumcision. An identity distinct from both gentiles and Israelites had not yet fully appeared in the Galatian congregation. Some members were in danger of slipping out of the in-group. Paul challenges the Israelite identity, which his opponents regarded as superior, and redefines the elements that had been used in the comparison between the Israelites and the Greeks (e.g., righteousness).

Whereas this interpretation made use of the social identity theory mainly regarding *intergroup* relations, Paul's letter to the Romans calls for understanding *intragroup* relations, a conflict between two subgroups, in particular. Conflict reduction demands re-categorization, construction of a common in-group identity for the Judean and non-Judean Roman Christ-followers. This is achieved, among other ways, by showing how both groups are under the dominion of sin, by advocating a new superordinate in-group identity in Christ, and by claiming their common ancestry from Abraham. Furthermore, Paul offers himself as an exemplary Christ-follower, exercising leadership that he tries to establish before coming to Rome.

Inspired by Esler, other biblical scholars have begun to make use of the approach. Louise Lawrence employs it in an article to investigate the rhetoric in the *Community Rule*.[47] The social identity approach offers there concepts to speak about group categorization (group labels), positive vs. negative group identification, and group comparison. Besides the present work, I have benefited from the approach in the study of the penal code rulings.[48] That work belonged to a larger project, in which the aim is to

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[46] Esler 1998; Esler 2000a; Esler 2003. Esler 1998, 41, himself mentions his paper on the Gospel of Matthew and Beatitudes in 1994 as the first application of the social identity perspective in Biblical Studies.

[47] Lawrence 2005, 83–100, applies SIT, among other theoretical approaches, to study identity in 1QS, especially the influence of ascetic practices on identity. I became aware of Lawrence' article only in the final stage of my dissertation work. I am indebted to Philip Esler for bringing the approach into my awareness.

[48] Jokiranta 2007, 277–98.

develop socio-cognitive perspectives in the study of early Judaism and early Christianity and where social identity approach has played an important role.[49] Other scholars who have recently utilized the social identity perspectives include (in Hebrew Bible studies) Jan Petrus Bosman, Victor H. Matthews, and (in New Testament studies) Minna Shkul, J. Brian Tucker, and Rikard Roitto.[50] Roitto valuably points out the larger psychological and cognitive tradition in biblical studies which has prestigious pioneers such as Gerd Theissen and which the social identity approach for one part can be seen to continue.[51] In bringing forward new theoretical advances into biblical studies, the matter is not about applying a theory here and there, or using a concept every now and then, but more of a larger project of creating a new discourse, in dialogue with other disciplines and, based on theoretical results, to speak about matters of identity, memory, group behavior, etc.

Benefits of the Approach

Of course, social identity approach is not the only theoretical framework in the study of identity. It has not even been meant as an exhaustive theory.[52] Neither are the ideas represented by the approach completely novel in biblical studies. However, the brilliance, in my view, of bringing social identity approach into biblical studies is the acknowledgement that identity construction is truly a social-psychological phenomenon, a phenomenon which can then be viewed to be *overlapping* with and mutually affecting and incorporating all kinds of other processes: theological conceptualizations, historical changes, and factual text production.[53] This is helpful because the social-psychological nature of identity can easily

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[49] See especially contributions by Petri Luomanen and Raimo Hakola in Luomanen, Pyysiäinen et al. 2007a, and Hakola 2008, 123–39; Hakola 2009b, 181–200; Hakola 2009a, 438–55. Hakola's applications make use, among other things, of categorization, stereotyping, and the "black sheep" effect.

[50] Bosman 2008; Matthews 2006; Shkul 2009;Tucker 2010; Roitto 2011. For further examples, see Roitto's introduction in Chapter 1. Collins 2009b, 197, mentions also Charlesworth and McSpadden 2006.

[51] Roitto 2011, Chapter 1.

[52] Haslam, Knippenberg et al. 2003, xvi.

[53] Another example of phenomena that bears relevance in the investigation of social identity and could be incorporated in complementary perspectives is the role of memory. Aguilar 2002, 129–44, explains how memory is not just a psychological activity but can be understood as obedience to the past and as identification to the central people of the past.

be buried under or confused with other perspectives into identity (such as theological belief-structures in distinction from competing beliefs or distinct terminology to distinguish between different groups). Its basic concepts and theoretical assumptions are useful as heuristic and explanatory tools in the study of the Qumran texts.

The utilization of the approach in my research proved to have at least three advantages. First of all, it gives us tools to think of the group processes, which scholars often have to "imagine" one way or the other. What purposes were these groups seen to serve? Which functions did their leadership have in different phases? How is identity established and made distinct from others? What conflicting interests may occur in groups? The relationship between written artifacts and group processes is never a simple one but that does not abolish the necessity to hypothesize about the groups in a controlled manner. Acquainting oneself with new ways of thinking often brings insights that may have been missed otherwise. For example, the work behind the previous chapter led me to realize one of the central questions in connection with the emergence of a movement like that of Qumran: In what circumstances do groups form a subculture rather than attempt to transform the general society, and what are the mechanisms and energy involved in this? Fully comprehensive answers are difficult to give but some pieces of the puzzle may be found in various places, some of which are offered in this study.

Secondly, clarifying concepts may clarify the topic. "Identity" is a good example of a broad and diffuse notion. The social identity approach offers one theoretical model to unfold the notion and bring it from fairly abstract uses back into more concrete theories of human psychological and social psychological processes, the result of which is experienced as "the self," distinct from others. Below, I will attempt to outline what the strengthening of identity may mean in groups. The first important observation was that there is an interplay of personal and social identities. Group behavior is, according to the theory, made possible by the depersonalization of the self, becoming a member of the group and being interchangeable with other group members in terms of identity. Secondly, group identities may carry both positive and negative features. The question of which events and factors actually move the identity into more positive direction may not be as evident as may seem. "Strengthening identity" is not a notion to be tossed whenever it feels suitable, but is perhaps more useful when subjected to understanding group processes in the first place. This is not to claim that the social identity approach is the only possible approach for

speaking of identity, but the conviction is that the approach increases our understanding of the phenomena taking place in and through the texts.[54]

Thirdly, explanations scholars provide are sometimes inadequate. The social identity approach—as any good tool—may suggest new solutions and evaluate critically the earlier explanations. One example is the famous "righteous teacher." The *pesharim* are often seen as promoting faithfulness to this leader figure. My work with the *pesharim* and the social identity approach led to a reevaluation of this understanding, as seen in Chapter 4. Studying the scarce information on the teacher provided a reason to propose alternative explanations for the "pedestal" on which the teacher stands in the texts.

Social Identity and Sectarianism

There are several links between the social identity approach and the sociology of sectarianism. First, both deal with groups and group identities, the distinctiveness of one group of people from other groups of people. Both include the point of view of the in-group/sect (how the out-groups/others are perceived), although the sociology of sectarianism is often interested in describing the "objective" state of affairs and the portrait of the sect in comparison to other institutions and the society.[55] Both strands of research also include the perspective of the individual: sociology of sectarianism asks, for example, what makes the individual join a sect and how membership in a sect affects his or her personal life. Perhaps it is less often asked what makes a person leave a sect. The call for a positive self-image as a motivating factor for human action is seen both in Stark and Bainbridge's general theory of religion[56] and in SIT. Both theories deal with schism: what causes tension within groups and how groups split. The differences between the theories are perhaps best seen in their frameworks: the sociology of sectarianism is a *sociological* theory, which seeks to understand human behavior as part of the social environment and to understand the special role that the religiosity of people has in this

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[54] Another example could be the *labels* present in many Qumran texts. The reader may intuitively suppose that these labels had a function in strengthening the positive group identity but *how* and *why* this is so demands an explanation. Cf. the fruitful discussion of sobriquets as nicknaming by Bengtsson 2000, 37–39.

[55] Cf. the discussion of *emic* (insider) and *etic* (outsider) perspectives by Esler 1995, 4–8.

[56] Stark and Bainbridge 1987, 196.

environment whereas the social identity approach is a *social psychological* theory, which gives more precise characterizations of human behavior since it extends to the psychological level.

Sectarian Identity in the Community of Counsel

In the following, the *serakhim* will be discussed from the social identity perspective: Which group beliefs do D and S have in common? How do the personal and social identities of the members interact in the documents? What is the role of the *serakhim* in the construction of social identity in the groups?

In her recent book, Carol Newsom entitles one chapter, "How to Make a Sectarian."[57] Using Michel Foucault's, Dorothy Holland's, and others' analysis of discourse, she goes through S to show how this document functions to socialize new members in the community. My purpose in this chapter is to continue to study the *shared* outlook of D and S, but from the social identity perspective.[58] The question is not so much about "becoming sectarian" or gaining a sectarian identity than about defining and maintaining sectarian identity; however, affinities to Newsom's approach exist. It stroke me as surprising how many similar themes Newsom touches as my study did, but without using the social identity perspective. I consider her work as one of the best in the field to show how the conceptualizations of other disciplines help to find innovative ideas and structure and present those ideas in nuanced ways. It also testifies that one approach is not to be dogmatically promoted; different conceptualizations can sometimes do the same job. As long as one is clear about the distinct nature of an approach (as discussed above concerning sectarianism), other scholars can join in fruitful discussion. In the following, the social identity approach will provide the framework for speaking about identity.

Group Beliefs

In the social identity approach, shared social identity may be described by the concept of *group beliefs*. All groups have group beliefs, "convictions

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[57] Newsom 2004, 91. The full title of chapter four in the book is "How to Make a Sectarian: Formation of Language, Self, and Community in the Serek ha-Yahad." The book appeared only after I had done most of the work in this study.

[58] Further for the search for a shared outlook in a changing historical movement, see Jokiranta 2009a, 309–29.

that group members are aware that they share, and consider as defining their 'groupness.'"[59] It is individuals who acquire beliefs about themselves and their world but, when these individuals are aware that they share their beliefs with other group members, these beliefs gain special importance. They are perceived as defining the essence of the group, the similarity of the in-group members and their difference to out-group members. Acceptance of group beliefs is one indicator of group membership. The contents of group beliefs may be values, norms, goals, or a larger set of beliefs, ideology. For example, those patterns of behavior, desired future circumstances, or common experiences that a group believes distinguishes it as unique are group beliefs.[60] The belief that indicates the very existence of the group ("We are a group") is the *fundamental group belief*, but usually groups have additional group beliefs that contribute to the "we-ness" in the group.[61] These additional group beliefs are often those that have impact on the emotional dimension of social identity, besides the mere cognitive awareness of belonging to a group.

It is possible to consider differences between groups by considering the nature of their group beliefs. Groups differ concerning the *contents* and *quantity* of group beliefs; a group may have many or few group beliefs. Groups also differ in their *confidence* in group beliefs, and in the centrality group beliefs have for the members. Group beliefs are often held with great confidence since they express the basic "truth" about what the group is about; especially at the beginning of the group's formation, a group may demand greater confidence. Yet group beliefs are not always equally central to all group members. The *centrality* reflects the importance of the group to a group member; an individual is always a member of several groups and puts different weight on different group memberships. The stronger the social identity, the more important are group beliefs for a person. Some group beliefs are also more central than others. Centrality is often promoted by having beliefs easily accessible, for example, by their repetition, vividness, or expression in visible outward symbols/physical appearance.[62]

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[59] Bar-Tal 1998, 94.
[60] Bar-Tal 1998, 93–101. Not all beliefs that are shared by individuals are group beliefs. Group beliefs are those that serve to differentiate it from out-groups and provide information about the group, such as group history, group goals and group characteristics. They are salient in the group and have to have authority behind them, Bar-Tal 1998, 108–09.
[61] Bar-Tal 1998, 94.
[62] Bar-Tal 1998, 101–06.

From this perspective, a link between the model of sectarianism and the social identity approach emerges. We may see that, for sectarian group members, who are in tension with their socio-cultural environment, the group itself and group beliefs are more important than for other, less sectarian groups. Sectarian members can be expected to have high confidence in group beliefs and insist on this over the course of time. Certain central group beliefs are often held accessible by frequent repetition, or by other ways of maintaining their prominence.

Obedience to Torah and to the Community of Counsel

Although the *serakhim* are not to be regarded as a manifesto of any group, we may assume that central group beliefs are in some way or another reflected in these documents.[63] One such group belief in both D and S is the *need to return to the Law of Moses*. This is clearly visible in all introductory sections of S and D,[64] but since these are theologically formulated, I will rather examine how the belief exists in the expected conduct of the members. Important in this respect is the oath that a new member will take. It would be naive to think that the passages speaking about the oath were any less ideological or preserved any direct and accurate historical account of what happened in the oath-taking or what a member thought to have happened in it, but, to my mind, this is the closest we can get. The oath is a practice demanded of the newcomer and, even though the

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[63] Defining *the most fundamental group belief* of the Qumran movement is left open here. If fundamental group beliefs are understood as directly connected to the group's formation, the emergence of "we" as a group, it may be misleading to look for these beliefs in the *serakhim*. Nevertheless, fundamental group beliefs are also those on which groups insist on in their later stages, so other group beliefs are usually formed around fundamental group beliefs. Fundamental group beliefs may also have antecedents: various reasons cause individuals to perceive themselves as members of a group; Bar-Tal 1998, 103–04. In this respect, the *serakhim* may be the first to formulate fundamental beliefs, which have antecedents.

[64] There are three introductory sections in 1QS which state the purpose of the community (1:1–15; 5:1–7a; 8:1–15a), and the Torah is in some way or other present in all these introductory statements, cf. Metso 1997, 122: "...the community's commitment to Torah is brought to the fore in slightly different wordings in all the introductions." In D, the three admonitions in the beginning (CD 1:1–2:1; 2:2–13; 2:14–3:16) provide the community's accounts of their history; characteristic of these is the notion that God's covenant no longer belongs to traditional Israel but to the remnant which remains loyal to the Torah; see Davies 1983, 53–104; Grossman 2002, 91–126, 64.

practice would have stopped or not been followed in all instances, it gives the framework within which the member is expected to act and think.[65]

Comparable procedures are found in CD 15:5b–17 // 4QD[a] 8 1:1–9 and in 1QS 5:7b–20a // 4QS[b] 5 6b–13, 4QS[d] 1 1:5b–12.[66] Manuscripts 4QS[b,d] testify to a shorter and in my view more original version of this section in S.[67] If Sarianna Metso's study of the redactional history of S is correct, part of the material in columns 5–7 of 1QS may represent the earliest nucleus of S.[68] The text refers to the Law of Moses when it describes the principles of joining the *yahad* (1QS 5:7–11 // 4QS[b] 5 6–8[69] //4QS[d] 1 1:5–7):[70]

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[65] Another possible practice that could be fruitful to look at from this perspective is the covenant renewal ceremony, in which the central group beliefs played a role in ordering, ranking, and excluding members.

[66] Hempel 1999b, 70–72, notes the close affinity between the admission processes of 1QS 5 and CD 15. There are three sections in S which deal with the admission of new members: 1QS 5:7b–20a; 5:20b–6:1a; 6:13b–23, see Metso 1997, 129–33. The last two differ from the first in that they describe the *examination* of the new member, refer to the *length* of the process, and do not include a reference to an oath or binding promise. VanderKam 2009, 416–32, has argued that even those passages in 1QS (1:16–3:12; 6:13b–23) that do not mention the oath presume it. Note that VanderKam sometimes speaks about "vow" instead of "oath;" I think it is important to distinguish these too since vow is not identical to oath, e.g., Cartledge 1992, Berlinerblau 1996.

[67] Metso 1997, 79–83, 114–15, 32–33. Manuscripts 4QS[b,d] are later than 1QS, but since they contain a shorter text form and the additions of 1QS can be explained by the general tendency of 1QS to expand and justify its statements, I find Metso's study convincing. P. Alexander has a different view, Alexander 1996, 437–56; Alexander and Vermes 1998, 9–12. For other redactional remarks of S, see Alexander and Vermes 1998, 9, n. 21–22; Knibb 2000b, 795–96, and recently, Lucas 2010, 30–52.

[68] Clearly, columns 1–4 were not always part of S, as shown in 4QS[d,e]; Metso 1997, 107. Columns 5–7 and 8–9 clearly differ from each other and are separate sections even in 1QS. Some scholars have held that columns 8–9 (without the later additions, usually considered in 8:16b–9:2 or in 8:15b–9:11) include the earliest nucleus of S, and it probably does include early material, for example, in the less elaborate penal code in 8:16b–19. Probably no one section is to be judged as the only original version of S but the various and often parallel sections may have been developed during the same periods of time, and brought together at some time with redaction that is no longer detectable through the manuscript evidence. For the theory of local traditions (and center-periphery-axis), see Schofield 2009.

[69] Note that DJD assigns different fragment numbers here: fragments 3 and 4 are fragment 3a-b in DJD, and fragment 5 is frag. 4 in DJD. The numbering followed here is based on Metso 1997, 27; Qimron and Charlesworth 1994, 53–103, and also used by García Martínez and Tigchelaar 1997.

[70] The underlined words are missing in 4QS[b,d]. The double underlining indicates the sentences, which have not been preserved in 4QS[b,d], but clearly they have a shorter version here. I agree with Metso 1997, 133, that the additions in 1QS were not motivated by a change in practices but that they gave theological emphasis and justification to the prevailing practices.

ואלה תכון דרכיהם על כול החוקים האלה בהאספם ליחד כול הבא לעצת היחד
יבוא בברית אל לעיני כול המתנדבים ויקם על נפשו בשבועת אסר לשוב אל
תורת מושה ככול אשר צוה בכול לב ובכול נפש לכול הנגלה ממנה לבני צדוק
הכוהנים שומרי הברית ודורשי רצונו ולרוב אנשי בריתם המתנדבים יחד לאמתו
ולהתהלך ברצונו ואשר יקים על נפשו להבדל מכול אנשי העול ההולכים
בדרך הרשעה כיא לוא החשבו בבריתו

These are the regulations of their behavior concerning all these decrees
when they are enrolled in the community. Everyone who joins the council
of the community shall enter into the covenant of God in the presence of
those who willingly offer themselves. He shall undertake by a binding oath
to return to the Torah of Moses with all his heart and soul, following all that
he has commanded, and in accordance with all that has been revealed from
it[71] to the sons of Zadok, the priests who keep the covenant and seek his
will, and to the multitude of the men of their covenant who together will-
ingly offer themselves for his truth and to walk according to his will and to
separate himself from all the men of injustice, them who walk in the wicked
way, for such are not reckoned a part of His covenant.[72]

CD 15:5b–15 (cf. 4QD^a 8 1:1–9; 4QD^e 6 2:5–7), which is part of the commu-
nity organization layer of D, reads:[73]

והבא בברית לכל ישראל לחוק עולם את בניהם אשר יגיעו
6   לעבור על הפקודים בשבועת הברית יקימו עליהם vacat וכן
7   המשפט בכל קץ הרשע לכל השב מדרכו הנשחתה ביום דברו
8   עם המבקר אשר לרבים יפקדוהו בשבועת הברית אשר כרת
9   משה עם ישראל את דברו לשו[ב]אל תורת משה בכל לב ו[ב]כ[ל]
10   נפש אל הנמצא לעשות בכ[ל] קץ ק[ר]בו ואל יודיעהו איש את
11   המשפטים עד עמדו לפני המבקר שמה יתפתה בו בדרשו אתו
12   וכאשר יקים אותו עליו לשוב אל תורת משה בכל לב ובכל נפש
13   נק[י]אים הם ממנו אם ימעל vacat וכל אשר נגלה מן התורה לרוב
14   המחנה והוא שגג בו יוד[יעה]ו המבקר אותו וצוה עליו ויל[מד]
15   עד שנה תמימה ולפי דעתו

And he who enters the covenant for all Israel it shall be an eternal statute,
together with their children who reach the age to pass over to the mustered,
they shall bind themselves with the oath of the covenant.[74] And thus shall

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[71] 4QS^d 1 1:6 is reconstructed by Alexander and Vermes 1998, 93, כל הנגלה מן הת[ורה
ע[ל] [פי] עצת אנש[י] היח[ד], "all that has been revealed from To[rah, in accordance with]
the council of the men of yahad."
[72] Apart from minor changes, the translation is according to Metso 1997, 132, who fol-
lows the translation by Knibb 1987, 104–08.
[73] The 4QD mss contain mostly ortographic variants. The text here follows the recon-
struction by Martin Abegg in DSSEL. For the interpretation of the passage, see also Gross-
man 2002, 163–64.
[74] The translation follows Hempel 1998, 74, with minor changes. Baumgarten and
Schwartz 1995, 39, translate the beginning as referring to the children: "And those who

be the case during all the time of wickedness for everyone who turns from his corrupt way.[75] On the day on which he speaks to the overseer of the many,[76] they shall muster him with the oath of the covenant which Moses made with Israel, the covenant to re[turn] to the Torah of Moses with all one's heart and [with] al[l] one's soul, to that which is found to be done during the enti[re] time of his up[holding] the oath.[77] And no one shall make known to him the ordinances until he stands before the overseer lest he reveal himself to be a simpleton when he examines him. Once he takes an oath to return to the Law of Moses with all (his) heart and all (his) soul they shall be [free from] responsibility if he acts unfaithfully. And all that has been revealed from the law to the multitude of the camp and (if) he errs in it, the overseer shall instr[uct] him[78] and he shall give orders regarding him and he shall tea[ch] him for a full year, and according to his knowledge, he shall draw near.[79]

There are several themes that can be considered to be reflecting central and common group beliefs in light of these passages in D and S. First, the act of returning to the Torah of Moses is characterized in both documents by taking account of what is *revealed* (נגלה/נמצא) of the Law.[80] This revelation is *collective*: according to D, it comes to the "multitude of the camp" (CD 15:13–14 // 4QDᵃ 8 1:4), and according to S, it comes to the "sons of Zadok … and to the multitude of the men of their covenant" (1QS 5:9), or to the "council of the men of the *yahad*" (4QSᵇ 5 7–8 //4QSᵈ 1 1:6–7).[81] Scholars have discussed a lot about the lacking of the "sons of Zadok" in the 4QS-traditions.[82] The question that concerns us here is to what extent this variant affects our conclusions about the central group

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enter the covenant for all of Israel as an eternal statute shall have their sons, who have reached (the age) for passing among those who are mustered, take the oath of the covenant." See discussion by Hempel 1998, 77–79.

[75] Hempel 1998, 77–81, considers this sentence to be a redactional phrase. This may well be, especially if the beginning of the sentence is understood as including already all initiates besides their children; see above.

[76] The mention of the *rabbim* is again possibly an interpolation, Hempel 1998, 81–85.

[77] The translation here follows the reading קֹ[י]מֹו, instead of קֹ[ר]בֹו, see Hempel 1998, 75.

[78] 4QDᵃ 8 1:5 clearly reads וילמד without the suffix, but 4QDᵉ 6 2:7 probably has the suffix הוֹ, and traces of יֹ are probably visible in CD 15:14, see Hempel 1998, 76.

[79] The text of CD is corrupt here; 4QDᵃ 8 1:6 reads ולפי דעתה יקרב, "according to his knowledge let him be brought near."

[80] The basic distinction is often made between *nistarot*, what are hidden, and *niglot*, what are revealed; the *nistarot* were interpretations of the law revealed to the community (also signified by הנמצא, that which was found), whereas the *niglot* were obvious to anyone (1QS 5:11–12; 8:11–12 par.; CD 3:12–16); Schiffman 1975, 22–32; Davies 2001, 30–31.

[81] The collective nature of the revelation is promoted in 1QS 8:11–12, according to which the individual who has information on the "hidden" (*nistar*) is not to hide it from others.

[82] Recently, see, e.g., Hempel 2007; Fabry 2010.

beliefs according which a member is to orientate him/herself. I find no
reason to think that a member familiar with the wording of 1QS would
perceive the oath in a fundamentally different way than a member famil-
iar with the wording of 4QS or D. "Sons of Zadok" emphasizes in scriptural
phraseology (cf. Ezek 44 and CD 3:21–4:4) the faithfulness of these priest
vis-à-vis other (unfaithful) priests. It hardly introduces the priests in an
authoritative position for the first (or only) time, as priests are elsewhere
and often presented as central to the movement. Rather, the mention of
the (faithful) priests in the oath can highlight the trustworthiness of this
covenant and its revelation: these are priests who search what pleases
God, and God is faithful to his covenant.[83]

Secondly, the revelatory character of the law has its consequences.
It is necessary that the members are taught the right understanding of
the law,[84] and that they take it upon themselves to seek for what pleases
God. They have to subject themselves to the authority of the community.[85]
It is not sufficient that individual members safeguard their own behavior;
the community has to ensure that the law is kept and the community
remains pure.[86]

Thus, it is not only the Law of Moses but also giving *counsel* that
is common to both documents. The key terms for indicating coun-
sel are found throughout S, and both in D's admonition and organiza-
tional layer: עצה, "counsel, council,"[87] סוד, "secret counsel, council,

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[83] It is possible that the mentioning of the "sons of Zadok" reflects a further need in the
movement to stress the hierarchical nature of the movement: that is, the "we" to which a
new member identifies with is not only made of a great number of people (multitude) but
there is structure and order to this multitude (see further below). But here we must also
be methodologically alert: a variant can mean anything from no change in perception to
total change in perception, depending on how we reconstruct the social changes in the
movement.

[84] 1QS 6:15; CD 15:14–15; 16:1–2.

[85] 1QS 5:3 // 4QSᵇ 5 2–3; 4QSᵈ 1:2–3; CD 12:22–13:7 // 4QDᵇ 9 4:1–3.

[86] Disabled and under-aged persons—people at risk of not being able to follow the law
properly—were excluded from the community, "since the ho[ly] angels [are in its midst]"
(CD 15:15–17 // 4QDᵃ 8 1:6–9).

[87] CD 12:8; 13:17 par.; 4QDᵃ 10 2:2.7; 4QDʰ 6 1; 1QS 1:8, 10, 13; 2:23, 25; 3:2, 6; 5:7; 6:3, 4,
9, 10, 12, 14, 16, 22; 7:2, 11, 22, 24; 8:1, 5, 11, 18–19, 21–26; 9:2, 9, 17, etc. This term seems to
serve both for the act of counseling and for the organ that gives counsel. Regev 2003,
236–37, interprets it as referring to a smaller local section within a larger sectarian orga-
nization. Similarly, Collins 2003, 97–111; Collins 2006, 81–96, has suggested that the *yahad*
was composed of smaller groups of at least ten men. However, Regev's suggestion does not
adequately explain the exact formulation of 1QS 6:3, "in every place where there are ten
men *from* the council of the *yahad* (מעצת היחד)..." (cf. Regev's translation: "...ten men
[belonging to] the 'council' of the *yahad*"), a fact addressed by Collins 2006, and Metso

foundation,"[88] and verbs יסר, (qal/pi.) "to instruct, warn, rebuke,"[89] שאל, "to ask."[90] The member who joins the group will be a participant in this counseling.[91]

Furthermore, both documents refer to a *hierarchical order* among the members. In the oath, the members submitted themselves to their superiors. Hierarchies are elsewhere in the documents described slightly (or if one wished, clearly) differently but the fact that hierarchies were evident is the most important matter. Groups are elsewhere ranked in D as priests, Levites, Israel, and *gerim* (CD 14:3–6),[92] and in S as priests, Levites, and the people (1QS 2:19–21), or as priests, elders and rest of the people (1QS 6:8–9). The people are further divided into thousands, hundreds, fifties and tens (CD 13:1–2; 1QS 2:21–22). This division arises from the biblical ideal: Israel in the wilderness was given judges to guide them (cf. Ex 18:21–22; Deut 1:9–18). Therefore, the division emphasizes the fact that

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2006. However, a more complete discussion of the organizational interpretations of D and S communities must be left for another occasion. Translations of the terms are according to Abegg, Cook et al. 2003.

[88] CD 14:10 par.; 1QS 2:25, 4:6, 6:19, etc.

[89] CD 4:8; 4QDᵃ 11 7 // 4QDᵉ 7 1:21; 4QDᵉ 7 1:15; 1QS 3:6, 9:10.

[90] CD 14:6, par; 1QS 6:4, 9, 11, 12, 15, 18; 7:21, 8:25.

[91] Other terms may also be considered as reflecting the importance of counsel and teaching, e.g., בין, hif.: "to make understand" (CD 13:5, 8; 1QS 6:15); ידע, "to know" (1QS 5:11, 19; 8:18) and hif.: "to let know" (CD 6:17; 12:20; 15:10); יעץ, "to counsel" (1QS 6:3); למד, "to learn/teach" (CD 15:14; 1QS 9:13); ספר, pi.: "to tell" (CD 13:8; 1QS 1:21, 22), שכל, hif.: "to instruct" (CD 13:7; 1QS 4:22; 9:18, 20); and nouns יסד/יסוד, "foundation, principle" (CD 10:6; 1QS 7:17, 18); יסור "lesson, correction" (CD 7:5, 8; 1QS 3:1); פרוש, "explanation; exactness" (CD 6:14, 18, 20; 13:6; 14:17, 18; 16:2); שוכל/שכל, "understanding" (CD 13:11; 1QS 2:3; 5:23; 6:14); תכון הגורל, "decision by lot" (1QS 5:3). The term סרך, "rule, policy, list, order" itself refers to the orderly nature of the group (CD 7:8, 9; 10:4; 12:19, 22; 13:7; 14:3, 12; 1QS 1:1, 16; 2:20, 21; 5:1, 23; 6:8, 22), for its semantic range, see Alexander 2000, 799.

[92] It has been suggested that the *gerim*, "proselytes" denote novices (e.g., Davies 1996f, 167–68)—both D and S would have three categories of *full* members. However, it is unclear what the setting of the hierarchical order in D is. According to S, the initiates could not participate in the community council. In the D community, the *gerim* were either part of the communal decision-making from the beginning (unlike in S), or the *Sitz im Leben* for this hierarchical list was not the normal session but a yearly examination (cf. 1QS 2:19–25b), and the passage would not describe the common sessions giving counsel. If the *gerim* in D were understood as real proselytes, converts to Judaism, it is striking that this category is absent in S: does it mean that they were excluded there or does it mean that they were considered to be fully included in the category of the "people"? The answer tells much about how we conceive of the similarities and differences between D and S. At the moment, I tend to incline to the latter option, stressing the similarities between D and S (but the significance of the fact that S is silent about the *gerim* should not be downplayed; this can be sociologically significant).

the members who join the community are part of the system of counsel-
ing and judgment (cf. also 1QSa 1:13b–18).[93]

According to these lists, the priests are the rank that has the highest
authority in both documents. Moreover, it seems that in both documents
there was an interest in regulating the *ratio* of priests at the gatherings.
Both D and S have the ratio of one priest among ten men (CD 13:2b–3a;
1QS 6:3b–4a par.).[94] A closer look at CD 13:1b–7a reveals that, in the case
of leprosy, the *mevaqqer* also plays a role: he brings the priest the exact
interpretation of the law. Similarly, the passage of 1QS 6:6b–7a records the
presence of "a man who studies the Torah" in the group of ten. Hempel
has suggested that 1QS 6:6b–8a is a second further elaboration of a simple
statement in 1QS 6:1c–3a.[95] It is tempting to interpret that, as a result of
these passages, a new ratio emerges, two learned members in the group
of ten, thus 2:10=1:5, and that this corresponds to the ratio that can be
inferred from 1QS 8:1: "In the council of the *yahad* there are to be twelve
men and three priests," that is, if the total of the group is 15, then the
ratio is 3:15, thus 1:5. However, these figures should perhaps not be inter-
preted as exact form of organizational units; rather the symbolic nature of
"twelve men and three priests" and the formulations of a ratio rather than
of numbers of permanent members point towards interpreting the figures
as concerns about preserving the hierarchical nature of every gathering.[96]

In D's community organization layer, individual officials, the priest,
the *mevaqqer*, and the judges, are mentioned as the main authorities who
decide whom to take in and whom to leave out (CD 13:3–4, 13; 15:11); they
make halakhic decisions (CD 9:16b–10:3 par.; 13:5–7); to them all disputes
and judgments that need to be discussed are reported (CD 14:11–12 par.);
and they decide on the provision for those in need (CD 14:13–16).[97] In S, it

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[93] The heads of these groups also act as leaders of the army, see 1QM 4:1–5; Metso 2002,
437. For these standard Israelite military divisions, see also Grossman 2002, 163.

[94] S may be dependent on D here, see Metso 1997, 133–35; Metso 2006, 213–35.

[95] Hempel 2003b, 61–68.

[96] Cf. the duodecimal pattern in 11QT and in 1QM; Baumgarten 2000b, 456.

[97] Hempel 1997, 344–45, Hempel 1998, 81–85, 117–19, 36, 78, 90, argues that the nine
occurrences of "*rabbim*" in D (CD 13:7; 14:7, 12 par.; 15:8; 4QDᵃ 10 2:7; 11 1, 8, 8; 4QDᵉ 7 1:11)
belong to "Serekh redaction." I find the redactional nature of the "*rabbim*" convincing,
but whether the redaction can be given the name *serekh* redaction is more uncertain. As
shown by Hempel, one occurrence in the penal code of 4QDᵃ (10 2:7) contains the term
rabbim, whereas the parallel 1QS (7:11) does not—1QS probably preserves the more original
version of the regulation. This example is evidence of a complex literary history, and it is
not clear at which stage the redaction of D was made; perhaps parts of both documents
went through redactional activity at about the same time. In any case, the redaction may
show that, in effect, the nature of the D and S groups was seen as similar enough by the

is the *rabbim* who have a pronounced position in the decision-making.[98] However, various individual officers are frequently referred to in different sections of S (priest 6:3.5; 7:2; *paqid* 6:14; *mevaqqer* 6:20; *maskil* 3:13; 9:12.21; 4QS[b] 5 1 par.). Their exact roles are somewhat unclear; some of the titles may refer to similar tasks.[99] For the central group beliefs, the differences between these titles are potentially significant, but, generally speaking, the existence of both individual officials and a larger assembly seems to be an enduring feature and seem to affect how a member perceived his/ her position.

Both documents also refer to the *individual ranking* of all the members. In S, the individual ranking is not mentioned in the oath taking but in other passages of joining the community (1QS 2:22–23; 5:23; 6:22); it is annually checked (1QS 5:24). The ranking is based on examining one's spirit in respect to "insight and deeds of law" (1QS 5:20–23; 6:14, 17, 18); when a member rejoins the community, it is based on the "perfection of his behavior and his counsel" (1QS 9:1b–2).[100] The hierarchy becomes visible in the meetings (seating order, order of speech, order at meals; 1QS 6:4, 8–9, 26) and in matters of work and property (1QS 6:2). In D, the oath taking is followed by teaching and evaluation of one's knowledge ("according to his knowledge let him be brought near" in 4QD[a] 8 1:6). If Hempel's analysis of D's community organization layer is correct, the D group also has individual ranking: within the larger groups, members were listed according to their names, and they took turns at entering the congregation (CD 14:3–6, 10b–12a; 15:7b–8a).[101] The emblematic expression of violating this hierarchical order in some way or another is, in both documents, "to help oneself with one's own hand" (1QS 6:26–27; CD 9:9–10), that is, to take the law into one's own hands.[102]

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redactors to revise both documents and to leave some of the earlier terms standing, thus working with multiple terms. For a completely different methodological and interpretative approach of the *rabbim* in D, see Regev 2003, 233–62.

[98] Hempel 1998, 82, points out that the term occurs thirty-four times in 1QS 6–9.

[99] Thus, e.g., Jastram 1997, 354–60.

[100] In light of the discourse on the two spirits, the ranking was fundamentally God's work: he created every person with a share of spirit of light and spirit of darkness (1QS 4:26; 9:12–14).

[101] CD 4:4–5 also refers to the listing of names. On the other hand, the rule for the *maskil* to examine everyone according to his deeds, insight, strength, courage, and wealth, and to inscribe according to his inheritance in the lot of light (CD 13:11–12a) is probably a later addition, elaborated in the line with 1QS 1:11b–13a; 5:23; 6:13b–23 and the discourse on the two spirits; cf. Hempel 1998, 114–23.

[102] The expression is found in 1 Sam 25:26. See also Schiffman 1983, 38–40, and Shemesh 2002, 60.

One final aspect of the oath in D and S must be noted. The passage in S mentions *separation* for the people of injustice, whereas in D, the passage continues with a list of unqualified (simple-minded, disabled or too young) people. Is this significant considering the central group beliefs? The difference can be interpreted to be in line with the other central difference between S and D: S does not include halakhic cases (see below) but is interested in the ideological differentiation between the members and non-members whereas D is interested in preserving the halakhic distinctions, also as regards to people qualified to be independent actors in the congregation. However, D also makes the (ideological) claim that the angel Mastema departs a person who commits him/herself to turn to the covenant (CD 16:4–5). Therefore, it is difficult to know how in particular the difference between these passages contributed to what the group believed about itself. S emphasizes the ideological separation from wrong people (and later also the practical separation in matters of work and money) and D emphasizes the cosmic differentiation from evil forces. But probably both beliefs were present and mixed in the members' perception: by separating from wrong practices, a member separated from the evil ways which the wicked people followed, and by separating from evil people a member separated from the spheres of wickedness and their ways in the world.

In conclusion, the above parallels in the oath-taking point towards the central group beliefs presented in both documents: the basic function of the community was to give counsel,[103] so that the Law could be fulfilled.[104] Each member was subject to someone superior and was dependent on the counsel and judgments of this hierarchical system.

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[103] I prefer to speak about "counsel" rather than "knowledge" as the prerequisite for obeying the Torah since "counsel" includes the aspect of transmitting knowledge to others. Note, however, that "salvific knowledge," as put by Grossman 2002, 124, is central to both D and S; contra Davies 2000a, 38–39.

[104] There are other central group beliefs, such as the atonement promised for and through the group (CD 14:19; 1QS 5:6; 8:10), predestination (CD 2:7; 1QS 4:15–17), and the coming of messiahs (CD 12:22b–13:1a; 1QS 9:11). Covenant is a prominent concept used in the documents; the members of God's covenant are members of the community. However, no "pattern of salvation" is sought here. Sanders 1977, 239–328, has compared the pattern of religion in the Qumran texts to other Jewish systems, and concludes that, it is the same as in the Rabbinic literature: "The place of obedience in the overall scheme is always the same: it is the *consequence* of being in the covenant and the *requirement for remaining* in the covenant." One enters the covenant by God's grace only (p. 320). The belief studied here emphasizes the perception in the group to be dependent, not only on God's gift of knowledge, but also on each other, the fellow members of the group. Grossman 2002, 162, points out that D uses a variety of models for communal identity—true Israel, the

According to both documents, a central group belief stated that, in the group, the member believed (1) to receive the revelation of the will of God,[105] (2) to be assigned to obey the revealed will of God, the Law,[106] and (3) that the group ensured obedience to the Law by surveillance, counsel, reproof, teaching, and judgment.[107] None of these elements may be excluded, or else the member runs the risk of erring, losing the revelation, or losing the covenant and its promises. If the community meetings are considered the central means by which the community was realized,[108] then essentially *the community was this counseling.* It was not only the moral superiority but also the necessary knowledge and the right attitude that was believed to distinguish the group from outsiders. This is common to the voluntary groups reflected in D and S. The *origin* of the

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righteous priesthood, an exilic community—and that these are then open to various interpretations within the community.

[105] The vocabulary בקש, דרש (1QS 5:11), נמצא (in וכול דבר הנסתר מישראל ונמצאו לאיש 1QS 8:12; also 9:13, 20; CD 15:10), and מדרש התורה (1QS 8:15) suggests that this revelation is perceived to be given through (inspired) exegesis; see Schiffman 1983, 14–17; and cf. Davies 1996c, 31. In D, the officials had to be "learned" (מבובן) in the Book of Hagu and the laws (CD 10:6; 13:2; 14:7–8). In a later study, Schiffman 1994, 274, holds that not all laws originated among the Qumran sectarians; many of the laws were shared by other Jewish groups. Schiffman's use of the designation "sectarian law" for both the halakhah and the organizational rules is somewhat confusing. If "the hidden laws required the help of divinely guided exegesis to enable sect members to discover their correct interpretation" (Schiffman 1994, 247–48) *and* if most of the "sectarian laws" were based on such exegesis, an activity which the opponents of the sect did not practice (p. 248), what then are the laws that are shared with other Jewish groups ("groups related in their legal tradition to the Sadducean priestly approach," p. 274)? It helps to distinguish between the earlier layer of halakhot in D and the later community rules in D and S in order to see that the latter rules were not in common with other Jewish groups.

[106] Davies 2001, 26, asks what "Torah" meant for the Qumran members and rejects the view that *Jubilees* or the *Temple Scroll* would be regarded as Torah by the Qumran movement; these books were midrashic in a similar way as the *Genesis Apocryphon.* Obeying the Torah does not mean adding books to the five books of Moses, but the correct understanding of the Torah.

[107] Davies 2000a, 27–52, compares the "Judaism of S" to the "Judaism of D," and also contrasts the understanding of the Torah in these documents. In D, the Torah is derived from scriptures and revealed to the "New Covenanters." In S, on the other hand, "less importance is attached to obedience to the covenant *torah* and more to possession of 'knowledge'." S uses esoteric language, and knowledge becomes a more important element of salvation than the revealed Torah as such. There is a perceivable difference in the terminology, in terms of frequency, at least, but the conclusion Davies comes to may be too hasty. The language of knowledge occurs in D, too. D emphasizes the knowledge that the officials must have (CD 10:4–7a par.; 13:1b-7a); the *mevaqqer* is as much a guide for counsel as is the *maskil* (CD 14:8b-12a); reproof is present in D as it is in S (CD 9:16b–10:3); and so on.

[108] Cf. Charlesworth 2000, 134: "It is not wise to attempt to distinguish always between *rabbim* and *yahad*; they are virtually synonymous."

counsel—whether it was based on oral tradition or scriptural exegesis—is not the fundamental question to be answered here. Metso rightly emphasizes the possible oral decision-making in the groups: in 1QS, written rules are not shown to be scripturally derived but are based on the authority of the *rabbim*.[109] Scriptural quotations were only later added to some of the rules, to justify them, as is shown by those manuscripts that lack these quotations.[110] If the essential group beliefs were held that the group members received the necessary counsel and judgments as participants in a hierarchical system, we may note of the fact that, according to these beliefs, the decisions relied on the hierarchical nature of the community, not on any ready-made written rules as such, although recordings of previous decisions are not denied either.[111] It suffices here to say that the counseling was perceived to be dependent on hierarchical order in which the most valued members were regarded as competent in the study of the law.

Written Rules and Counseling

It is, however, worth asking, what then is the relationship of written rules in D and S to this counseling? The prominent role of the penal code in S easily creates an impression of an introverted group that was more con-

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[109] Metso 2000, 85–93; Metso 2004, 315–35.

[110] 4QS[b,d] lack the quotations that are in 1QS 5:13–16, 16–19, and 8:12–16; Metso 1997, 76–90. This argument is part of the larger discussion on the nature of the "sectarian law." According to Schiffman, the halakhah and the organizational rules are derived from scripture or scriptural ideals (Schiffman 1975, 75–76; Schiffman 1983, 14–17; Schiffman 1994, 247–49, 73–87), whereas Weinfeld sees the organizational rules "derived" from other Hellenistic associations, without any scriptural exegesis or ideological basis (Weinfeld 1986, 71–76); see discussion by Davies 1996c, 113–26, and by Metso 2000, 91–93. Shemesh and Werman 2003, 104–29, argue for the unwillingness of the Qumran authors to present the *explicit exegetical process* of the halakhot; presenting the exegesis would give the readers the option of presenting other exegetical interpretations. They argue that the authority for the halakhah in the sect was mainly claimed by divinely authorized interpreters (leaders of the sect), and by claiming Sinaitic authority (thus, forming the halakhot as if given at Sinai, as in the *Temple Scroll*). However, the role of scriptural authorization should not be underestimated by saying that the halakhot were not shown to be derived from scripture (cf. especially p. 113). Hempel 2003b, 59–80, argues that the study of scripture was given more emphasis in the development of S.

[111] Thus I agree with Metso's reluctance to use the rule documents as a direct window into the community life and practices. Metso 2000, 85–93; Metso 2004, 315–35, argues that the *Community Rule* functions rather as a "recording of different judicial decisions and a report of oral traditions" than a community law book which would be consulted for decisions. However, whether S can be used as an example of a wider derivation of halakhah at Qumran, is another question.

cerned with monitoring the minor details of its members' behavior (e.g., sleeping in the meetings) than centering on the Torah,[112] but this can be a misinterpretation of the evidence. If the decisions and counseling would only include those matters in the penal code, the groups would be very different from what other parts of the document claim: directing one's "soul, heart, and strength" according to the Law and the concerns for the righteous use of property, for example. According to S, every full member was to give his knowledge, judgment and counsel for the benefit of the community (1QS 1:11–12; 6:9, 22–23). The members were to make decisions "in every affair involving the law, property and judgment" (1QS 5:3). The meetings of the *rabbim* exist for imparting this counsel, and probably also for meals and worship (1QS 6:2–3;[113] 6:7–8; 7:19–21).[114] In the meeting, anyone may ask for permission to speak (1QS 6:12–13); the issue is not explicated.

Metso seems to maintain that the *serakhim* contain reports of *some* of these oral decisions; thus, the community legislation concerns the decisions. The community would not have made a distinction between its own legislation and the halakhic rules derived from the Torah.[115] It is not, however, likely that the act of giving counsel which is common to both documents, would have changed so dramatically as to completely lack any halakhic decisions and only concentrate on the organizational matters. There exist various explanations for the lack of halakhah in S. Schiffman's explanation of the penal code is that it was for the teaching of a selection of "sectarian laws" to the initiates in their final stages of

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[112] Cf. Newsom 2004, 95–101, sees the Qumran group as exercising "disciplinary power:" in order to get hold of the hearts and minds of the members, the community has to get hold of their bodies. Thus, even minor details of behavior, speech, body, and sexuality are controlled and disciplined.

[113] I agree with Metso 2006, that the section in 1QS 6:1c-8a is probably an interpolation in S, but I think the passage fundamentally agrees with what the *yahad* regarded as its function. The passage has a close affinity with CD 13:2. Hempel 2003b, 61–68, suggests that even this passage is put together by a mixture of material.

[114] Klinghardt 1996, 229–30, has argued that the passage, "They shall eat together, together they shall bless and together they shall take counsel" (1QS 6:2–3), denotes a three-stage evening meeting; see also Collins 2003, 103.

[115] Metso 2000, 91–93. Similarly, although Schiffman holds that the decisions were derived from scriptural exegesis, Schiffman states: "The results of the decisions reached at such sessions were assembled into lists (*serakhim*), and it is in these lists of sectarian legal statements that many of the component parts of the *Manual of Discipline* and the *Zadokite Fragments* had their origins" (Schiffman 1983, 15).

admission.[116] The absence of halakhic material in S is due to this long
admission process: in the early stages of admission, the initiate would
have become acquainted with the sectarian interpretations of the law, and
only in the last stages of the initiation rites were the sectarian regulations
needed to inform the novice of the meaning of the oath he was about
to take.[117] However, the existence of *similar penal code regulations* in D,
along with the halakhic material,[118] without any immediate connection to
initiation into the community, challenges this interpretation.[119] Perhaps
the decisions include matters that are not reported in any written form—
no more than are communal prayers or reading and studying of scriptures
that may have taken place in the meetings.[120] If the *rabbim* meetings took
place on a small scale, it is understandable that individual cases were not
written down. The acts of judging and counseling may be fundamentally
independent of the written records.

   This puts the penal codes of S and D in a different light. D contains
more halakhic rules and fewer of the detailed rules for conduct and
rules for the meetings, but the fact that it does have both types of rules,[121]

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   [116] Schiffman 1983, 155–59. Schiffman's study deals with only the medieval manuscripts
of D, and uses both CD and 1QS to interpret "the Qumran sect." For our purposes, this
study has both weaknesses (lack of material from other Qumran caves; harmonization
of D and S material) but also its strengths (seeing the *serakhim* as coming from the same
movement).

   [117] Schiffman 1983, 157–59.

   [118] Schiffman 1983, 156, notes the existence of a similar penal code in the "Zadokite
fragments" and considers the penal code in S to be only a selection from larger material;
however, he does not discuss the function of this source material. Cf. also Schiffman 1994,
108.

   [119] On the other hand, Davies 1996c, 120–26; Davies 2001, 33, offers a solution, which
fits in his wider theory of the Qumran movement. The lack of halakhah in S is explained
by the change in the authority structure in the community: whereas D relied on scriptural
exegesis, the S community relied on the teacher of righteousness for the correct interpreta-
tions. However, the complete lack of appeal to the teacher as an authoritative voice in S is
one of the problems that I have with this theory. Davies attempts to show that D relied on
scriptural exegesis of the Torah, whereas S relied on the authoritative *voice* of the teacher
and his followers, but considering the fundamental attitude towards the Torah in both
communities, I do not see that Davies' statement about D ("the members of the 'Damascus
covenant' will walk [*halakh*] according to their understanding of Torah" until the rise of a
messiah, p. 32) is much different from his statement about S ("Torah remained subject to
sectarian authority," p. 34).

   [120]   4QDᵃ 11 16 states that the sentence of an *expelled member* was written down by the
mevaqqer. Another text, *4QRebukes reported by the Overseer* (4Q477), is evidence of names
written down for some offences but the punishments are not clear.

   [121] Thus, Walker-Ramisch 1996, 139, is incorrect in saying that "the elaborate code of
conduct found in 1QS stipulating penalties for such offenses as lying to, insulting, deceiv-
ing, slandering, or interrupting a brother, speaking in anger, or exposing one's nakedness

suggests that in the community life, halakhic matters, and matters of distinguishing between members and nonmembers as well as controlling the members' conduct within the group became intertwined.[122] Schiffman notes that the halakhic rules listed in the *serakhim* were cases where the sect felt the scriptural legislation itself insufficient. The organizational regulation, on the other hand, was written because it lacked scriptural authority.[123] Whatever the reason,[124] the communal legislation in D is largely an *extension* of the halakhic rules.[125] The responsibilities of the officials, the process of admission, procedure for reproof, and order in the camps are each placed after certain halakhic passages: thus, for example, the halakhah on oaths (9:8b–10a), is followed by the oath concerning stolen property in the camp (CD 9:10b–16a par.), and the halakhah on gentiles and purity rules (CD 12:6b–11a; 12:11b–18) are followed by the rules for living in the camps (the correct means of separation while living among non-members) including the case of leprosy.[126] The character of the penal code regulations may be similar: they are included to enhance the basic function of the community (giving and taking counsel) and to prevent any hindrances to it.[127] Nearly all the violations in common to the penal

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to a brother, etc., is absent in CDC." The Cave 4 copy, 4QD[a] 10 2:1–15 includes a passage fully comparable to that of 1QS. Another matter is, if these rules are seen as original in D or perhaps bringing the rules closer to S ("S redaction").

[122] Another *serekh*-text, 4Q265, clearly combines penal code regulations with Sabbath laws.

[123] Schiffman 1983, 213.

[124] The existence of various Greco-Roman associations, which had their own penal codes of unacceptable behavior and expulsion and fines (Weinfeld 1986), strongly suggests that there was some common idea of writing these kinds of rules down (similarly, Newsom 2004, 149). Greco-Roman associations were not a direct model for the organizational order of the D and S communities, in agreement with Walker-Ramisch 1996, 128–45, but if we are to look for possible models, then at least the penal codes of D and S are closer in their nature to the penal codes of the collegia than they are to possible scriptural models (e.g., casuistic laws in the Book of the Covenant Ex 21–23). Thus, creating a voluntary group required some legislation of admission and expulsion, and norms for the meetings, which appear to concretize the group's existence. Walker-Ramisch 1996, 138, suggests that Jewish *gerousia* in the diaspora may have played a part in modeling the central administrative body of the D community. For the purpose of S, see Newsom 2004, 101–03, who explains that S may have been "a sort of written extension of the Maskil's teaching function."

[125] Schiffman 1983, 216–17, refers to the *organic* nature of the sectarian laws.

[126] Hempel 1998, 35, 160–62, assigns the passage on gentiles (CD 12:6b-11a) to the Halakhah layer, and "various purity regulations" in CD 12:11b–18 to "Miscellaneous Halakhah" layer. Hempel also notes the use of the catchword principle in connecting various passages in the Laws of D, see Hempel 1998, 192.

[127] One title for the penal code in D is "And this is the exact interpretation (פרוש) for those who live in the c[amps, and the]se are the foundation wall[s] of the assembly (קהל)" (CD 14:17–18 // 4QD[a] 10 1:10b–11a). The title in S is: "And these are the regulations (משפטים)

codes of S and D[128] can be seen as either direct violations of the community counsel (deviation from foundations of the community; lying about property),[129] or endangering the trust which is the prerequisite for the counseling (slandering the community or its leaders; insulting a neighbor; bearing a grudge; speaking folly; interrupting a neighbor's speech; falling asleep during the *rabbim* session; leaving the session without permission; laughing noisily).[130] Other violations (walking naked; exposing one's private parts; gesticulating with the left hand) can be regarded as disturbances of the community meetings,[131] or, since nudity includes a connotation of sexual matters, endangering the purity of the community, purity being a central element in the community meetings (cf. the term טהרה). It is noteworthy that S and D also includes "elementary" penal regulations, some of which are without any mention of the length of the punishment (e.g., 1QS 8:16b–19),[132] and regulations which express the ideal as a *positive* exhortation rather than a punishable offence (e.g., the need for reproof among members, 1QS 5:24b–6:1a; the call for not bearing grudge against a fellow, CD 7:2–3, punished in 1QS 7:8). At least one offence, interrupting a fellow member, is treated as a general principle of order in the *rabbim* meeting. These observations support the interpretation of the penal code

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by which they shall judge in an examination of the community (במדרש יחד) depending on the case" (1QS 6:24 // 4QS^h but lacking the words במדרש יחד). A title closer to the title in S is found in 4QD^e 7 1:15 *after* the penal code regulations: "[And these are the reg]ulations by which [they shall judge] all those disciplined (המתיסרים)"—this is followed by a passage justifying discipline using scriptural quotations and considering the fate of one who *despises this discipline*. These titles indicate that the penal codes were considered on the same level as other community regulations enabling the community to function properly according to the Law and the sectarian understanding of the Law.

[128] The list of violations shared by 1QS and D is conveniently presented by Hempel 1997, 338–41. Hempel regards the genre of penal codes as earlier than the S community; thus D may preserve parts of the earlier penal code. But also it contains reworking and regulations that are absent from S: despising the judgment of the *rabbim*; illegally taking some-one's food; fornication with one's wife which is not according to the law; murmuring against the fathers; murmuring against the mothers. See also Shemesh 2002, 44–74, for the scriptural basis of the penal code.

[129] The position of this violation as the first in the penal codes (1QS 6:24–25; CD 14:20) refers to the prominence of wealth in the community principles; see Murphy 2002, 447–50.

[130] For discussion on the penal code, see Baumgarten 1992b, 268–76; Hempel 1999b, 87–88; Hempel 1997, 337–48; Baumgarten 2000b, 455–60.

[131] Weinfeld 1986, 26–27, 31, considers nudity, exposure, loud laughter, sleeping, and spitting (note that spitting is not found in the penal code of D) as "disturbances of the general order," but also as "rules of modesty."

[132] Cf. the development of penal codes by Metso 1997, 124–28.

material as an extension of the regulations promoting the unique assignment of the group.[133]

Identities on a Continuum

What impact does this interpretation have on the social identity construction of the groups? The penal code of S has often been interpreted to function in a closed setting, as Schiffman states: "This collection of offences is clearly intended to facilitate life in a small, closed-in settlement such as that of Qumran."[134] Indeed, many of the offences are easily conceivable in a setting where individuals live in close contact and spend their days together.[135] However, another explanation is readily available and it accounts for the existence of a penal code in D, too. The offences can be seen as challenging the basic group beliefs, the function of the group as the vital medium in counseling. Many of them directly reflect the conflict between the personal and social identity of a member: a member who objects to the basic principles of the community, "takes the law into his own hands," and defies the authority of his fellow over him. He may wish to present his own views, thus interrupting another member's speech, insulting someone, or leaving the *rabbim* session. His actions may have been reported to the superiors and thus he bears grudge against other members.[136] If he cannot have his view taken seriously, he may slander his fellow members or the *rabbim*. All these examples suggest a system of *control of personal claims*: there were clear sanctions for endangering the basic function of the group and for challenging the group beliefs.[137] The penal code is to be understood as a natural part of constructing a community of counsel. It ensures the continuance of the shared social identity:

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[133] See also Jokiranta 2007, 277–98.
[134] Schiffman 1983, 157.
[135] But cf. Collins 2003, 103: "People who lived in separate dwellings with a central meeting place could nonetheless maintain high degree of common life."
[136] Note that there is a correction above the line in 1QS 7:8: the punishment for bearing a grudge apparently changed from six months to a year. However, not all developments moved in a stricter direction; the punishment for displaying one's nakedness is in 4QS^e possibly sixty days, but in 1QS thirty days; Metso 1997, 70.
[137] Newsom 2004, 151, arrives at similar results: "Stubborn willfulness is at the heart of the most serious offenses; an inability to discipline the self at the heart of the lesser ones." See also Newsom 2004, 325–46, for a comparison of the "institutional" rhetoric of S to the "emotional" rhetoric of a *hodayah*.

the awareness of being part of the righteous counseling, and emotional reliance on the trustworthiness of the group.[138]

Furthermore, we may see that coming to share this social identity and behaving as a group member rather than as an individual was not an easy process. Presumably, achieving a position as a full member took a long time, during which the initiate's readiness to submit himself was tested.[139] The meetings, in which the initiate progressively took part, repeatedly and concretely marked the status of every member. The hierarchical structure came to play an important role: it facilitated one's personal identity to remain somewhat prominent, side by side with one's new, emerging social identity. One's descent, age, property, deeds, spirit, and knowledge were involved in the scrutiny. The annual renewal of this hierarchy gave due credit to one's conduct. It is possible that the claims that arise from each member's personal identity are successfully responded to by *emphasizing* one's own determined position and role in the coherent system of counsel.[140] Therefore, although the officials are important authorities in giving instruction according to both S and D, the emphatic role of the *rabbim* and the explicit hierarchy of *all* the members are in the fore in S.[141] On the other hand, perhaps not all claims were successfully met. Grossman makes an interesting suggestion that the group designated "house of Peleg" (CD 20:21–25) stands between the insiders and outsiders: they have relied on God but "returned to the way of the people in some

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[138] Cf. Newsom's statement about the penal code in S: "Rhetorically, the reader is not instructed about what he may or may not do but rather how he, as a member of the session, shall judge. He is addressed as one who is to exercise disciplinary power rather than as one who is subjected to it, although that fact is assumed" (Newsom 2004, 148).

[139] Sections dealing with admission of new members differ, however, so that 1QS 5:20b–6:1a does not indicate the time it takes to become a full member (but refers to a yearly examination), whereas 1QS 6:13b–23a has a detailed description of the two year procedure; Metso 1997, 129–33. The two-year period is referred to elsewhere in the document (7:18b-21; 8:10b), but it may represent a later practice compared to the one-year period mentioned in D (CD 15:15).

[140] Cf. Jastram 1997, 368–72, explains that one practical motivation for hierarchy was "to make use of the merits of its members in an orderly way."

[141] It has been noted that, whereas the *mevaqqer* is the authority to the *rabbim* in D (CD 13:7), he is clearly under the authority of the *rabbim* to speak in the meeting in S (1QS 6:11–12). However, Regev 2003, 233–62, infers too much from this. He sees the *yahad* and the smaller councils within the *yahad* as democratic institutions whereas the Damascus group "had no trace of democracy." In light of the literary dependence of the penal code material in D and S, Regev's view of the *yahad* and "the Damascus Covenant" (in its last phase) as an "entirely distinct group with almost no common characteristics" (Regev 2003, 258) is highly problematic. Regev also ignores the role of the *maskil* in D and S in his explanation of the authority structure of these communities; cf. Regev 2004, 146–81.

things." Therefore, they shall receive their judgment individually, "each one according to his spirit in the holy council." Belonging to the group did not automatically correspond to righteousness.[142] This is also seen in the annual covenant renewal liturgy, where the priests and Levites curse those who come to the covenant with "idols in his heart" (1QS 2:11–12), and in the discourse on the two spirits, where a systematic pattern of thought explains why the sons of light may transgress.[143] Therefore, this analysis suggests that the *serakhim* may not have so much to do with conflict with out-groups, or distinguishing from the out-groups, but with the question how to harness the personal identity into the service of the social identity, how to safeguard the purpose of the community, and how to deal with the contesting identities within the groups. In the next chapter, we shall turn to study the *pesharim*.

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[142] Grossman 2002, 165–67.

[143] The matter of "hypocrites" and the problem of the sinning of the righteous are handled by Newsom 2004, 124, 28. Newsom's fresh approach includes various points, which lend themselves to comparison with the social identity theory. For example, she uses the concept of "possible selves" and regards hypocrites as "impossible selves" for the cohesion of the community. The social identity theory includes the concept of "possible social identities," beliefs of what the group has been in the past and will be in the future, Cinnirella 1998, 227–48.

PESHARIM AND SECTARIAN IDENTITY

Scholars usually identify fifteen texts as "continuous" *pesharim*, texts quoting prophetical texts in a more or less continuous manner and using the term פשר in the formulas introducing the interpretations.[1] Other texts exist which also use the pesher formula, and these are often regarded as "thematic" *pesharim* of some sort,[2] or "isolated" pesher sections within another text (such as CD 4:12b–19a). The categories, however, are not clear-cut. It is important to bear in mind that the various *pesharim* are different both in content and in form; speaking of the group of *pesharim*—whether they would be continuous or discontinuous—may give the wrong impression of a uniform collection of scriptural interpretation.[3] In this study, the *Pesher Psalms* (4QpPsᵃ, 4Q171) and the *Pesher Habakkuk* (1QpHab) will be analyzed.[4] The *Pesher Psalms* has received much less attention than the well-preserved *Pesher Habakkuk* or the "historically"-colored *Nahum Pesher* (4Q169), and thus deserves to be studied further. Moreover, the

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[1] These are five *pesharim* on Isaiah (4Q161–165), seven *pesharim* on minor prophets (Habakkuk 1QpHab; Nahum 4Q169; Micah 1Q14; Zephaniah 1Q15, 4Q170; Hosea 4Q166, 4Q167), and three *pesharim* on Psalms (1Q16, 4Q171, 4Q173). For the editions, see Lim 2002b, 1–6. The *pesharim* on one biblical book are usually designated with the super script letter (e.g., 4QpIsaᵃ, 4QpIsaᵇ, etc.), but they are not understood as copies from the same work.

[2] The most notable *pesharim* of this kind are 4Q174, 4Q177, and 11Q13 (*11QMelchizedek*); see Lim 2002b, 16–18. Manuscripts 4Q174 and 4Q177 are understood by Steudel 1994, to be copies of the same composition, *4QEschatological Midrash*. The division into "continuous," "thematic," and "isolated" *pesharim* is based on Carmignac 1970, 360–62, and Dimant 1992, 244–51. However, see Aschim 1998, 17–31, for deviations from the "ideal type."

[3] For example, some of the Isaiah *pesharim* are less systematic in quoting the base-text; *4QEschatological Midrash* quotes and interprets many books of scripture and uses the pesher formulae only with connection to Psalms; 1QpHab is clearly continuous in quoting the base-text, but it differs from 4QpNah and 4QpPsᵃ, for example, in that it includes introductory formulae and repetitions of quotations; on differences in the use of introductory/interpretative formulae and quotations/subquotations, see Bernstein 1994, 30–70.

[4] For the editions, see Allegro 1968; Brownlee 1979; Horgan 1979. For the Cave 4 *pesharim*, Strugnell 1970, 163–276, brought valuable corrections to the DJD volume. Both *Pesharim* are written in Herodian script and are dated to the turn of the era, give or take a generation, cf. Lim 2002b, 21–22, but they are probably not autographs; Horgan 1979. Internal evidence is sometimes said to suggest the original composing at the eve of the coming of Romans in 63 B.C.E. but this is not certain.

Pesher Psalms and the *Pesher Habakkuk* were selected for their references to the teacher, which will the focus in the last part of this chapter.

In the following, I will first introduce some general questions and approaches in the study of the *pesharim*. Few of the approaches pay due attention to the biblical base-text as a whole, and the base-texts in the *Pesher Psalms* and in the *Pesher Habakkuk* and the "plot" of these texts will be examined from this perspective. Basing on this examination, I will study the social identity construction in these *Pesharim*, drawing on the concepts from the social identity approach. Lastly, this section will return to the prerequisites for the study of identity in the *pesharim*, and discuss the righteous teacher in light of the group identity.

PREVIOUS APPROACHES TO *PESHARIM*

In the past, pesher literature[5] has appeared in connection with various research problems: the text form of the quoted scriptural texts; questions of genre and interpretative techniques in relation to other biblical interpretation and rabbinic literature; explicit quoting of scripture in comparison to the use of scripture in the New Testament; historical questions dealing with the origins of the community and its opponents; apocalyptic worldview of the community, to mention a few of the questions. Some recent monographs on pesher literature provide extensive introductory chapters on the genre and research on the *pesharim*. Particularly, the work of Shani Berrin and Gregory Doudna on the *Pesher Nahum*,[6] Annette Steudel's book on thematic *pesharim*,[7] Håkan Bengtsson's work on the sobriquets in the *pesharim*,[8] and the book on sobriquets by Matthew A. Collins[9] provide valuable insights on the previous research.[10] Introductory textbooks and

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[5] I use the terms "pesher literature" and "*pesharim*" generally for the literature that employs the term "*pesher*." On the other hand, "Pesher" (with a capital) denotes a particular document, e.g., the *Pesher Habakkuk*, and "pesher" denotes an interpretative section/interpretation in a Pesher. In this work, I analyze *Pesher Habakkuk* and *Pesher Psalms*, and they function here as the primary representatives of the "*pesharim*"; with some other Pesher works in focus, a slightly different picture might arise.

[6] Berrin 2004; Doudna 2001. Both books are revised doctoral dissertations that were begun unbeknown to each other, see Berrin 2004, 2.

[7] Steudel 1994.

[8] Bengtsson 2000 (unpublished dissertation).

[9] Collins 2009b.

[10] Substantial earlier works that have reviews of previous studies, include monographs by Brownlee 1979; Horgan 1979; Brooke 1985; Nitzan 1986. One of the earliest studies is by Elliger 1953.

syntheses are provided by James Charlesworth, Timothy Lim, and Jonathan Campbell.[11] For the purposes of this study, it is appropriate to briefly consider some of the basic assumptions of previous research.

Relationship between Serakhim *and* Pesharim

In various references to the "sectarian texts" of Qumran, the *serakhim* and the *pesharim* are most certainly to be mentioned and included in the category.[12] Yet, these are quite different kinds of texts. How do we know that the *pesharim* are reflective of the movement in a similar way to that of the rule documents? What if they are instead private exegetical products with no relevance for the interpretation of the movement? The ambivalence may seem arbitrary but it should be given a thought. Compare the statement by George Nickelsburg, for example, in his study of religious exclusivism in the Qumran texts:

> Although the Qumran Pesharim offer less detailed information about their origin in an exclusivistic community, they do present a world view akin to that in the *Rule of the Community* and the *Damascus Document*. The exegesis in these texts makes clear both their exclusivistic character and their eschatological tendency.[13]

The *pesharim* express, in other words, a worldview similar to the *serakhim*— but the form(s) of the community that they represent is (are) not evident. On the basis of the *pesharim* alone, it is not guaranteed that the *pesharim* were composed and used within a "sect," as it is defined in this study. The antithetic contents of the *pesharim*, organizational concepts, sobriquets, and judgments proclaimed in them do not *alone* indicate that the groups who are connected to these texts stood in tension with their socio-cultural environment.[14] Religious groups which are more or less on good terms with the wider society, actively involved in it and not notably deviant, may nevertheless anticipate the annihilation of all the "wicked" in the future simply based on what the scripture says. They may label their experiences with a scriptural worldview and criticize the leaders who are or have been in power. They may have their own "role model" and argue for that individual over and against others. The exact stage and form of

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[11] Charlesworth 2002; Lim 2002b; Campbell 2004.
[12] E.g., Dimant 2000, 740.
[13] Nickelsburg 1999b, 54.
[14] Davies 2005, 78, is even skeptical about the existence of real and living sects behind the *Community Rule*.

movement is not explicit in the *pesharim*, nor do we know if the various groups would have preferred D over S, or vice versa, and if the various groups would have felt comfortable in using *all* of the *pesharim* or only some of them, or none of them. The evidence from other texts gives the glasses with which we look at the *pesharim*.

The fact that there are multiple copies of the *serakhim*, composed and copied over a long period of time, shows that there indeed was a movement which applied these kinds of rules in their lives and organization.[15] The *pesharim*, on the other hand, are not in contradiction with the basic worldview and the nature of the rulings of the *serakhim*, even though these genres may address different questions and thus be silent on some issues. Also the significant amount of similar terminology suggests a historical connection between these blocks of literature and their reference groups. It is therefore justified to see the *pesharim* and the *serakhim* related rather than isolated from each other. The contention of this study is that the *pesharim* did arise in the movement that is reflected in the *serakhim*—not necessarily *out of it* but constructing it on their part. Without this assumption, which is often taken for granted, the *kinds* of groups we are dealing with in the *pesharim* would be far more uncertain to specify. It is to be maintained, however, that the functions of the texts—even though both are constructing sectarian identity—may reflect different interests, and most probably do arise in response to different needs.

Read from this perspective, many features in the *pesharim* allow an interpretation in terms of sectarianism—difference, antagonism, and separation (see above Chapter Two). Antagonism is the most evident element. In the *Pesher Psalms*, the dichotomy between the "wicked" and the "righteous" arises from the quoted Psalm 37. All those who follow the wrong leader ("liar"), who do not turn from their iniquity, and persecute the righteous—that is, those who obviously do not belong to the righteous ones, or do not remain in that category—are "sent to hell," or, rather, to annihilation like smoke (3:8, cf. 2:5b–9a), to death by covenantal curses (famine, sword, plague, 2:1; 3:4), and to judgment by foreigners (2:20). This expectation of future resolution in the Pesher demonstrates particularistic beliefs and the claim to unique legitimacy: a clear division is seen to exist, one part that brings destruction, and the other which brings salvation and

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[15] However, the rule documents are perhaps not "foundational" in the sense previously understood, but rather extracts and collections of developing rulings, see above. For searching for sameness (*idem* identity) in the movement over time, see Jokiranta 2009a, 309–29.

inheritance. That this division actually exists between clearly definable groups (not just in the imagination or visions of the pesherist) is suggested by the organizational terminology ("council of the *yahad*," "men of his council," "congregation of his chosen [ones]"), which link the work to the *serakhim*.

In the *Pesher Habakkuk*, antagonism is similarly expressed by the juxtaposition of the followers of the righteous teacher and of the wicked who pursue the righteous. The third group in this Pesher is the Kittim who underline the wickedness of the opposition. The Pesher presumably has an interest in the Kittim (Romans) as such, but at the same time it parallels the wickedness of the foreign enemy with the wickedness of Israel, especially its leaders, as will be seen below. Both out-groups (the foreign enemy and the wicked priests) forsake the precepts of God (1QpHab 2:14–15; 8:10),[16] rob the nations (3:1–2; 9:5), speak and act arrogantly (4:2–3; 10:13), worship idols (4:13; 6:4–5; 12:8–9), and do not spare even the weak (6:11–12; 12:2–3). To point out the evil of the leaders in Israel by mirroring it with the evil of the foreign enemy is a strong statement towards particularism, bolstering the status of the in-group against that of the out-groups.

Difference and separation as elements of tension are not as explicit in the *Pesher Psalms* and in the *Pesher Habakkuk* as is antagonism. Difference is definitely part of the ideology of these *pesharim*—the in-group follows the Law, and the others do not—but there is not much evidence what this means in practice. The only reference is to the plausible calendar controversy in 1QpHab 11:2–8: the group of the righteous teacher followed a different festival calendar than that of the wicked priest.[17] Separation, in the form of building a congregation, is hinted at in both *pesharim*. However, no clear statement indicates that the congregation is isolated. It is separated ideologically so that it follows a certain teaching (not lies), and it is separated as regards to its self-understanding as a "wilderness/exile community," which accepts the time of testing (4QpPs^a 2:10; 3:1) and represents the righteous exiles (1QpHab 11:6). Presumably, it is also separated concerning its status: it is the "congregation of the poor," not of the ones in power.

Sociological sectarianism of these *Pesher* documents is thus not as clear as has often been thought. As part of the Qumran corpus, however, they most probably are texts written and used in groups that had a relationship

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[16] If "…will not believe in the precepts of [Go]d" (1QpHab 2:14–15) refers to the Kittim.

[17] See discussion on this below concerning the purpose of the *pesharim*.

of tension with the greater society. Nevertheless, they are also texts that wished to preserve this tension and thus create sectarianism.

Pesher *Genre*

According to Timothy Lim,

> As a genre, the pesher reflects a common exegetical approach to the scriptural texts: the consecutive citation of verses from a section of biblical passages is interspersed with comments, much like the way some modern commentaries present their verse-by-verse exposition by first quoting and then commenting on each biblical verse.

> Pesher as a genre of scriptural interpretation is a scholarly construct.[18]

In the 1960s and 1970s, much attention was given to establishing the correct understanding of the pesher genre. The similarities to rabbinic *midrashim*, on the one hand, and to the apocalyptic tradition and divination, on the other, complicated a simple classification. Some scholars wished to see pesher as a subcategory of *midrash*,[19] some classified it close to *apocalyptic* literature,[20] and others emphasized the unique nature of pesher, a genre of its own, albeit with midrashic techniques or structure.[21] The discussion was often obscured by confusion over what genre actually is.[22] Recently, approaching genre from prototype theory has proven useful.[23] Genre, as any category in human perception, is not defined by a set of features but rather by construction of more and less prototypical examples of a category.

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[18] Lim 2002b, 52–53.

[19] Slomovic 1969, 4; Brownlee 1979, 25; Brooke 1981, 501–02. A particularly close connection is seen between the structures of the *pesharim* and the *petira midrash*. The difference is, according to Dimant 1984, 506, in the content: the *petira* always deals with moral lessons, while the subject of the *pesher* is historical-eschatological. Against the view that there is "midrash pesher" as a genre, see Lim 1997b, 280–92.

[20] Elliger 1953; Roth 1960, 52; Finkel 1963, 370; Mertens 1971, 143; Rabinowitz 1973, 230; Horgan 1979, 252. Pesher is not a result of intellectual understanding but a secret reality hidden in the prophetical texts and revealed by chosen men; e.g., Rabinowitz 1973, 226: "The term pešer never denotes just an explanation or exposition but always a presaged reality, either envisaged as emergent or else observed as already actualized."

[21] Lehmann 1961/62, 546; Silberman 1961, 329; Miller 1971, 43; Fishbane 1985, 454–56.

[22] Cf. Brooke 1981, 491, and the preference for structure rather than content as the primary feature in defining genre. Berrin 2004, 9–11, bases her "working definition" of pesher on form, content, motive and method. The *pesher* formula is not to be forgotten in the definition, as noted by Saukkonen 2005, 152–54.

[23] See Williamson 2010 in the thematic volume "Rethinking Genre: Essays in Honor of John J. Collins," and also other contributions in it.

A balanced view, which appreciates both sides, the exegetical and the revelatory, seems to give credence to this prototypical nature of the pesher-category.[24] The *pesharim* certainly pay due attention to the specific forms, wordings and meanings of the biblical text and employ various interpretative methods. This was the language and mode to which the authors were accustomed. At the same time, the adoption of dream interpretation traditions and of an eschatological worldview labels the interpretation as specific kind of exegesis. Pesher is biblical interpretation similar to the interpretation of dreams and writing found in the Book of Daniel.[25] The Qumran movement did not have to support their views with certain authoritative names or certain interpretive techniques since they relied on the special chosen position of the group, and on wisdom and understanding from God.[26] Exegesis and revelation are not opposites, but supplementary: revelation is believed to be given to one who devotes oneself to the study of scriptures and to the search for God's will and plan in the scriptures.[27] A very similar view is now presented by Robert Williamson in the framework of cognitive prototype theory.[28] It is precisely the *relationship* between the exegetical form (the linking of scriptural citation to a contemporary referent) and the pesher tradition as

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[24] Berrin 2004, 11–12, points out how the translation of the term פשר itself encapsulates the problem of definition. See also Doudna 2001, 57–61, for the double understanding of pesher.

[25] For the semantics of the term *pesher* and its connections to dream interpretation, see e.g., Horgan 1979, 230–37, 52–59. In the Hebrew Bible, the term appears only in Ecc 8:1 (מי כהחכם ומי יודע פשר דבר). In the Book of Daniel, the Aramaic פשרה/פשרא is used in the context of dreams and of mystical writing. The synonymous word in Hebrew, פתרון, is found in Genesis, chapters 40 and 41, where the subject is again dreams.

[26] Recently, see Collins 1990, 41, 44: "The sect . . . found a new medium of revelation in the inspired exegesis of the Teacher (of Righteousness) and did not rely on visions or ascents in the name of an ancient seer."

[27] Fraade 1998, 59–79, notes, in discussing the absence of explicit *legal* midrash among the Qumran texts, that the legal rules were derived or justified through close study of scripture "but the products of such labor are presented without its process." Fraade concludes: "This stands in sharp contrast not simply to later rabbinic midrash halakhah, but to the Qumran *pesharim*, which systematically employ explicit scriptural commentary to prophetic texts to trace the sacred history of the community as the privileged fulfillment of prophetical predictions" (pp. 77–78). However, there is no need to contrast the *pesharim* to legal exegesis this sharply. The pesher tradition itself balances the picture: pesher is anchored in a concrete object or story (be it dream or text), but also revealed (received from God, as Daniel did). Bernstein 1998, 142–43, emphasizes the relationship between scripture and legal interpretations in *4QMMT*, although the verses are not actually quoted. *4QMMT* differs from "re-written" Bible, e.g., the *Temple Scroll*, where the text still reads like scripture. In a similar way, Brooke 1997a, 67–88.

[28] Williamson 2010, 307–31.

unraveling mysteries that creates the *Gestalt* structure of the pesher: the
pesher is not only exegesis nor dream interpretation but the whole, the
Gestalt, is what is perceived as pesher rather than its parts.

Furthermore, if attention is directed to the self-expression of the *pesha-
rim*, the pesher identifications ("interpreted, this concerns…") present
themselves as *sermons*, preaching of reward and punishment: identifica-
tions of biblical figures, groups, and events with later figures, groups, and
events essentially show the *fate* of those figures and groups and the mean-
ing of events in the divine plan.[29] Berrin's definition of Qumran pesher
suitably brings together multiple aspects of pesher (form, content, motive
and method): The pesher is

> a form of biblical interpretation peculiar to Qumran, in which biblical
> poetic/prophetic texts are applied to post-biblical historical/eschatological
> settings through various literary techniques in order to substantiate a theo-
> logical conviction regarding divine reward and punishment.[30]

Genre is not unrelated to purpose of the *pesharim* but the purpose will
be discussed further below, in connection to the discussion about the
pesharim as historical sources, another central area of past research on
the *pesharim*.

Pesharim *as Scriptural Interpretation*

The fact that the *pesharim* contain *explicit* quoting of scripture has been
used to place the *pesharim* on a chronological continuum of interpre-
tative traditions. Thus, for example, Menahem Kister sees the mode of
explicit quoting as disengagement from the "biblical world."[31] As seen
above, Brooke emphasizes that, in the *pesharim*, scripture takes priority.[32]
It is not quite clear what purpose the systematic form and the explicit
quotations have in the *pesharim*. To be precise, the ideas of the *pesharim*
are derived not only from the explicit quotations of scripture as "proof-

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[29] Cf. Berrin 2004, 302: "…scholarship has now realized the benefits of approaching
these works rather as religious sermons of a political bent."

[30] Berrin 2004, 9–10. I will come back to parts of this definition in a discussion of the
function of the *pesharim*.

[31] Kister 1998, 107: "A halakhic verse commentary would indicate that the writer had
already abandoned the developmental flow of biblical literature, and found himself con-
sciously outside it…The gradual disengagement from the biblical world is manifested in
Qumran by the emergence of the pesher literature."

[32] Brooke 1994, 339–40.

texts,"[33] but also other scriptural texts and other Qumran texts can be seen in the background of the pesher.[34] Nevertheless, the priority that scriptural quotations have in the *pesharim* requires an explanation, given the existence of other, alternative ways of communication. One explanation that to me seems very important is precisely the difference from proof-texting. Instead of proving to be right by proof-text ideology (by showing how their ideas are presented in scripture), the *pesharim* claim legitimacy on the basis of their inspired interpreters, as expressed through the term "pesher" and the manner of making identifications.[35] This is where explicit quotation provides the most suitable form.

One further explanation for the explicit quotations might be the nature of the prophetical books as poetical texts, to a great extent. In narrative texts, such as the *Commentary on Genesis* (4Q252), the *Genesis Apocryphon* and the narrative in CD 2:2–3:12, the biblical story is re-told and interpreted. The prophetical books are not as easily "re-told" by only quoting a few lines from them, and a more explicit and systematic form developed.[36]

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[33] The concept of "proof-text" needs clarification. Vermes 1989, 502–05, thinks that authors had four kinds of purposes in using the scriptural citations: 1) eschatological actualization (e.g., 1QM), 2) direct proof (e.g., in CD or 1QS citation often reproduces the right words on the theme; that is, the citation is convincing because it sounds right), 3) reinforcing proof (the citation does not express the full meaning in itself and must therefore also be explained), 4) proof of historical fulfillment (chief characteristic in the pesher-genre, but otherwise in single passages, e.g., CD 8:8–12). However, one can find all these purposes in the *pesharim*: the interpretations deal with eschatological events, they use words of the quotations, explain the ideas of the scripture further, and have historical facts in them. Fitzmyer 1971, 6, examines the explicit quotations outside the *pesharim* and writes: "There is in the Qumran literature a body of isolated explicit quotations of the Old Testament, which are introduced by special formulae and are cited to *bolster up* or *illustrate* an argument, to serve as a *point de départ* in a discussion or to act as a sort of proof-text." One can ask if the quotations in the *pesharim* should be called proof-texts at all, since the genre has developed a continuous form of quoting and interpreting.

[34] Brooke 1994, 339–53. For the idea that the *Hodayot* function as a source text for *pesharim*, and the *pesharim* imitate prophetical style, see Lim 2002b, 78–79.

[35] Cf. Fishbane 1988, 362: "The cumulative impression of the Qumran scrolls, then, is that its primary text, Mikra, is the product of divine revelation; and that its own texts, which extend and develop the teachings of God, in various legal-sectarian collections and in various pesherite commentaries, are also the product of divine revelation."

[36] Cf. the suggestion by Fröhlich 1998, 81–99, that, in the Qumran movement, certain stories were selected on the basis of the laws of the land in the *Temple Scroll*. Total holiness was the condition for taking the possession of the land, and there was a need to re-tell the stories about the origins of Noah and Abraham. "The Qumran pesharim show traces of a previous interpretative process of certain prophetic texts.... Narrative exegetical texts seem to show the beginning of a similar process in a different material, the re-reading and interpretation of certain narrative texts according to the laws concerning a holy

This does not mean, however, that no links existed between the *pesharim* and the narrative forms of interpretation or the Pentateuchal (patri-archal) traditions. The use of the term "pesher" in a few instances in connection with Pentateuchal traditions is one piece of evidence to the contrary (e.g., 4Q159 5 1, 5; 4Q180 1 1, 7; 4Q252 4:5; 4Q464 3 2:7). Recently, Shari Tzoref has suggested that periodization of history was the world-view that characterized the *pesharim* as well as many other documents.[37] Periodization not only meant dividing the history into distinct periods but it included the ancient authors' assessment of central past figures, their covenantal relationship and the consequent rewards or punishments, believed to be preordained and inscribed in the heavenly tablets. Such a worldview inspired literature (*pesharim*) where not only past but future periods were being understood by the same divine revelation and unfold-ing of the latter days.[38] I would add that the systematic form of quoting the scriptures in the *pesharim* served well their performative function: texts not only gave an account about the revelation and its meaning but texts *were* that revelation.

Whereas earlier research elevated the *pesharim* to a central form of scriptural interpretation, even the model for exegesis at Qumran—exegesis at its purest, most developed or systematic form[39]—recent devel-opments have balanced the position by seeing multiple forms of exegesis and the large amount of halakhic, sapiental and other material within the Qumran corpus.[40] Scriptural interpretation is not only seen as exegesis but also what we regard as eisegesis.[41] *Actualizing* intent is to be found not only in the *pesharim* and in the New Testament, but also within the Hebrew Bible and other Jewish writings.[42] Moreover, the term *pesher* itself

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community." However, texts like *4QApocryphon of Jeremiah* (4Q383–384, 385a, 387, 387a, 388a, 389, 390) and *4QPseudo-Ezekiel* (4Q385, 385b, 386, 388, 391) show that also prophetical books were rewritten and reworked. One may ask whether the existence of these texts is related to the fact that no *pesharim* on Jeremiah and Ezekiel have been preserved.

[37] Tzoref 2011, 129–54.

[38] Already Nitzan 1991, 209–20, spoke about the importance of periodization; see fur-ther below.

[39] See criticism for this: Bernstein 1998, 132; Fraade 1998, 75–76, n. 57, and already Fitzmyer 1971, 55: "I question the advisability of continuing to speak of pesher-type quota-tions or a pesher-type interpretation, unless this is defined more accurately and restricted to definite cases."

[40] See Fröhlich 1998, 81. Kister 1998, 109, emphasizes the need for a distinction between exegetical techniques and exegetical genres; he regards the paraphrases to be the oldest or most dominant form of exegesis in the Dead Sea Scrolls.

[41] See Bernstein 1998, 129.

[42] "Pesher-exegesis" has been seen in Isa 9:13–14, and in Ben Sira 50:27–28; see Kister 1998, 103–04.

is not restricted to prophetic interpretation, although this seems to be its main usage.[43] *Pesharim* are to be placed on the continuum of scriptural interpretation rather than at the top.[44]

Base-Text

The important issue raised by Berrin is the attitudes of the pesherists towards the scriptural base-text. The common view has been that the value of the prophetical texts *per se* is downplayed by the pesherists; the contents and settings of the original text are insignificant for the atomizing and actualizing pesher interpretation.[45] Pesher is the only meaning of scripture. However, Berrin presents reservations against this view and considers an alternative understanding. The Qumran interpreters were likely to have perceived the scriptural texts as carrying multivalent meanings. She concludes that the pesher "superseded, but did not invalidate, the earlier historical significance" of the prophetic texts.[46]

I agree with this view and would add two arguments in favor of it. First, the famous passage in the *Pesher Habakkuk* on the prophet Habakkuk in relation to the teacher of righteousness (6:12b–7:8) has suffered from false or one-sided interpretations, and I will argue below that it does not raise the teacher over against the prophet Habakkuk when it is read in its larger context. The pesher should therefore not be understood as promoting the superiority of the *interpreters* of the scriptures over the *authors/ originators* of the scriptures; rather that pesher is the movement's prevailing attempt to understand the situation where the movement stands and to promote faithfulness to the movement and its leaders, but not ceasing

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[43] The word פשר is found three times in *4QBook of Giants* (4Q530 2:23; 3:10; 4Q203 8 13), where it points to Enoch's interpretative task in narrative contexts; twice in *4QPesher on Periods* (4Q180 1 1, 7) concerning the periods and the figure 'Azaz'el and angels; in *4QExposition on the Patriarchs* (4Q464 3 2:7), which is quite fragmentary but resembles 4Q180; in *4QCommentary on Genesis^a* (4Q252 4:5), where it interprets Gen 49:3–4, the prophecy concerning Reuben; twice in a small fragment of *4QOrdinances* (4Q159 5 1, 5), which is halakhic in nature; in *11QMelchizedek* (11Q13 2:[4], 12, 17, [20]; 3:[1]), where it is used once after quotations from Psalms, once after Isaiah, and maybe once after Deuteronomy; in D (CD 4:14) interpreting a verse from Isaiah, and the plural פשריהם in 1Q30 1 6 in a fragment where the context has not been preserved.

[44] Lim 2002b, 52.

[45] Berrin 2004, 12–15, mentions Otto Betz and Frederick F. Bruce as early representatives of this view, see Betz 1960, 75; Bruce 1959, 10–11. It is often held that the pesherists regarded the scriptural texts as a "code" to be solved. A related but slightly different question is the attitude of the pesher authors towards preserving or modifying the scriptural text form, see Lim 1990; Lim 1997a, 69–120.

[46] Berrin 2004, 15–18.

to appreciate the historical context of the prophetical text, or at least their understanding of it.

Secondly, the theological message of the base-text *as a whole* and the pesher interpretations seem to be in a dialogue with each other. Paying attention to the *plot* of the biblical text—even though this is quoted in extracts in the pesher—does characterize the work of the pesherist, be it only one understanding of the plot. Coherence in the flow of the pesher interpretations is at least a valid hypothesis that has to be tested; in my view, it is a better starting point than the assumption of isolated and disparate pesher sections. The understanding of the *pesharim* may be significantly distorted if we ignore the message of the biblical text in its entirety, and the sensitivity of the pesherist to this message.[47] Many studies so far have concentrated on illuminating the details of the pesher exegesis and the choice of words. In the following, I will demonstrate the importance of the whole base-text by studying two *pesharim*, the *Pesher Psalms* and the *Pesher Habakkuk*, and paying attention to the overall contents of the base-text and of the Pesher. This is the prerequisite for studying the identity construction taking place in the movement through these texts.

Reading Pesher as a Whole

The Pesher Psalms

The *Pesher Psalms* (4QpPs^a) quotes and interprets Psalms 37 and 45, and a separate fragment quotes Psalm 60. Since the interpretations of Psalms 45 and 60 are badly preserved, I will deal with the most extant part of the Pesher only.

If one accepts the category of "Wisdom Psalms,"[48] Psalm 37 definitely belongs to this type.[49] It displays a strong hostility between the righteous

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[47] However, Eshel 2009, 107–17, has challenged the unity of the *Pesher Habakkuk* and identifies two layers in the work. See discussion below.

[48] The genre of "Wisdom Psalms" has been challenged by some scholars, since there is no consensus on the criteria that would distinguish these psalms from other psalms and link them to wisdom literature, see, e.g., Whybray 1995; Crenshaw 2000, 9–17. Crenshaw carefully states that "some psalms resemble wisdom literature in stressing the importance of learning, struggling to ascertain life's meaning, and employing proverbial lore." On the relationship between poetry and wisdom literature, see Gunkel 1985, 387–89.

[49] See the wisdom characteristics of Psalm 37 by Gunkel 1986, 155–56. Murphy 1962, 163, classifies Psalm 37 as a wisdom psalm: "Psalm 37 is alphabetic in structure and suggests the air of an old, experienced teacher (37:25) who is intent upon admonishing his pupil. The content is the problem of retribution, and there is frequent allusion to the *rasha^c/*

and the wicked, and contains an exhortation on how to respond to the success of the wicked. The suffering of the righteous is the problem in the background. The form of the Psalm is alphabetical and some of its anti-thetical sayings resemble Proverbs.[50] One parallel is Prov 24:1–22, which has similar themes and identical terminology and which consists of 22 sayings.[51] The Psalm is close to the late Torah Psalms.[52]

Contents of Psalm 37
We shall examine Psalm 37 in three main parts:[53]

(1) Verses 1–11 address and exhort the wisdom student—the verbal forms are mostly second person (sg.) imperatives. The conduct and success of the wicked confuse and irritate the righteous person, and this threatens the good order of life (cf. Ps 131:2).[54] Anger may lead up to quarrelling with the wicked and thus risking one's own pure conduct (Prov 15:18; 22:24; Ps 39:1); a hasty temper goes hand in hand with folly (Prov 14:29–30; Job 5:2). A wise man does not let his heart be influenced by the sin of other people.[55]

Furthermore, anger at evildoers is one step away from anger at God, who allows the wicked to live and prosper.[56] The righteous man is called

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saddiq contrast; wisdom and the Law are associated (vv. 30f.) in a manner reminiscent of Sirach." Even if one disagrees on the criteria of the genre, Psalm 37 displays motifs and forms that are important to wisdom traditions; see the definition of "Wisdom literature" by Murphy 1981, 3–4.

[50] Weiser 1962, 315, sees Psalm 37 "not so much a psalm as a collection of proverbs." Gerstenberger 1988, sees sapiental motifs in the Psalm, but he is of the opinion that—rather than a private or educational setting—the wisdom psalms probably grew and were used in the synagogal instruction of individual communities, Holm-Nielsen 1960, 45, also connects wisdom psalms to instruction and cultic setting, but thinks that this instruction was later detached from the cult or made an independent part of it. See also Holm-Nielsen 1960, 42, n. 89, for an illuminating summary of different settings proposed for Psalm 37.

[51] Hossfeld and Zenger 1993, 230. Compare Prov 24:1,19 and Ps 37:1,7; Prov 24:8 and Ps 37:7,12; Prov 24:20 and Ps 37:37–38. Prov 24 even seems to start alphabetically: א 24:1, ב 24:3, ג 24:5, prop. ד 24:7.

[52] Gunkel 1985, 395–97; Kraus 1988, 404.

[53] Based on the division by Hossfeld and Zenger 1993, 230–31.

[54] Similarly Stolz 1983, 63. Note that the LXX reads verse 7 "do not fret . . . over people who keep transgressing the law" (translated by Pietersma 2000, 33–35), whereas the MT reads, "do not fret . . . over those who carry out evil devices."

[55] Weiser 1962, 316.

[56] Hossfeld and Zenger see verse 8 (הרף מאף ועזב חמה אל תתחר אך להרע) as referring to anger at God, who seems to support the wicked. I do not find this plausible because the parallel warnings in verses 1 and 7 have the wicked as the object. Rather, as Kraus 1988, 405, I see anger at the wicked as a sign of mistrust of God and his willingness to intervene.

to turn his worries over to YHWH and wait for him.[57] God sees and judges things from the standpoint of eternity, and therefore the righteous may free his life strength into what is expected of him, doing good (cf. Mic 6:8). By subordinating himself to the rule of YHWH, the righteous man will receive blessings.[58]

(2) Verses 12–26 contain antithetical sayings, where the righteous are spoken of in the third person. In 37:25, the wisdom teacher clothes his instruction in first person personal singular testimony.[59] The section uses a "wisdom maxim" in 37:16: righteousness is more important than wealth (cf. Prov 15:16). The wicked perform self-destructive violence (37:14–15; cf. Ps 7:13–17); their end comes inevitably. The analogy of burning grass and fading smoke illustrates the law of life.[60] The righteous may suffer distress but their needs shall be met—in the end, they will enjoy the riches of the land. It is fundamental for a person to be "righteous," not rich or powerful.[61] The section emphasizes the validity of the Deuteronomic blessings and curses, for example, the loaning/borrowing theme in Ps 37:21,26 echoes Deut 28:12,44, and the blessing of descendants in Ps 37:25–26 recalls Deut 28:4.

(3) Verses 27–40 open with an address to the wisdom student, and continue with antithetical sayings and words of exhortation; a personal experience is given as testimony in 37:35–36. The source of life-giving power for the righteous is God's law and its counsel (37:30–31). They experience God's help in real-life situations, in court, for example. They will not only survive afflictions but will be proved innocent, and the contempt will be removed. The land will be newly divided: it was, after all, promised to the people *if* they followed God—thus, the land will be taken away

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It is noteworthy that the nouns אף and חמה are central Deuteronomistic expressions of God's anger aroused by people who reject YHWH; see Latvus 1998, 25–26, 73. Interestingly, the verbs רפה and עזב that occur in this exhortation (Ps 37:8) are used in Deut 31:6 and 8 in God's promise not to forsake his people. We could see that the psalmist is saying: abandon your anger and God will abandon his.

[57] Note that in v. 7, the LXX translates ὑποτάγηθι τῷ κυρίῳ, "submit to the Lord" (cf. MT: דום ליהוה, "be still before YHWH"), and ἱκέτευσον αὐτόν, "supplicate him" (cf. MT: והתחולל לו, "wait patiently for him"). The LXX thus gives a somewhat more active picture of the right way to react.

[58] Kraus 1988, 405.

[59] Holm-Nielsen 1960, 45, thinks that wisdom psalms are clearly distinguished from "classical" cultic psalms in at least one aspect: in the earlier psalms, God was the authority, but in wisdom literature, instruction can be based on human experience.

[60] See also Gunkel 1986, 156. Unlike in laments, God is not called upon to inflict divine punishment here, but the wicked deeds will bring a "natural" punishment.

[61] Kraus 1988, 406.

from the wicked. The description of the righteous one (37:37) echoes the portrait of Job, who was "blameless" and "upright" (Job 1:1), and his latter days were better than his life in the beginning (42:12). The suffering of the righteous is relegated to the background—or even denied—in the Psalm; only the end counts.

Ideology in Psalm 37

The Psalm can be seen as stressing the close relationship between the righteous and God ("Armenfrömmigkeit").[62] It is the question of subordinating one's life to the rule of YHWH and experiencing his help. Protection and salvation result from this right relationship to God.[63] The Psalm sustains the theology of the land as the inheritance of the righteous (the poor). The land is the foundation of life and the pledge of YHWH's blessing.[64] It is given to the righteous and wicked alike, but the wicked use this gift shamelessly and ungratefully, trying to destroy the righteous. Therefore, the land will be taken away from them.

The Psalm knows the old "Tun-Ergehen-Zusammenhang": the deeds and their consequences are closely related.[65] However, the teaching of the Psalm does not advocate "the faith in reward and retribution," in the first place.[66] The righteous are not rewarded for their good deeds, but an obedient life as such will bring blessings. Kraus has suggested that "righteous" and "wicked" are not moral but religious categories: "The 'wicked' withdraw from the rule of God and resist his will,"[67] but the righteous put their hope in YHWH.[68] The "righteous" are actually described only in a few "moral" terms: they are generous (37:21, 26), avoid evil (37:3, 23, 27) and are blameless (37:37). The "wicked" are even less defined by their overall

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[62] Hossfeld and Zenger 1993, 229. Levin 1993, detects a development in the Psalter: the "poor" comes to be regarded as a party within Israel; see also chapter "The Poor in the Old Testament" in Levin 2003, 322–38.

[63] Salvation means this-worldly hope for God's intervention, cf. Matt 5:5; see Kraus 1988, 408. Zenger thinks that the earlier tradition saw possession and honor ("Besitz und Ehre") belonging to the right relationship to God (Hossfeld and Zenger 1993, 229).

[64] Kraus 1988, 406, 08.

[65] Hossfeld and Zenger 1993, 229.

[66] As noted by Kraus 1988, 405, 08.

[67] Kraus 1988, 404–05. Note, e.g., the label "enemies of YHWH" in 37:20.

[68] Note that the LXX reads verse 22 in the active: "For those that bless him (i.e., YHWH) shall inherit the land, but those that curse him shall be cut off." MT has passive forms: "For those blessed by him shall inherit the land, but those cursed by him shall be cut off." The LXX defines the categories more clearly according to the kind of relationship these groups have to God.

moral behavior.[69] The wicked are not accused of specific law-breaking acts—except for their deeds *against* the "righteous." The wicked plan evil plots against the righteous (37:7, 12) and use violence against them (37:14, 32, 40); they do not pay back their loans (37:21); they falsely accuse the innocent (37:33), and exalt in their pride (37:16, 35). They are the target of the potential envy of the righteous. It is this *relationship* between the righteous and the wicked that defines these categories here, in addition to their relationship to YHWH. The wicked are primarily shown to be wicked in their relationship to the righteous.

In summary, the Psalm is *practical* and *instructional*: it does not dwell on theoretical questions about why God lets the wicked prosper. The wisdom teaching of the Psalm resembles that of the friends of Job.[70] The Psalm gives practical advice not to become angry over the sinners since they will be destroyed. The elderly teacher shares his experiences with the wisdom student. The wisdom teaching is fairly *traditional*: it does not propose new insights into the afflictions of the righteous. Its contribution is the memorable and encouraging poetry that the righteous may find comforting in many situations.[71] The Psalm leans towards *the future*: the end is what counts, and the blessings promised along with the land will eventually be bestowed upon the righteous.

Variant Readings in the Pesher

Psalm 37 is quoted in the Pesher systematically. In the beginning, quotations from verses 37:1–4 have not been preserved, and neither have 37:27–28a at the end of column 3, but they were most probably included.

The quotations from Psalm 37 in the *Pesher Psalms* include mostly orthographic and morphological variants in comparison to the MT.[72] One major variant occurs in verse 37:20b. The MT (in agreement with the LXX) reads ואיבי יהוה כיקר כרים, "the enemies of YHWH are like the glory of the pastures." The next sentence continues by describing how the enemies wither away. In the Pesher, a later scribe has added the quotation of this verse above line 3:5, but it reads ואוהבי יהוה כיקר כורים, "whoever loves YHWH will be like the glory of the pastures/like precious lambs."

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[69] However, the LXX translates רשעים in the Psalter in most cases as ἁμαρτωλοί, "sinners," and only few times as ἀσεβής, "impious, ungodly" (In Ps 37, three times: LXX Ps 36:28, 35, 38).

[70] Gunkel 1986, 156. Cf., for example, Ps 37:3–4 and Job 22:21–30; Ps 37:10 and Job 20:4–11.

[71] As noted above, Psalm 37 "actually provides no solution of the problem but rather a testimony to the deliverance," Kraus 1988, 408.

[72] See Pardee 1973, 189–94; Lim 1997a, 69–109.

This reading does not fit well with the preceding and following verses of Psalm 37 as they are quoted in the Pesher.[73] It has been suggested that the variant is caused by a phonological misunderstanding.[74] The fact that the pesherist usually follows the alphabetical structure of the Psalm so that he quotes and interprets the alphabetical stanzas as a whole or in two parts,[75] but that this structure is broken here, supports the assumption that, at some stage this verse had been misplaced or misunderstood, rather than presuming a deliberate change.

A possible deliberate variant, on the other hand, is found in 4QpPs[a] 2:7, in quoting 37:10. The MT reads והתבוננת, "you look" (2nd person singular), but the Pesher reads a 1st person singular form, ואתבוננה, "I shall look." One plausible explanation is that the author wished to have a similar first person testimony here as at the end of the other sections (37:25, 35),[76] although a perfect form could have perhaps been expected instead of the imperfect.[77] It is also possible that this change was already made in the pesherist's *Vorlage*. Other, minor variants do not much change the sense of Psalm 37, so we may proceed to discuss the message and use of this Psalm.

Use of Psalm 37 in the Pesher Psalms

The Qumran movement probably found the Psalm suitable for interpretation for many reasons. The Psalm is antithetical, and it looks forward to the future. Its theology of reward and punishment was presumably appealing to the pesherist. Apparently, the pesherist was able to see God's

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[73] The preceding verse (37:20a) speaks of the destruction of the wicked. It might be possible to expect an antithesis to this, but the verse 37:20c (4QpPs[a] 3:7) that follows verse 37:20b presents a problem: it has no explicit subject ("they vanish away like smoke, all of them"), so it could be read as referring to those who love YHWH.

[74] Amoussine 1971, 533–35, has suggested that the author of the *Pesher Psalms* had the spelling ואאבי, "the enemies," in front of him (*alef* is attested instead of *yod* in some Qumran scrolls), but that he misunderstood it and copied ואוהבי, since there was no difference in pronunciation. See also Lim 1997a, 107–09.

[75] See the next section below.

[76] Similarly, Pardee 1973, 192. Cf. Lim 1997a, 109. The fact that the pesherist does not utilize this first person form in his interpretation does not help to decide if the form is a deliberate change or not; in other places where the first person verbs occur (3:17b–26; 4:13–15), the pesherist does not identify the "I" of the quotation at all.

[77] It is also possible that the thematically similar Psalm 73 and its first person forms (e.g., 73:17) had an influence on the verse, or even the autobiographical note of Daniel (9:2), in which Daniel is said to predict the time of the desolation of Jerusalem; the pesher section contains the time reference of "forty years," and the members of the Qumran movement may have been used the book of Daniel in their calculations of the end of time.

help in the present (4QpPsᵃ 3:3), but more than that, he emphasized the future resolution, similarly to the Psalm. He invoked images of the future bliss with terms like "delight" and "luxury" (2:11), and recalled God's faithfulness with the expression a "thousand generations" (3:1; cf. Deut 7:9). The land is reserved for the righteous only (2:5b–12; 3:8b–13).

The pesherist's application of Psalm 37 also introduced new elements. The "piety of the poor" of Psalm 37 was clearly collectivized: it was the membership in the righteous group, "the congregation of the poor/of his elect," that characterized the righteous. Furthermore, the piety was Torah-piety (2:2, 15).

The opponent was called the "liar" and the "wicked priest," but it was not their erroneous teaching or actions in general that were wrong, but their actions against the righteous: they did not listen to "interpreter of knowledge" (1:26–27), they plotted against those who obey the law (2:13–16a; 2:16b–21; 4:7–10a), they had oppressed God's holy people (3:7–8a). It is this feature, the relationship between the righteous and the wicked, that shows the strongest continuity between the Psalm and the *Pesher Psalms*. The Psalm suits the pesherist's needs as it portrays the *wicked persecuting the righteous*. This state of affairs in the Psalm is repeated in the Pesher largely in the same way. The Pesher does not accuse the wicked—*except* for hounding the righteous. Table 1 below summarizes the close connection between the Psalm and the Pesher.

Table 1. Continuity from Psalm 37 to Pesher on Psalm 37.

PSALM 37 (Themes)	PESHER PSALMS (Examples)
Dichotomy between the righteous and the wicked	*the congregation of the poor, the princes of w[icked]ness*
Close connection between deeds and their consequences	*…all those who are stubborn in turning away from their iniquity shall be cut off*
Present distress and its future resolution	*Afterwards, they shall…grow fat with every luxu[ry].*
Validity of blessings and curses	*…they shall perish by the sword and famine and plague.*
Land is reserved for the righteous only	*…no [w]icked shall be found on earth.*
Persecution of the righteous by the wicked	*…the most ruthless of the covenant…who will plot to destroy those who observe the Law…*

Structurally, it is significant that the alphabetical structure of the Psalm is mostly preserved in the Pesher. Stanzas א and ב and ס have not been preserved in the Pesher. Of the remaining 19 alphabetical stanzas of the Psalm, nine are certainly quoted in full, a whole stanza at a time (ד, ז, ח, ל, מ, נ, צ, ק, ר), and three most probably in the same way (ג, פ, ת). The *mem*-stanza (מ) begins with an extra כיא at the beginning (4QpPs^a 3:14), thus possibly adding a word to the quotation, but it can also be regarded as separate from the quotation.

Of the remaining seven stanzas, five are quoted in two parts, either following the parallelism of the Hebrew verses (thus the stanzas ו—although a *vacat* line separates the verses of this stanza—and ט, ע, ש), or dividing the stanza in some other way (הabc, הd). Only the *yod*- and *kaf*-stanzas are exceptions to the rule and seem oddly quoted: first in 4QpPs^a 3:2b–3a, one finds the combination of the last part of the *yod*-stanza (יd) and the beginning of the *kaf*-stanza (כa), and then, in 4QpPs^a 3:5a and 3:7a, the rest of the *kaf*-stanza is quoted in two parts (כb and כc separately). Most probably this mixing and splitting of the stanzas is due to the variant reading in the quotation of 37:20 ("those who love the Lord," against MT's "the Lord's enemies").[78] The positive statement concerning those who love the Lord had to be divorced from the negative statements around it ("the wicked shall perish," 37:20a, and "they vanish away like smoke, all of them," in 37:20c). Whether this happened right from the start or only later when the Pesher possibly was being copied is not known. The fact that the quotation of 37:20b is added by a later scribe between the lines and that it seems to have been left out by accident[79] suggests that the variant was already part of the *Vorlage* of this Pesher.

The continuity between the Psalm and its use in the Pesher is thus also manifest at the structural level: most alphabetical stanzas are quoted one by one, or neatly in two parts, and no stanza nor its interpretation rises above others, since the power of the Psalm was not to provide any culmination or solution to the problem of righteous suffering but to poetically address the painful theme and reassure that righteousness pays off in the end.

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[78] See above for the variants.
[79] Horgan 1979.

Exhortation in the Psalm and in the Pesher

The continuity and discontinuity between the formal features of the Psalm and the Pesher is revealing. It was noted above that the personal forms in Psalm 37 vary. The pesherist carefully follows the distinctions between the righteous and the wicked. However, he does not much care about the changes between the 1st person or 2nd person forms, or the plural/singular variation. He seems to ignore addressing the reader and preserving the form of exhortation. Of special interest concerning this tendency is the interpretation of verses 37:8–9, where the psalmist exhorts the reader/listener to refrain from anger at the evildoers. How is this submitting to patience and emotional self-control approached in the Pesher? The passage in 4QpPsᵃ 2:1b–5a reads:

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הרף מאף ועזוב חמה ואל תחר אך להרע כיא מרעים יכרתו
פשרו על כול השבים לתורה אשר לוא ימאנו לשוב מרעתם כיא
כול הממרים לשוב מעונם יכרתו וקואי יהוה המה ירשו ארץ
פשרו המה עדת בחירו עושי רצונו

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Refrain from anger, and forsake wrath. Do not fret—it leads only to evil. For the wicked shall be cut off. (37:8–9a) Interpreted, this concerns all those who return to the Law, who do not refuse to turn away from their evil. For all those who are stubborn in turning away from their iniquity shall be cut off. *But those who wait for the LORD shall inherit the land.* (37:9b) Interpreted: these are the congregation of His elect, those who do His will.

In order to acquire the nuances of the passage, it is necessary to analyze its allusions to other texts. Several terms in the interpretation echo Deuteronomistic theology (Deut, Ps 78, Jer) about the people drawing the judgment of God upon themselves with their sins and with their refusal to repent. The verb מאן is used for refusal to follow the Torah, for example, in Ex 16:28 and Ps 78:10. The words ימאנו לשוב echo, or even quote, Jer 8:5, "they have refused to turn," referring to people in Jerusalem who do not repent (cf. also Jer 5:3). The words שוב מרעתם echo Jer 23:14, "so that no one turns from wickedness," describing the prophets of Jerusalem, and 44:5, "they did not listen . . . to turn from their wickedness," describing the people to whom YHWH sent the prophets.

The infinitive להרע that occurs in the quotation of 37:8 is used in Jeremiah to refer to the disaster of exile, punishment by God: "I am beginning to bring disaster on the city" (Jer 25:29, also 31:28).[80] It is presumable that

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[80] Similarly, the noun רעה "evil, disaster" is frequent in Jeremiah: God is going to bring disaster upon those who refused to hear his words (Jer 11:10–11). Cf. also Dan 9:13–14.

the infinitive receives the sense of "disaster," rather than the meaning "sin" in the context of the Pesher. This is also supported by the fact that, after quoting 37:8, the pesherist continues to quote 37:9b: "For the wicked shall be cut off." The interpretation of this verse shows that the "wicked" are not just any sinners but "those who are stubborn in turning away from their iniquity." The participle ממרים, "those who are stubborn/rebellious," is dominant in Deuteronomy and Deuteronomistic history. Being rebellious provokes God's anger (Deut 9:7, 23, 24). The closest parallel to the expression שוב מעונם is found in Dan 9:13, which again speaks of the disaster that has come upon the people.

After this look at intertextual connections in the passage, we may turn to analyze the significance of terms אף and חמה in the exhortation and its pesher. The wisdom tradition is familiar with the exhortation not to become angry at one's enemy; for example, Prov 22:24–25, 24:1–2, 17–20 and 29:8 are similar to Psalm 37:7–8. Man's impatience leads to sin (Sir 1:22). However, the pesher drops the form of exhortation and, instead, suggests that the covenanters have said "no" to their "evil inclination" and turned to the Torah.[81] But as we have seen, this decision was a continuous process. In the penal code of S, the regulation about stubborn speech follows right after the first offense, lying about property. 1QS 6:25b–27a reads:

> And one who answers his fellow with stubbornness (lit. with a stiff neck), speaks with impatience (בקוצר אפים),[82] disregarding the principle of his associate by defying the authority of his fellow who is registered ahead of him, [or tak]es the law into his own hands, shall be punished for on[e] year [and excluded.]

A similar case is described against a priest (1QS 7:2b–3a):

> But if against one of the priests who are registered in the book he speaks in anger (בחמה), he shall be punished for one year and be excluded (to be) by himself from the purity of the *rabbim*.

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[81] Rabbinic teaching speaks about "the Evil Inclination" against which man has to fight. The methods used in this fight vary between rabbis; some suggest the study of Torah: "A man should always incite the Good Inclination against the Evil Impulse . . . If he conquers him, well and good, if not, let him study the Torah . . .; if he conquers him, well and good, if not, let him recite the Shemaʿ . . .; if he conquers him, well and good, but if not, let him bring to mind the day of death" (*b.Berakhot* 5a); Urbach 1975, 471–75. See below on 1QS and the evil inclination.

[82] The opposite of ארך אפים, "slow to anger," Prov 14:29.

The stubbornness is elsewhere also described with the possibility of returning (1QS 7:18b–19a, cf. 4QDᵉ 7 1:[8–9a]):

> The man whose spirit turns aside from the principle of the *yahad*, betraying the truth and walking in the stubbornness of his heart, if he turns (אם ישוב), he shall be punished for two years . . .

If interpreted in the light of these passages of the *Serekh*, it is clear that, even though the *Pesher Psalms* does not exhort an individual member to act right, it acknowledges the need to address also the individual member: turning to the law is a constant act, in which the member has to subordinate himself to the counsel and reproof of the community.[83] Even the verbal forms used in the pesher, participles and an imperfect, support this reading; it is not an act made in the past and completed. The member is called to leave his anger, control his temper—commit himself to the counsel of the community (cf. עושי התורה אשר בעצת היחד, 4QpPsᵃ 2:15). If he does not, he will be excluded, or, in the most severe cases, expelled. By using the expressions "who returns," "who does not refuse to turn," and "who is not stubborn in turning," the Pesher admits, in an indirect way, that the members of the community can violate the Law.[84] The nearest parallel to the expression "turning away from their iniquity" was found in Dan 9:13. In this chapter, Daniel openly confesses the sins of his people, and prays that God would turn his anger away from his city (9:16). In the background is the question of why the righteous received the "great calamity" together with the wicked. Daniel's answer is that the responsibility and the punishment were collective.

The evil that needs to be rejected is thus not an inner motion, a personal sin that a righteous person may experience when seeing the wicked prosper. It is rather the unwillingness to put the social identity as a group member to the fore, a collective matter. The evil will overtake the "wicked" and their neglect of the Torah will bring disaster upon them. The noun אף is frequently used in the Hebrew Bible with the verb שוב as a stereotypical formula "that God would turn away from his (burning) anger."[85]

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[83] Cf. the purpose of the covenant in 1QS 5:4–6: "Accordingly, none will walk in the stubbornness of his heart and thus be seduced, not by his heart, neither by his eyes nor by the thought of his evil inclination. Together they shall circumcise the foreskin of this inclination, this stiff neck, and so establish a foundation of truth for Israel, for the Yahad of the Eternal Covenant."

[84] Bernstein 2000, 656, sees those who refuse to turn away from their evil (the opposite of those in 2:3–4) as "backsliding members of the sect."

[85] Deut 13:18; Isa 5:25; Jer 23:20; Ps 78:38.

The quotation of Ps 37:8 and the pesher appear together as a statement: *those who turn to God's law make God turn away his anger for them*—they escape the doom.

An explicit petition to God to turn his anger and wrath away occurs in *4QWords of the Luminaries*: "May your anger and wrath turn away from us" (4Q504 1–2 6:11). These prayers, however, are public prayers and display a scriptural, post-exilic mood: God's wrath is seen as a deserved punishment for the sins of the fathers and the people. "Israel" denotes the biblical Israel: "For you loved Israel more than all other peoples" (4Q504 1–2 4:4–5).[86] Yet, the prayer bases the plea for help not only on God's mercy and him remembering the covenant, but on the fact that the community praying this prayer has perceived the punishment as a justified one and has suffered in distress: "We have not rejected your trials, and our soul has not despised your punishments to the point of breaking your covenant, in spite of all the anguish of our soul" (4Q504 1–2 6:6–7).

This similar sense of salvation through affliction is present in the *Pesher Psalms*.[87] The righteous accept the time of distress. Instead of the tone of a prayer, the Pesher has, however, the tone of a statement of the state of affairs, and the axis Israel/nations has changed into the axis righteous in Israel/wicked in Israel. The use of the nouns "anger" and "wrath" as epithets of God in the Hebrew Bible, however, allows the quotation 37:8 to be read not only in the sense "the righteous must control their anger" but in the sense "the righteous will avoid God's punishment."[88] Similarly, the

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[86] Nitzan 1994, 329–32, compares the tone in 4Q504 ("prayer recited in the circles of the sect on weekdays and festivals") to the tone in the individual poetry of 1QH; the public prayers do not distinguish between one kind of Jew and another whereas the individual poetry has a particularistic view of the sect as the holy remnant.

[87] On the expressions "period of humiliation" and the "congregation of the poor" and their contribution to the construction of positive identity, see below.

[88] An interesting point of comparison where the "Anger" and "Wrath" of Ps 37:8 are personified is to be found in the Babylonian Talmud, *Mas. Nedarim* 32a, referring to the biblical story of Ex 4:24–26: "R. Judah b. Bizna lectured: When Moses was lax in the performance of circumcision, Af and Hemah came and swallowed him up, leaving nought but his legs. Thereupon immediately Zipporah "took a sharp stone and cut off the foreskin of her son;' straightaway he let him alone. In that moment Moses desired to slay them, as it is written, Cease from Af and Forsake Hemah (Ps 37:8). Some say that he did slay Hemah, as it is written, I have not Hemah (Isa 27:4). But is it not written, for I was afraid of Af and Hemah (Deut 9:19)?—There were two [angels named] Hemah. An alternative answer to this: [he slew] the troop commanded by Hemah [but not Hemah himself]," Epstein 1936, 94–95. In this passage, "Anger" and "Wrath" of the Psalm are external threats to a person, angels of doom sent by God. Rabbinic literature mentions several angels of destruction of this kind. In a similar way, "anger" and "wrath" in the *Pesher Psalms* may signify the doom that the wicked have drawn upon themselves. The righteous are called—not so much to

Table 2. Re-interpretation of the exhortation in the Pesher.

PSALM 37:8–9	PESHER PSALMS 2:1b–5a
Refrain from anger! —and avoid sin/disaster	Return to the Law and submit to community —and avoid the fate of the wicked

"evil" of the pesher is not only a personal fall, but eventually a collective disaster and punishment outside the group. This emphasis of the pesher is presented in Table 2.

Identity Construction in the Pesher Psalms

The previous chapter works as the basis when I now further illuminate the identity construction in this Pesher. Many Qumran studies have touched questions of "*strengthening*" or building the identity of the group. Following the social identity approach, I wish to offer some aspects that would clarify this phenomenon. Strengthening of identity involves at least two issues: 1) the individual's movement along the continuum of personal and social identities. When the *salience of social identity* is high, social mobility is less of an option. 2) *Positive distinctiveness* of the social identity. According to the theory, low status or inferior groups display a special need to create a positive sense of belonging to the group. These aspects will be further explored below. The *Pesher Psalms* will be interpreted as regards its weight for promoting the salience of the social identity and on constructing positive identity,[89] and its place among the Qumran movement's literature will be considered.

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control their emotions but to forsake the desire to turn away from the community's judgment and instruction.

[89] Imagine that one has the verse "The meek shall inherit the land, and delight themselves in abundant prosperity" (Ps 37:11) to expound on. It matters a great deal whether one is to give a historical exegesis of this verse, to use it in a handbook of ethics, to contemplate on it in one's private prayer life, to preach a sermon on it, or freely to associate it with one's own religious reference group. It is often stressed that the pesherists were indeed careful and skillful scribes and that their work was governed by many exegetical rules. Yet this does not nullify the freedom that these scribes had in expressing their convictions and raising relevant issues for the group. The identification of this particular verse by the pesherist with the "congregation of the poor who shall receive the appointed time of humiliation and shall be delivered from all the snares of Belial" suggests that indeed the salience and the very essence of their social identity were addressed here.

Salience of Social Identity: Collectives

Social distinctions need to be continuously reproduced.[90] Even though the level of tension between the Qumran movement and the society exceeded that of many other groups, it was still composed of individuals who saw the reward of joining the movement as greater than the costs involved. The *Rule of the Congregation* (1QSa) suggests that most new members may have entered through socialization, that is, they were children of the adult members. There were probably others who joined for various other reasons.[91] The level of identification varied from member to member, at least to some extent. For many, the social identity as a member of the movement overrode the social identity, as, say, a family member, in a number of situations, as suggested by our analysis of the *serakhim*. The "sectarian" social identity prescribed restrictions on the behavior of members in terms of ethnic and family identity, gender and cultic identification.

While this social identity was probably strong and continuously tested, it does not mean that the group achieved its coherence only by long admission processes and strict rules. Studies in group development suggest that the salience of the social and personal identities varies over time. According to Stephen Worchel, four different themes *dominate* group activity during specific periods of time: identification, group productivity, individuation, and decay.[92] In the early days of a group, social identity is stressed and minority positions are not allowed. Efforts are made to reach back in history to claim recognized patrons or previous founders for the legitimacy of the group. Leadership during *identification* is often centralized. When the group has established a positive social identity, its members may focus on *productivity* in relation to group goals. Individual differences may be sought in order to find special skills needed for improving productivity. Later on, members begin to evaluate their contribution and reward in the group (*individuation*). Subgroups emerge based on their skills, roles and interests. This shift from social identity to personal identity poses a

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[90] See Condor 1996, 290, based on Tajfel's statements: "Even apparently stable systems of social relations rely upon continuous social reproduction over time." In the case of the Qumran movement, we may assume that as new members joined, and the groups grew, the social identity needed to be made salient over and over again.

[91] Baumgarten 1997a, 64–65, envisions a situation in which the hard realities of life rendered the Qumran movement appealing to some but their membership would have been relatively short-lived.

[92] Worchel 1998 describes the cyclic development of groups and the variance between personal and social identities. This model modifies common linear patterns of group development and holds that a group goes back to earlier "stages."

threat to the group. Central members may leave and sell their skills to out-groups. At this stage of *decay*, the remaining members turn their attention back to the group in order to redefine its identity. The defectors are viewed as part of the cleansing process. Social identity is emphasized over personal identity. The identification process has started again.[93]

From this perspective, the collective outlook of the *Pesher Psalms* fits in with the needs for identification and re-identification: it elevates the salience of the social identity and sharpens the distinctions between the in- and out-groups. The in-group[94] is described in collective terms: "the congregation of his elect, those who do His will" (2:5), "the congregation of the poor" (2:10; 3:10), "the captives/returnees of the wilderness" (3:1). As such, these designations serve to create a collectivity: the members have in common their belonging to the sphere of truth, to the chosen elite, to the humble righteous. No hierarchy is implied here. The text mentions a number of organizational entities, "the council of the *yahad*" (2:15), "the men of his council" (2:19), and "the congregation of the *yahad*" (4:19), but these are not described so as to differentiate members of the in-group from each other. In contrast to the actual hierarchy, which may characterize the in-group in reality, we find the pronounced homogeneity in the in-group image. This is further illustrated by the prototypical picture of the leader figure, the righteous teacher. I will argue below that he represents the in-group in being persecuted and in conflict, and at the same time, privileged and chosen by God.[95] The *pesharim* seem to be reflecting on their past leader figure and depicting him more in line with the *Damascus*

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[93] This perspective might be heuristically used to view the Qumran corpus as a whole. It may be that a group is likely to produce different types of written material at different stages. During identification a group needs to formulate its boundaries, clarify its goals, and establish legitimacy for its existence. The productivity stage may produce records of the group's practices, its division of labor, its rules for newcomers and the ways of achieving the group goals. During individuation, the group may be less likely to produce written material but subgroups and individuals may express their discontent with the group's achievements. The stage of decay may bring to the fore voices of conflict within the group, public contempt for traitors, explanations of failures, and demands for changes in the group. However, it should not be thought that all group processes are 'documented' or even reflected in the texts, and no one-to-one connection can be identified between a document and a certain moment in history.

[94] Following the social identity approach, the in-group can be understood dynamically: the social identity as a 'sectarian' could vary depending on the context, from more abstract, e.g., 'Judean', to more specific, e.g. 'senior member of group X'. It may well be that sub-group identifications within the Qumran movement varied; perhaps not all were concerned with matters present in this text.

[95] See also Jokiranta 2006, 254–63. Cf. Newsom 2004, 196–98, for exemplary nature of the leader (possibly teacher) in the *Hodayot*.

Document B-manuscript (CD 19–20) than the A manuscript. Collective memory on the leader intensifies the in-group members' identification with the group, providing the necessary continuity with its past.

The out-groups are similarly depicted in stereotypical terms, with little detailed information being given. The pesherist uses scriptural labels that carry negative connotations, such as "Ephraim and Manasseh" (2:18), and others that portray the actions of the opposite side as unacceptable: "the ruthless against the covenant" (2:14), "the wicked priest" (4:8). The parallelism of their actions with the actions of the "wicked" of Psalm 37 is the necessary information. We may ask what these pesher identifications and labels do in terms of desired social change. Most probably, they do not mold public opinion about the opponents, even less do they produce any change in the opponents' behavior. What they do is to justify the group's existence and claims by placing the most relevant out-groups as the opposite of the in-group. Distinctiveness has to be created and accentuated, especially where the distinctions may not be clear enough.

Furthermore, the collectives are sometimes preferred over individual figures in the Pesher. The Psalm 37 offers a ready-made scheme of opposing human beings, the righteous and the wicked. The pesherist has the possibility to identify the singular exemplary "righteous" and "wicked" person with an individual figure, but he does not do so systematically. On the contrary, by his collective identifications of singular characters, he seems to underline that the Psalm is truly speaking in exemplary way and is suitable for a collective understanding (2:5b–9; 2:13–16; 3:8b–11; 4:10b–12).

Changing circumstances lead to reinterpretations and repetition of older traditions. Pesher genre itself may be a further development within the Qumran corpus in the absence of continuous leadership or changed community structure. Past figures needed to be reviewed and sobriquets re-used.[96] In summary, Psalm 37 itself was concerned with an exemplary "righteous" person and an exemplary "wicked" person. Collective identifications and the prototypical image of the leader in the Pesher create

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[96] The group needs a grand story of its beginnings and foundation, which is related to newcomers and which modifies the behavior of the members. Grossman 2002, 30, employs in her study of the *Damascus Document* the sociological concept of 'foundation documents' as "texts upon which communities ground their group identity and understanding of authority." Texts of this sort have both past and future orientations: they create the view of the group's origins, and they regulate admission to the group and behavior inside it. It is often noted that the *pesharim* re-use terminology and sobriquets from the *Damascus Document* and the *Hodayot*, e.g., Davies 1987, 87–105; Callaway 1988, 135; Brooke 1994. But see discussion below on alternative views.

heightened group awareness. Besides this, the text also adds positive distinctions in its categorization. We shall have a look in the following into two related themes, the self-designation as "poor" and the receiving of the "period of humiliation."

Positive Distinctiveness

The Poor   As we saw above, one characteristic theme of Psalm 37 is the presence of adversaries who attack the righteous in various ways. Calling this element the "suffering of the righteous" may not be an overstatement, even though the Psalm also envisions vindication over the wicked and *ad hoc* help from God, in the case of famine, for instance (Ps 37:19). This vindication and the blessings are in the Pesher described mostly in terms of a new glorious future. Now the righteous endure persecutions, remain steadfast, accept the time of distress and obey the law.

Psalm 37 relates to psalms that include various designations of the category of the poor.[97] Whereas some scholars see these as a specific party or group, others hold that the category expresses the position of the underprivileged in a general way. Hans-Joachim Kraus argues that the poor "are above all those who are persecuted, slandered, and falsely accused, who are not able to defend themselves against the superior power of their foes."[98] The designation refers to lack of influence and status, and this may come to the fore in the courtroom or in economic matters. The poor find their comfort in YHWH; the designation, however, does not concern ideal piety in the first place but the helplessness of these people. Psalm 37 claims that the poor are not left in want (v. 18–19, 25); this may suggest that their poverty is not extreme.[99]

The Pesher adopts this designation to describe the in-group with the expression עדת האביונים, "the congregation of the poor," in two instances

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[97] E.g., Ps 9, 40, 70, 72, 74, 86, 109. The most frequent designations in the Hebrew Psalter are אביון, עני and ענו. Term ענו is used in Ps 37:11, and עני ואביון, in 37:14.

[98] Kraus 1992, 161. More frequently than the 'poor', Psalm 37 uses another designation, the 'righteous'. This is similar to the 'poor' in that it manifests itself in opposition to the enemy. Cf. Kraus 1992, 155: "That person is 'righteous' whose innocence has been demonstrated by Yahweh's verdict of not guilty, which refutes all accusations and shows that they are baseless."

[99] The question as to what degree the designation reflects real economic circumstances is also central in the Qumran field, especially concerning the interpretation of the poor in *4QInstruction*. Recently this issue has been discussed by Goff 2003; on poverty in the Hebrew Bible and Wisdom literature, in particular, see Goff 2003, 129–40, and also Pleins 1987.

(2:10; 3:10). It is striking that although the terms denoting the poor, needy and afflicted are frequently found in the Qumran writings,[100] this collective self-designation is not as such very usual in the sectarian scrolls.[101] The *Pesher Psalms* seems to preserve the most explicit form of it.[102] Nevertheless, Catherine Murphy, in her substantial study of wealth in the Dead Sea Scrolls, pays careful attention to passages in which the author or hymnist identifies with the poor.[103] The most important texts in this regard are the *Hodayot*.[104] Consider, for example, the following passage (1QHᵃ 10:31–35):

> I give you thanks, Lord, for your eye keeps [firm] over me. You have freed me from the zeal of the mediators of deceit (מליצי כזב) from the congregation of the seekers of flattering things (מעדת דורשי חלקות). You have freed the life of the poor person (אביון) whom they thought to finish off by pouring out his blood because he was at your service ... But you, my God, have freed the soul of the poor and needy (עני ורש) from the hand of someone stronger than him.

The *Hodayot* often repudiate the rich.[105] Murphy argues that real poverty and economic hardships are meant by references to poverty, but she rightly notes that "it is not poverty *per se* that is praised in the Hymns, but rather the priority of righteousness over wealth and the sense of spiritual poverty that hardships may evoke."[106] We may make a generalized and cautious assessment that the *ethos* of the *Hodayot* concerning the category of the poor aligns closely with certain psalms of the Hebrew

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[100] At least terms ענו, עני, אביון, and דל are used, Abegg, Cook et al. 2003.

[101] The closest parallel expression may be עצת האביונים לעדת עולמים, "the council of the poor for an eternal congregation" in 4Q491 11 1:11. In the plural, אביונים or its construct or suffixed form occurs in 1QpHab 12:3, 6, 10; 1QM 11:9, 13; 13:14; 1QHᵃ 13:22; 4Q446 1 5; 4Q468a–c c 8; 4Q508 21 2; 4Q509 8 7 and also probably in 4Q163 (4QpIsaᶜ) 8–10 13; 18–19 2.

[102] Recently, when discussing poverty in *4QInstruction*, Goff summarizes regarding the "sectarian" texts of Qumran: "The undisputed literature of the Dead Sea group occasionally associates the elect status of its members with poverty. Most notable in this regard is the Psalm 37 Pesher," Goff 2003, 167. Goff argues that this claim is much more prominent in *4QInstruction*.

[103] Murphy 2002, 211–61.

[104] 1QHᵃ is the most extensive manuscript; original edition by Sukenik 1955, now Newsom, Stegemann et al. 2008. See also Schuller and DiTomasso 1997. The columns numbers and the English translations follows here García Martínez and Tigchelaar 1997, 147–203.

[105] For the language of the poor, see also 1QHᵃ 6:3–4; 9:36; 11:25; 13:16, 18, 21, 22. The passage 6:3–4 is noteworthy for its collective formulation: "the poor in spirit, those refined by poverty".

[106] Murphy 2002, 243–44.

Bible—although the *Hodayot* in general take steps forward in developing sectarian ideology.[107]

There are striking terminological links between this very passage in the *Hodayot* and the *Pesher Psalms*, especially the "mediators of lies" in 1QHᵃ 10:31 and "the liar" and "mediator of knowledge" in 4QpPsᵃ 1:26–27. Also a playful echo can be seen between the terms חלקות and קלות in the expression עדת דורשי חלקות "congregation of the seekers of flattering things" in 1QHᵃ 10:31 and בחרו בקלות "they chose frivolous things" in 4QpPsᵃ 1:27. The *Hodayot* are perhaps the best candidate if we look for sources or inspirers for the designation of the *Pesher Psalms*; this is supported by the fact that the *Hodayot* make a close connection between the poor and the time of humiliation and purification, as will be seen below. But what interests us here is not whether the *Hodayot* functioned as a direct source text for the *pesharim* or not but how the designation as the poor functioned in positive identity construction. First, it significant that, instead of the singular form, we find in the *Pesher Psalms* a collective and "organizational" designation (עדת), a feature which is capable of stressing the salience of a collective.[108] Secondly, in the *Pesher Psalms* the congregation of the poor is *not* delivered as in the *Hodayot*; rather, they are defined by their acceptance of their distress.

The language of the poor is also notable in the *War Scroll*: the plural אביונים is found in 1QM 11:8, 9, 13; 13:14.[109] There, the designation stresses the contrast to the powerful in war: God will deliver the heroes of other nations into the hands of the poor.

Furthermore, the *Pesher Habakkuk* (1QpHab) mentions the poor (אביונים) three times in one pesher interpretation (11:16–12:10). The poor do not feature elsewhere in the *Pesher Habakkuk* but, in this section, the "poor" are associated with the victims of crimes and explained to be עצת היחד, "the council of the *yahad*," and פתאי יהודה עושה התורה, "the simple ones of Judah who obey the Law." Later on, the "poor" are associated

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[107] Newsom 2004, 232–53, makes an important contribution in discussing the self that the *Hodayot* construct. This self is at the site of contradiction: the self is compared to nothingness, and at the same time it is elevated because of the aid and powerful knowledge from God. Newsom notes that this self has many similarities to the biblical psalmist but in the *Hodayot* the opposition is transferred from speaker versus enemies to God versus enemies, into a cosmic conflict, in which the speaker is a sign of correct understanding of events.

[108] However, by no means is the *Hodayot* individualistic; even though the singular form and the first person is used there, the text similarly invites the readers/listeners to identify with the speaker and thus understand themselves to be a collective.

[109] On this, see Murphy 2002, 227–32.

with the cities of Judah and suffering injustice (in contrast to the Temple in Jerusalem suffering injustice). Even though the characterization as the "poor" serves as a category for their self-understanding as victims, in this passage it is a slightly different kind of category than in the *Pesher Psalms*. It is more directly referring to being poor and exploited than to being in the righteous relationship to God. Overall, the poor of the *Pesher Habakkuk* are victims of the wicked priest; the interpretation explicitly refers to financial matters.

The *Pesher Psalms* 3:8–11 perhaps contains a similar reference to economic affairs: the quotation of Ps 37:21–22 speaks of the generosity of the righteous and this is interpreted as concerning the "congregation of the poor" (in contrast to the wicked person who does not pay back).[110] However, the function of the designation is not to criticize the powerful and expect a change in earthly circumstances. To explain this, the idea of "limited good" may be useful. This denotes the belief that all resources exist in limited number and individuals (or groups) can improve their position only at the expense of others.[111] The *Pesher Psalms* includes several examples of this idea. During the period of distress, the poor are dispossessed from the riches, but their fate will change. The period of distress will be followed by a better time without any wicked (2:5–12). The righteous will inherit the possessions of their oppressors (2:27–3:2; 3:7–13). During times of famine, God will feed the righteous, but those that do not join the community, will be left without (3:2–5).[112] *Instead of openly challenging the out-group's position and practices, the Pesher Psalms promotes strategies of social change that would establish the positive social identity but leave the reversal of circumstances in the future.*[113] How soon this change was expected is difficult to say.[114] Murphy's study has suggested that the matters of wealth played

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[110] Similarly, Murphy 2002, 240–41.

[111] E.g., Malina 2001, 81–107. However, see criticism about the universalism of this belief by Ling 2004, 227–38.

[112] Murphy's statement of the *War Scroll* illustrates how the idea of limited good is present in the concept of the final battle: "The group is currently impoverished to someone else's benefit; the group will be redeemed at the expense of their oppressors," Murphy 2002, 229. The picture of the poor in the *Pesher Psalms* is reminiscent of the hymn in the *War Scroll* 11, which praises the power of God and celebrates his war, and the 'poor' are the object of God's miraculous acts. See further below, the discussion on 1QpHab.

[113] The situation during other periods of time or in other sub-groups may have been different. For example, Brooke 2005b, 417–34, referred to the possibility that Herod's building activities may have aroused expectations of restoring the temple according to views held by the Qumran movement.

[114] The "forty years" mentioned in 4QpPs^a 2:8 is a symbolic figure referring to the wilderness period during which the wicked generation will die (Num 14:32–34; Deut 2:14;

a central role in the Qumran movement's life, critique and ideology. The in-group's right conduct in matters of wealth and its oppressed position makes them identifiable with the scriptural category of the poor, those who are denied their rights but will be delivered by YHWH. The in-group identifies with the have-nots, low-status groups.[115] Revitalizing and collectivizing the category that other Qumran documents use and arguing for its positive value in the authoritative scriptural tradition are tools for adding dimensions to the in-group's positive social identity. The self-designation provides the claim that the group not only keeps the law but it does so *humbly*.[116] The plural form and organizational ideology are small but significant steps in the reidentification phase.

The Period of Humiliation   The "period of humiliation" (2:10; 3:3) is another identity-constructing element in the *Pesher Psalms* that deserves special attention. The passage in 4QpPsᵃ 2:9–12 reads:

וענוים ירשו ארץ והתענגו על רוב שלום פשרו על
עדת האביונים אשר יקבלו את מועד התעׁנׁיׁת ונצלו מכול פחׁי
בליעל ואחר יתענגו [ב]כׄול [].ׄי הארץ והתדשנו בׄכׄול תעׁנׁוׄ[ג]
vacat בשר

> *But the meek shall inherit the land and delight themselves in abundant prosperity.* (Ps 37:11) Interpreted, this concerns the congregation of the poor, who shall receive[117] the appointed time of humiliation[118] and shall be delivered

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for "forty years" in CD 20:15, see Eshel 1999b, 330–36). The passage in the *Pesher Psalms* includes many other biblical allusions, e.g., the prophets use the verb תמם in connection with the death of false prophets and the people left in Jerusalem or in Egypt during the exile: their end will come through sword and famine (e.g., Jer 14:15, 44:12; Ezek 22:15). Together with the following passage, this pesher repeats the belief that, within a limited time, the wicked will perish.

[115] This can be seen in contrast to the high status imagery present, for example, in the *Community Rule* 8:5–10 (the community is paralleled with the holy of holies).

[116] Cf. the numerous examples of confessions of sin in the Qumran sectarian documents. Why would a group that keeps the law perfectly need to confess sins? One aspect of being in the right relationship with God is precisely the right *understanding* of being lowly and weak compared to God.

[117] The verb קבל is a late term in biblical Hebrew. It is used 15 times in the sense "to receive, to take" with different objects; e.g., Ezra 8:30; 1 Chr 21:11; cf. Sir 41:1. Later the root קבל came to mean also "to accept, to take an obligation upon oneself" (e.g., CD 9:22–23), see Horgan 1979, 206. Note the technical usage of the verb with reference to the container into which the liquid is poured (4QMMT B 57). For other occurrences in the Qumran texts, note especially 4Q266 11 1; 4Q270 7 1:16; 4Q424 3 7; 4Q88 8:12; 11Q5 22:13.

[118] Unfortunately the leather has a horizontal fold or break, and the middle letters are damaged because of this. The reading is supported, e.g., by Strugnell 1970, 212. Allegro's DJD edition read התעות, 'error' (Allegro 1968), but this reading is not likely: there is space

from all the snares of Belial. Afterwards, they shall delight [in] all the […] of the earth and grow fat with every luxu[ry] of the flesh.

The meaning of the expression מועד התענית has been understood in various ways.[119] The fact that תענית is related to fasting and to the special calendar issue of the celebration of Yom Kippur is well acknowledged. The expression יום התענית in the *Damascus Document* 6:19 is usually interpreted as denoting the festival of Yom Kippur.[120] The word-pair מועד תענית appears in *4QFestival Prayers[b]* (4Q508 2 3), which may preserve a prayer for the Day of Atonement.[121] However, the usage of the expression may not be restricted to a festival or "cultic" meaning. There are several reasons to argue this. First, the term תענית also appears in *4QFestival Prayers[c]* (4Q509 16 3), in which the meaning "affliction" or "humiliation" is more likely: "Have mercy on them for their affliction."[122] Secondly, the phrases תעודות תעניות and קץ תעניות פשע occur in *4QSongs of the Sage[a]*

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for one more letter, and the microfiche photograph supports our reading; Tov and Pfann 1993. In addition, the word תעות does not occur together with מועד in the DSS.

[119] The expression is reconstructed also in 4QpPs[a] 3:3. The inconsistency in scholarly translations of 2:10 and 3:3 reflects the ambiguity of the expression; e.g., Vermes 1995, 349–50, translates "the season of penance" (2:10) and "the time of humiliation" (3:3). Lohse 1986, 273, translates the expression in 2:10 "die Zeit des Fastens," and Maier 1995, 94, "die (bestimmte) Zeit der Demütigung;" they consider 3:3 to preserve a different Hebrew word, התעות, "Verirrung." However, the letter after the lacuna is most probably נ; similarly Strugnell 1970, 214.

[120] S. Talmon was the first to argue that 1QpHab 11:4–8 reflects conflicts caused by the different calendar of the Qumran covenanters; the wicked priest would celebrate Yom Kippur on another day than the covenanters, and was thus able to attack them on their festival day; see "Yom Kippurim in the Habakkuk Scroll" in Talmon 1989, 186–99. On the significance of Yom Kippur for the Qumran covenanters, see also Talmon 1989, 233–37. Talmon 1989, 167, draws an analogy between 4QpPs37 2:8–10 and 1QpHab 11:4–8, especially the words יום הכפורים מנוחת מועד ובקץ (and also ביום צום), and translates מועד התענית in the *Pesher Psalms* as "the appointed time of fasting." Note, however, that תענית does not occur in 1QpHab.

[121] See Baillet 1982. The title "prayer for the day of atonement" has been reconstructed in this fragment on the basis of another manuscript, 1Q34 1–2 6. These documents contain similar terminology to the conventional Jewish liturgy of the Confession for Yom Kippur, Weinfeld 1992. Recently, Hacham 2001, has discussed the meaning of מועד התענית, and concludes that it denotes "the season of the fast:" "There is no reason to assume that its meaning in the *Pesher Psalms* is different from that of the prayer for Yom Kippur." In contrast, I argue that there is insufficient evidence to *restrict* its meaning to a specific fast on Yom Kippur in the context of the *Pesher Psalms*, see below. However, I do not wish to dispute Hacham's main argument, which is that the Qumran sectarians had no other public fasts besides Yom Kippur.

[122] The context is fragmentary but the terms עצב, "pain," and יגון, "torment," are found in the immediate context (16:2, 4). Similarly Davila 2000, 26.

(4Q510 1 7, 8),[123] and תעניות [תעודות] in *11QApocryphal Psalms* (11Q11 4:12). Bilhah Nitzan characterizes both texts as "magical poetry" or "songs against harmful spirits."[124] The periods of time in these incantations probably refer to the harmful periods caused by demons and times of trouble.[125] Nitzan's translations of [תעודות תעניות בני או[ר] as "the appointed times for the humiliation of the Sons of ligh[t]," and of לקץ תעניות פשע as "for the age of humiliation of sin" are warranted considering the context and outlook of these texts. Similarly, Elisha Qimron regards "affliction" as the general sense of the term.[126] Furthermore, looking at the only occurrence of the term in the Hebrew Bible, Ezra 9:5, gives us reason to relate the term to a voluntarily chosen humiliation, similar to the state of Ezra when he is said to have found out the sins of his people, torn his clothes and sat appalled until the evening. Ezra, and Daniel too, are examples of biblical persons who feel ashamed (Ezra 9:6, Dan 9:7–8) and humble themselves because of the sins of others. This humiliation also included fasting (Ezra 8:21, Dan 9:3). The future fate of God's people and inheritance of the land is closely related to the confession of this shame (Ezra 9:12–15; Dan 9:19).

The context of the *Pesher Psalms* also bears relevance for the interpretation of this expression. Later in the Pesher, the word-pair מועד התענית (3:3), if the partial reconstruction is correct, is used in connection with famine. According to the interpretation in 3:3–5, God will keep "them" ברעב במועד הֹ[תע]נֹית, but those who do not join the congregation will perish as a result of famine and plague. Famine is not equal to fasting. Note also how the end of the pesher 2:9–12 paints a picture of contrast to this state of humiliation: "Afterwards, they shall delight [in] all the [...] of the earth and grow fat with every luxu[ry] of the flesh." This confirms the general sense of תענית as "affliction" or "humiliation."[127] The Pesher also speaks of עת המצרף, "time of testing" (2:19), but nowhere of "fast" specifically.[128]

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[123] The plural forms תעניות and תעניות are attested in a fragmentary context in *4QSongs of the Sage^b* (4Q511) 8 5; 121 2; 10 4, 6; and the singular form in *4QInstruction^c* (4Q417) 3 4.

[124] Nitzan 1994, 10, 13.

[125] Nitzan 1994, 238–48.

[126] Qimron 1986, 97, 115.

[127] Again I do not see grounds for defining the meaning of תענית very strictly. Concerning the *Pesher Psalms*, Murphy 2002, 240–41, argues that the "present distress is a deprivation of food." Famine may have been one reason that attracted new members to the movement, Baumgarten 1997a, 64. However, the period of humiliation for those who were already in the group may not have meant hunger.

[128] Our view is not very far from Coote 1972, 81–85, who studies both concepts and concludes that both terms in the expression מועד התענית have a double meaning: מועד is between a specific יום and the unspecific קץ, and תענית means both affliction from outside

It is the time of testing and the distress (צרה) of the righteous that are related to the "period of humiliation."[129]

Another factor helps us to understand the contents of this humiliation. The previous pesher section has the reference to a forty-year period, clearly owing to the wilderness tradition (cf. CD 20:14–15 and its reference to Deut 2:14). Deuteronomy 8 explains the afflictions during the forty-year wilderness period with the verb ענה (in pi'el: to humble, to humiliate), from which the noun תענית is derived:

> Remember the long way that the Lord your God has led you these forty years in the wilderness, in order to humble you (ענתך), testing you (לנסתך), to know what was in your heart, whether or not you would keep his commandments. He humbled you by letting you hunger, then by feeding you with manna ... (8:2–3; also 8:16).[130]

Whereas the forty-year period is a period of trusting God for food, it is also a test of *obedience*.

The sense of a time of humiliation is evident also in many Qumran texts—the idea of the righteous in distress is certainly not a new one. The Book of Daniel envisions periodical history, with the idea of a continued state of captivity in exile (Dan 9).[131] Closer to the end, the wise will suffer from sword, flame, captivity and plunder; they shall be "refined, purified and cleansed" (Dan 11:33–35). These verses are explicitly employed in *4QEscatological Midrash*[132] (4:1–3) and related to the time of testing of the righteous.[133] Moreover, the *Hodayot* speak in the voice of an individual who experiences distress and afflictions. He is comparable to the suffering

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and a self-chosen fast (Day of Atonement). His view is shared, for example, by Horgan 1979, 207, who translates both "the appointed time of affliction" (eschatological conflict), and "the appointed time of fasting" (specific conflict or penance). The double connotations of the terms may have been aspired in the Pesher.

[129] Common terms for distress and affliction in the Qumran documents are צרה, מצר, עני, מצוקה. Note the expression צרת מצרף in 1QS 8:4.

[130] I am grateful to Prof. Timo Veijola for bringing this passage to my attention.

[131] VanderKam 1997, 89–90. Similarly, in the Animal Apocalypse of Enoch, the exile is seen to be a prolonged state, VanderKam 1997, 100: "The time of the Babylonian exile was merely the first part of a larger and long-lasting phenomenon—the cruel reign of the seventy shepherds which would continue to the imminent end." For the exile in the Qumran texts, see Abegg 1997, 111–25.

[132] Steudel 1994.

[133] The "time of testing" is a prominent theme in 4QMidrEschat[a,b], e.g., 3:18–4:5; 8:1–7; 9:8–10:2.

servant of Isaiah in being the target of slander and lacking respect. [134] The distress of the *Hodayot* has a purifying function: they are "refined by poverty."[135] It is noteworthy that the distress is connected to the terminology of the "poor" in the *Hodayot* (1QHᵃ 6:3–4; 11:25–27; 13:12–17);[136] it is *this connection* that comes forward in an explicit form in the expression עדת האביונים אשר יקבלו את מועד התענית of the *Pesher Psalms*.[137]

   The distress does not represent a threat solely to the life and well-being of the righteous, but also to their walk and obedience. The hymnist of the *Hodayot* depends on God on his life but also his obedience: "But you, my God, have freed the soul of the poor and needy from the hand of someone stronger than him; from the hand of the powerful you have saved my soul, and at their taunts you have not let me lose heart so as to desert your service from fear of destruction by the wicked" (1QHᵃ 10:34–36).[138] The rule documents do not give much thought to distress and suffering, but they nevertheless contain clear hints of the relevance of this ideology. The *Damascus Document* depicts the time of Belial, during which Belial would capture people in his nets, which are fornication, wealth, and defilement of the temple (CD 4:12–19).[139] The *Community Rule* includes statements as to how the present time of Belial's rule was viewed. Membership of the community safeguards the pious from straying: "And all those who enter in the rule of the community shall establish a covenant before God in order to carry out all that he commanded and in order not to stray from following him out of any fear, dread, or *testing* during the dominion of Belial" (1QS 1:16–18). During times of distress there is the possibility of transgressing (1QS 7:1; 3:23–25).

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[134] Collins 2000. Murphy 2002, 245 states about this: "The motif of mockery and the temptation to desert God suggest that the humiliation is not merely economic, but is connected to the hymnist's notion of divine justice, if not that of oppressors." The oppressors who mock the individual are themselves responsible for the circumstances of the mocked one.

[135] Murphy 2002, 243: "... the effect of that distress on the victims is purifying even while the impoverishment itself is criticized."

[136] Concerning the passage 2:9–12 of the *Pesher Psalms*, note especially 1QHᵃ 11:25–27, which describes the distress of the poor (אביון), when the *'traps* of the pit' (פחי שחת) open, and also mentions 'Belial' (בליעל) in the same connection (11:28–29)—all terms that are present in 4QpPsᵃ 2:10–11.

[137] On distress and toil in the *Pesher Habakkuk*, see 1QpHab 5:6 and 8:12. The *War Scroll* envisions the end-time war as distress and test, 1QM 15:1; 16:11; 17:8–9.

[138] Also 1QHᵃ 7:13–20; 8:23; 12:28–37; 15:6–9.

[139] Note also "the number of their miseries" (CD 4:5), and the "age of wickedness" (CD 6:10, 14; 12:23, 15:7). The testing of the members is connected with expulsion in case of violation of the regulations in CD 20:1–8.

It is significant that the verb קבל is used in *4QDamascus Document*ᵃ (4Q266 11 1; par. 4Q270 7 1:16) with reference to a member who *receives judgment* from the "Many."[140] This suggests that receiving the period of humiliation in the *Pesher Psalms* is not a passive event but includes the struggle of walking straight among the wicked and being disciplined within the congregation. The motif of bearing the distress without falling into sin or despair is intimately described in the final hymn of the *Community Rule*: "When distress (צרה) is unleashed, I shall praise him, just as I shall sing to him for his deliverance. I shall not repay anyone with evil reward, with goodness I shall pursue man (1QS 10:17–18)."[141] The hymnist preserves his anger for unjust men, but even in his anger, he does not lose control: "I shall not retain Belial in my heart. From my mouth shall not be heard foolishness or wicked deceptions (1QS 10:21–22)." The term "Belial" is almost as a catchword in the rule documents, in the *Hodayot* and in the *Pesher Psalms* in descriptions of the distress; it signifies the cause of distress both out- and inside the community.

On the basis of these observations we may conclude that the suffering of the righteous was indeed part of the sectarian worldview. But even more than this, it seems to have become a powerful tool in keeping the members in the movement. Beliefs and convictions have long traditions and may be used for different purposes. The belief in the period of suffering and the dominion of Belial may have multiple implications. They may be used to frighten the members so as not to accept any laxity in keeping the law. In the *Pesher Psalms*, we may detect the promotion of the idea of *actively* accepting afflictions as part of the identity and positive distinctiveness of the in-group. Those who suffer now and stand the test are on the right side. They do not approve erring in any matter. The real and potential downside of belonging to the group is turned into anticipation of the bright side. In terms of social identity, the negative dimensions of group membership are *re-valued* as part of the divine plan. Comparisons to the out-groups are restricted and stereotypical; loyalty to the in-group is valued over the realization of justice.

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[140] Note also 4Q424 3 7 "A prudent man will receive (יקבל) disci[pline]."

[141] Translations by García Martínez and Tigchelaar 1997, 97. "Humility" is one of the covenantal virtues, 1QS 2:24; 3:8–9; 4:3; 5:3, 25. According to 1QS 8:3–4, distress has an atoning function: the council of the community exists "in order to atone for sin by doing justice and undergoing trials (צרת מצרף)." Note that 4QSᵉ adds in the previous sentence the term "humility" (ענוה).

In summary, the ideology of the in-group as the congregation of the poor in the period of humiliation is able to strengthen the group identity by adding to its positive dimensions (the poor are in the right ethical and spiritual relationship with God) and by promoting a positive view of its low-status attributes (period of humiliation is self-chosen and belongs to the divine plan; it will be reversed in the future).

The identity-constructing strategies help to understand that the energy within the Qumran movement was not directed towards tackling the out-groups openly and continuously to achieve the desired changes, but rather towards creating and sustaining a subculture that offered its members space in which these changes could be realized and anticipated in the future.

The Pesher Habakkuk

The *Pesher Habakkuk* quotes chapters 1–2 of Habakkuk, although the beginning of the Pesher is badly damaged. The final hymn in Hab 3 is not quoted in the Pesher. In the following, I will briefly sketch the contents of Hab 1–2 in their final form according to the MT. However, it is to be noted, that the text form preserved in the MT is not necessarily—and probably not exactly—the text that the pesherist had. The question of the base-text is more complex than discussing the form of the *Vorlage* (whether it was closer to the MT, the LXX, or neither of these). The pesherist may have been aware of several text forms, he may have altered the text (deliberately or not deliberately), and he may have been faithful to the *Vorlage* but employed a variant in his interpretation.[142] While presenting the contents of Hab 1–2 in the following, it is important to refrain from the assumption that the MT is the (only) starting point of the pesherist.[143] However, in order to discuss the scholarly understandings of the structure and meaning of Hab 1–2, it is easiest to start with the MT, even if it would represent

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[142] As may be the case in 1QpHab 11:8b–15, where the quotation reads הרעל (to stagger), found in the LXX, and the interpretation utilizes the meaning of הערל (to be uncircumcised), which is the reading in the MT, see Lim 1997a, 50. Of course, it is also possible that the pesherist played with the words (with metathesis), without "consulting" any variant material. Timothy Lim has discussed the question of variants in the *pesharim* extensively, see Lim 1990, 185–94; Lim 1997a, 69–109; Lim 2002a, 71–79. Lim questions the common assumption that the pesherists created exegetical variants from a proto-Masoretic text.

[143] Cf. the view by Stendahl 1954, 194, that the Habakkuk text as it is in 1QpHab never existed as "a biblical text" outside the Pesher. Lim 1990, 187–88, presents some valid questions on the theory of eclecticism (the view that the pesherist chose the particular readings he wanted).

features that were not accessible to the pesherist. The left-hand column in Table 3 summarizes the contents of Hab 1–2 *as they are quoted* in the Pesher. Some variants in the Pesher are discussed in connection to the use of Hab 1–2 in the Pesher.

Contents of Habakkuk 1–2

The Book of Habakkuk begins with the prophet's complaint to YHWH about the violence in the land and about the oppression of the righteous (1:1–4, see the left-hand column of table 3 below). The wicked in this section are usually considered as Judeans, the prophet's own people.[144] Verse 1:5 addresses the readers/listeners: in this final form of the book, it seems that God is answering the prophet's complaint by introducing a fierce nation, the Chaldeans.[145] Their frightful and proud nature is described in verses 1:6–11.

The prophet addresses YHWH again in verses 1:12–15. In the present context, this can be interpreted so that the prophet is not satisfied with God's way of dealing with wickedness with more wickedness. The prophet acknowledges the reason for the coming of the Chaldeans—they are God's agent of punishment—but he accuses God of being silent when the wicked swallows a person more righteous than he.[146] God has made humankind like fish in the sea, whom the enemy catches.[147] The question in 1:17 brings out the anguish involved in this: will the enemy be allowed to continue forever?

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[144] Andersen 2001, 19, 223, for different views, see p. 16, 24–27. The interpretation of the "wicked" is dependent on the supposed literary coherence, see below. Andersen 2001, 24, himself interprets 1:2–4 as concerning the prophet's personal crisis.

[145] The Chaldeans were probably the Neo-Babylonians; see Deissler 1984, 217; Andersen 2001, 145–48.

[146] However, nowhere is it said that the Chaldeans are punishment for *Israel*, or the *wicked* within Israel; rather they punish all humankind (cf. 1:15). The LXX reads 1:13bβ without the comparative: "(why) do you look when the wicked swallows the righteous." Because of this, the editors of the MT have suggested that ממנו should perhaps be deleted. If so, the victims of the Chaldeans are not recognized as "more righteous" but simply righteous; they are innocent and do not deserve punishment, at least on this scale. The prophet's concern is universal: he cannot bear the idea that the punishment is greater than the injustice; see Andersen 2001, 189–90. Commentators, who preserve the "more righteous" often take it as the key indication of comparison between the Judeans and Chaldeans in the book: surely the Chaldeans will be punished in the end, since the Judeans were punished and they nevertheless were the more righteous; see, e.g., Scott 1985, 330–40.

[147] Andersen 2001, 175–90, explains that Habakkuk appeals to God as the Creator: God created all human beings, but now humans are ruled by the world conqueror, not the Creator.

A new section (2:1–4) begins with the prophet's speech again. The prophet is in the watchtower, waiting for God to answer his complaint.[148] God answers: the prophet is to write the vision on tablets, and be patient; the vision will be fulfilled at the appointed time. The contents of the vision are not quite clear.[149] The main message is that the proud will not remain, but the faithful shall live.

The text continues by turning against the oppressors. In their present form, the five woes (2:6b–20) are understood as addressed against the Chaldeans.[150] These are people who will never have enough, and this will eventually turn against them. The oppressor of nations will be mocked by everyone. Five such mocking woes describe the greed and violence of the enemy, and their judgment by YHWH's wrath. The conquerors themselves will be plundered and destroyed.

Chapters 1–2 have several cruces that affect their interpretation. At least the following questions have puzzled the commentators: Who are the wicked in 1:2–4? Are the Chaldeans sent to punish the Judean people especially? What are the contents of the vision in God's answer (2:2–5)? Who are condemned in the five woes?[151] The literary history of the book has been addressed in various ways during the past century or so.[152] Theories that explain the book as a unity (apart from minor additions) and

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[148] Andersen 2001, 193, pays attention to "my complaint" in 2:1. The book is possible to interpret as a private dispute between the prophet and God (cf. also 1:2); Habakkuk is not warning the people about the danger but stands in his post. However, Habakkuk is to write down the vision on tablets in order to have it announced (2:2); cf. Andersen 2001, 204. Furthermore, the watchman in a tower usually observes approaching danger.

[149] Various suggestions for the contents of the vision include the immediate context in 2:4–5a (usually with textual emendations), the misplaced verses 1:5–11, the woes in 2:6b–20, and the theophany in chapter 3; see literature in Johnson 1985, 259. Andersen 2001, 202, 07, 21–24, interprets that the vision are the five "woe oracles" that follow in 2:6b–20, and perhaps also the theophany in Hab 3. The theophany is not, however, quoted in the Pesher. The significant thing is, both in the book of Habakkuk and in the Pesher, that the vision is to be *written* and kept in order to be a witness for God's trustworthiness, cf. Deissler 1984, 226.

[150] Yet the woes may include earlier material or may have been composed for a different setting: they include judgment of social injustice and fit in individuals as well as groups; Andersen 2001, 233–34. There is a certain correspondence in the complaints of injustice by Habakkuk in 1:2–4, 13–17; 2:4–5, on the one hand, and the woes against the evil-doers, on the other hand, but the pattern is perhaps not as neat as Andersen 2001, 17, sees.

[151] Cf. questions presented by Mason 1994, 63–64.

[152] The spectrum of scholarly opinions is shown, for example, by the 570-pages of review on the history of scholarship up to 1970s by Jöcken 1977.

theories that deny its unity have both been influential.[153] One of the major literary-critical theories has taken the core of the book to be an inner-Jewish/Judaean social critique, which is preserved in the prophet's complaints of evil (1:2–4, 12a, 13–14), in YHWH's answer to this by an oracle (2:1–5abα), and in the woes which condemn these evildoers (2:6b, 7, 9, 10abβ, 11, 12, 15, 16). Only at the second stage were the verses 1:5–11.12b added and the Babylonians presented as a response to inner-Jewish wickedness.[154] Later on, when the Babylonians had already ravaged the country, the focus of criticism was turned against the Babylonians, and an anti-Babylonian layer was added (1:15–17; redaction of the woe-cries: 2:5bβ, 6a, 8, 10bα, 13, 14, 17).[155] There is much to recommend in this view: for example, the prophetic critique in the beginning (1:2–4) and within the woes reminds of similar material in other prophets (e.g., Isaiah, Jeremiah, Amos), and the laments of the prophet (the questions "how long?" and "why?") find parallels in wisdom and prophetical traditions (e.g., Job 19:7; Jer 12:1–4; 19:7).[156]

However, the view that verses 1:5–11 present the Chaldeans *positively* as YHWH's punishing tool and as a solution to the prophet's complaint is not without problems. Several commentators remark that the Chaldeans are actually part of the prophet's problem. The complaint in 1:2–4 is not

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[153] See introductions of central views by Mason 1994, 65–80, and by Kaiser 1994, 139–41. Among the proponents of the book's unity are those who have suggested that the prophet Habakkuk was a cultic prophet and the book's various parts (laments, oracles, woes, psalm) function as a liturgy. However, on the problems in fitting the whole book into a genre of cultic lament, see Otto 1985, 278; Mason 1994, 68–75; Andersen 2001, 21.

[154] Thus Otto 1985, 277–84. He dates the prophet Habakkuk to the second half of the 7th century B.C.E. Alternatively, if the Babylonians (the oracle in 1:5–11) are considered to be an integral part of the prophet's proclamation, then the prophet can be associated with the period of growing influence of Babylon (after the fall of Nineveh, 612 B.C.E., or with the events after the death of King Josiah, 609 B.C.E., 2 Kgs 23:29). The majority of scholars dates the prophet's activity around the end of 7th century or beginning of 6th century B.C.E.; see Andersen 2001, 24–27; Kaiser 1994, 139–40. Proper caution is expressed by Mason 1994, 81–84.

[155] Otto 1985, 283. Kaiser 1994, 140, names also Jörg Jeremias as an early representative of the view that the book went through an anti-Babylonian redaction. A related explanation but one that defends the unity of the book agrees on the discrepancy between the attitudes in 1:5–11 and 1:15–17, but understand this chronologically: the prophet's attitude towards the Babylonians changed when he saw the utter destruction and the people were deported in 597 B.C.E. (Mason 1994, 67–68, names W. W. Cannon and J. P. Hyatt as representatives of this view, Andersen 2001, 16–17, mentions R. Smith). Otto 1985, 283, saw two more literary layers: the early post-exilic redaction (the title 1:1, the woe against idols 2:18–20, and the core of Psalm 3:1, 3, 9, 13, 17–19), and the post-exilic redaction (creating a cultic use to the Psalm in chapter 3).

[156] See Otto 1985, 279, n. 15, 84–86; Mason 1994, 91. The material is of such general character that it is easily applicable from the native leaders to an international level.

answered but rather illustrated by the description of yet a worse evildoer. It is another mystery to the prophet.[157] Foreign powers may also be a cause for the lack of justice among the Judeans as the leaders during political instability often ignore the welfare of the people. It is also noteworthy that in 2:1–4, the prophet Habakkuk acts in a way similar to the "watchman" in Isaiah 21:6–12 who receives a message about the falling of Babylon.[158]

It therefore seems that, at least in the final form but possibly also at the earlier stages of the book, the wickedness of the prophet's own people and the wickedness of the foreign power are intertwined and mixed in the book.[159] Both are part of the complaint addressed to YHWH, and both groups are assured to face the consequences of their actions.[160]

These questions are not insignificant for understanding the solutions that the pesherist has reached, a topic I will turn to next.

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[157] Johnson 1985, 257–66 presents the idea that the Torah is paralyzed (1:4) because of foreign invaders. He presents valuable observations but perhaps goes too far in denying the internal criticism present in the book. See also Mason 1994, 85–96, who takes seriously the claim that there is nothing positive about the Chaldeans. Seybold 1991, 38–48, however, thinks that the original prophetic oracle is found in 1:5–11, 14–17; 2:1–3, 5–19, and the laments (1:2–4, 12–13; 2:1, 4, 20) and the psalm were composed by an individual in post-exilic times. According to him, there was, therefore, originally only the prophetic threat about a punishment upon the Judeans, and only later the exilic redaction viewed the Babylonians critically.

[158] Mason 1994, 88.

[159] Cf. the statement by W. H. Brownlee: "There is no reason why the prophet should coin a different ethical vocabulary for the sinful Chaldeans than for the apostate Judeans," quoted by Mason 1994, 72.

[160] The interpretation of the Psalm in chapter 3 is yet another matter that influences scholarly readings. Seybold 1991, 47, sees that it contains traditional material celebrating the advent of God, but that it was added in the book only late, close to the Persian period. Johnson 1985, 264, considers the psalm to be the vision that was promised to the prophet. For our purpose, it is noteworthy that this Psalm includes explicit statements of YHWH as delivering his people from the nations (3:12–13, 16) but that, as a whole, the same ambiguity can again be found concerning the internal/external enemies as in the previous chapters. It is possible that the pesherist did not know this Psalm, not as part of the Book of Habakkuk at least. Yet, if the Psalm was known to the pesherist, what would the reason be for leaving it out? Lim 2002a, 77, refers to the fading interest of the pesherist in commenting the text towards the end of the Pesher, but he remains uncertain. Perhaps the theophany functioned in itself and/or the Psalm would not have brought much new to the matter the pesherist wanted to say.

Table 3. The plot of the base-text and of the interpretation in the *Pesher Habakkuk.*

SCRIPTURE: Habakkuk 1–2 as it appears in 1QpHab		PESHER in 1QpHab	ENEMY (identification)
Hab 1:1–4 1QpHab 1:1–16a	fragmentary [The prophet complains to God about the violence and injustice.]	fragmentary ["the righteous one" who is surrounded by the wicked is probably identified as "the righteous teacher"]	not preserved
Hab 1:5–11 1QpHab 1:16b–4:15	[God addresses traitors]: he will do something unbelievable.	Three kinds of traitors, who do not believe in/are unfaithful to the words of the teacher/the covenant.	Traitors
	God will rouse the Chaldeans, who are described as powerful and frightening.	"Chaldeans" are identified as Kittim, whom all nations fear; peoples are destroyed because of their sins.	Kittim
Hab 1:12–17 1QpHab 4:16–6:12a	Chaldeans are God's tool for punishing his people.	God's Elect ones are God's tool for judging the wicked.	–
	The prophet laments about the silence when the wicked one swallows the righteous one.	The House of Absalom is silent in the conflict between the liar and the righteous teacher.	House of Absalom (Liar)
	The arrogance of the Chaldeans is described.	"Chaldeans" are identified as the arrogant and merciless Kittim.	Kittim
Hab 2:1–4 1QpHab 6:12b–8:2	God's answer: the vision will come true; the righteous shall live by faithfulness.	Habakkuk wrote the end-time vision; the teacher knows the secrets of prophets, but/that the secrets are more: the end is prolonged—those who stand firm will be saved	–
Hab 2:5–20 1QpHab 8:3–13:4	Five woes against the oppressor (of peoples): they will be plundered by those whom they plundered; they will draw doom upon themselves by their actions.	The oppressor and its actions are identified as the wicked priest (4 times), the priest (2–3 times), the liar (once), and the gentiles (twice). Doom: The last priests of Jerusalem who plundered the nations will be plundered by the Kittim; otherwise: illness, fire, day of judgment.	(Wicked) priest Liar Gentiles

Use of Habakkuk 1–2 in the Pesher

Since the beginning of the Pesher is fragmentary, it remains somewhat uncertain how the Pesher identified the "wicked" in verses Hab 1:2–4. The preserved expressions (rejection of the Law in 1QpHab 1:11, and "righteous teacher" in 1:13) suggest that it does speak about the Judean setting.[161]

Various significant variants exist in the Pesher, and I am able to discuss only some, the ones that are the most important for understanding the plot of the base-text quoted in the Pesher. First of all, it is probable, although the sentence has not been preserved, that the Pesher quoted Hab 1:5 not as in the MT, ראו בגוים, "look at the nations," but in accordance with the LXX, ראו בגדים, "look, traitors."[162] The pesher to this verse mentions traitors three times, which gives reason to presume (but does not prove) that the "traitors" were present in the *Vorlage*. According to the MT, God invites people/listeners[163] to look at the nations around: the Chaldeans, that is the Babylonians, are marching through the earth and seizing the dwellings of others. According to the LXX and the Pesher, on the other hand, God invites the traitors—the wicked in Israel?—to look at what he is doing: he will rouse the Chaldeans. In consequence of this reading, the pesherist identifies these traitors as those who do not belong to the new covenant, who do not follow the teacher and thus do not believe the revelation about the last generation. It is not clear what this revelation includes, but if it includes a judgment against the wicked generation, it is very close to the message of Hab 1:5: an unbelievable turn of events is coming. However, the pesher adds: the traitors have not believed or will not believe this. Familiar terms are applied in contemporary settings. The fact that the interpretation is very long, mentions the traitors three times, and includes a *vacat* and an "extra" pesher formula in the middle of the interpretation (1QpHab 2:5) gives reason to doubt that reworking has been going on here.[164] Yet, let us concentrate here on the main plot of the Pesher and its base text.

The Chaldeans described in Hab 1:6–11 are systematically identified as the "Kittim" or the "leaders of the Kittim" in the Pesher. However, no identification exists in the pesher of Hab 1:10a (1QpHab 4:1b–3), since the pesher uses verbal forms without indicating their subject—but it too most

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[161] See Lim 2000, 45–51, for discussion if the passage read the "wicked priest" or the "liar."

[162] The LXX reads ἴδετε, οἱ καταφρονταί; Ziegler 1984, 261.

[163] The subject of the imperative ראו is not mentioned.

[164] On this passage, see further below.

probably concerns the Kittim.[165] Identification has not been preserved for the quotation of Hab 1:6b, but it is obvious that the description of the ones who are marching and plundering the cities fits in the Kittim.

In Hab 1:12, Habakkuk acknowledged that the Chaldeans were sent as punishment. This was the reason for his second complaint: how can God look at all this evil that the enemy does? Here the Pesher is significant. The reader of the Pesher who knows the text of Habakkuk, even as it is in the Pesher, would perhaps expect the pesherist to identify the Chaldeans (indicated by the pronominal suffix "him") with the Kittim, as the ones whom God sends as punishment. This would at least fit well in the thought pattern: God's people have gone astray and deserve punishment, which is administered by the foreign enemy, here the Kittim—yet God controls this punishment: the gentiles are only his tools. But the pesherist does *not* state this. Instead, his interpretation is that God will *not* allow nations to destroy (his) people. The elect will judge all the nations. The pesher reads (1QpHab 4:16–5:8):

[הלוא אתה מקדם יהוה אלוהי קדשי לוא נמות יהוה]
למשפט שמתו וצור למוכיחו יסדתו טהור ע̇נים מראות ברע
והבט אל עמל לוא תוכל
פשר הדבר אשר לוא יכלה אל את עמ̇ ביד הגוים וביד בחירו יתן
אל את משפט כול הגוים ובתוכחתם יאשמו כל רשעי עמו אשר
שמרו את מצוותו בצר למו כיא הוא אשר אמר טהור עינים
מראות ברע   פשר אשר לוא זנו אחר עיניהם בקץ
הרשעה

4:16 [*…Are you not from old, YHWH my God, my Holy one? We shall not die. YHWH,*] 5:1 *for judgment you have appointed him; Rock, for his chastiser you have installed him. Eyes too pure* 2 *to look at evil, to stare at wrongdoing you cannot* (Hab 1:12–13a). *vacat* 3 Interpretation of the matter is that God will not destroy <his> people[166] by the hand of the nations 4 but in the hand of his elect God will give the judgment of all the nations, and through their chastisement 5 will be pronounced guilty all the wicked of his people, (by the chastisement of those) who kept his commandments 6 in their distress. For this is what he has said *eyes too pure to look* 7 *at evil. vacat* Its interpretation is that they have not run after the desire of their eyes during the period of 8 wickedness.

The pesher section deviates from the normal pattern of identification and commences with an אשר—sentence following the pesher formula. Unfortunately, the beginning of the quotation has not been preserved,

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[165] Similarly, Brooke 1991, 147.
[166] The suffix of "his people" is written above the line.

but the pesher gives a clue of its reading. In the MT, verse Hab 1:12 is a direct address to YHWH, except for the words "we shall not die." Scribal tradition (noted by *tiqqune ha-sopherim*) had probably altered the reading of "you (i.e. YHWH) shall not die" to "we shall not die" in order to avoid any suggestion that God could die.[167] This reading would explain why the pesher of the verse commences with the statement "God will not destroy <his> people." If the sense of the verb כלה (pi.) is "to (utterly) destroy, to bring to an end" (cf. Jer 5:3; 49:37), then perhaps the first sentence of the interpretation is referring to the *extent* to which the nations are allowed to destroy God's people. The nations do not have the last word but the elect will, and God is the utmost leader of both.

The quotation also includes variants and terms whose meaning in the context is not clear. The MT reads the end of verse Hab 1:12, וצור להוכיח יסדתו, "O Rock, for reproof you established him." The word צור stands in parallel to "YHWH" in the previous sentence. The LXX, however, reads the first word as a verb: ἔπλασέ με τοῦ ἐλέγχειν παιδείαν αὐτοῦ, "he formed me to chasten his teaching."[168] Brownlee suggests that the pesherist had yet another understanding: he took the term as an infinitive of צור, "to bind, besiege"/"to show hostility, be troubled." Furthermore, since the pesher reads a participle with a suffix למוכיחו, instead of להוכיח,[169] Brownlee translates the citation: "To suffer hast Thou established him, as their chastiser."[170] According to this translation, the verb צור is interpreted in the pesher with the words בצר למו, "in their distress" (5:6).[171] Brownlee's interpretation of the sentence is, however, not the simplest sense of the

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[167] See Lim 1997a, 100.

[168] According to Brownlee 1959, 27, the *Vorlage* may have been ויצרני/וצרני, a verb form of צור or יצר, "to form, fashion," plus 1st person singular object suffix; also the Syriac reads the object "me." In addition to this, the LXX read the last word as a noun, perhaps as מוסר, thus giving the translation, "he formed me to chasten his teaching."

[169] There is no evidence for the variant למוכיחו elsewhere. Unfortunately, verses 1:12–13 have not been preserved in the Greek Minor Prophets Scroll from Naḥal Ḥever (8ḤevXIIgr); the scroll from Murabbaʿat (MurXII) probably reads להוכיח; see reception of Habakkuk at Qumran by Fabry 2003, 251–56. Andersen 2001, 180, comments: "The variant reflects the interpretation that the Lord has set up the Chaldeans to be the accuser of some third party, presumably Judah." However, this is not the case in the Pesher.

[170] Brownlee 1979, 84–89. According to Koehler, Baumgartner et al. 1996, 1015, צור I has the meaning "to tie up, encircle," and צור II, "to harm, injure, damage." If the form were taken as a passive participle, the translation would be: "And the distressed one hast thou established as their chastiser," cf. Brownlee 1979, 89.

[171] See further Brownlee's suggestion that the words וצור למוכיחו of the quotation are broken in the pesher into בצר למו כיא הוא, Brownlee 1979, 88–89.

Hebrew words, and other possibilities certainly exist.[172] The variants and problems of interpretation suggest that the pesherist himself may have had difficulties with it. The essential thing is that the *pesherist reads the Elect into the quotation*: the object of God's actions ("him") is not the Chaldeans and thus not the Kittim, but the Elect.

Actually, the pesherist seems to divide the parallel verses of the quotation into two parts in his interpretation: the first part speaks of the judgment of the gentiles (1QpHab 5:3–4a; cf. 10:2–5), and the second part speaks of the guilt within the pesherist's own nation (5:4b–5a). The gentiles will be judged, but the "wicked of his people" will be shown guilty (יאשמו) by the chastisement of the Elect (בתוכחתם).[173] If two different forms of actions, not merely two objects, are involved, the term denoting chastisement is significant. The same root יכח (hif.) occurs in the passages of *serakhim* that speak of the act of reproof among the members of the community (1QS 5:24b–6:1a; CD 9:16b–20a). Furthermore, the yearly covenant renewal liturgy in 1QS includes the recitation by the Levites of "all the transgressions of their guilt" (כול פשעי אשמתם, 1QS 1:23), and the confession of sins and transgressions. On the basis of these observations, it is possible that "his people" refers to the members of the community, not all Israelites (cf. עם in 1QS 2:21).[174] One of the elements of the movement was the chastisement so that no one would fall away (cf. 1QS 5:6b–7a). This is supported by the fact that the following repetition of the quotation, "eyes too pure to look at evil," is not interpreted to concern God (as in the MT), but those who remain faithful, that is, members of the movement

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[172] Brownlee's solution is difficult for the interpretation of the last word יסדתו and its suffix. In the case that the pesherist understood the word צור as a noun (but not a vocative), it could read: "and (as) a rock for his chastiser, you have installed him." The rock may symbolize steadfastness during the distress, cf. Brownlee 1959, 26. The pesherist interpreted that the first "him" referred to the wicked, and the second "him" to the members of the community.

[173] The term בתוכחתם either means "in connection with the chastisement of the gentiles," or, and more likely, "through the chastisement by God's Elect," Brownlee 1979, 87. The noun בחירו may, in Qumran orthography, be a defective writing of the plural "his elect ones," Qimron 1986, 59. Theoretically, the plural suffix could also refer to the gentiles that precede this term—the gentiles would chastise the wicked—but this does not fit together with the rest of the pesher.

[174] Note, however, that not all terms in the *serakhim* and the *pesharim* are used similarly. E.g., in 1QpHab the term עצה is used in connection with the evil schemes of the Kittim, see Brooke 1991, 145, for scriptural allusions in the passage.

(5:5b–8a).[175] This underlines the deviation from the sense of the base-text:
it is faithfulness in distress that is the actual theme of the passage.

Regardless of the specific interpretation, the pesher deviates here from
the plot of the base-text as we understood it—as far as there is a consis-
tent plot in the base-text (see discussion on literary layers above). For
reasons that remain partly unclear, we find God's Elect at the judge's seat:
they will judge the nations[176] and probably also chastise the wicked, who-
ever these are. Furthermore, their distress gains special attention. If the
variants in the quotation were deliberately made, it would seem that the
pesherist *denies* the (positive) role of the Kittim as executing judgment on
the wicked. If the variants were not deliberate, the pesherist may be mak-
ing the most out of the quotation, trying to understand the Hebrew forms.
The ambiguity in the text of Habakkuk about the role of the Chaldeans
and about the sins and judgment of inside/outside enemy may well be
reflected in the Pesher.

Another significant variant occurs in the next quotation (Hab 1:13b).
According to the MT, the prophet addresses God and asks him why *he*
looks at traitors and keeps silent when the wicked swallows one more
righteous than him, thus including an implicit accusation against God.
The pesher reads: "Why *do you look (pl.)*, traitors, why do you keep (sg.)
silent when the wicked swallows one more righteous than him?"[177] In con-
tinuance with the previous pesher, this passage then does not deal with
theodicy, but with faithfulness, or rather betrayal. The traitors are identi-
fied as the House of Absalom who denied help to the teacher by keeping
silent.

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[175] A further difficulty in the passage is created by the odd placement of the אשר-
sentence (5:5): "who kept his commandments in their distress" does not seem to fit together
with the antecedent "all the wicked of his people." The אשר-sentence is usually seen to
refer to the elect of line 4. Horgan 1979, 32, has suggested that the sentence may have origi-
nally belonged to the beginning, thus giving: "God will not destroy his people who kept
his commandments in their distress." However, it is difficult to show how the scribe could
have left the sentence out and placed it in the end. It is perhaps possible to interpret the
action of chastisement as positive, so that these "wicked of his people" would be members
who are shown to be guilty (and who confess their guilt, cf. 1QS 1:24–2:1), who had followed
the commandments, and thus are part of the "jurisdiction" of the community.

[176] This should be compared to the *War Scroll*, in which the elect explicitly form God's
army but yet the war is God's. The nations will be delivered into the hands of "the poor,"
esp. 1QM 11:13. The poor are mostly depicted in terms of God's redemptive actions (11:9;
13:14) and the theme of promoting the lowly and bringing down the proud (11:13–14). The
poor do not have an independent active role, but, nevertheless, these passages may be
significant, when the *War Scroll* material is explored in relation to the role of the elect in
God's plans and possible redactional work in the scroll.

[177] See the suggestion of a deliberate modification here by Lim 1997a, 98–104.

In the consequent passages (5:12b–6:12), the Pesher again follows the plot of the base-text as we have it: the violent conqueror, the fisher of men, is identified with the Kittim.

A new section deals with verses Hab 2:1–4. God's answer to Habakkuk dealt with the vision that awaits its appointed time; the vision was to be written down. Surprisingly, the pesher explicitly concerns the subject of the quotation itself, prophet Habakkuk (the "I" of the Habakkuk text is explained to be the Prophet Habakkuk in the pesher). The "reader" of Habakkuk's vision is identified with the teacher of righteousness. Yet the pesher, in my view, remains faithful to the base-text to a large degree: as the prophet did not know the completion of the vision, this is the case with the teacher. Steadfastness is stressed. To argue for this interpretation, I will discuss the passage in more detail below.

The five woes that follow belong together. It is significant that none of them is interpreted to concern the Kittim specifically.[178] The interpretations concern the wicked priest, the priest, last priests of Jerusalem, the liar, and the gentiles in general. This is remarkable, considering that one central line of interpretation of the plot of Habakkuk was to understand the woes directed against the plundered of nations, the Chaldeans. But we noticed that the text of Habakkuk itself is multivalent on this, and likewise the woes or parts of it, could be understood as directed against oppressors in general. Here again we face the question: did the pesherist regard the Kittim as the divine tool of judgment? If interested in the Kittim, why did he not describe *their* punishment in the end? Above, the key passage 1QpHab 4:16–5:8 was analyzed, in which the quotation could be read as identifying the foreign enemy, the Chaldeans, as the divine tool of punishment, but the pesher went in the other direction (the Elect will judge the wicked). Furthermore, it is necessarily to take into account the scriptural allusions of the Pesher. The role of the enemy in the Pesher as a whole can thus be addressed.

Role of the Enemy

George Brooke has demonstrated how the pesherist uses certain scriptural traditions as source material for the Kittim in the Pesher. The most notable passages are Ex 15, Lev 26:36, Deut 20 and 28, 2 Chr 36, and Ezek 38.[179] Some of the allusions refer to passages, which speak about a

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178 However, see 1QpHab 9:6–7.
179 Brooke 1991, 135–59.

Table 4. Who is scoffing at whom? Possible allusion in 1QpHab 3:15–4:3.

Scoffing:	SCRIPTURE Hab 1:10a	SCRIPTURE 2 Chr 36:16	PESHER on Hab 1:10a (1QpHab 3:15–4:3)
subject	Chaldeans	God's people (and rulers)	(Kittim?)
verbs	קלס, שחק	לעב, בזה, תעע	לעג, בזה/בוז, תעע, קלס
object	kings, rulers	God's messengers and prophets	chiefs; notables; kings and princes; great people/army

foreign nation brought up against the people of God. I will take a closer look at 1QpHab 3:17–4:3, which alludes to 2 Chr 36.

The pesher in question quotes Hab 1:10a, "at kings they sneer and at rulers they laugh," which describes the Chaldeans. The subject of the pesher is probably the Kittim, although the pesher lacks the identification. The objects of the mocking in the pesher are chiefs, notables, kings and princes, and great people/army (see Table 4 below). Brooke shows that the pesherist employs almost identical verbs as in 2 Chr 36:16, which reads: "But they (i.e. the people) kept mocking the messengers of God, despising his words, and scoffing at his prophets, until the wrath of YHWH against his people became so great that there was no remedy." In the context of this verse, the leaders and the people of Judah are accused of following the abominations of the gentiles and polluting the Temple. God sent his messengers, but they were mocked and ridiculed (36:14–16). This resulted in the punishment through the Chaldeans (36:17). The temple was destroyed and the treasures plundered (36:18–19).

By using allusions to 2 Chr 36:16, the pesherist applies the vocabulary used of the people of Judah to describe the Kittim. If this is so, the purpose of this, however, is not clear. Brooke states of the pesherist that, "[t]hrough using 2 Chron. 36.16, he also underlines that he perceives the Kittim as a particular threat to the temple treasury."[180] Although a threat of some kind, the pesherist's use of this scriptural "source material" does not necessarily include the identification of the Kittim with the Chaldeans as a *punishing* tool of his people (even though the Chaldeans had this role in 2 Chr). Many of the allusions can be seen to stereotypically depict an

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[180] Brooke 1991, 148.

enemy that acts wickedly and arrogantly—even the most rich and power-ful people will not escape their power. If there is an allusion to punishment, it is implicit: the (wicked) leaders and people who have mocked God's messengers will now be mocked (by the foreign enemy).[181] Yet, the *objects* of the mocking in the pesher suggest that the passage is not necessarily aimed at Judean rulers, specifically. The pesherist could have employed a more specific list of Judean rulers.[182] It seems that he has rather referred to leaders in general, using terminology similar to 2 Chr 32:21, for example: "And YHWH sent an angel who cut off all the mighty warriors (כול כבור חיל) and commanders (נגיד) and officers (שר) in the camp of the king of Assyria."[183] It is military language, as in 1QM 12:7–9: "We will [treat] kings with contempt, with mockery and sneer at the heroes (ונתנו בוז למלכים לעז וקלס לגבורים), for the Lord is holy and the King of Glory is with us."[184] Therefore, despite the possible allusions to 2 Chr 36:16, I consider it justi-fied to say that the emphasis of the pesher is not on describing the punish-ment of the leaders but on describing the wicked acts of the conqueror.[185] The following pesher sees the leaders of the Kittim mocking and despising peoples and destroying them because of their sins. Most of the passages in the Pesher depict the Kittim as destroying and plotting against other peoples/nations (except 3:1 and 4:13 if the "land" refers to Judea). Thus, this passage falls in the same category: the Kittim deal shamelessly with the peoples, even their leaders.

This same interest—presenting the wicked acts of the Kittim in scrip-tural phraseology—may be visible in the pesherist's use of scriptural terminology connected to Gog, a prototypical end-time conqueror in Ezek 38.[186] Ezekiel not only depicts Gog as violently attacking Israel, but also God as punishing Gog. God has sovereignty and control. Gog is God's tool in demonstrating God's glory to other nations through what God does

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[181] There are other scriptural passages that depict God's punishment as including mockery by the gentiles, using similar vocabulary of the mockery as here (קלס, לעג, בזה, תעע, שחק): e.g., Ezek 22:4–5; Ps 44:14; 79:4; 80:7; 107:40.

[182] Note especially the lack of priests among the leaders, and compare the list of the Judean elite, e.g., "their kings, their princes, their priests, and their prophets" (Jer 2:26). Cf. also Jer 32:32; 44:21; Dan 9:6; Neh 9:32; Ezek 22:25–29.

[183] Cf. also שרים רבים and נכבדים in Num 22:15; Jer 39:13; Ps 149:7–8.

[184] Cf. also 1QM 14:11–12, and Brooke 1991, 148, on the influence of this passage.

[185] At the same time, the pesherist might make a link, with the help of the allusion to 2 Chr 36:16, between the wicked acts of the conqueror and the wicked acts of the *native* leaders, but again, this speaks rather about the character of wrongful leaders, not about their role in the overall divine punishing scheme.

[186] According to Brooke 1991, 145–51, especially in 1QpHab 3:2–6; 4:3–9; 5:12–6:8.

to Gog (38:21–23). This is also explicit in the *War Scroll*: in 1QM 11, God is praised and acknowledged for winning military victory, similar to the hymn in Ex 15; the war is his.[187] He is the one who will wage war against the forces of Belial and the Kittim as he did against the forces of Pharaoh. The use of this phraseology of the Kittim in the *Pesher Habakkuk* emphasizes *the wickedness of the conqueror* and *God's role in future events*.

Therefore, when we come across the Kittim in the end section in 1QpHab 8:13–9:7, they are not presented as a divine *tool* for punishment nor directly the divine *target* of punishment:

כי אתה שלותה גוים רביׄם וישלוכה כול יתר עמים	15
פׄ[שר הדבר]עׄׄל הכוהן אשר מרד *vacat*	16
[ ]ר חוקי [אל]ללו בׄו לׄ[ ] [○]ׄ[ ] [ ]	17
top margin	
נגועו במשפטי רשעה שערוריות מחלים	1
רעים עשו בו ונקמות בגוית בשרו ואשר	2
אמר כי אתה שלותה גוים רבים וישלוכה כול	3
יתר עמים *vacat* פשרו על כוהני ירושלם	4
האחרונים אשר יקבוצו הון ובצע משלל העמים	5
ולאחרית הימים ינתן הונם עם שללם ביד	6
חיל הכתיאים *vacat* כיא המה יתר העמים	7

15 *Yes, you yourself have plundered many nations, now the rest of the peoples will plunder you.* (Hab 2:7–8a) 16 *vacat* [This]r[efers] to the priest who rebelled 17 [ ] the commandments of [God] him [ ] 1 inflicting upon him the punishments due to such horrible wickedness, perpetrating upon him painful 2 diseases, acts of retaliation against his mortal body. But the verse that 3 says, *Yes, you yourself have plundered many nations, now the rest of 4 the peoples will plunder you, vacat* refers to the later priests of Jerusalem, 5 who will gather ill-gotten riches from the plunder of the peoples, 6 but in the Last Days their riches and plunder alike will be handed over to 7 the army of the Kittim, *vacat* for they are *the rest of the peoples.*

The "you" of the text of Habakkuk referred to the oppressors, the target of the woes. As noted above, it is significant that the woes against the wicked in Hab 2:5–20 are not identified with the Kittim, the foreign enemy, in the Pesher (as could be expected since the foreign enemy was one reason for prophets' complaints) but mostly the woes are identified with the native enemy, the wicked priests. In this passage, the individual plunderer ("you") is first identified with one individual wicked priest and then with other

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[187] E.g., "…in order to show yourself great and holy in the eyes of the remainder of the nations, so that they know […] you shall carry out sentence on Gog and on all his gathering" (1QM 11:15–16).

priests in Jerusalem. The "rest of the peoples" who will repay this plundering are identified with the Kittim to whom the riches of the wicked priests will be handed.[188] The true enemies are therefore the wicked priests who are not only paralleled with the foreign enemy/oppressor but who must taste their own medicine—from the hand of the foreign enemy. The Kittim have a mixed role, by no means purely a punishing role, as Brooke's comments on this passage indicate:[189]

> Although the passage is not necessarily speaking favourably of the Kittim's action, several scholars have interpreted this reference to the Kittim as depicting them in a good light as the ones through whom God punishes the wicked people. This portrayal is then contrasted with that of the War Scroll (1QM), in which the Kittim feature as the eschatological enemy, and the difference is explained by describing different settings for each work. But this process of reconstruction is not entirely valid. For one thing, it tends to minimize or omit references to the role of the Kittim in devastating the land as described earlier in 1QpHab in the interpretations of the dialogue sections of Habakkuk; for another, it tends not to allow 1QM to speak of the Gentile destruction of any Israelites, even though this may be part of the broader eschatological plan of the scroll.

The above manner of reading the Pesher as a whole, however, is challenged by Hanan Eshel's recent article "The Two Historical Layers of Pesher Habakkuk."[190] Eshel suggests that the Pesher has undergone redaction in two stages. The original layer of the Pesher interpreted Hab 1–2 and commented on the events during the lifetime of the teacher, the liar, and the wicked priest (second century B.C.E.), with the belief that the gentile power was soon to fall. The later expansion and revision of the Pesher (found especially in the sections on the Kittim, in 1QpHab 2:10–4:13 and 5:12–6:12) took place after the Roman invasion in 63 B.C.E., and reflected the loss of the hope of victory over the foreign enemy.

Eshel's arguments are not completely convincing to me. First, Eshel points out that there is a gap of some 50 years between the two sets of events that most scholars have identified in the Pesher: the events connected with the teacher of righteousness and the wicked priest (in this interpretation, Jonathan) and the events connected with the Kittim (Romans) in the mid-first century B.C.E. However, an alternative theory

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[188] On the plural "rest of the peoples" identified with a single nation, the Kittim, see Eshel 2009, 113, and the discussion below. Cf. the term יתר in 1QpHab 7:7.

[189] Brooke 1991, 155.

[190] Eshel 2009, 107–17.

holds that the "wicked priest" could be identified with several different priests,[191] and there are also scholars who would place the wicked priest in the first century B.C.E. (see below). But even if the single identification with Jonathan was accepted, it only brings forward the nature of the Pesher: it struggles with the problem of the wickedness, as did Habakkuk. It makes perfect sense that the pesherist, close to the time of the Roman invasion, would have asked the question what kind of event the coming of the Romans was, and answered by looking back: this was not the final punishment for the wicked of Israel, who indeed were even a greater problem for the covenanters than was the foreign enemy. God had already sent individual punishments for the wicked priests and had preserved the faithful ones, but, in the end, he will judge both the wicked of Israel and the gentiles. The answer that the Prophet Habakkuk received was thus valid for the covenanters: remain faithful and keep on the right side; God's plan will be fulfilled when the time comes.[192]

Eshel convincingly argues that 1QpHab is not an autograph but a copy of an earlier manuscript. However, the scribal marks do not point to any redaction as such but Eshel makes his case on the basis of content in the literary units of the Pesher. He notes that the teacher-sections and the Kittim-sections are separate—but does not mention the obvious reason for this: the base-text speaks of the Chaldeans only in specific sections and the pesherist is consistent in applying these to the Kittim. On the unit in 1QpHab 2:10–4:13, which interprets the first description of the frightful Chaldeans in Hab 1:6–11, Eshel remarks: "None of the pesharim in this unit claim that the Kittim will eventually fall into the hands of Israel."[193] But how could the pesherist claim this, since that would go against the very plot and message of the text of Habakkuk: in this section, the writer paints into the scene the fierceness and the cruelty of the foreign enemy, and that arouses the prophet's second complaint. It is natural that the pesherist similarly identifies the fierceness and cruelty of the enemy of his time, the Kittim/Romans. On another unit that includes the teacher (1QpHab 4:16–5:12), Eshel thinks that it reflects a belief in the approaching destruc-

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[191] Woude 1982, 349–59, and see Lim 1993, 415–25.

[192] In this interpretation, it is tempting to take the three different traitor-groups of column 2 as an "introduction" of all the wicked in Israel that the Pesher is dealing with: those during the time of the teacher, those after him, and those in the latter days when a new test emerges, the Romans.

[193] Eshel 2009, 111.

tion of the gentile power. It is true that here the pesher might claim the opposite of the base text, as discussed above (the gentile enemy is not the punisher but the punishment will be trusted to the chosen ones), but in no sense is the enemy depicted in the pesher as having become weaker and soon to be destroyed, as Eshel suggested; on the contrary, the righteous are still living in the time of distress and time of wickedness.

Eshel also studies the section in 1QpHab 8:13–9:7 that I discussed above. He considers it odd that the plural "rest of the peoples" was interpreted to be a single nation, the Kittim, unless the scribe knew that it was the Romans who plundered the Hasmoneans. Eshel thinks that the original pesher had a different identification, *many* nations, and this was later changed to the Romans in the redaction. The possibility of an addition (of the latter pesher section in 9:3–7) could be considered here, since the pesher includes a double referent, one referring to an individual wicked priest and the other to many (wicked) priests. However, if the Pesher dates after or very close to the advent of the Romans, there is no problem in assuming that the pesherist indeed knew who would pay back the wicked priests. It is not rare in the *pesharim* that singular items in quotations are identified with plural items in the pesher and *vice versa*. Also, יתר העמים could have the sense of "what is left of the peoples" and could have been understood by the pesherist to refer to one main enemy who remains to pay back.

This objection is not to say that the Pesher could not have been revised or even updated. However, in my reading of the plot of the base-text and the Pesher as a whole, I do not find it at all odd that there are indeed distinct units in the Pesher, some speaking of the enemy and some speaking of the teacher, and that the notion of the role of the foreign enemy was not unequivocal, as it could be seen as ambiguous already in the text of Habakkuk. The theory of the two historical layers, one on the teacher and one on the Kittim, does not, in my view appreciate this use of and play on the plot, which makes the Pesher a sort of rewriting of the prophetic "narrative" and gives us the key to understand its message.

The high point of Hab 1–2 was seen to be in God's answer to the Prophet in Hab 2:1–4, and I will argue in the following that these verses and their interpretation also form the high point of the *Pesher Habakkuk*.

The Prophet and the Teacher of Righteousness

The famous passage on the teacher (6:12b–8:3a) reads:

על משמרתי אעמודה	12
ואתיצבה על מצורי ואצפה לראות מה ידבר	13
בי ומה�ֿ] אשיב ע]ל תֿ{ו}כחתי ויענני יהוה	14
[ויומר כתוב חזון וב]אֿר על הלוחות למען ירוֿץ	15
[הקורא בו פשר הדב]רֿ אֿ[שר]	16

וידבר אל אֿל חבקוק לכתוב את הבאות על	1
{על} הדור האחרון ואת גמר הקץ לוא הודעו	2
vacat ואשר אמר למען יﬞרﬞוﬞ הקורא בו	3
פשרו על מורה הצדק אשר הודיעו אל את	4
כול רזי דברי עבדיו הנבאים כיא עוד חזון	5
למועד יפיח לקץ ולוא יכזב *vacat*	6
פשרו אשר יארוך הקץ האחרון ויתר על כול	7
אשר דברו הנביאים כיא רזי אל להפל{א}ה	8
אם יתמהמה חכה לו כיא בוא יבוא ולוא	9
יאחר *vacat* פשרו על אנשי האמת	10
עושי התורה אשר לוא ירפו ידיהם מעבודת	11
האמת בהמשך עליהם הקץ האחרון כיא	12
כול קיצי אל יבואו לתכונם כאשר חקק	13
להֿם ברזי ערמתו הנה עופלה לוא יושרה	14
[נפשו בו] *vacat* פשרו אשר יכפלו עליהם	15
[חטאתיהם ו]ל[וא]ירצו במשפטם [ ]לֿ[ ] [	16
] וצדיק באמונתו יחיה]	17

פשרו על כול עושי התורה בבית יהודה אשר	1
יצילם אל מבית המשפט בעבור עמלם ואמנתם	2
בֿמורה הצדק	3

12 So I will stand on watch 13 and station myself on my watchtower and wait for what He will say 14 to me, and [what I will reply t]o my rebuke. Then the Lord answered me 15 [and said, 'Write down the vision pl]ainly on tablets, so that with ease 16 [someone can read it.' (Hab 2:1–2) Thi]s[refers]t[o]

1 then God told Habakkuk to write down what is going to happen to 2 {to} the generation to come; but when that period would be complete He did not make known to him. 3 *vacat* When it says, *so that* ^with ease^ *someone can read it,* 4 this refers to the teacher of righteousness to whom God made known 5 all the mysterious revelations of his servants the prophets.

For a prophecy testifies of 6 a specific period; it speaks of that time and does not deceive. (Hab 2:3a) *vacat* 7 This means that the Last Days will be long, much longer 8 than the prophets had said;[194] for God's revelations are truly mysterious.

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[194] Alternative translation: "go beyond what the prophets said."

9 *If it tarries, be patient, it will surely come true and not be* 10 *delayed.* (Hab 2:3b) *vacat* This refers to those loyal ones, 11 obedient to the Law, whose hands will not cease from loyal 12 service even when the Last Days seems long to them, 13 for all the times fixed by God will come about in due course as He ordained that 14 they should by his inscrutable insight.

See how bloated, not smooth, 15 [*his soul is!*] (Hab 2:4a) *vacat* This means that their sins will be doubled against them 16 [and they will]n[ot] find favor when they come to judgment [   ]

17 [*But the righteous man is rewarded with life for his fidelity.* (Hab 2:4b)] 1 This refers to all those who obey the Law among the Judeans whom 2 God will rescue from among those doomed to judgment, because of their suffering and their loyalty 3 to the teacher of righteousness.[195]

Very often scholars refer to only part of the passage, mostly 1QpHab 6:12b–7:8 or even less, but it is necessary to take under discussion the complete section as it forms a crux of the Pesher. On the basis of the passage, or parts of it, it is often claimed that—in the beliefs of the pesherist—the righteous teacher held a superior position over the Prophet Habakkuk concerning revelation: the prophet knew only the words of the prophecy but the teacher knew the meaning of the prophecy.[196] Berrin points out that it is uncertain if the referent of "him" in the sentence "when that period would be complete He did not make known to him"[197] is the prophet or the righteous teacher, and therefore, "the level of understanding ascribed to the prophet is simply not clear in the pesher."[198] I find it more likely that the referent is the prophet, but on the other hand, I suggest that the passage as a whole asserts that the teacher did not know the fulfillment of the time *either*.[199] Let us take a closer look at each section.

According to the Pesher, the prophet Habakkuk was the writer of the tablets that included the divine answer to the prophet's complaint, a vision. The teacher is the reader. The passage in 7:3–5 asserts that the teacher had

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[195] The translation follows Tov 2006, with minor alterations.
[196] E.g., Fraade 2011, 42 (reprint of Fraade 1993): "But the true significance of that prophetic message, that is, its fuller and more specific redemptive meaning, was hidden from the prophets and their audience and only revealed to the Teacher of Righteousness," and recently, García Martínez 2010a, 240: "What was not revealed to the Prophet has been made known to the Teacher."
[197] Or, alternatively, "the fulfillment of the end-time he did not let him know."
[198] Berrin 2004, 13–14. For the view that "him" refers to the teacher, see the literature in note 47. This interpretation is possible since the final lines of column 6 have not been preserved; after the quotation of Hab 2:1–2, the pesher section probably commenced with the interpretation of verse 2:1 (on the prophet at the watch post) before turning to interpret verse 2:2 (on the divine answer and the writing).
[199] See already Jokiranta 2006, 254–63.

special revelation from God about the secrets of the prophets: God had revealed to the teacher כול רזי דברי עבדיו הנבאים. But what were these secrets? Prophet Habakkuk knew what would happen to the last generation but not גמר הקץ, the "completion of the time" (7:1–2). What did the teacher know then? The Pesher does not claim that the teacher had any knowledge superior to the prophets. The following passage in 7:5–14 states that the final period will be long and it goes *beyond* (יתר) what the prophets said, for God's secrets are wonderful. This is an important statement, of which, as far as I can see, there are two possible interpretations.

The first is that the teacher's knowledge was restricted to the divine mysteries *contained in* the prophets; the teacher knew only the secrets of the prophets (especially what would happen to the final generation), but could not master *all* God's secrets (especially since the end of the time was not included in the prophets). Since the final period will go beyond or exceed what the prophets say, the prophets could not have written down all the secrets (whether the prophets themselves understood this or not), and thus the teacher has no chance to know them either or to have the final word on the divine plans. This would have been a skillful way of avoiding the reduction of the teacher's expertise even though the group may have moved on and developed its teaching about the end of times (cf. below, the discussion about different scenarios for the historical teacher). Annette Steudel has suggested that the historical teacher provided an end-time calculation that failed, and this failure was addressed here.[200] But even without such specific calculations, this would give the teacher the position he was seen to deserve but, at the same time, opened the back door: God's set plan might still be in progress and would only be known in due time (e.g., in the form of this Pesher and by being part of this revelatory tradition). The teacher indeed could read the "tablet," the prophets, but there is yet a superior message to be followed: patience.

The second option is to understand that the teacher knew exactly the secret that the prophet Habakkuk also knew: *that* the end of time is not known but that it will eventually come and that the only answer is to remain faithful.[201] This is the special message of this particular prophet, the prophet Habakkuk; the other "prophets" (7:5, 8) are an undefined category in the background. Therefore, even if some in the movement

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[200] Steudel 1993, 235–36. Also Baumgarten 1997a, 178–80. Talmon 1989, 284–87, interprets the teacher, not as a founding prophet of the group but a guide in a millenarian movement that was disappointed in its expectations.

[201] I am grateful to Prof. Albert Baumgarten for pointing this out to me.

expected or were expecting the end at a specific time, those who remain loyal to the teacher, knowing that the end is not known, would be vindicated in the end.

The difference between these options depends on how the "secrets" or "mysteries" are understood: are the secrets about the overall message about the divine plan or are the secrets rather about the limits of human knowledge in perceiving the divine plan? Generally, רז denotes cosmic knowledge that God reveals to selected individuals.[202] The difference can also be related to the larger question of the nature of the Pesher. In the first reading, the section in 1QpHab 7:5b–8 (that the last days will be long and go beyond the prophets) is not about what the teacher knew but about what the pesherist knew; the *pesharim* are not authored by the teacher and do not go back to his teaching specifically. In the second option, the passage 1QpHab 7:5b–8 is reflective of what the teacher used to teach (or is thought to have taught), and the Pesher derives its authority directly from the teacher. In the first option, the loyalty to the teacher is loyalty to his movement and perhaps to the belief of how legal interpretation was organized and received in the movement. In the second option, the loyalty to the teacher means loyalty to his open-ended end-time scenario and thus waiting patiently, despite pressures to the contrary.

I tend to opt for the first option because of my prototypical reading of the teacher (see below): the teacher was not brought forward in the *pesharim* as a unique teacher but as a prototype of what it means to belong to the movement. Moreover, the "vision" to be written down is explained in the Pesher to be about the forthcoming events (1QpHab 7:1), not about the fact that the time of these events is not known.

A central culmination point of the Book of Habakkuk is the answer the prophet received to his question "how long:" one has to be patient, for "the righteous man is rewarded with life for his fidelity" (Hab 2:4b). This verse is interpreted in the Pesher so that "the righteous" are the law-keepers who are being saved "because of their suffering and their loyalty to the teacher of righteousness" (1QpHab 8:1–3). What is the meaning of the loyalty to the teacher? Again, there are several alternatives: the loyalty to the teacher is 1) loyalty to the Law that he expounded, 2) loyalty to the group he founded, 3) loyalty to a fate similar to the one the teacher faced, 4) loyalty to the understanding of the final period taught by the teacher. The key to choosing between these options can be found in the fact that

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[202] E.g., Nissinen 2008, 529–30.

the loyalty/faithfulness in the pesher section derives from the quotation, "the righteous man will live because of his faithfulness" (Hab 2:4b).[203] The in-group members are the righteous ones who are "those who observe the law in the house of Judah." Faithfulness to the Torah is the criterion of salvation; faithfulness to the teacher is rather a consequence of being among the law-keepers. In other words, group identity is defined by Torah faithfulness, but there are other correlated attributes involved that are not original criteria of categorization.[204] In the world of the *Pesher Habakkuk*, the faithfulness to the teacher appears primarily in the form of alternatives 3 and 4: those loyal to him are ready to suffer and forbear, even though the time seems long, as did their teacher who showed them that the final times are at hand and that God is bringing judgment.[205]

Yet one final passage remains to be discussed that bears relevance to the perception of the teacher's character and activity in the *Pesher Habakkuk*. The passage at the beginning of 1QpHab (1:16–2:10) was briefly discussed above for its variant reading in Hab 1:5 ("traitors" in comparison to the MT's "nations"). Thus the verse of Habakkuk, as it is possibly quoted in the Pesher, invited the traitors to witness an unbelievable turn of events. The interpretation grabs the motif of unbelief and deals with three traitor-groups.

ראו בגדים והביטו[

17   [והתממהו תמהו כיא פעל פועל בימיכם לוא תאמינו כיא

top margin

1   יסופר *vacat* [פשר הדבר על]הבוגדים עם איש

2   הכזב כי לוא[האמינו בדברי] מורה הׄצׄדׄקׄה מפיא

3   אל ועל הבוג[דים בברית] החדשה כֹ]יׄ[א]לֹו[א

4   האמינו בברית אל [ויחללו[את ש[ם]קֹודשו

5   וכן *vac* פשר הדבר[על הבו]גדים לאחרית א

6   הימים המה עריצֹי הבר]יׄ[ת אשר לוא יאמינוא

7   בשומעם את כול הבאֹ[ות ע]לֹ[ ]הדור האחרון מפי

8   הכוהן אשר נתן אל ב[לבו בינ]ה לפשור אֹת כול

9   דברי עבדיו הנביאים[אשר]בׄידם ספר אל את

10   כול הבאות על עמו ועֹ]דתו [

[203] This citation has not been preserved in 1QpHab, but is probably to be reconstructed following the reading of the MT at the end of column 7.

[204] Cf. Tajfel 1981b, 150.

[205] The option 1 (loyalty to the teacher's interpretation of the Torah) can only be brought here through other sources, mainly CD 20, and by identifying the teacher with the "interpreter of the law" in CD. Option 2 (loyalty to the teacher as the founder of the congregation) is found in a closer source, in 4QpPsᵃ 3:14–17, which states that God chose the teacher to build him a congregation.

> 16 ['*Look, traitors, and see,* 17 *and be shocked, for the Lord is doing some-*
> *thing in your time that you would not believe it if*] 1 *it were told.*' (1:5) *vacat*
> [This passage refers to] the traitors with the man of 2 the lie, because they
> did not [believe the words of] the teacher of righteousness from the mouth
> of 3 God. It also refers to the trai[tors to the] New [Covenant], be[cau]se
> they did[no]t 4 believe in God's covenant [and desecrated] his holy na[me];
> 5 and finally, *vacat* it refers [to the trai]tors in the Last 6 Days. They are the
> enem[ies of the covena]nt who will not believe 7 when they hear everything
> that is to co[me up]on the latter generation that will be spoken by 8 the
> priest in whose [heart] God has put [the abil]ity to explain all 9 the words
> of his servants the prophets, through [whom] God has foretold 10 everything
> that is to come upon his people and [his] com[munity].

The enemies will not believe the teacher, the covenant, or the future
events of the last generation, spoken by the "priest."[206] Two observations
are important. This priest knows only as much as God reveals to him from
the prophets. This, of course, is not the main message of the pesherist who
wishes to accuse the traitors of the covenant who deny the authorities
that God has sent them. However, if the priest is identical to the teacher,
the information of this passage is, in my view, setting and preparing the
scene for the later statement (in columns 7 and 8) about the teacher: the
teacher did have authoritative and inspired knowledge of the meaning of
the prophets, which basically tells about the crucial times that are at hand
and God's judgment, but, in light of 7:5–8, the teacher might not know all
that there is as to the length of the time and perhaps to the amount of
suffering his followers must endure.

The second observation is that the priest has the ability to "pesher"
the prophets. If again the priest is identified with the teacher, the state-
ment might be taken to mean that the *pesharim are* the interpretation
by the teacher.[207] However, nowhere in this Pesher or in other *pesharim*
do the authors claim that the pesher sections were direct interpretation
by the teacher. Rather, they wish to point out the relevance of the
teacher's teaching and his God-given knowledge to which the pesher
authors and their teaching are definitely faithful.[208]

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[206] In CD 1, it was not clear if it is the teacher or God who will reveal the fate of the
final generation; here it is the "priest." New information provided by the *Pesher Habakkuk*
is also that this revelation will be derived from the prophets. Yet it is God who will report
these things.

[207] According to Lim 2002b, 76–77, it is likely that the teacher established the pesher
type of interpretation.

[208] It is possible, however, that the teachings of the teacher are thought to be preserved
by the group (note the *yiqtol* in 2:6) and that the group is to continue in this tradition

If, on the other hand, the priest is *not* identical with the teacher[209] but is some other authority in the (later) movement, the passage confirms my reading (elaborated below) according to which the group is presented as very similar to the teacher, since they both receive divine information about the prophets. In this case, the reader might more easily draw the conclusion that the secrets of the prophets are being revealed in the form of the *pesharim*. The first section of the passage referred to the teacher and his words, and this latter section, perhaps a later addition, refers to the ability to continuously "pesher" divine words—that is, to reveal their hidden meaning as in the explanation of dreams. The results of this peshering activity do not necessarily need to refer exactly (or only) to this Pesher work at hand, but certainly the reader/listener might easily associate the verb *pšr* with the frequently occurring *pšr*-nouns.

The verb *pšr* deserves attention since it is quite rare in the DSS. If it bears the connotation that the root has in Mesopotamian dream divination, that is, *releasing* the person from the bad consequences of a dream, as has recently been argued,[210] then this passage proclaims all the more that the priest has received from God power to release people. The passage pronounces judgment for all enemies who did not believe when they were told the secrets, and redemption from judgment for all the readers or listeners—to those who have learned the movement's teachings earlier but also at the present moment to those who find therapeutic relief by hearing the message of this text.[211] The prophetic characterization of the teacher will be discussed in more detail below.

This chapter has sought to demonstrate the importance of the plot of the base-text for understanding the *pesharim*. The teacher appears at the high points of the plot: in the interpretations of the first and the

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(7:6–8). Those who do not join the group or those who leave it reject the in-group's teaching as well. Similarly, Stuckenbruck 2010, 32–36, states that "the author takes the mantel of the Teacher's authority upon himself" (p. 33).

[209] Thus García Martínez 2010a.

[210] Nissinen 2009, 45–47.

[211] Note the occurrence of the expression in the pesher (2:5–6). Steudel 1993 defines the expression אחרית הימים as "a limited period of time, that is the last of [the] series of divinely pre-planned periods into which history is divided." This period covers aspects of past, present and future. The expression does not describe the eschatological end-time in the sense of the end of history, but rather the "transition to another period of time," the future time of God's visitation, a *change* of act, see Xeravits 2003, 6–7. In the scriptures, the expression is used in connection with the distress that the people encounter, with an explanation of this distress, and with the change that God brings about. On this basis, the expression may be understood as time of turning to God and God's significant acts. See also Brooke 1985, 177, and Talmon 2003, 795–810.

second answer to the prophet. The figure is thus part of the answer that the pesherist wishes to convey to his readers. The nature of the answer, however, is not quite so simple and will be understood correctly only by acknowledging the prototypical character of the teacher's information. I will thus come back to the teacher in the later sub-chapters: first, drawing together the information in both the *Pesher Psalms* and the *Pesher Habakkuk* and arguing for its prototypicality and, lastly, discussing the teacher in relation to historical scenarios proposed in scholarship.

Identity Construction in the Pesher Habakkuk

As we saw above, the Pesher is fairly faithful to the plot of Hab 1–2, distinguishing between the different sections. To summarize the plot of the Book of Habakkuk, at the beginning the prophet complains about the violence in the land and the well-being of the wicked (1:2–4). God's answer is the Chaldeans, a frightening and cruel nation (1:5–11). But the prophet is not entirely satisfied with God's way of dealing with wickedness by means of more wickedness (1:12–17). He laments about the silence when the wicked swallows a person more righteous than he is. In chapter 2, God promises a vision that will come true in time. The faithful shall live. The violent and greedy actions of the conqueror are then condemned in five woes (2:5–19); the conqueror himself will be destroyed because of his deeds. Chapter 3 of Habakkuk is not quoted by the pesherist.

The most obvious scheme of the final form of the scriptural text is thus 1) the wickedness among the people, 2) the foreign nation that comes to punish the people, and 3) the oppressing nation is accused and will be punished itself. This is more or less the text that the pesherist knew. What was his choice and emphasis? How did he deal with the scheme and entirety of the scriptural text?

The pesherist ignored the genres of prayer and lament in the scriptural text. He sought for identifications. In doing so, he painted a picture in which the enemies surround the righteous. We found that the enemy of the scriptural text is identified not only as a foreign power, the Kittim, but the five woes against the oppressor are applied to the (wicked) priest/liar, and to the Gentiles in general.

Similar to Habakkuk, the pesherist stresses God's rule and power in the judgment; the foreign rule will not have the last word. What is striking is that the pesherist does not explicitly state that the Kittim are sent by God to punish the wicked—on the contrary he seems to deny it in 1QpHab 4:16–5:8. This passage is difficult to interpret and includes variants

compared with the Masoretic Text, but the basic idea of punishment through the hand of the nations seems to be denied. In interpreting the woes of the oppressor, the pesherist does see the Kittim as bringing doom upon the wicked priests (1QpHab 9:3–7, perhaps in 9:8–9; 10:2–5). But the punishment of the wicked priests is not really executed by the Kittim exclusively: they will take the wealth of the last priests (9:3–7), but otherwise the Pesher refers to disease brought upon the wicked priest (9:1–2, 10–11), to fire (10:5, 13), to the anger of God (11:14), and simply to destruction by God (10:2–5; 12:5; 13:3–4), without any clear reference to a foreign power. Thus, the Kittim are vividly described—and at the most—as exercising the limited task of being part of divine punishment. The scheme of the Pesher is: 1) wickedness of the people: wicked priest, traitors, 2) a foreign power is coming (but not as punishment?), 3) both the wicked and the nations are punished by God.

Steadfastness is required both from the prophet Habakkuk and his readers and from the readers of the Pesher. This is perhaps the most emphatic element in the Pesher. *Faithfulness in distress* is promoted. Faithfulness is, above all, patience in waiting God's intervention: the mysteries revealed to the righteous teacher have not been void, and the group is still the covenant community that observes the Torah (1QpHab 7:1–8:2). Whether the distress was primarily perceived as the threat caused by the coming of the Romans or by the wicked actions of the priests in Jerusalem is not certain. As a result of our reading of Hab 1–2, it seems that both were the concern of the prophet and both were the concern of the pesherist. The gentile enemy and the "domestic" enemy were put on the same line, outside, and the insiders were reminded that this message was exactly the one that the traitors were not willing to accept. Loyalty was the value of the Pesher.

This phenomenon is what social identity theorists would call social creativity: when members of a group are not satisfied with its present status but cannot leave the group, they have to create a positive re-evaluation of the in-group. As we explained above, this may be done by means of several strategies: groups may find new dimensions with which to compare themselves, or they may redefine the value of an existing comparison so that what was regarded as weakness is seen as strength. Groups may also select new out-groups for inter-group comparisons. These strategies, if successful, will bring the group a positive social identity, even if its status has not changed.

Selecting new dimensions for inter-group comparisons is represented in the *Pesher Habakkuk* when it is no longer a question of breaking God's covenant and about the details of right halakhah but of being faithful

to the movement and belonging to the elect ones. The *Pesher Habakkuk* recurrently refers to the traitors or presumes their presence. "Since they are not with us, they are against us:" the traitors are placed in the enemy camp together with the wicked; and the wickedness of the inside-enemy is paralleled with that of the gentile-enemy. The righteous will judge all of them in the final act by God.

Redefining existing dimensions in the intergroup comparison is exemplified in the redefinition of the afflictions as true markers of the faithful ones. The presence of foreigners—the sword—was one curse of the covenant, as were for example diseases. However, in the Pesher these afflictions do not come as curses to the in-group but as punishment for the wicked, and as testing, a restricted time of distress for the righteous. Those who suffer voluntarily now are shown to be on the right side.

For both the *Pesher Psalms* and the *Pesher Habakkuk*, a central identity-constructing element was the righteous teacher, to which we shall turn in the following section.

Teacher from the Identity Construction Perspective

Prototypical Teacher in the Pesharim

The purpose of this chapter is to draw together the scarce material regarding the teacher, already touched upon above, and to apply insights from the sociological theory of prototypes to argue that the teacher of the *pesharim* represents an ideal community member who captures some essential characteristics of group's identity. The aim is to better understand the outlook of specific *pesharim* themselves, not to form a theory of the historical teacher. In the end, however, this perspective will be discussed in relation to the different historical reconstructions about the teacher.

Above, we have already surveyed the social identity in the *Pesher Psalms* and the *Pesher Habakkuk*. Various group labels are the most evident sign of specific group identities that are promoted in the *pesharim*.[212] The texts are not about individual piety, nor do they speak of a neutral third party, such as might be the subject of a scriptural study. The texts—quotations and their interpretations—create a dichotomy between the righteous and

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[212] For the in-group: the men of truth, the chosen of God, the congregation of his elect, the congregation of the poor, the poor, his holy people, those who do His will; see the table by Lim 2002b, 41–42.

the wicked, and thus call for identification with the right side, the right group.[213]

The possibility exists that the teacher figure functions differently in different texts, and each occurrence has to be taken on its own. In its full form, the title מורה הצדק, 'the teacher of righteousness' or 'the righteous teacher,'[214] has about a dozen occurrences,[215] most of which are found in the *Pesher Habakkuk*. My argument is that the best-preserved passages concerning the teacher, which are found in the *Pesher Psalms* and in the *Pesher Habakkuk*, contain information which falls into two thematic categories: the teacher as a persecuted person (4QpPs[a] 2:16–21; 4:7–10;[216] 1QpHab 5:8–12; 9:8–12; 11:3–8), and the privileged teacher (4QpPs[a] 1:25–2:1; 3:14–17; 1QpHab 1:[16]–2:10; 7:3–5; 7:[17]–8:2).[217] The following presentation does not enter into detailed connections between quotations and interpretations, but hopes to show the connection that has perhaps not been emphasized so far: the similarities between the portrait of the teacher and of the in-group.

A group *prototype* is the best (theoretical) representative of the group, which maximizes the out-group differences and minimizes the in-group differences with reference to the dimensions which are held to correlate with the group categorization. The high degree of prototypicality of the teacher is demonstrated in the similarity of the statements about the teacher and the group. As will be seen, they (as a group) are the righteous

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[213] This does not mean that there was no variation in depicting one side or the other; there was. For example in the *Pesher Habakkuk*, the Kittim (Romans) are evil but not directly opposing the community members as argued above. Within the text, they function as the background to which the wickedness of the other out-groups is paralleled.

[214] Also מורה הצדקה (1QpHab 2:2); מורה צדק (CD 1:11; 20:32).

[215] The title is preserved in full form only in the *Damascus Document* (מורה צדק CD 1:11; 20:32), *Pesher Micah* (מורי הצדק 1QpMic 8–10 6), *Pesher Habakkuk* (מורה הצדק 1QpHab 1:13; 5:10; 7:4; 8:3; 9:9–10; 11:5; מורה הצדקה 2:2), and *Pesher Psalms*[b] (מורה הצדק 4QpPs[b] [4Q173] 1:4). However, the noun מורה occurs in 4QpPs[a] (4Q171) 3:15, 19; 4:27; 4QpHos[b] (4Q167) frag. 5–6 2 (מוריהם); 4QpIsa[c] (4Q163) frag. 21 6; 11QMelch (11Q13) frag. 1,2i,3i,4 2:5 (מוריהמה); CD 20:1, 14 (מורה/יורה היחיד cf. יוריהם in 3:8); 20:28 (מורה); and 4Q172 frag. 7 1. In addition, there is a partial reconstruction of the title in 4QpPs[a] 4:8 (למור[ה הצד]יק), 4QpPs[b] 2:2, and 4Q253a frag. 1 1:5 (הצד[). In 4Q381 frag. 1 1, the noun מורה is associated with justice: למורה משפט. See Lim 2002b, 75; Collins 2009b, 24, 185.

[216] The names "interpreter of knowledge" (1:25–2:1), "priest" (2:16–21), and "righteous" (4:7–10) most likely refer to the same figure (so also Stegemann 1967, 204, n. 43), and are here included in the analysis. The *Pesher Psalms* connects the "teacher" and the "priest" in line 3:15. For the "righteous," compare 1QpHab 1:12–13; 5:8–12. The name "interpreter of knowledge" probably derives from the *Hodayot*, e.g., 1QH[a] 10:13 (previously 2:13); that it refers to the teacher is suggested by teacher's wisdom and revelation (1QpHab 7:4–5).

[217] The other occurrences or reconstructions of the "righteous teacher" (see above) are too fragmentary to make any further conclusions.

ones, proven by their faithfulness to the law and their chosen position, on the one hand, and by the wicked acts of the enemies against the righteous, on the other hand. Secondly, the teacher represents the maximum difference to the out-groups, the opponents, who are themselves represented by stereotypical figures, the "liar" (איש הכזב) and the "wicked priest" (הכוהן הרשע). The teacher is portrayed in such a way that it captures the essence of what makes the group distinct from other groups.

The Persecuted Teacher

The "priest" is presented as persecuted in 4QpPsᵃ 2:16–21. This passage has a very similar structure to 2:13–16: the wicked of the quotation are identified with the opposing group(s) who seek to destroy the community members but fail. In 2:16–21, "the poor and needy" of the quotation (Ps. 37:14–15) are identified with "the priest and the men of his council", whereas in 2:13–21, the singular "righteous one" of the quotation (Ps. 37:12–13) is surprisingly not identified with the priest or teacher but simply with "those who observe the law". If the "priest" is taken to refer to the same figure as the "teacher"—which is not certain but in my view more justified in the *Pesher Psalms* than in the *Pesher Habakkuk* since the *Pesher Psalms* seems to make the connection itself in 3:14[218]—the picture of the persecuted teacher is very similar to that of the persecuted community members. These two passages claim similar experiences on the part of the group and the individual, here called "priest".

In 4QpPsᵃ 4:7–10, the theme of trial of the quotation (Ps 37:32–33) is carried over to the interpretation. The wicked one is identified as the wicked priest. Because of him, the righteous stands in trial but will not be condemned. The group rejoices at the judgment of the wicked (4:10–12, 17–22). The victory belongs to the group along with the individual.

In 1QpHab 5:8–12, the citation (Hab 1:13b) reads: "Why do you stare, o traitors, and stay silent, when the wicked swallows up one more righteous than he?"[219] The traitors are identified as the "house of Absalom" and the wicked one as the liar. According to the interpretation, the teacher suffered a setback. A similar setting is pictured collectively in 10:6–13: the

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[218] Collins 2009b, 168, argues that the teacher was referred to as a priest only later, not during his lifetime. This is based on his work with distinguishing between formative, early and late sectarian periods as regards to the evidence on the teacher and adopting a similar framework in understanding the teacher as that of Philip Davies (the teacher was regarded as the expected Messiah figure). The point is important: the teacher's membership in the priestly class is not as unambiguous as, for example, Stuckenbruck 2010, 29–30, claims.

[219] See Lim 1997a, 98–104, for the textual change in the citation.

liar had led many astray and had caused the chosen ones to be derided and insulted.

The passages 9:8–12 and 11:3–8 in 1QpHab describe the teacher and his community in conflict with the wicked priest. The shared fate of the teacher and his group is obvious here: they suffer from the acts of the wicked priest. The injustice of this priest is described in the spirit of the quotations (Hab 2:8b; 2:15), which are themselves stereotypical woes concerning the wicked acts of notorious persons.

It is especially in connection with the "wicked priest" that the teacher can be seen as representing the maximum difference vis-à-vis the out-group. The very labels portray the maximum opposites. The teacher's title claims that he was sent by God, to give the people a fresh start, and to assist it in its search for justice.[220] The wicked priest, on the other hand, corrupted his God-given office. The teacher is the victim, and the wicked priest is the violator.[221] Similarly, the title "liar" expresses distance from the "righteous teacher," or to the "interpreter of knowledge," as will be seen below. However, the liar is depicted as a rival authority who misled people but was not directly violent against the teacher.

In summary, the teacher figure appears in the *Pesher Psalms* almost always together with his opponent, either the "liar," or the "wicked priest." He is persecuted and wrongly accused in court, and similarly, the group is persecuted, but proven right. In four out of seven occurrences of the *Pesher Habakkuk*, the teacher appears together with his enemy: either he is persecuted, wrongly accused, or his teaching is rejected (1:[16]–2:10). The teacher in conflict maximally represents the claims and experiences of the in-group. They share the same fate. There is no biographical information concerning the teacher and there are few details about him; he is the teacher in distress.

The Privileged Teacher

The privileged character of the teacher is visible in both the *Pesher Psalms* and the *Pesher Habakkuk*. This reflects the in-group's belief in its own chosen status and owner of revelation.

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[220] Lim 2002b, 74–75, conveniently summarizes the scriptural background of teacher's title (cf. Joel 2:23; Hosea 10:12; Isaiah 30:20–21).

[221] The question of whether the title "wicked priest" denote one or several individuals is not central here, unless we think that the title "righteous teacher" also can mean several different persons; see Schiffman 1994, 117. The theory of wicked priests as several high priests was suggested by Woude 1982.

In 4QpPs^a 1:25–2:1 the "interpreter of knowledge" is opposed to the "liar," or rather the "many" that the liar has misled.[222] The opponent is successful in his actions, and the interpreter of knowledge—presumably the same as the teacher figure—is not listened to, which results in the curses of the covenant falling upon those who reject his teaching (similar to CD 1:17). The words "they chose frivolous things" reminds of CD 1:18, "they sought easy interpretations and chose illusions." Exact similarity of the statements about the teacher and the in-group is not found here: no interpretation states directly that the group's teaching was the target of disbelief. It might seem that the in-group is not a teacher but follower of teaching. However, the boundary line between the in- and out-groups runs in relation to the law, not following the teacher as such (cf. the next pesher section 2:1–5). Furthermore, the pesher form itself suggests that the group possesses correct interpretations of the scriptures, functioning as a source of revelation, similar to the teacher.

The passage in 3:14–17 suggests that the individual figure has been sent by God to perform his task,[223] and seems to be an elaboration of or, alternatively, an inspiration to CD 1: God gave the chosen ones a teacher to help them find the right way.[224] Similarly, the group is God's elect. "The congregation/people of his elect" occurs in 2:5; 3:5; 4:11–12 (reconstruction of "the chosen ones of God" in 4:14), and either means those, who follow

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[222] The term מזמות of the quotation (and the root זמם) and the noun דעת are used closely to each other in the Hebrew Bible (Prov 1:4; 5:2; 8:12). The writer may have been led by this connection and by the use of the term מזמות in 1QH^a (13:10) and found מליץ דעת a proper term here (in contrast to suggestion of a word play by Horgan 1979, 247).

[223] Rather than claiming that he is *the* founder of the group, this passage may claim that although being persecuted, the teacher has received his mandate from God.

[224] The medieval manuscripts of the *Damascus Document* are the only ones where the title מורה צדק is actually preserved. The 4QD-manuscripts preserve parallels to CD 1 (4Q266 frag. 2 and 4Q268 frag. 1) and these seem very similar to CD 1, but due to their fragmentary nature, it is impossible to say with certainty if they included the title or not (and in which form). The only Qumran D-manuscript in which part of the title has possibly been preserved is 4QD^e (4Q270) 2 1:2, but this too is in a very fragmentary context; it is not even certain if the text was be a parallel to CD 20:32–33 ("the voice of the teacher") or something else. Therefore, we do not have firm evidence of the "teacher" in the Qumran *Damascus Document*. If the title was part of the earliest D-manuscript, 4Q266, around 100 B.C.E., it would make sense to think that this usage has influenced the use in the *pesharim*. However, we cannot exclude the possibility that the influence moved in the other direction: that the use in the *pesharim* inspired the inclusion of the title in D, perhaps at the later stage of redaction of D. The *Damascus Document* does include other titles of an individual ("interpreter of the Law") and it is conceivable that the editors of D also wanted to identify the "teacher" with the earlier terminology. See further Collins 2009b, for distinguishing pre-sectarian, early sectarian and late sectarian layers of the sobriquets, and discussing possible weaknesses of this layering.

the way set out by God's chosen one, or simply those that God has chosen for himself.[225]

In the *Pesher Habakkuk*, the famous statement in 7:3–5 asserts that the teacher had special revelation about the secrets of the prophets, and the passage in the beginning (1:16–2:10) makes a very similar statement concerning the "priest" (see discussion above).[226] Above it was argued that the passage 7:3–5 has to read together with the following passages 7:5–16 and in the context of the plot of the scriptural Habakkuk. The main message of the entire Pesher is the faithfulness demanded of the teacher's followers; the teacher is not presented as being above the prophet Habakkuk and the teacher did not know all that there was to the completion of the time. Special revelation of the teacher is in direct relationship to the special revelation of the in-group who follows the legacy of the teacher by unraveling the prophets and by paying due attention to their message of patience. The group is reminded of what it means to belong to the movement by reclaiming the memory of its teacher.

It is the passage 1QpHab 7:17–8:2 that explicitly mentions faithfulness to the teacher as characteristic of the law-keepers: "This refers to all those who obey the Law among the Jews whom God will rescue from among those doomed to judgment, because of their suffering and their loyalty to the teacher of righteousness." I argued above that the loyalty praised here is most of all loyalty to the original principles and the whole legacy of the movement; the threat is to slip away from the original ideals or to question the authorities in the face of opposition and new difficulties.

In this interpretation, the teacher is prototypical of the group as regards to having privileged revelation from God concerning the prophetic messages for the end of times. The group shares this privilege simply by being on the side which has taken the message for the end times seriously and itself now disclosing the message of the prophets in the form of the *pesharim*.

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[225] In Qumran Hebrew, the suffix in בחירו can be either singular, 'his chosen one', as in Biblical Hebrew, or plural, 'his chosen ones', see Qimron 1986, 33. In 1QpHab 5:4; 9:12, the likelier interpretation is plural, as it is referred to in the plural (but the opposite view: Brooke 1997b, 624). A clear plural form is found, e.g., in 1QpMic 10 7. Even the singular word can be understood collectively, cf. Isa 43:20, Carmignac, Cothenet et al. 1963, 120, n. 4. The *Damascus Document* refers to the election of a remnant, even individually by name (e.g. 2:7, 11).

[226] The passage possibly depicts several groups here, distinct either temporally or in location; cf. Horgan 1979, 24; Eshel 2008, 32–33. That passage also presents the teacher as one who is not listened to, as in the *Pesher Psalms*.

Receiving special revelation is, however, a theme with prophetic over-tones, and the teacher's prophetic role requires additional treatment.

Teacher with Prophetic Power

Recently, the teacher figure has been discussed in relation to prophecy. George Brooke and Martti Nissinen have noted that, even though the words of the teacher of righteousness are said to come from the mouth of God (1QpHab 2:2–3), the figure is never explicitly called נביא, since this term seems to be reserved to ancient prophets or false prophets.[227] The pesherist in 1QpHab comes very close to calling the teacher a prophet but never actually does so. According to Nissinen, the teacher clearly acts as an intermediary whose utterances are words of God. "He is also the one who receives a new revelation that, without invalidating the words of the prophets of old, reveals their true meaning for the final generation."[228]

In wider perspective, there is in the Dead Sea Scrolls the idea of prophets as followers of Moses (and Moses as prototypical prophet) and of Qumran authors not only *repeating* the divine knowledge but also *revealing* it.[229] Nissinen goes as far as comparing the teacher's relationship to the past prophets to the relationship between the prophet Mohammed to his predecessors Moses and Jesus in Islamic theology: the teacher reveals an "indispensable update" of the prophets for the final generation. However, Brooke argues that, in fact, the teacher functions as an identity marker for *many* generations in the movement and thus does not appear as the crucial final prophet. According to Brooke, the teacher is an "accommodating figure," one who combined different kinds of groups and still functions to express the focal identity of each generation in the movement.[230]

So the teacher is a prophet-like figure but not quite a prophet, elevated above others. But if the teacher is a prophet-like figure, where exactly are his words and utterances found and heard? One obvious answer is: in his followers, in the movement that upheld the divinely trusted vision. I suggest that a helpful tool to unravel the teacher's function can be found

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[227] Brooke 2009, 77–98; Nissinen 2008, 512–33. The text 4QTest (4Q175) maintains the expectation of the prophet like Moses, quoting Deut 18:18–19, and connecting it with other Messianic quotations, but the teacher is not explicitly present there.

[228] Nissinen 2008, 529.

[229] Nissinen 2008, 522, writes: "The task of the followers of Moses is not merely to repeat the words of the law but to study the law 'wh[i]ch he commanded through the hand of Moses, in order to act in compliance with all that has been revealed from age to age, and according to what the prophets have revealed through his holy spirit' (1QS 8:15–16)."

[230] Brooke 2009.

by analyzing the power involved. B. Raven analyzes six types of bases for power: coercion, reward, legitimacy, expert, reference, and informational power.[231] A leader may use different types of power at different times. The teacher seems to be ascribed at least referent power (a leader is looked up to and acts as a role model), and informational power (a leader has privileged access to information, which he or she uses to persuade others).[232] Referent power appears in the respect enjoyed by the teacher and in the positive nature of his very name. His suffering role may also be admired as a reminder of the suffering servant of God.[233] Informational power is depicted in passages asserting that the teacher was or was not listened to. It is this informational power, use of information received from God, *rather than expert power*, a superior ability to gain access to the information, that is present in these passages: the role of God is always mentioned as the source of information and the nature of the information is related to the need to be disciplined in the community in order to avoid judgment (e.g., 4QpPs^a 1:25–2:5).

Lastly, it will be necessary to engage in discussion with some recent views about the historical teacher figure and his opponents. In the following, I will first discuss in a more general way the methodological questions concerning the study of identity in these exegetical texts, which no doubt were written in specific historical settings and thus also reflect their circumstances.

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[231] Raven 1993.

[232] Yet, consistent with social identity theory of leadership, prototypical leaders do not need to exercise power to be influential. They embody the norms of the group and are influential because of attraction due to their high prototypicality, Hogg 2001, 194. Here the question is not what the teacher did in order to gain his position but how he was perceived to act.

[233] Cf. the so-called "Teacher Hymns" (1QH^a 10–17), which many scholars have ascribed to the teacher; see Puech 2000. The hymns portray an individual who is the target of scoffing and slander but whom God has set "a banner for the elect ones of righteousness, and interpreter of knowledge of secret wonders" (10:13). Collins 2000 discusses the nature of the servant ideology in these hymns. Recently, Harkins 2012, 449–67, re-examines the criteria behind the Teacher Hymns hypothesis and concludes that the hypothesis has relied on false and romantic ideas about authorship and on ignorance of manuscript evidence showing incoherence (especially in orthography) among the hymns. Even if not written by the historical teacher, it seems possible, as Davies 1987, 87–105, has proposed, that some members *viewed* these hymns as written by the teacher and were inspired by them in their pesher interpretations.

Pesharim *and History*

Any discussion of identity should make a distinction between the "histor-izing" and "social-scientific" reading of identity. The starting point of this study was to discover the social identity (not primarily the historical iden-tity) of the groups reflected in various *pesharim*, interpreting them in light of the *serakhim*, and employing insights and definitions from the social identity approach. For this purpose, only very limited assumptions about the presumed historical situation needed to be made: the community of the authors of the *pesharim* was an organized community, comparable to "voluntary associations," but in tension with outsiders, experiencing (real or imagined) distress and persecution (in other words, reading the *pesharim* explicitly in light of the *serakhim*). Further, for some (but not all) authors of the *pesharim*, the coming or presence of the Romans was a real issue.

In the past scholarship, identity in the *pesharim* has been studied mostly from a historical point of view, identifying the various figures ("wicked priest," "Ephraim," "Manasseh") with the known figures or offices in the history of (mostly) the second and first centuries B.C.E. In this reading too, scholars may have drawn conclusions about social identity, but these have been dependent on the historizing reading of the texts. Naturally, the danger of circular reasoning exists if one first reconstructs the reality of the authors, *on the basis of their texts*, and then asks how these authors viewed this reality and themselves through their scriptural interpretation.[234] To put it bluntly, we may end up saying, for example, that the enemy-Kittim means the Romans and the authors viewed as their main enemy the Romans.

It is now widely acknowledged that the *pesharim* are not history writing in the modern sense of the word.[235] Justified reservations on the

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[234] The danger of circular reasoning decreases or increases according to the amount of evidence from other, independent sources: the more there is such evidence, the smaller the danger is that the whole reasoning collapses if the first assumption should prove to be wrong. The whole enterprise of reconstructing the history of the Qumran movement has very much relied on the study of the *pesharim*.

[235] E.g., Callaway 1988, 140–42, 68–71. Horgan 1979, 6: "The history recounted in the pesharim, like the history recounted in the biblical books, is an interpreted history." The *pesharim* have, however, an extra factor compared to many biblical books: they are bound to interpreting scripture. Their interpretation of history thus occurs at least in a different form, tied to scriptural interpretation. Cf. Charlesworth 2002, 81–82, on the considerations that a scholar needs to bear in mind when assessing Second Temple sources.

historical value of the *pesharim* have been expressed, for example, by George Brooke, Philip Callaway, Philip Davies, and Ida Fröhlich,[236] and scholars have become more sensitive to the nature of the *pesharim*.[237] The *pesharim* provide us with the religious point of view of the community, not an objective account of the emergence of the community and its conflicts. Therefore, as argued above, it is rather the community's identity and self-understanding that come forward as interesting subjects for study, not the conflicts as such. Furthermore, the *pesharim* use scriptural, stereotypical language. Brooke has demonstrated how the information concerning the Kittim in *Pesher Habakkuk* is so fully saturated with scripture that ultimately the historical information we learn about the Kittim-Romans is very little.[238] Furthermore, the stereotypical names, for example the "liar" or "Ephraim," function as theological evaluations of individuals and groups rather than as secret code names for them. It is possible that these nicknames may have been applied to different opponents in the course of history.[239] Finally, intertextuality plays a significant role in the *pesharim*: they share terminology with many other Scrolls, such as the *Damascus Document*, the *War Scroll*, and the *Hodayot*, and these connections may define the context and meaning of expressions. This is perhaps the greatest reason for some scholars to see minimal value in the historical information in the *pesharim*.[240] In this way, the *pesharim* articulate theological beliefs of the group, not merely the events that it confronted. This is not to deny the historical realities behind the stereotypical language, but to

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[236] Brooke 1991; Brooke 1994; Brooke 1997b; Callaway 1988; Davies 1987; Fröhlich 1996.

[237] Charlesworth 2002 pays heed to the questions on historical value but remains perhaps more positive to the reliability of reconstructing one kind of history than some others. E.g., Berrin 2004, gives weight to the possibility that interpretations reflect *different* historical circumstances within one document and sobriquets are applicable to *different* persons. Most recently, Pietersen 2005, 175, notes that "concentration on historical referents ignores the rhetorical function of the language employed."

[238] The Pesher has been studied for information on the specific historical battles and for the war strategies of the Romans, but according to Brooke 1991, 159, "we can learn little or nothing of the history of the Qumran community from these texts, and little enough about the Romans." Yet, Brooke's study of the scriptural allusions in the Pesher reveals that the pesherist viewed the Kittim as part of a larger eschatological scheme, similar to the end-time Gog of Ezekiel 38, for example, and that the opponents were seen to pose a cultic threat to the Jews.

[239] Bengtsson 2000, 297; Collins 2009b, 27. Compare also the audience-reception point of view applied in the *Damascus Document* by Grossman 2002, 4–5, 17–21.

[240] E.g., Davies 2005, 69–82.

highlight that the *pesharim* serve ideological functions of the movement and our access to the specific events is very limited.[241]

Yet no one completely denies the potential historical value of the *pesharim*, but the scenarios of the historical periods the pesherist were concerned with vary among scholars. Some kind of a consensus was once attained that, since the *pesharim* speak about the teacher of righteousness, they provide us with information about the early history of the community, the formation of the group, and the reasons that led to the emergence of a separate group, usually set in the second century B.C.E. In his book on the *pesharim*, James Charlesworth argues that the *pesharim* pass on traditions of the group's beginnings. The reason for writing the *pesharim* was to explain why the righteous teacher and his followers suffered and lived in exile in the wilderness. "History, especially of the origins of the Qumran group, is primarily preserved in the pesharim."[242] In contrast to this, the *pesharim* have been considered as a late phenomenon, viewing and reviewing the community traditions. Brooke writes: "Any history they [the Pesharim] represent is in the first instance the history of the period of their composition; say at the turn of the era, or even later. We have no reason to suppose that their author or authors had actually lived through the earlier events they may purport to describe."[243]

On the other hand, Maurya Horgan thinks that the *pesharim* "moved freely from one period of time to another," from the early times of the community, up to the times of Hyrcanus II and Aristobulus II, the coming of Romans, and the end of times.[244] Taking this idea further, Bilhah Nitzan proposes that the *pesharim* present an overall view of the final historical events, continuing the tradition of Daniel. The redemption seemed

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[241] How limited, is naturally a matter of dispute. There have been attempts to define methods to distinguish between scripturally-loaded information, and information not derived from scripture, which would be more transparent and thus more useful in historical reconstruction. Recently Eshel 2008, has made a major contribution to study the historical information in the Scrolls that could illuminate the history of the Hasmonean State. I have been more inclined to skepticism about suggested scenarios and data and more interested in what we gain from the *pesharim* even without committing ourselves to one historical scenario—but I do think we need both perspectives.

[242] Charlesworth 2002, 3, 15, 70. According to Charlesworth, the tradition of the community history may have been in oral form before it was written down in the *pesharim*.

[243] Brooke 1991, 137. According to Brooke, the authors of the *pesharim* may not have been direct heirs of the earlier inhabitants of the Qumran site. See also Davies 1987, 104.

[244] Horgan 1979, 6–8.

to tarry, and the coming of the Romans needed to be explained.[245] The belief in the divinely planned history needed to be strengthened. Pesher "was intended to show that—*all that occurs* in the reality of history—does not deviate or contradict the words of the ancient prophets and visionaries."[246] Each prophetic book was interpreted to cover a different period in Second Temple history.

A range of functions and motives behind the *pesharim* should probably be allowed.[247] I have here studied the *Pesher Psalms* and the *Pesher Habakkuk*, both of which in my view fall on the late, rather than early, end of the continuum. The fact that only one copy of each Pesher is extant may suggest that the *production* of pesher literature was more popular than the exact dissemination of the interpretations in the *pesharim*. It has been claimed that, instead of copying an existing Pesher, the scribes produced a new one.[248] If this is true, the *pesharim* could be seen as responding to various needs and questions in the movement over the years.

Hanan Eshel has considered one reason for the fact that new *pesharim* were no longer composed in the late 1st century B.C.E.[249] He takes note of the meaning of "Kittim" in the second and first centuries B.C.E. and observes that various groups disagreed on their identification. In the Qumran texts, the identification shifted from Hellenistic kingdoms to the Romans, a fact that Eshel sees as important. He concludes:

> It may be that this very problem in identifying the Kittim was one of the reasons why no pesharim relating to the events that occurred after the mid-first century B.C.E. were found. Since it is far more difficult to amend or

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[245] Nitzan 1991, 212: "It became clear that the hope for redemption in the coming downfall of the fourth power—the Greco-Syrian—was an increasing illusion." "This disillusionment—was accompanied by a domestic disappointment, namely in the leadership during the Hasmonean period."

[246] Nitzan 1991, 212–13, 15. For *pesher* and periodization, see also Tzoref 2011, 129–54, and the view that "peshering" addressed both past patriarchal themes as well as present and future themes.

[247] Cf. Lim 1997a, 96.

[248] E.g., Bengtsson 2000, 24. Berrin 2004, 215–17, suggests that the survival of single copies of the *pesharim* may only be "evidence of an effort by the Community to preserve the authoritative nature of a given current version." Berrin notes various factors suggesting editorial changes in the *Pesher Nahum*, although manuscript evidence of this has not been preserved. I agree with the view that pesher interpretations may have been developed and updated, but the theory of the "authoritative" version remains speculative. The more instructive a text is, the more revisions and multiple copies it seems to inspire—at least in the case of the rule documents. The belief in continuous revelation allows for changes in the interpretations of scripture, and even earlier interpretations side by side with the later ones.

[249] Eshel 2001, 29–44; Eshel 2008, 163–79.

explain away written text, the leaders of the Qumran sect probably decided to restrict their activity to oral interpretations.[250]

If this shift did occur in the Qumran corpus,[251] it is remarkable, but it does not concern all the *pesharim*. Not all *pesharim* provide an identification to the Balaam prophecy (Num 24:14–24) and explain who the Kittim are and when the end would come. Moreover, as we saw above, some of the pesher passages may have been written (not stopped being written) *because of* disappointments over the delay of redemption (e.g., 1QpHab 7:1–8). Rather than copying and distributing the same pesher over a long time period, every time period seems to have produced its own proclamation of doom, painting the most evil enemies in dark colors. Moreover, the gentile enemies may serve as a point of comparison to the wicked among Israel, as I have suggested above, and thus the object of interest of the *pesharim* was not just the foreign enemy.

Still other suggestions have grasped a particular set of information found in the *pesharim* and placed it in a particular historical context. According to Gregory Doudna's work on the *Pesher Nahum*, the events reflected in this Pesher are about their contemporary situation in the first century B.C.E. He identifies the wicked figure as Aristobulus II and the righteous teacher as Hyrcanus II in the Nahum Pesher.[252] Michael Wise, on the other hand, sees Hyrcanus II as a good candidate for the "Wicked Priest."[253] The first century B.C.E. dating for the conflict between the teacher and the wicked priest (rather than the second century B.C.E.) is the major argument in John Collins' recent book.[254] Consensus about the historical context of the *pesharim* has collapsed, if it ever existed. In the following, the teacher will be discussed in more detail and related to the question of the purpose of the *pesharim* studied here.

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[250] Eshel 2008, 179. Cf. Eshel 2001, 44. See also the discussion by Berrin 2004, 101–04.

[251] See the alternative understandings of "Kittim" by Berrin 2004, 102–03.

[252] Doudna 2001. In this view, a Pesher becomes a political document that views the major dramatic events from a religious perspective and the whole Qumran library is the library of a high priest. However, Doudna has since revised his view and thinks now that the wicked priest was Antigonus Mattathias, the last Hasmonean ruler, see Doudna 2011, 259–78.

[253] Wise 2003, 71–72, 80. Wise collected all of the historical references in the Scrolls, many of which come from the *pesharim*. While these references may be of interest in the overall dating of the Scrolls, the problem lies in handling the symbolic names in the *pesharim* in a similar way as the explicit historical names.

[254] Collins 2009a. See below.

Changed Perceptions on the Teacher

In the early Qumran scholarship, the image of the "Teacher of Righteousness" as a charismatic founder figure of the "Qumran community" prevailed. The figure was seen as a central character in the mid-second century B.C.E., leading to the formation of a distinct Qumran community. Much of the sectarian literature was also ascribed to him (the *pesharim*, the teacher hymns of the *Hodayot*, *4QMMT*, sections of D and 1QS, etc.).[255] In a way, the teacher perfectly fitted into the role of a charismatic sectarian leader, which the existence of a sect was thought to have required.

This image of the teacher no longer holds. There are many reasons for this, and some crucial steps in this development can be highlighted. First, it is to be remembered that, although many of the major theories of the origins and nature of the Qumran movement/community in the past assigned a major role to the teacher, the nature of this role varied from theory to theory. For Hartmut Stegemann, the teacher was a displaced high priest who lost his position in the Hasmonean power struggles. He united distinct groups in one Union, and was thus rather an authoritative coordinator than an ad-hoc founder of a sect with his own disciples. For Lawrence Schiffman, the teacher was first and foremost the teacher of the law. In the Groningen hypothesis, the teacher is considered to have been authoritative for only some sections of the larger movement, and thus he was the cause for a schism in the movement and for the secondary development in a sectarian direction.[256] In many theories, the teacher has remained central but the specific sect he belongs to is uncertain. Thus, the image of a typical sect leader is dependent on the sect he is placed in. Furthermore, the recent later datings of the teacher have challenged the idea of the central role of the teacher in the beginnings of the movement.

Second, not only has the pesher information been interpreted differently by different scholars, but the overall reliability of the detailed historical reconstructions of the conflicts between the teacher and the wicked priest, made on the basis of the *pesharim*, has been questioned in the course of the scholarship, as noted above. At the same time, the studies of the *serakhim* have changed the picture about the formation of the movement. The *Damascus Document* includes laws from the pre-

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[255] See Carmignac 1962, 115; Jeremias 1963; Yadin 1983.
[256] Murphy-O'Connor 1974, 215–44; Stegemann 1992, 83–166; Schiffman 1994, 117–21; García Martínez and Woude 1990, 521–41.

formative time of the movement,[257] suggesting that the sectarians adopted certain halakhic positions, rather than relied on the charismatic teaching of one individual. Many other parts in the sectarian compositions have been discovered to rely on source material in common with non-sectarian settings (e.g., the discourse on the two spirits in S). The formation of the movement emerges as a lively collective activity in which literary work played a central role and authority was hierarchic but diffused.

Third, and perhaps most important, during the last two decades or so, the focus of research has moved from the best preserved Cave 1 manuscripts to the great variety of sectarian and non-sectarian texts in the other caves, especially Cave 4. Such a change in focus has put the question about the teacher in a new light. As we saw, the title occurs in four to seven of over 900 scrolls, and four of these are pesher works. In its full form, the title has only about a dozen occurrences. In the overall corpus, the teacher thus has a strikingly small role if judged by the explicit references of the title.

Purpose of the Pesharim *and the Teacher*

Another change in scholarship deserves attention. The teacher has not only played a great role in the historical reconstructions of the beginnings of the Qumran community/movement but some scholars have also assigned him an important role in the understanding the purpose of the *pesharim*. William Brownlee saw the righteous teacher as a "presager" whose voice was heard in the *pesharim*. Thus, this figure was strongly present in the six purposes for pesher exegesis that Brownlee formulated as follows: (1) to vindicate the teacher before his enemies, (2) to vindicate his followers before their enemies, (3) to strengthen the faith and endurance of the teacher's followers by assuring them that salvation will come on time in the divine schedule, (4) to warn against apostasy from the truth disclosed by the teacher, (5) to prepare the way of the Lord in the wilderness of Judea through learning and obedience, and (6) to instruct the community regarding the future, which is authoritatively interpreted by their teacher, so that they live in the correct expectation.[258]

Hardly any scholar today would give such a prominent position to the teacher in the understanding of the creation of the *pesharim* and in the disclosure of the future events in the movement, given that this figure only

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[257] I follow Hempel's position on this, Hempel 1998.
[258] Brownlee 1979, 35–36.

appears in some pesher texts and that he is not presented as the actual
interpreter in the *pesharim*, only a person referred to in the third person.
No text exists which would suggest that the teacher had presented pro-
phetical interpretations about himself. Furthermore, the *pesharim* were
primarily written to the members of the group, not to their enemies (cf.
Brownlee's 1–2)—the use of the polemical labels would not have made
a persuasive case in the eyes of the opponents. If the teacher is to be
connected with the beginning of the movement, some of the pesherists
seem to have sought in the scriptures testimony for themselves about the
justification of their movement through the persecution of the teacher.[259]
The teacher also exemplified the central task of the movement: righteous
teaching. However, the teachings about the law is not at all present in
the *pesharim*, and the function of the *pesharim* can hardly be seen as the
"preparation of the way in the wilderness" which was the study of the
Torah (1QS 8:14–15; cf. Brownlee's purpose no. 5). At the most, the teacher
is connected to the possible end-time calculations made in the movement
(cf. the *Pesher Habakkuk* and perhaps the *Pesher Psalms* above), and at
least some of the *pesharim* stress the reliability of God's schedule (cf.
Brownlee's purposes no. 3 and 6).

Warning against apostasy, as suggested by Brownlee (cf. 4 above), is
probably one of the purposes of the *Pesher Habakkuk* and the *Pesher
Psalms*, but so are many other sectarian writings. However, it is not so
much the question of rejecting the right teaching but the right *group* and
commitment to that group. Both the *Pesher Psalms* and the *Pesher Habak-
kuk* underline the distress that the righteous have to bear. It is the will-
ingness to stay in the group, even in suffering, what is valued. Many of
the *pesharim* were channels for transmitting this message—faithfulness
despite the difficulties—and also demonstrating it in practice by actual
identifications in scripture.[260]

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[259] Jokiranta 2006, 254–63, and see below. A similar understanding about the righteous
teacher is now reached by Pietersen 2005, 177–78 on the basis of deviance theory: "For
deviant communities to maintain their identity it is essential that they have 'heroes' whose
story represents the triumph of the values held by the community over all opposition."

[260] In terms of function, a difference might be discerned between *applying* the scrip-
tures and *identifying* items in the scriptures: the former use of scripture demonstrates
that the scriptures were trustworthy and explains how the eschatological prophecies were
being fulfilled; the latter draws analogies between the guilty ones in the scriptures and
the guilty ones in later settings and labels the contemporary opponents as guilty by using
scripture. In my view, the identifications give the *pesharim* their particular flavor: the
analogous nature between the scriptures and the present time lay in the fact that divine
judgment truly discerns the righteous from the wicked.

Based on the analogy of Daniel's operation as the king's counselor in the Book of Daniel, another early commentator on the *pesharim* I. Rabinowitz proposed that the pesher authors meant their interpretations to advise and support the community leaders.[261] However, as pointed out by Brownlee,[262] the Book of Daniel itself helped the people of Israel as they struggled to understand their present situation and the divine plan in it. Similarly, the *pesharim* were probably read by a larger group of members, not just the leaders.

The *pesharim* have commonly been understood as "fulfillment literature." Behind this reading lies the assumption that the pesherist found the experiences of the community fulfilled in the scriptures, which proved that they lived in the latter days.[263] Berrin's definition of pesher was already cited for its understanding of the purpose: pesher applies scripture "...in order to substantiate a theological conviction regarding divine reward and punishment."[264] This is the understanding that I would like to emphasize, one that gives a better idea of how the authors and readers of the *pesharim* not only applied the scripture as a proof-text, but how they also defined their relationship to that scripture and constructed their social identity as a group of people. It is the identifications that are in the fore in the *pesharim*, and it is possibly with good reason that the identifications are made using scriptural language and unspecific symbolic names: this guarantees that the *pesharim* confirm the conviction in the divine reward and punishment—not that the scriptures have been fulfilled but that they will be—favorably to the audience of the *pesharim*.

That scholars do arrive at different results depending on their reading of the pesher as *the* fulfillment of scripture, or as *a* fulfillment of scripture may be exemplified by the following case from the *Pesher Habakkuk*. In 1QpHab 11:2–8, the quotation of Hab 2:15 reads: "Woe to anyone making his companion drunk, spilling out his anger, or even making him drunk

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[261] Rabinowitz 1973, 232.

[262] Brownlee 1979, 35.

[263] According to Rabinowitz 1973, 231, the purpose of the *pesharim* was "1) to predict the emergent future indicated in the unfulfilled presages of divine words, and 2) to affirm the credibility of the unfulfilled presages by identifying the facts of those fulfilled and in particular so to corroborate that the "latter days" had set in or were at least near at hand." According to Berrin 2004, 11, "The aim of pesher is to assert the fulfillment of biblical prophecies, specifically in the contemporary setting that was identified as the eschatological era."

[264] Berrin 2004, 9–10.

to look at their festivals!"[265] According to the pesher interpretation, the wicked priest pursued after the righteous teacher on their Day of Atonement. The traditional identification of the wicked priest is Jonathan. We may agree or disagree with this identification, but many scholars agree on the idea that this passage includes historical information: the wicked priest actually visited the teacher, and the conflict was intensified by a different calendar followed by them, and possibly also differences in the nature of the fast day.[266] We do not know exactly, of course, what they experienced as we do not have direct evidence of this incident in other sources.[267] But pesher is always a "two-way mirror:" it portrays history and spirituality.[268] If we acknowledge the basic historical reliability of this passage,[269] there still remain two possibilities.

First, the passage is understood as describing a *crucial* event in community's history. Shemaryahu Talmon suggests that Yom Kippur was charged with special historical significance due to the persecution of the teacher on this day.[270] Noah Hacham has studied references to communal fasts and argued that the only public fast in the Scrolls is Yom Kippur. He thinks that the observance of Yom Kippur is understandable "because the sudden trauma of the persecution on Yom Kippur is a fresh memory in the consciousness of the sect."[271]

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[265] The issue is complicated by the textual variant מועדיהם, "their festivals," vs. MT מעוריהם, "their nakedness." It can very well be a scribal mistake, but see below and cf. Lim 2002b, 55–56.

[266] The calendar controversy was first observed by Talmon 1951, 549–63. Baumgarten 1999, 184–91, suggests that Yom Kippur was considered to be a day of fasting and self-affliction for the Qumranites, in contrast to the joyous celebration reflected in the rabbinic tradition. As Baumgarten himself remarks, however, we have little evidence of any particular ascetic forms of self-affliction practiced in the Qumran community.

[267] Cf. similar themes in 1 Macc 2:29–38; 2 Macc 4:32–35; 6:11.

[268] Charlesworth 2002, 14.

[269] Doubt has been cast on the historical reliability of the passage. Davies 1987, 93–97, suggests that the passage was constructed by borrowing language from the scriptures and from the *Hodayot* (1QH^a 12), but see qualifications for this methodology in Lim 2002b, 67–69 and Collins 2010, 219–23. Even if the passage is open to historical doubt, there can still be a historical remembrance in it. The passage can be a late label given to a (open-ended?) confrontation between an important figure of the community (teacher) and a high priest (now understood as a wicked priest).

[270] Talmon 1989, 186–99. If a crucial event, it is also possible that the textual variant (cf. note above) was deliberate, meant to bring the theme of festivals in the passage.

[271] Hacham 2001, 137. See also Baumgarten 2003, 38–39, for the meaning of this incident for the community. On the other hand, Doudna 2011, 268–69, n. 11, separates in this passage two incidents: the pursuing of the teacher by the wicked priest and the appearing of the wicked priest in glory during the Day of Atonement. In his view, the latter incident refers to the wicked priest as the usurper of high priesthood from the teacher.

Another way of reading the passage is to see it as telling only *partial* history: this event was presented as a marvelous example of the wicked acts of a wicked priest, an example that ideally fitted with the quotation of Hab 2:15. The passage refers to the wrong calendar and practices of the opponent but most of all it speaks about his arrogance, daring to fight against their teacher, as the quotation spoke about a person who dares to make his neighbor drunk in order to destroy him. The wicked priest is wicked as he not only breaks the Sabbath but also tries to make them stumble—the wickedness of one leader is demonstrated in contrast to the role of the other as a victim.

Although actualizing in intent, the *pesharim* do not strictly follow a fulfillment pattern in the sense that they match a particular scriptural passage with a particular event or person, and claim that this is the way that the passage has been fulfilled. For this purpose, many of the pesher sections seem all too faithful to scripture. Some of them are even close to literal simple-sense interpretation, a continuation to biblical exegesis: e.g. 4QpHos^a 2:1–7 has hardly any sectarian terminology, and 4QpPs^a 3:11–13 states in scriptural terminology the destiny of the wicked. As a whole, the *pesharim* contain perhaps more events that are yet expected to occur than those occurred and fulfilled, and the interpretations are not fixed.

In this view, the *pesharim* do not wish to present historical facts as such but rather point out boundaries. They herald the future fulfillment, and the focus is primarily on group relations and judgments, not on events and timings. Revealing the prophetic mysteries thus not only includes revealing the process of history but also the result of history, as well as promoting this specific view of history.[272] Only *Pesher Nahum* (4QpNah) includes explicit historical names (3–4 1:2–3)—and even here the names are used to define a period of time in which Jerusalem was not occupied by foreign powers, rather than showing specific interest in these individuals. In my opinion, we have little evidence to show that the primary purpose of the *pesharim* was to present the major historical events in which the group emerged and lived and which it thought it had fulfilled.[273]

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[272] Brooke 1994, 340, stresses how much the citations actually determine the way the commentary runs. scripture, citations and allusions, have the controlling place, and the language remains stereotypical. Lim 1997a, 132–34, notes how a Pesher may vary in its way of interpreting—from inspired revelation to mere interpretation, from a pattern of fulfillment to mere glosses on words in the citation.

[273] Contrary to Charlesworth 2002, 115, "Each (biblical) book was chosen for select passages or chapters that can be used to prove that prophecy pointed to the historical events that had already occurred or were transpiring," and Xeravits 2003, 51, "...the aim of the

Perhaps one could argue that certain points in history were seen to be fulfillment of prophecies, to give the pesher readers the sense of the presence of the eschaton, and others were left more obscure and open to interpretation.[274] More likely to me, however, is that the authors were interested in understanding the changes they were testifying to, creating theories of how the periods of history reveal themselves in order to legitimate their existence and to offer tools for their members to see the world in a different light, but the claims of their legitimation did not rely on agreeing on the details of how specific passages of scripture were being fulfilled. The truth of the *pesharim* lies beyond the specifics, in the process of claiming that the scriptural message can be linked in this way to the contemporary experiences of the members and in the minds of readers who perceive the world differently after they have heard the new identifications and start making their own inferences.

Teacher in Different Theoretical Scenarios

The discussion above sought to demonstrate the prototypical nature of the teacher in the two Pesher texts that contain most information about the teacher, the *Pesher Psalms* and the *Pesher Habakkuk*. However, this alone does not suffice for drawing conclusions about the role of the teacher in the identity construction of the whole movement. Why was this figure portrayed in this way? What are the most plausible historical reconstructions for the role of the teacher in the movement? We must move from the text-internal world of the *pesharim* to the meta-theoretical level in order to discuss the different scenarios in which the pesher information

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interpretation is to tell things about the past, present and future history of the Community." I would say that the *pesharim* tell real things about the past, present and future but that this is not their primary aim. Whether the *pesharim* were such a unified collection that one can see a deliberate constructing of different phases of community history between the different *Pesharim* remains yet to be seen. Cf. Brooke 1991, 158: "The commentaries are written to demonstrate that the period in which the author and his readership live has indeed an eschatological character." The eschatological character is the starting-point in the *pesharim*, which defines their nature but perhaps does not exhaust their function.

[274] Cf. Collins 2010, 215, on *Pesher Nahum*. On the other hand, Collins 2011, 306, attacks against the view that pesher events could be seen completely fictional. He states: "Fictional characters and events would provide no evidence of the reliability of prophecy." I would not be so sure about this. If vague characters and stereotypical events can provide assurance in the prophecies, perhaps completely fictional characters and events could also be included. Thus, in my mind, wicked priests existed but the events told in the *pesharim* about these priests were not necessarily all based on narratives and traditions of them, cf. Davies 2011, 336.

can be placed. Not only are the dating and identity of the teacher matters of debate but also the question of whether the teacher ever founded a group or not—and what such a "founding" means.

Following up the idea of *pesharim* as *a* fulfillment literature presented above, it further makes a great difference if we interpret the teacher as a unique founder of the whole sect or as fulfilling some other role in the sect's history. I wish to discuss theoretical possibilities of the historical teacher and how each possibility would change our view of the teacher's presentation in the *pesharim*. The "uniqueness" of the teacher diminishes from top to bottom in this list:

1) There was a unique teacher at the beginning of the movement.
2) There was a unique teacher late/later in the history of the movement.
3) There was an early individual who was seen as a unique teacher later in the history of the movement.
4) There was no (one) unique teacher in the movement.

1) *There was a unique teacher at the beginning of the movement*
Studies on the teacher usually have begun with the *Damascus Document* (CD), which most probably is an earlier text than the central *pesharim* concerning the teacher.[275] The famous passage in CD 1 portrays the teacher as an early group leader but not a founder.[276] In its final form, the Admonition of CD argues in favor of justified particularism for those whom God had chosen for his covenant.[277] The covenant will remain, despite the

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[275] The oldest manuscript, 4Q266, is written in a semi-cursive Hasmonean hand and comes from the first half of the first century B.C.E. It preserves parallel material of almost all the columns of CD A, plus material that is not part of CD A, Baumgarten 1996. On internal grounds, the document has been dated closer to 100 B.C.E., Knibb 1994, 150.

[276] However, the title of the teacher has not been preserved in the Qumran manuscripts of the *Damascus Document*. Davies 1983, 199–200 suggests that the "teacher" in CD 1:11 is part of a "Qumranic recension" of the work. In contrast, Boyce 1990 regards it as original but thinks that the time references in CD 1 are probably later additions. If an original part of the Admonition, the teacher appears as one, albeit central, individual whom God had raised in order to preserve a holy remnant. Another individual figure is "the staff", "the interpreter of law" (CD 6:7, 9), which is often identified with the teacher. These titles are woven into the question of eschatological expectations in the document; I follow Collins' view that CD 6:10–11 "until there arises one that teaches righteousness in the latter times (יורה הצדק באחרית הימים)" expresses expectation of yet a future prophet or priest; Collins 1995, 102–26.

[277] Similar to Davies 1983, 53–54, 66, 71: "One of the central themes of CD as a whole is the presentation of the remnant group as the Israel with whom God is presently dealing. The rest of 'Israel' has been and is rejected, subject to the covenant vengeance of God." Similarly, Baumgarten 2000a, 9; Grossman 2002, 112. The Laws, including both halakhah

times of wrath, but its continuation is based on the choice by God and for God: on the work of certain individuals who listen to God's voice, on God's teachings through the prophets, on the revelation of hidden things, even on those who hear the teachings of this document.[278] The message to be conveyed is that God's wrath will come upon that generation too, and that a special form of community is necessary in order to avoid the punishment (CD 15:4–10; 12:21–22). The teacher's death is mentioned as a point of reference in the B manuscript of the *Damascus Document* (20:1, 14) in a section that probably is a later layer of the Admonition.[279]

CD 1 has provided the basis for the commonly held view that the movement had its beginning in the early second century B.C.E. This is the only place where the *Damascus Document* itself presents a dating for these events:[280]

> He left a remnant to Israel and did not allow them to be totally destroyed, but in a era of wrath, **three hundred and ninety years**, when He had put them into the power of Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, he took care of them and caused to grow from Israel and from Aaron a root of planting to inherit His land and to grow fat on the good produce of His soil. They considered their iniquity and they knew that they were guilty men, and had been like the blind and like those groping for the way **twenty years**. But God considered their deeds, that they had sought Him with a whole heart. So He raised up for them a teacher of righteousness to guide them in the way of His heart. *vacat* He taught to later generations what God did to the generation deserving wrath, a company of traitors. (CD 1:4–12)

If 390 years are calculated from the destruction of the Temple in 586 B.C.E., the result is 196 B.C.E.[281] Then the teacher would have appeared twenty years later, around 170 B.C.E. However, scholars have also expressed doubts about whether the Qumran authors had precise historical information of the length of the Persian period.[282] Further, scholars acknowledge the symbolic nature of the number 390, which is based on Ezek 4:5 and refers

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and communal legislation, are a substantial part of the document; the Admonition is rather an introduction to the Laws; see Hempel 1998.

[278] Cf. "communal authority" by Grossman 2002, 33. It is not, however, based on the excellence of these people but on the fact that God keeps up his covenant (CD 8:14–18). The covenant is one that you enter; people are not born into it.

[279] See Knibb 1994, 157. The traitors are in CD B more emphatically those who have turned to the covenant but *then* stray away (CD 19:16–17; 31–35; 20:1–2, 8–9).

[280] Translation follows Tov 2006, with minor changes.

[281] See most recently, Eshel 2008, 30.

[282] Laato 1992, 605–07, and see the discussion by Collins 2009a, 93–94.

to the number of years Israel had sinned.[283] Therefore, the precise infor-
mation of this date remains uncertain even though it was one of the early
corner stones in dating the movement (see further below).

However, even without this dating, it makes good sense, in the view
of many scholars, to locate the emergence of the movement to those tur-
bulent events of the Antiochian crisis and the subsequent inner-Jewish
struggle for power that marked the middle of the second century B.C.E.
The teacher in this scenario appears as a unique individual who opposed
the religious authorities (or rather: was being opposed by the authorities),
who, in the movement's view, had false teachings of the law. The teacher's
particular role and position in the society is not known. Steven Fraade
rightfully notes that the legal teaching of the movement is not presented
to have derived from the teacher.[284] Certainly the law could not have
been a minor issue in the teacher's expertise if he was granted to be called
"righteous." In CD 1, the teacher is connected to the proper understanding
of what brought the divine punishment in the past (and how this can be
avoided in the future); in this sense, he was more than a law-teacher, he
was a religio-political prophetic leader with a historical instinct, a trusted
person who had the ability to convince people of the right way for the
future. George Brooke has recently argued that several interests during
this time were successfully combined and brought together by the teacher
and the formation of the movement.[285]

If this was the case, the presentation of the teacher in the *pesharim*
underlines the admired status of the teacher. In this scenario, it has been
common to reconstruct details of the teacher's career from the *pesharim*.
The pesher authors use it in their situation to argue what it means to
commit oneself to this movement. However, the *pesharim* also do another

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[283] In Ezekiel, the prophet is to carry the sins of Israel for 390 days and the sins of
Judah for 40 days (Ezek 4:6). The figure 40 appears later in CD 20:15 where it is the period
after the death of the teacher. However, it is not clear if this number is influenced by the
symbolism of Ezekiel.

[284] Fraade 2011, 43 (reprint of Fraade 1993). For the "letter theories" that *4QMMT* is
the "law" that the teacher sent to the wicked priest, as might be inferred from 4QpPs[a]
4:7–9, see Weissenberg 2009. However, see Reeves 1988, 287–98, for the view that the title
itself refers to halakhic expertise. Furthermore, if the teacher is identified with the title
"interpreter of the law" in CD 6:7, as is often suggested (recently, Collins 2011, 303), then
the interpretation of the law is naturally part of the teacher's expertise. However, it is still
remarkable that the teacher is not presented as one central law-teacher but rather as one
who convinces people to follow the law and the right way. See also below.

[285] Brooke 2010, 37–53. The teacher was a "multi-tasker," who combined different roles
in his own personality: that of a priest, a new Moses and lawgiver, prophetic commenta-
tor, a poet and a sage.

thing: in comparison to CD, the pesher authors stress the teacher's conflict with the Hasmonean priests over the conflict with other religious authorities ("liar"). Therefore, the message was that the break from the leaders in power was unavoidable; this might legitimize the state of affairs of not being able to make reconciliation with the present governors.

2) *There was a unique teacher late/later in the history of the movement*
Recently, John Collins has made a case for a renewed historical reading of the teacher, partly basing his views on Michael Wise's suggestions.[286] In Collins' view, the 390 plus 20 years of CD 1 cannot be used to date the teacher reliably since these figures contain no accurate information in the modern chronological sense. The 390 years "is a symbolic number of the period of time between the destruction of Jerusalem and the beginning of the last times. It is probably safe to say that a considerable time had elapsed since the destruction, but the number cannot be pressed to yield even an approximate date."[287] He also—rightly to my mind—attacks the common assumption that the origins of the movement had to do with the disputes over the high priest's office.[288] There is no definite evidence of this in the texts, and Collins' arguments should, at the least, make scholars agree that the theory of a "disposed high priest" is nothing but one speculative suggestion among others. Yet the question about the dating of the teacher is separate from the question of whether the group's origins were connected to disputes about the high priesthood or not—if one rejects the high priesthood theory, the question about the dating still remains open.

In Collins' view, most of the explicit historical allusions in the Dead Sea Scrolls refer to the first century B.C.E.[289] According to Collins, "we have no evidence for sectarian conflict in the time of Jonathan Maccabee"[290] (152–142 B.C.E.) whereas we do at the time of Hyrcanus II (76–67 B.C.E.). Collins presents the thesis that the *conflict* (but not necessarily the whole career of the teacher) between the wicked priest(s) and the teacher most probably belonged only to the first century B.C.E., not the mid-second-century (even though he allows that some "wicked priest" terminology

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[286] Collins 2009a, esp. 88–120; Wise 2003, 53–87. Now, see also Wise 2010, 92–122, and Collins 2011, 295–315.
[287] Collins 2009a, 94.
[288] For the theory, see Collins 2009a, 95, fn. 29, and see already Collins 1989, 159–78, repr. in Collins 1997, 239–60.
[289] Collins 2009a, 98.
[290] Collins 2009a, 116.

may refer to the second century B.C.E.). Furthermore, this conflict probably occurred *late* in the teacher's life. The teacher "may have been active for thirty or forty years before that."[291]

Collins is not as explicit about the other opponent figure, the liar. He states that the struggle for power between the sectarian groups during the reign of Alexander Jannaeus (103–76 B.C.E.) and his followers is "a plausible context for the conflict between the Teacher and both the Wicked Priest and the man of lie."[292] If the conflict with the liar could be seen to have occurred *early* in the teacher's career, it would that the teacher a figure was already facing opposition in the second century B.C.E. What the historical value of this information and the dating for this conflict is remains somewhat unclear to me. However, I will not attempt to evaluate the full theory here but pay attention to its possible implications on the *pesharim.*

The theory of the first century B.C.E. teacher puts the *pesharim* in a new light: they would have been composed shortly after or even when these conflicts occurred. What would change in my reading of the identity construction and the prototypicality of the teacher?

Collins' theory presents the view that the emergence of the movement was not based on the appearance of the teacher in the conflicts but was rather an earlier collective process. This view has, in my opinion, much on its side, if we look at the *Damascus Document* and the *Community Rule* as a whole: they largely envision the movement as a collective whom God has chosen and equipped with his revelation. Thus, the teacher falls little down the ladder in the importance for the existence of the movement in the first place. He could still have been an important leader figure in the movement—at least this is what is normally assumed to explain why it is precisely he who represents the movement in these conflicts.

However, in this regard, Collins' theory does not present a plausible sociological place for the teacher: the movement was collectively created and run but yet it had a highly valued teacher who suddenly made an appearance in the conflicts that the movement faced in the first century, in the changed circumstances when the new Hasmonean rulers adopted Pharisaic halakhah. No traces of this conflict were preserved in the rule documents, only in the *pesharim*. So who was this sudden teacher? What would have been his position so that he was reasonably presented as

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[291] Collins 2009a, 112.
[292] Collins 2009a, 116.

fighting with the Hasmonean rulers? Let us, for the sake of argument, think of three explanations that possibly could explain such a turn of events.

First, to appear later on the scene, the teacher could have been the cause of a schism in the movement. This would explain why suddenly an individual figure has such an important place. A form of this theory has been most strongly put forward by Philip Davies.[293] In his view, the movement started collectively and expected "one who teaches righteousness" (CD 6:11). The historical teacher was then recognized as this expected messianic figure by some in the movement (CD 1:12). "The conflict within the movement probably arises through rejection of the claims of this 'Teacher.'"[294] However, Collins opposes this view, and I too have been hesitant to follow this lead since to me it has raised more questions than it has answered (e.g., why the movement is not presented elsewhere and systematically as the teacher's movement and why the teacher's teachings remain so vague). The teacher does not appear such a "charismatic leader"[295] as the theory assumes. Furthermore, it is plausible that there always was schism in the movement; the markers of conflict are also present without the teacher. But engaging in full in Davies' theory would, of course, demand more than this.

Second, it is possible that there was a senior priest among the elite of the movement who took an active role in formulating the end-time prophecies and perhaps acted as a representative of the movement towards outsiders. This teacher rose to an authoritative position in the movement in the first century and was truly a new leader in the movement. This would fit in the fact that the teacher does not appear in 1QS (however, it would not quite explain why any markers of him were not added in the copies of S). Yet the appearance of the teacher in CD 1 presents a problem for many who regard this as referring to the second century B.C.E. unless it is presumed that the teacher was added to CD 1 later to create a past for him.[296] In this line of thought, the *pesharim* would have been propaganda literature for convincing the audience of the teacher's justified role. Those who rejected him were rejected as any defectors of the covenant. But we learn very little of what this new leader would have taught or done.

The third alternative is that the conflicts were personalized: the teacher was just one individual in the movement who happened (or sought?) to

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[293] Davies 1983; Davies 1991, 275–86; Davies 1996f, 89–94. See also Davies 2011, 332–36.
[294] Davies 2011, 335.
[295] Davies 2011, 337.
[296] Cf. Lapin 2010, 124, who notes the possibility of invented history in groups.

be involved in these conflicts, and his in-group supported him and made the conflicts have symbolic value for the larger movement. Perhaps he happened to be attacked by the outsiders and his personality came to be seen as more important than the other leaders. In other words, the conflicts did not exist because of the teacher, but the teacher was authoritative because of the conflicts. But to work out all the detailed information in the *pesharim* from this perspective would demand more work.

Excursus: External Teacher? There is yet another theoretical possibility that scholars, to the best of my knowledge, have not fully considered.[297] This could be called the "external teacher hypothesis." This takes one step further the idea of labeling that is so characteristic of the *pesharim*. The various individuals and groups given labels in the *pesharim* were not necessarily members of the movement. Usually, it is assumed that the positive labels should be associated with the "insiders" and the negative ones are the "outsiders" but certainly another possibility is that a third party presents views about contemporary circumstances, dividing them into the good and the bad side. The members of the movement were the observers of the secretly opening drama and identified the crucial players in this drama. The movement was most of all studying the law and acting as the channel in the revelation of divine wisdom. The proclamation of which players advanced the divine plan and which did not was a significant part of its task and assuring for the members, even though they were not speaking of themselves but rather of their contemporaries. The most important players were naturally the leaders of the nation, those in power who could make decisions for and against them.

In this line of thought, it is conceivable that the teacher was not the leader of this movement but rather a leader outside the movement, in a position of making statements or decisions in favor of the movement or promoting laws that were in their interest. Such a person would "rain righteousness" on them (cf. Hos 10:12), and enable them to find the way, that is, encourage them to follow their laws or to find inspiration for creating a network of people committing themselves to these laws and condemning

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[297] The thesis by Doudna (Doudna 2001, Doudna 2011) moves in this direction in assuming that the central labels refer to first-century B.C.E. Hasmonean leaders. However, he assumes that the teacher was a Hasmonean high priest (i.e., Hyrcanus II) and the *yahad* was directly under his control. In my "external teacher hypothesis," I experiment with the idea that the members of the Qumran movement presented their views about Hasmonean priests and other leading characters without being directly the courtiers, family and political supporters of one high priest.

others who did not. This could explain why the teacher in CD 1 is passed over so quickly: he was not really their teacher. He was rather a political leader whom they wished to see as their patron and protector and whose misfortunes they adopted as their own since they considered him to be on the same side. Perhaps this teacher came from a background similar to theirs, making it easier to claim the right to pass comments on him.

An obvious difficulty with this hypothesis is the great teaching role that the teacher is ascribed, most notably in 1QpHab 7–8. But if this is taken in a sense similar to the role of great importance ascribed to the wicked priest then perhaps the teacher could be placed at a distance from those who appreciated his views. Political conflicts taking place were seen to have a divine secret meaning, even though the political leaders did not fully understand it. The teacher followed the prophetic message given by God in his decisions, but the study of the prophets was not his task, the guiding of the people was. Faithfulness to this teacher (1QpHab 8:1–2) would refer to the loyalty offered to the right person—to the belief that supporting the teacher was the right choice in a politically insecure situation.

In the *Pesher Psalms* (3:14–17), God is said to have established the teacher to "build for him a congregation." If the "him" refers to the teacher, the teacher is the leader of the congregation.[298] But if the "him" refers to God, the teacher can, again, be seen as a political figure whom God established in a position that positively influenced the formation of the movement.

In this "external teacher" hypothesis, the teacher could be an early or a late figure in the movement's history. The choice between these affects the understanding of what is going on in the *pesharim*. If an early figure, the *pesharim*, which are late texts, were creating a collective memory of their beginnings and legitimizing the existence of a separate movement (cf. interpretation 3 below). If a late figure, the *pesharim* were more like treatises of contemporary events, and legitimation of the side chosen in the political field of the time.

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[298] Thus Eshel 2008, 34, n. 8, rejects the possibility that the teacher would not have led the congregation.

3) *There was an early individual who was seen as a unique teacher later in the history of the movement*

Much of what the *pesharim* do is labeling: they give commonly shared labels to the persons and groups that they were involved with. A similar phenomenon can be seen in the title of the teacher too: early on, he was not "the righteous teacher," known by that title and seen as unique, but, later on, he was given that title to show that his experiences had wider significance for the movement and that his views were proven right and worth following whereas the opponents were and are doomed.

This view is supported by the comparison of the teacher in CD 20 and the similar passage in 1QS. Faithfulness to the teacher appears in the final section of the Admonition (CD 20:27b–34):

> But all those who remain steadfast in these judgments, [co]ming and going in accordance to what the Torah says, and listen to the voice of a/the teacher (מורה), and confess before God: "We have sinned and have been wicked, both we and our fathers, walking against the precepts of the covenant; justi[ce] and truth are your judgments against us," and who do not raise their hand against his holy precepts and his just judgment[s] and his truthful stipulations, and who are instructed in the first judgments, according to which the men of the unique one/community (היחיד) were judged, and who listen to the voice of a/the righteous teacher (מורה צדק), and do not reject the just precepts when they hear them, they shall exult and rejoice and their heart shall be strong, and they shall prevail over all the sons of the world. And God will atone for them, and they shall see his salvation, for they have taken refuge in his holy name.[299]

The confession of sins in 1QS 1:24–2:1 is very similar to CD 20:28–30:

> We have acted sinfully, we have [tr]ansgressed, we have [sin]ned, we have been wicked, both we and our fathers before us, walking [...] truth and just [...] his judgment upon us and upon o[ur] fathers.

If these documents are read as testimonies of the same or a very similar movement, the parallel in 1QS is significant. There is no mention of the teacher but rather the priests and the Levites and those who enter the covenant (1QS 1:16–2:25a). In light of this, the listening to the voice of the teacher in CD B, after the teacher has died (CD 20:1, 14), comes very close to listening to (and obeying) the teaching of the covenant as

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[299] Cf. the translation and poetic nature of the section by Boyce 1990.

the movement possessed it.[300] Rule documents preserve several traces of officials and group members whose task was to teach and invite people to enter this covenant.[301] Even if the title in CD 20 refers to a special individual and his teaching, the text does not claim that the law was given *exclusively* through this individual;[302] rather it was the necessity of belonging to the covenant community for receiving the right interpretations of the Torah and for constant guidance in them (cf. CD 20:11–12). It was a necessity to have this guidance from outside. The teacher functioned as a defender of the present regulations: they were the same as in the ancient and perhaps more recent past (cf. CD 4:6–10).[303] Whoever did not want to submit to the discipline of the movement was in danger of slipping out and loosing the covenant (the just law and the atonement of sins).

Recently, Florentino García Martínez has argued along similar lines that the interpretation of the law was not restricted to the teacher but was the right of the movement. In his conclusion,

> . . . the "voice of the Teacher" as an authority-conferring strategy is not limited to the activity of the historical Teacher of Righteousness, the one who represented it eminently, but that it was "institutionalized" within the groups that took their inspiration from this figure and became the channel of continuous revelation at the end of times.[304]

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[300]   However, my brief comments on CD do not do full justice to understanding the diachronic development of this document. It goes beyond this work to study and compare the narratives in CD in detail, a task that has rightfully been demanded by Davies 2011, 331.

[301]   1QS 1:21–23; 3:13; 5:9–11, 20–24; 6:13–15; 9:21–22; CD 12:7–16. Although fragmentary, the occurrence of the title of the teacher in *Micah Pesher* (1Q14 frag, 10 3–7) is significant, since there המתנדבים, "those who volunteer," which is a usual term in 1QS but not in the *pesharim*, is connected with the teacher: "[Interpreted, this concerns] the tea[ch]er of righteousness, who is the one [. . .]*w*, and to a[l]l those who volunteer to be added to the chosen ones [of God]." For the arrangement of the fragments, see Horgan 1979, 55–57, The texts, 10.

[302]   Cf. also the parallel of CD 20:31–32 in 1QS 9:9–11: the teacher is not mentioned as a decisive determinant of the right rules. However, Collins 1995, 113, sees a correspondence between 1QS 9:9–11 and CD 6:8–11 and interprets the "first precepts" to mean those inscribed by the interpreter of the law, which he identifies with the teacher. Eshel 2008, 33, too, brings CD 20 as evidence that the teacher taught "how to interpret the laws"—but this formulation can be revealing: in other words, the teacher taught his followers to interpret the law, not made his followers dependent on his interpretations.

[303]   Boyce 1990, 627, makes a distinction between the Mosaic Law and the sectarian law in the passage, but 4Q266 frag. 11 shows how integral was the view of the Mosaic Law and its exact interpretation. Furthermore, that passage mentions only the community officials, not the teacher.

[304]   García Martínez 2010a, 227–24.

The view of the early teacher who appeared only late in the *pesharim* and thus gained new importance was not uncommon already when I first wrote my article on the prototypicality of the teacher and it influenced my thinking. According to this line of thought, the movement faced new challenges as time passed and developed new ways to argue for its existence. One way was the reference to the turbulent beginnings, to conflicts with those whom the early leaders possibly tried to convert to their side but were not able to, and to the fact that any community member must be prepared to face opposition. As I have argued, a group that bases its teaching on new revelation is vulnerable: it needs to create continuity with the past as well as to argue for the relevance of the new teaching. The sense of continuity is central in social identities: the value and meaning attached to group memberships are often related to one's perception of group origins or past history, even long beyond the life of existing members.[305] The "possible social identities" are those that the group believes it has had in the past and may have in the future. One link to the past may be outstanding past members of the group; the group creates and maintains its identity by cherishing the memory of its ideal group members.[306]

The teacher figure was thus not so much a unique founder but a unifier of influential thinkers and scribes who wanted to realize in a new way the scriptural Law in their midst. He could be bypassed in much of the literature and only drawn onto the stage in the later phase in the *pesharim* when the pressure grew stronger to offer arguments for the continuous necessity of a separate movement altogether, when they faced the pressure to renew the movement in changed circumstances, and when continuous difficulties shook their faith in future reward.

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[305] Cinnirella 1998. See also Esler 2003, 22–24, 172–80.

[306] Recently, Stuckenbruck 2010, 23–49, has independently investigated how the teacher was remembered in the scrolls. Stuckenbruck stresses much the same point that I do, except my claim that the teacher was drawn to legitimize the separation of the movement and the continuous need for that separation. Another difference between his and my perspective is that Stuckenbruck does not problematize the authority ascribed to the teacher; I have argued above that the teacher does not have unreserved authority in the *Pesher Habakkuk* but rather this is ascribed to God and his willingness to reveal it occasionally to the faithful ones. Furthermore, even though the perspective on the "teacher remembered" is very important and helpful, Stuckenbruck does not see much difference in the "biographical memory" and the more remote memory on the teacher (esp. n. 55), suggesting to me that he could see the teacher as having great authority already in his lifetime, but this setting remains unspecified.

In the inner world of the *pesharim*, the teacher could be past or present. Generally, the teacher passages require that some time has passed (e.g., 1QpHab 9:8–12), but outside information is needed in order to place the teacher in the Qumran "social time."[307] If an original part of CD 1, the use of the title there suggests that the teacher's appearance in the *pesharim* is rather a revival of a past prophet-like leader who now serves two functions. First, he represents the idea of particularism that the group needed and needs to stand for: that God has preserved his covenant in this group (or these groups) only. In the *Pesher Psalms* and the *Pesher Habakkuk*, the prototypical image of the teacher in conflict makes a statement from the past: all the leaders of the Jerusalem establishment as well as rival authorities were wicked; a distinct community was needed. These conflicts need not be crucial events in the community history; the scripturally-loaded descriptions suffice to support the claim.

Secondly, the prototypical picture of the teacher-leader enabled later group members to identify with him and even perceive him as if he were their contemporary. Emphasizing the similar fate of the in-group and the persecuted and afflicted individual served to promote an identity in which all generations could justify setbacks. This picture required that the members reflected on the level of their identification with the group, even in distress, and modified the in-group prototype in a more flexible direction. Thus, it was a matter of keeping the group together.

Finally, the teacher provides coherence between the in-group's past and present realities. It is natural that such a figure appears in the *pesharim* in which the authors both study the periodization of history and create it by their identification and labeling technique. The *pesharim* are not for and about the teacher but the teacher is harnessed in the service of the *pesharim*.

4) *There was no (one) unique teacher in the movement*
Whereas the theory of multiple "wicked priests" was put forward already in the 1980s,[308] a full theory of multiple teachers has not been seriously presented.[309] Yet, in view of the marginal appearance of the teacher in the full corpus of the Dead Sea Scrolls and the concentration on other scrolls, the teacher has become more and more marginalized in scholarship.

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[307] "Social time" is here used in relation to the possible social identities; it marks the events the group depicted central to its existence, cf. Esler 2003, 23–24.
[308] Woude 1982, 349–59.
[309] But see Schiffman 1994, 117.

In the *Hodayot* scholarship, scholars have started to hesitate to ascribe the hymns to the historical teacher.[310] The *maskil*-titles in many texts suggest that there indeed were persons in the movement who were expected to function in authoritative and superior ways. But at the same time, hymns such as the one at the end of 1QS suggest that such persons by no means raised themselves high above the other members and claimed to be the sole possessors of relevant knowledge. In the *serakhim*, obedience to the fellow superiors is demanded (e.g., 1QS 6:26).

In this possibility, CD 1:11 and CD 20:28, 32 could be taken literally as referring to *a* teacher (of righteousness). These instances preserve the title without the definite article, although this has been suggested to be due to the poetic form.[311] Other teachers and guides certainly were raised by God (e.g., CD 3:12–16, 6:2–11), and the hierarchical order of the movement structured the teaching and the rightful judgments (CD 10:4–10, 14:3–6). According to CD 6:11, there shall be a subsequent teacher (a new kind of office?) in the future.[312]

Furthermore, the beginning of 1QpHab, which refers both to the teacher and to the "priest," may give reason to think that indeed other priestly figures were seen to appear that held the position of an authoritative voice of the movement. The teacher's title elsewhere in the *pesharim* could then refer to a particular person, or to an office of teaching, and even both, in the similar way that an organization may speak about its "president" generally or specifically. This option should seriously be considered— scholars are over-accustomed to the idea of one charismatic teacher.

What would this interpretation mean for the image of the teacher in the *pesharim* and the identity construction? In my view, this position comes close to the previous interpretation where the teacher is representative of the movement. The fact that the office of the teacher (or individual leaders who performed that task) plays such a pronounced role in the *Pesher Psalms* and *Pesher Habakkuk* fits well with the tendency in the *pesharim*

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[310] Newsom 2004; Hasselbalch 2011; Harkins 2012, 449–67.

[311] Lim 2002b, 75. Furthermore, the title מורה היחיד occurs in CD 20:1 and the title יורה היחיד in CD 20:14. See recently Collins 2009b, 54, for correcting the היחיד, "the unique one," to היחד, "the *yahad.*"

[312] In fact, when Davies 2011, 333, speaks of "several 'Teachers,'" he means the fact that, in many theories, the references to the teacher figure are sometimes interpreted to mean a historical figure and sometimes a future figure, whereas he, in his theory, takes the references to refer to the same figure in all places; only the diachronic place of different sections changes (whether the author expected the teacher to come or whether the author believed the teacher had arrived). However, in this fourth scenario, I am speaking rather about an authoritative position ascribed to different individuals.

to condemn the leaders of the opponents, not their followers. The highest authorities on both sides are set in opposition, and the listeners are made to understand that they cannot follow both.

Of course objections can be raised against this interpretation. First, nowhere in the Dead Sea Scrolls is the full title used in the plural. However, the forms מוריהם or מוריהמה, which can be interpreted as plural "their teachers," do occur (4Q167 [4QpHos^b] 5–6 2; 11QMelch 2:5, cf. singular יוריהם, "their teacher," in CD 3:8). Second, the leaders elsewhere in the scrolls are not known by this title. But here one could argue that the title is not an organizational title as the titles in the *serakhim*; it is similarly a labeling title as the titles of the "wicked priest" and the "liar" are.

Conclusion

At the present, I think that none of these theoretical options can be absolutely ruled out. My primary interest has lain, not in the historical reconstruction, but in understanding how my interpretations about the teacher in the *pesharim* fail or do not fail in different historical reconstructions. The first scenario was for a long time a standard view. Early reconstructions of the movement had strong reliance on the historical information drawn from the *pesharim*. The prototypical reading of the *pesharim* casts doubt on at least the strongest trust on the use of the texts for detailed historical data but does not invalidate the search for historical information. On the other hand, it does question the purpose of the *pesharim* as primarily fulfillment literature.

The third scenario is a variation of the first, only adding the view that indeed the *pesharim* are not first-hand information of early events but history of the memory and identity construction at a later period of time. This is the most natural home for the observation that the portrayal of the teacher is prototypical and so many documents are silent about this figure.

The fourth scenario is not a standard view and moves in the direction of more and more skepticism towards drawing historical information out of the texts in the traditional way; however, scholars have always recognized the references to many individuals in an authoritative position in the movement. In my own estimation, I think I have also found a credible reading of the *pesharim* in this option.

The second scenario and the interpretation of the historical teacher in the first century B.C.E. posits the greatest challenge to my prototypical reading of the *pesharim*. If the *pesharim* were written close to the time of the historical teacher and his conflicts, the attitude towards the *pesharim*

is, in a way, similar to the one in scenario one: trusting that indeed detailed information about the events was known and preserved; only the time period is different. How close exactly the *pesharim* were to the historical teacher may be significant. The more decades have passed, the more likely is the understanding of the *pesharim* as conveying a message for the new generation, not for the one contemporary with the teacher. If the fourth scenario is followed, more work is needed in order to evaluate the teacher's appearance in the overall history of the movement. Future scholarship can hopefully clarify this and contribute to theorizing about the beginnings of the movement. In any discussion of the teacher and the occurrences of the title, scholars should be clear in which scenario they most closely position themselves and aware of what the alternative positions are. Even more, I believe that experimentally taking another position and thinking about its consequences for argumentation, rather than finding individual pieces of evidence for one's own position, is very helpful.

Conclusion: Identity Construction Process

Above, I introduced the concept of group beliefs from the social identity approach. Group beliefs capture the essence of what it means to belong to a group—they may also be called social identity descriptors. Social identity is held by an individual and is defined *in relation to* others: it has to do with the perception of oneself as similar to one group of people and unlike another group of people. Each individual has his own perception of what it means to belong to a group, but usually the group seeks to find agreement on central group beliefs. These descriptors are especially necessary when the group is first formed (thus, a fundamental proclamation may deal with group values, norms, goals, and with who is qualified and who is not—compare the formation of a nation, for example). Furthermore, in order to have the group function effectively and to maintain the agreed social identity (or perhaps to control undesirable content of in-group identity), the group develops strategies to keep the social identity salient and to form a positive attachment to the group.[313]

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[313] On this, note the comment by Tajfel 1981a, 238: "Nothing that was said earlier was meant to imply that individuals or groups 'have' stable group identifications of a certain kind; or that the cognitive, evaluative and emotional components of these subjective

The *Pesher Psalms* and the *Pesher Habakkuk* contain many markers of desirable group beliefs. The most striking feature is that these identity descriptors are laid out in a negative form: the righteous are the ones persecuted by the wicked and the ones judging the wicked in the end. Only a few positively formulated descriptors exist, such as obedience to the law and faithfulness in distress. This feature suggests to me that the group is not forming itself—creating its norms and criteria for membership—but rather protecting itself against defectors. Tajfel saw that the number and variety of social situations in which an individual will act according to his or her group membership will increase in relation to: (a) the clarity of his or her awareness that he or she belongs to the group; (b) the extent of positive or negative valuations attached to that membership; and (c) the extent of emotional investment in the awareness and the evaluations.[314] Above, I studied identity-constructing elements in the *Pesher Psalms*: the awareness of group membership is likely to increase by the collective and dichotomous language and by the reference to the group's past. We have no reason to think that the group actually consisted of a very homogenous group of individuals, but the text *perceives* it as such. The righteous teacher is a group prototype that maximally represents the in-group similarity and out-group difference as well as carries the collective memory of the group[315] if the traditional scenario of the teacher is followed. Furthermore, the text heightens the positive evaluation of membership by referring to the end result, to the reward that will come in the future. Conversely, the opposite side, the wicked, are seen to be annihilated. The emotional investment in membership is boosted by addressing the downside of membership and by turning the weaknesses into strengths: those in distress and poverty are the chosen ones, the persecuted are shown to be the righteous ones, as in the scriptures.

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memberships are indiscriminately expressed in behavior in any, or even most, social situations or social settings."

[314] Tajfel 1981a, 239.

[315] This could be compared to what P.F. Esler has suggested happens through Pseudo-Pauline letters: by hearing the texts, the information concerning Paul's imprisonment becomes an "autobiographical memory" for the members of the congregations. Their own experiences of trial and persecution are seen in light of Paul's suffering. A memory of things that happened even before they were born affects their understanding of who they are. Philip F. Esler, "Remember my Fetters: A Social- and Cognitive-Science Approach to the Memorialisation of Paul's Imprisonment in the Pseudo-Pauline Letters." A paper read in "Body, Mind, and Society in Early Christianity: A Research Seminar," Helsinki, Aug 31–Sept 3, 2005.

To this can be added the way in which the *Pesher Psalms* invokes positive images from the past. Although this is not a systematic feature in the Pesher, at times the interpretations even seem to follow the biblical chronology: the forty-year period (2:5–9) recalls the wilderness period, which is the end of the wicked generation and the beginning of a new era in the Promised Land (2:9–12).[316] Those who return from the wilderness[317] will be the inheritors of divine blessings (2:27–3:2).[318] The Pesher constructs a social identity according to which a group member is aware of belonging to a group that is the true bearer of the Law, receiver of divine revelation, and inheritor of promises—and which is destined to a occupy a degraded position for the time being. Such awareness is likely to be charged with positive evaluation and emotional significance the more the group member confronts different social situations that demand that he or she act in terms of the group identification, that is, as a group member, not as an individual.[319] Of course, the danger of ending up with the opposite, negative evaluation of group membership or little emotional significance attached to it, also exists. The path of a traitor is not explicitly presented but hinted at in many ways.

In the *Pesher Habakkuk*, the issue of defectors is even more explicit. If the beginning of the Book of Habakkuk (1:1–4) is applied to the wicked in Judea, it is all the more significant that, in the Pesher, verse 1:5 deals with—or is understood to deal with—the traitors to the covenant. It is as if the prophet's complaint about the iniquity would specifically concern those who refuse to understand the coming judgment, just as the people did in the days of earlier prophets (cf. Jer 5:11; 11:10).

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[316] See the positive images attached to wilderness by Abegg 1997, 124–25.

[317] Or those who have been "captives" in it.

[318] It is possible to also understand other passages in the Pesher within this framework of the wilderness period (e.g., the people were given leaders to assist Moses, cf. 3:5; the appointment of Aaron as a high priest, cf. 3:14–17), but whether the authors or readers understood them in this way remains speculative.

[319] Tajfel 1981a, 241–42, notes that the mere presence of an out-group member in a social situation does not necessarily suffice to create behavior in terms of group membership. On the other hand, "there are the extreme out-group haters who are likely to perceive all (or most) social situations involving the objects of their hatred as being relevant to the relations between the groups involved." Where the Qumran members stand on this continuum is a relevant question. Too much has been assumed simply on the basis of the alleged isolation and extremity of the group. The safest starting point is perhaps to allow a variety of stances: those that can be described as "extreme out-group haters" and those that have not (yet) invested much in group membership. What the Pesher attempts to create is not necessarily the extreme-type but a member who recognizes the most important out-groups and disassociates him- or herself from them.

As was seen above, the *Pesher Habakkuk* probably makes the best of (or even utilizes) the ambiguity of the text of Habakkuk, and compares the domestic and foreign enemies so that, in the end, it is not a matter of one punishing the other, or the other being less sinful than the other, but rather of showing the sins and destiny of both. Not just the wicked priests but also the nations will be condemned in the end (1QpHab 12:10–13:4). Moreover, those of whom the Pesher speaks the least (the traitors) may in reality represent the most significant out-groups. In terms of the social identity approach, this "social change" structure of beliefs refers to that end of the continuum where people believe that the group boundaries are fixed and that people cannot change to another group to improve their position.[320] Sometimes, the formation of such belief structures demands considerable *social creativity*, aiming at changed attitudes, perceptions and emotional commitments.[321] Recategorization is at least one creative strategy used in the Pesher: by placing the wicked leaders in Judea and the wicked foreign enemy on the same line, the text actually shows where the traitors belong too. It creates the perception of impermeable and fixed boundaries between the in-group and the out-groups: an individual cannot leave the group without falling on the same side with the opponents. Those faithful to their original calling, to the community that is represented by the teacher, remain the only ones that avoid the future judgment.

The emerging threat of the Romans was certainly a factor causing alarm and questions even among the sectarians.[322] As was shown above, the Pesher and its scriptural allusions assured the group that no foreigner is in charge of world events. But even more than that, a threat can almost always be utilized for the in-group's benefit in the struggle to guard against defectors and keep the group effective. Identity is context-dependent and has to be reproduced over and over again. In the situation where the sectarians found themselves—on the eve of the Roman conquest

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[320] Tajfel 1981a, 246–47. This kind of "social stratification" can be both real and imagined.

[321] Tajfel 1981a, 248. Using a post-colonial approach, Reimer 2005, 182–209, notes the fact that ethnic identity is not a given but a construant, that is, it is unstable and shaped in the encounter with the "other." He surveys the seemingly contradicting reactions to "Hellenism" and suggests that the constructed nature of identity helps to understand ambiguity in the sources towards external imperial powers.

[322] One of the threats perceived in 1QpHab has been suggested to be cultic: the Romans' demand for regular tribute would put the temple treasury at risk; see above and Brooke 1991, 148, 59.

or when it was under way—they encountered new questions and challenges. In an unstable situation, previous group identifications will also be called into question.[323] Some members of the movement may have felt a need take more active measures and, in consequence, perhaps perceived more similarities to some out-groups than previously. The criteria on which social categorization was based became insecure. The danger of the disintegration of the group and its achievements existed if the group beliefs about who they were and who they were not were supplanted and seen as secondary in new situations. On the other hand, the threat of the Romans—or any changed circumstances—might become a unifying element in the group insofar as the members perceived the threat similarly and understood that, in the expectation of the future judgment, previous group membership must not be discarded. Group boundaries are fixed and earlier commitments are valid.[324]

These are some of the considerations that may help us to study the processes of constructing a positive identity in the various pesher texts. Previous scholarship has not sufficiently specified what is taking place in the world of the pesherists. Criticizing and labeling the outsiders may not mean an open confrontation with them but rather an internal fight for the existence and coherence of the in-group. The shared social identity needed to be made accessible and persuasive so that the members could continue to categorize themselves in terms of this group membership. Although these results cannot be generalized to all texts in the Qumran corpus, they offer a new perspective to think of the identity construction, the individual members and the group, within the Qumran movement.

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[323] Tajfel 1981a, 277–78.
[324] The righteous teacher is one figure that represents the group's values and commitments.

CONCLUSIONS

The concept of "sect" is much used and abused. Seeking a useful definition is a task of its own. I have investigated the background and usefulness of different sect typologies, especially those by Max Weber, Bryan Wilson and Rodney Stark and William Bainbridge. This work has made use of the theoretical framework by Rodney Stark and William Bainbridge, and their three elements of tension in particular. According to this approach, a sect is a religious movement that is at the high-tension end on a continuum that reflects the relationship of the religious group to the wider socio-cultural environment. It is crucial that, according to this model, a sect does not have a specific set of characteristics but is a relative concept, moving on the continuum and dependent on the context in which it is viewed. Tension, or deviance, is further defined by three elements, difference (deviant norms and practices), antagonism (particularism and claim for unique legitimacy), and separation (control and restriction of social relations). These three elements are also to be seen on three continuums, the average of which will define the tension of the group. In this way, a group of people is always to be seen on a continuum, not as a fixed entity. I have discussed the possible limitations of these elements in the context of the Hasmonean period, but argued that this understanding of sect gives us better tools to discuss the Qumran movement and the religious stance reflected in the rule documents (*serakhim*) than has been found in the past. The part of the phenomenon of sectarianism that I have touched upon is, of course, limited; other social-scientific studies on religious groups may illuminate other aspects.

On the basis of this understanding of sectarianism, a largely similar sectarian outlook was revealed in the *Damascus Document* (D) and the *Community Rule* (S). On the basis of the observations of Cecilia Wassen and myself and my discussion in this work, it seems that too much has been made of the differences between D and S on the social level. It is possible that the movement had to preserve D for the historical account's sake: the group needs to cherish its collective memory. The documents were not alternatives to each other. On the other hand, it may be too simplistic to regard D as deriving from the "parent" movement and S revising D in some parts; *serakhim* may serve different functions, and neither of them represents a single social group. However, detailed organizational

structure has deliberately been left outside of the focus of this study, with the attempt to see the basic group descriptors that were common to both documents and to understand the documents in light of the constructing of the shared social identity rather than as prescribing the group's life or preserving a handbook of the structure of the community.

Whereas the first part of the study has suggested that the Qumran movement, as it is reflected in the *serakhim,* is sectarian in its stance as a religious group, I have also suggested that the *serakhim* reflect the *construction* of this sectarian group: individual members shared this sectarian social identity in varying degrees, and the social identity was constantly challenged within the group—by claims arising from the salience of a member's personal identity, by contesting central group beliefs or proposing some group beliefs to be more central than others, or simply by the continuous need to reiterate the group beliefs and make them accessible and appealing in order to acquire new members to share the social identity of previous members.

In this respect, the identities of the members are on a continuum. The *personal identity* and the *social identity* are in interplay: regarding the coherence of the group, it is vital that the member categorize himself in terms of the shared social identity of the group—in the construction of this identity it may be necessary that his personal identity claims be met. The *serakhim* contain various rules for admission, which should be studied more carefully from this perspective. It was proposed that one central group belief was the constant need to turn to the Torah and to the community's counseling on the Torah. This was seen in the oath that the member takes upon admission, at least according to one tradition. I have argued that the salience of the personal identity is seen in various offenses that the penal codes of D and S regulate. The group belief relies on commitment to the community counsel and its hierarchical order. Contesting this order is punishable, which puts pressure on the member to submit rather than resist. Yet the offenses probably were not uncommon, as shown by the existence of the penal codes in various recensions of D and S and their elaborations. I have also suggested that these penal codes are not to be seen as *the* counsel of the community—the community perceives the counsel to be given in the community meetings and according to the hierarchical order. The halakhic rules, the community regulations and the penal codes form an interdependent collection, all of which are designed to satisfy the purpose of the community, obedience to the Torah, in all the meanings that this carries in the ideology of the movement.

In addition to the *serakhim*, this personal/social identity continuum was seen to be echoed in the *pesharim*: the exhortation to control one's anger was interpreted in the *Pesher Psalms* by expressions that reveal the resistance to repenting and submitting. In the *Pesher Habakkuk*, chastisement performed by the community may refer to the reproof system within the community as well as the expected future judgment in which the elect have a role.

The construction of a *positive* social identity is the way to "strengthen" the collective identity, the individual members' identification with the group. Various strategies are used, such as adding new dimensions to comparisons with the out-groups and redefining previous dimensions of comparison. I have suggested that these kinds of strategies can be detected in the *Pesher Psalms* and the *Pesher Habakkuk*, scriptural commentaries on Psalm 37 and Habakkuk 1–2, provided each Pesher is seen in dialogue with the scriptural base-text and that the fulfillment-exegesis is not seen as exhausting the function of the *pesharim*. I discussed some prerequisites for studying social identity construction in the *pesharim*. One possible consequence of the "fulfillment hermeneutics" is the assumption that the meaning of the base-text did not matter to a great extent to the pesherist, a view that I have criticized. By reading a Pesher—and also the base-text—as a whole, the discourse of a particular Pesher more clearly emerges. This is the necessary work to be done before the social identity can be investigated. It reminds us of the dialogue between the scriptural texts and the pesherist and his community. A very interesting play is going especially in the *Pesher Habakkuk* as regards to the base-text where various wicked actors exist: the wicked that rouse the prophet's complaint, the Chaldeans who are both the punishment and themselves condemned, and the oppressors condemned in distinct woes. I have argued that, in the *Pesher Habakkuk*, the Kittim, identified as the Chaldeans, are not unambiguously given the role of punishing the wicked, neither are they portrayed as the main enemies. Rather, the whole is more than a sum of its parts: the message is conveyed that the wicked priests are as wicked as the foreign enemy or vice versa and both of them are condemned and finally mysteriously destroyed.

In wider terms, what the *pesharim* do is to make the listener/reader see the world in new light. First, a powerful way of labeling outsiders is to use a shared tradition, describing the enemy as wicked within that tradition that the enemy itself acknowledged. The reader/listener gained the impression that the scriptures were all about their movement and its

adversaries—scripture is dualistic in its sharp division between the two groups, and the world is manifested as a place of struggle and dichotomy.

Secondly, a group facing adversity attempts to find an explanation to its present experiences. Searching for this in the scriptures was natural. The prophets of old were to be studied afresh, and studied in the light of the scriptures themselves. The very term "pesher," used by the authors of these works as a technical term, reflects the understanding of inspired revelation that included *judgments* to be pronounced on persons and groups.

After studying the Pesher texts as a whole and the main schemes that the pesherist followed, based on but in some respects also deviating from the scheme of their scriptural text, I proposed strategies that may have promoted a positive social identity in the texts. In the *Pesher Psalms*, a central element is the understanding of the group as "the congregation of the poor," inflicted and distressed, for which the righteous teacher stands as a prototypical figure. The positive sense of belonging to the in-group requires not only awareness of belonging to this group and not another (that is, the salience of social identity rather than personal identity), but also a positive emotional and evaluative value attached to that belonging. This is achieved by various cognitive strategies, which are reflected in the collective self-identification as the "poor" and in the reception of the period of humiliation. The group adds new dimensions to its self-categorization, finding in the past an ideological ally, the poor and needy in the scriptures and in its own traditions. Accepting afflictions and God's appointed times harnessed the in-group with a positive value of humility and forbearance, living in the expectation of future vindication.

In the *Pesher Habakkuk*, the identity construction strategies include the depiction of archenemies on the same line as pagan enemies, the stress on the time of testing as the mark of the chosen ones, and selecting certain individuals as stereotypical of community and non-community members. Faithfulness to the community is promoted by the application of the Prophet Habakkuk's message to the community's reality but still remaining faithful to the key message of Habakkuk himself: "Wait and be faithful." The group stands between the evil foreign invader and the wicked leaders in Jerusalem; God's rule is elevated and patience is valued—remaining committed to the group will result in seeing the judgment of both evildoers. New argument was put forward for the careful reading of the complete passage of 1QpHab 6:12b–8:3a, which does *not* state—contrary to what is often claimed when only parts of the passage are quoted—that the teacher had knowledge superior to the prophets. Rather, it states that

the teacher did not know the completion of the time either and therefore the patience that was required of the prophet Habakkuk's audience is also required from the Pesher audience.

The teacher of righteousness was found in both the *Pesher Psalms* and the *Pesher Habakkuk* to be represented in very similar terms as the righteous collectives in these texts, that is, this figure was presented almost always together with an opponent figure and was persecuted and yet was privileged somehow in front of God. This is a prototypical image of the teacher: the image maximizes the difference with out-groups and minimizes the differences within the in-group; in other words, it provides the members the idea of an ideal member who clearly fortifies the boundaries of this group and shows why those boundaries are legitimate and must remain the way they are. Such an ideal member is not uncertain about his/her commitment and status, not confused by the hostility of his/her adversaries and their success, and not in danger of joining other, more attractive groups. Persecution of the righteous is shown to be condemned in the scriptures, and the fate of the wicked guilty of such is evident, even if not yet fulfilled.

Without these *pesharim*, the picture of the teacher would have been very different. In light of the beginning of the *Damascus Document*, the teacher figure could have been bypassed fairly quickly, as one aid among others sent by God to preserve the remnant of the covenant and guide its way. The end of the Admonition, preserved in CD B, on the other hand, moves closer to the image of the *pesharim*: the teacher is remembered as a past figure whose voice leads the present members to confess their sins and accept the laws and judgments.

I have argued that, if the reading of the teacher in the *Pesher Psalms* and the *Pesher Habakkuk* is accepted to be prototypical in the way described, the reading underlines the vague nature of the information we derive from these texts concerning any historical teacher. Nevertheless, few scholars would claim it invalidates the search for historical information, or rather, the most likely historical context for the teacher. I have not sought to study the historical teacher as such but, at the end, I discussed four different theoretical scenarios proposed for the teacher and evaluated the extent to which each of them could be suited to my prototypical reading of the teacher. The theory of the teacher in the second century B.C.E. works best, provided that the *pesharim* can be those documents that make the teacher a unique figure, not that he must have been unique in the beginning. The theory of the teacher in the first century B.C.E., recently strongly promoted by John Collins, posits challenges unless it is

assumed that the *pesharim* are still removed from the historical teacher in time. I also experimented with the idea of an external teacher, a figure in power whom the *pesharim* perceive as their patron or a player who enabled correct choices, and considered this not unproblematic but not excluded either. The final scenario of no unique historical teacher is not a normal scenario in scholarship but challenges the "one charismatic man" approach often assumed when discussing sects; yet a mixture of this scenario and the others might prove more fruitful (i.e., the teacher refers in some places to a historical figure but can also be a general title).

Lastly, the identities can still be seen on a continuum of group development. The developmental processes in the Qumran movement are, however, complex and wide-ranging, and this study has been able to touch upon only some of its aspects. Social identity is not unchangeable but transforms over the course of time and in relation to changes in the surrounding environment. However extreme a group may be, in other circumstances it can always become less extreme. The personal identity claims are also addressed differently at different stages of group development. The perception of continuity in the social identity is also necessary for the group, and this is the reason for the importance of collective memories and the content of those memories. I proposed that the righteous teacher is part of those collective memories to which the group assigns special importance and whose prototypical character it promotes as the content of the shared social identity.

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