

CATHERINE M. MURPHY

WEALTH IN THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS
AND IN THE QUMRAN COMMUNITY



WEALTH IN THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS
AND IN THE QUMRAN COMMUNITY

STUDIES ON THE TEXTS OF THE DESERT OF JUDAH

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WEALTH IN THE DEAD SEA SCROLLS AND IN THE QUMRAN COMMUNITY

BY

CATHERINE M. MURPHY



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DEDICATION

To the memory of my father,
William F. Murphy

כי לא יחדל אביון מקרב הארץ
על כן אנכי מצוך לאמר פתח תפתח את ירך
לאחריך לעניך ולאבינך בארצך

(Deuteronomy 15:11)

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PREFACE

This study began as a dissertation at the University of Notre Dame under the direction of Professors Harold W. Attridge and James C. VanderKam. I am deeply grateful to them for their expertise, advice and encouragement, as well as for the many ways they exemplified the pleasure and discipline of a life of scholarship. I would also like to thank my other faculty advisors at the University of Notre Dame, Gregory E. Sterling and Blake Leyerle, for recommending resources and new perspectives from which to view the material.

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Two of the chapters in the book were presented at annual meetings of the Society of Biblical Literature. An early form of Chapter 2 was presented to the Wisdom and Apocalypticism in Early Judaism and Early Christianity Group in Orlando, Florida in November of 1998, while a form of Chapter 3 was presented to the Literature of the Second Temple Period Group in San Francisco, California in November of 1997. I would like to thank Professors Michael A. Knibb and Florentino García Martínez for the opportunity to publish a form of Chapter 2 in *Revue de Qumrân* (1999).

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conference papers.

John R. Donahue, S. J. and Barbara Green, O. P. provided early encouragement in the study of scripture and have been mentors in the years since, not only in things academic but also by virtue of their commitments to questions of ethics, past and present.

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This volume is enhanced by the artistic renderings of Thomas J. Carey, Librarian at the San Francisco History Center, San Francisco Public Library (Appendices E and H), and by the generous assistance of Anne Muirhead in helping to compile the indexes. The photographs for the plates were produced by several people. The PAM photographs for Plates I, III–V and VIII–X were taken by Najib A. Albina between 1954 and 1960, and were reproduced for this volume by Yael Barschak of the Israel Antiquities Authority. The photographs of P. Yadin 16 (Plates VI–VII) were taken by Helena Bieberkraut in 1961 and reproduced by Bella Gershovich of The Israel Museum, Jerusalem. The photograph of the “Yahad” ostrakon (Plate II) was taken by Dr. James W. Henderson in 1996 at the direction of Professor James F. Strange of the University of South Florida. Dr. Esther Eshel, who along with Professor Frank Moore Cross had been assigned the publication of the ostrakon, was kind enough to lend me a copy of the photograph for reproduction. The original slide for the *editio princeps* was digitally enhanced, and the print made from that slide for this volume was produced digitally (dye sublimation).

I would like to acknowledge Carolee Bird and Cynthia Bradley of Orradre Library at Santa Clara University, who helped so greatly in securing articles and books that our library did not carry.

I am deeply grateful to Professor Florentino García Martínez for accepting my work for publication in this series. I am also thankful to the editorial staff at Brill, especially Mattie Kuiper and Hans van der Meij.

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Santa Clara, September 2001

Catherine M. Murphy

ABBREVIATIONS

AASOR	Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research
AAWGPBK	Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Philologisch-Historische Klasse, dritte folge
AB	Anchor Bible
ABD	David Noel Freedman, ed. <i>Anchor Bible Dictionary</i> , 6 vols. New York: Doubleday, 1992.
ABRL	Anchor Bible Reference Library
ADAJ	<i>Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan</i>
<i>Aeg</i>	<i>Aegyptus</i>
AGJU	Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums
AJSL	<i>American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature</i>
ALBO	Analecta lovaniensia biblica et orientalia
ALGHJ	Arbeiten zur Literatur und Geschichte des hellenistischen Judentums
ALUOS	<i>Annual of Leeds University Oriental Society</i>
AnBib	Analecta biblica
ANRW	<i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt</i>
ANYAS	Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences
APFB	Archive für Papyrusforschung Beiheft
APOT	R. H. Charles, ed. <i>Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament</i> , 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon, 1913; republished 1968–1968.
AS	Assyriological Studies
ASNU	Acta seminarii neotestamentici upsaliensis
<i>AsSeign</i>	<i>Assemblées du Seigneur</i>
ASTI	<i>Annual of the Swedish Theological Institute</i>
ATR	<i>Anglican Theological Review</i>
BA	<i>Biblical Archaeologist</i>
BAFCS	The Book of Acts in Its First Century Setting
<i>BAReader</i>	<i>Biblical Archaeologist Reader</i>
BAR	<i>Biblical Archaeology Review</i>
BASORSup	Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research Supplementary Series
BBB	Bonner biblische Beiträge
BÉHÉ	Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études, Sciences historiques et philologiques
BETL	Bibliotheca ephemeridum theologiarum lovaniensium
BHT	Beiträge zur historischen Theologie
<i>Bib</i>	<i>Biblica</i>

BibJS	Biblical and Judaic Studies from the University of California, San Diego
BibOr	Biblica et Orientalis
BJS	Brown Judaic Studies
BMI	Bible and Its Modern Interpreters
BritARIS	British Archaeological Reports International Series
BSJS	Brill's Series in Jewish Studies
<i>BTB</i>	<i>Biblical Theology Bulletin</i>
<i>Cambridge</i>	Moshe J. Bernstein, Florentino García Martínez, and John I. Kampen, eds. <i>Legal Texts and Legal Issues: Proceedings of the Second Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies, Cambridge 1995, Published in Honour of Joseph M. Baumgarten</i> , STDJ 23. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1997).
<i>CBQ</i>	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
CCWJCW	Cambridge Commentaries on Writings of the Jewish and Christian World 200 BC to AD 200
CJA	University of Notre Dame Center for the Study of Judaism and Christianity in Antiquity
CIS	Copenhagen International Seminar
COL	Christian Origins Library
<i>CP</i>	<i>Classical Philology</i>
<i>CQR</i>	<i>Church Quarterly Review</i>
<i>CR</i>	<i>Currents in Research</i>
CRAI	Comptes rendus de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres
CSCT	Columbia Studies in the Classical Tradition
CPESPPT	Cambridge Studies in Population, Economy, and Society in Past Time
CUOS	Columbia University Oriental Studies
DAWBSSA	Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Schriften der Sektion für Altertumswissenschaft
DJD	Discoveries in the Judaean Desert
DJDJ	Discoveries in the Judaean Desert of Jordan
DMAHA	Dutch Monographs on Ancient History and Archaeology
<i>DSD</i>	<i>Dead Sea Discoveries</i>
<i>DSSSE</i>	Geza Vermes. <i>The Dead Sea Scrolls in English</i> , 3d ed. New York: Penguin, 1987.
<i>DSSFY</i>	Peter W. Flint and James C. VanderKam, eds. <i>The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment</i> , vol. 1. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1998.
<i>DSSFYD</i>	Lawrence H. Schiffman and James C. VanderKam, eds. <i>The Dead Sea Scrolls Fifty Years after their Discovery: Proceedings of the Jerusalem Congress, July 20–25, 1997</i> . Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, in cooperation with The Shrine of the Book, 2000.
<i>DSSHAG</i>	James H. Charlesworth et al., eds. <i>The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations</i> , The Princeton Theological Seminary Dead Sea Scrolls Project. Tübingen/Louisville: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck]/Westminster John Knox, 1994–.
<i>DSSHU</i>	Nahman Avigad and Eleazar Lipa Sukenik. <i>The Dead Sea Scrolls of the Hebrew University</i> . Jerusalem: Hebrew University and Magnes Press, 1955; Hebrew original, Jerusalem: Bialik Institute and the Hebrew University, 1954.

<i>DSSSE</i>	Florentino García Martínez and Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar, eds. <i>The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition</i> . Leiden/New York: E. J. Brill, 1997–1998.
<i>DSSSMM</i>	Millar Burrows. <i>The Dead Sea Scrolls of St. Mark's Monastery</i> , vol. 1, <i>The Isaiah Manuscript and the Habbakuk Commentary</i> . New Haven, Connecticut: American Schools of Oriental Research, 1950.
<i>DSST</i>	Florentino García Martínez. <i>The Dead Sea Scrolls Translated: The Qumran Texts in English</i> , trans. W. G. E. Watson. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1994; Spanish original, Madrid: Trotta, 1992.
<i>DSSU</i>	Robert H. Eisenman and Michael O. Wise, ed. <i>The Dead Sea Scrolls Uncovered: The First Complete Translation and Interpretation of 50 Key Documents Withheld for Over 35 Years</i> . Shaftesbury, Dorset/Rockport, Massachusetts: Element, 1992.
<i>DUJ</i>	<i>Durham University Journal</i>
<i>EAEHL</i>	Michael Avi-Yonah and Ephraim Stern (vols. 3-4), eds. <i>Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land</i> , 4 vols. Jerusalem/ Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: The Israel Exploration Society and Massada Press/ Prentice-Hall, 1975–1978.
<i>EDSS</i>	Lawrence H. Schiffman and James C. VanderKam, eds. <i>Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls</i> , 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon, 2000.
EichSt	Eichstatter Studien
<i>ErIsr</i>	<i>Eretz-Israel</i>
<i>ETL</i>	<i>Ephemerides theologicae lovanienses</i>
<i>EvQ</i>	<i>Evangelical Quarterly</i>
<i>EvT</i>	<i>Evangelische Theologie</i>
<i>FKQAF</i>	Jean-Baptiste Humbert and A. Chambon, <i>Fouilles de Khirbet Qumrân et de Ain Feshkha I</i> , NTOA, Series Archaeologica 1. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1994.
<i>FO</i>	<i>Folia orientalia</i>
GCS	Die griechische christliche Schriftsteller der ersten [drei] Jahrhunderte
GNS	Good News Studies
HSS	Harvard Semitic Studies
<i>HTR</i>	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
HTS	Harvard Theological Studies
HvTSt	<i>Hervormde Teologiese Studies</i>
HUCA	<i>Hebrew Union College Annual</i>
HUCM	Monographs of the Hebrew Union College
<i>IEJ</i>	<i>Israel Exploration Journal</i>
<i>IJMS</i>	<i>Israel Journal of Medical Science</i>
<i>INJ</i>	<i>Israel Numismatics Journal</i>
<i>Int</i>	<i>Interpretation</i>
<i>ITQ</i>	<i>Irish Theological Quarterly</i>
IRT	Issues in Religion and Theology
<i>JANES</i>	<i>Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Society</i>
<i>JAOS</i>	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
<i>JBL</i>	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
<i>JBLMS</i>	Journal of Biblical Literature Monograph Series

<i>JBR</i>	<i>Journal of Bible and Religion</i>
JDS	Judean Desert Series
<i>JEH</i>	<i>Journal of Ecclesiastical History</i>
JHNES	Johns Hopkins Near Eastern Studies
<i>JJS</i>	<i>Journal of Jewish Studies</i>
<i>JQR</i>	<i>Jewish Quarterly Review</i>
JQRMS	Jewish Quarterly Review Monograph Series
<i>JRA</i>	<i>Journal of Roman Archaeology</i>
<i>JRS</i>	<i>Journal of Roman Studies</i>
<i>JSJ</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic and Roman Period</i>
JSJSup	Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic and Roman Period Supplement Series
<i>JSNT</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the New Testament</i>
JSOT/ASORMS	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament/American Schools of Oriental Research Monograph Series
JSOTSup	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series
<i>JSP</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha</i>
JSPSup	Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha Supplement Series
<i>JSS</i>	<i>Journal of Semitic Studies</i>
<i>JTS</i>	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
K	Kethib
KIT	Kleine Texte
KPS	Klassisch-philologische Studien
LBS	Library of Biblical Studies
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
LDSS	The Literature of the Dead Sea Scrolls
LEC	Library of Early Christianity
<i>Madrid</i>	Julio Trebolle Barrera and Luis Vegas Montaner, eds. <i>The Madrid Qumran Congress: Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls, Madrid 18–21 March, 1991</i> , 2 vols. Leiden/Madrid: E. J. Brill/Editorial Complutense, 1992.
<i>MdB</i>	<i>Le Monde de la Bible</i>
<i>MTZ</i>	<i>Münchener theologische Zeitschrift</i>
NCB	New Century Bible
<i>NedTTs</i>	<i>Nederlands theologisch tijdschrift</i>
<i>Neot</i>	<i>Neotestamentica</i>
NER	Near Eastern Research
<i>NovT</i>	<i>Novum Testamentum</i>
NovTSup	Novum Testamentum, Supplements
NSBT	New Studies in Biblical Theology
NTL	New Testament Library
NTOA	Novum Testamentum et Orbis Antiquus
<i>NTS</i>	<i>New Testament Studies</i>

OBT	Overtures to Biblical Theology
OCT	Oxford Centre Textbooks
<i>Orion I</i>	Michael E. Stone and Esther G. Chazon, eds. <i>Biblical Perspectives: Early Use and Interpretation of the Bible in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Proceedings of the First International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 12-14 May, 1996</i> , STDJ 28. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1998.
<i>Orion II</i>	Esther G. Chazon and Michael E. Stone, eds., with the collaboration of Avital Pinnick. <i>Pseudepigraphical Perspectives: The Apocrypha and the Pseudepigrapha in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Proceedings of the Second International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 12-14 January, 1997</i> , STDJ 31. Leiden: Brill, 1998.
<i>Orion III</i>	Joseph M. Baumgarten, Esther G. Chazon, and Avital Pinnick, eds. <i>The Damascus Document: A Centennial of Discovery. Proceedings of the Third International Symposium of the Orion Center, 4-8 February, 1998</i> , STDJ 34. Leiden: Brill, 2000.
<i>Orion IV</i>	David Goodblatt, Avital Pinnick and Daniel R. Schwartz, eds. <i>Historical Perspectives: Jewish Perspectives from the Maccabees to Bar Kokhba in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls. Proceedings of the Fourth International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 27-31 January, 1999</i> , STDJ. Leiden/ Boston: Brill, forthcoming.
OTP	James H. Charlesworth, ed. <i>The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha</i> , 2 vols. New York: Doubleday, 1985.
Paris	George J. Brooke with Florentino García Martínez, eds. <i>New Qumran Texts and Studies: Proceedings of the First Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies, Paris 1992</i> , STDJ 15. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1994.
PAPS	<i>Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society</i>
PatSorb	Patristica Sorbonnensia
PEFQS	<i>Palestine Exploration Fund. Quarterly Statement</i>
PEQ	<i>Palestine Exploration Quarterly</i>
PFES	Publications of the Finnish Exegetical Society
Phil	<i>Philologus</i>
PIBA	Proceedings of the Irish Biblical Association
PIBRs	Publications of the Israel Bible Research Society
Provo	Donald W. Parry and Eugene Ulrich, eds. <i>The Provo International Conference on the Dead Sea Scrolls: Technological Innovations, New Texts, and Reformulated Issues</i> , STDJ 30. Leiden/Boston: Brill, 1999.
PRSt	<i>Perspectives in Religious Studies</i>
PTS	Patristische Texte und Studien
PW	A. F. Pauly. <i>Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft</i> , rev. G. Wissowa, ed. W. Kroll. Stuttgart: J. B. Metzler, 1920-. Reprinted as <i>Der neue Pauly: Enzyklopadie der Antike</i> , ed. Hubert Cancik and Helmuth Schneider, 1996-.
Q	Qere
QC	<i>The Qumran Chronicle</i>
QM	Qumranica Mogilanensia
QR	<i>Quarterly Review</i>

<i>RAC</i>	<i>Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum</i>
<i>RB</i>	<i>Revue biblique</i>
RBS	Resources for Biblical Study
RechBib	Recherches bibliques
<i>REJ</i>	<i>Revue des études juives</i>
<i>RelSRev</i>	<i>Religious Studies Review</i>
ResO	Res Orientales
<i>RevExp</i>	<i>Review and Expositor</i>
<i>RevQ</i>	<i>Revue de Qumrân</i>
<i>RevScRel</i>	<i>Revue des sciences religieuses</i>
<i>RHPR</i>	<i>Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses</i>
<i>RivSO</i>	<i>Rivista degli Studi Orientali</i>
RSMS	Religious Studies Monograph Series
SBibSt	Sources for Biblical Study
SBFCM	Studium Biblicum Franciscanum Collectio Maior
SBLDS	Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series
SBLEJL	Society of Biblical Literature Early Judaism and its Literature
SBLMS	Society of Biblical Literature Monograph Series
SBLSP	Society of Biblical Literature Seminar Papers
SBLSymS	Society of Biblical Literature Symposium Series
SBLTT	Society of Biblical Literature Texts and Translations
SBT	Studies in Biblical Theology
<i>SCI</i>	<i>Scripta Classica Israelica</i>
<i>ScrB</i>	<i>Scripture Bulletin</i>
ScrHier	Scripta hierosolymitana
ScrJud	Scripta Judaica
SDIOAP	Studia et Documenta ad Iura Orientis Antiqui Pertinentia
SDSSRL	Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature
<i>SE I = TU</i>	<i>Studia Evangelica I = Texte und Untersuchungen 73 (1959)</i>
<i>SEÅ</i>	<i>Svensk exegetisk årsbok</i>
<i>Sem</i>	<i>Semitica</i>
SFSHJ	South Florida Studies in the History of Judaism
SHRNBS	Studies in the History of Religions [Numen Book Series]
SIJD	Schriften des Institutum Judaicum Delitzschianum
SJLA	Studies in Judaism in Late Antiquity
<i>SJOT</i>	<i>Scandinavian Journal of the Old Testament</i>
SNTSMS	Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series
SPB	Studia postbiblica
SPhiloM	Studia Philonica Monographs
SSN	Studia semitica neerlandica
<i>ST</i>	<i>Studia theologica</i>
STDJ	Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah

STJHC	Studies and Texts in Jewish History and Culture
StPB	Studia post-biblica
SUNT	Studien zur Umwelt des Neuen Testaments
TBT	<i>The Bible Today</i>
TDNT	Gerhard Kittel and Gerhard Friedrich, eds. <i>Theological Dictionary of the New Testament</i> , trans. Geoffrey W. Bromiley. Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans, 1964–1966.
ThT	<i>Theologisch tijdschrift</i>
TLZ	<i>Theologische Literaturzeitung</i>
Trevar	Frank Moore Cross, David Noel Freedman and James A. Sanders, eds. <i>Scrolls from Qumrân Cave I: The Great Isaiah Scroll, The Order of the Community, The Peshet to Habakkuk. From Photographs by John C. Trever</i> . Jerusalem: Albright Institute of Archaeological Research, 1972.
TRu	<i>Theologische Rundschau</i>
TS	<i>Theological Studies</i>
TSAJ	Texte und Studien zum antiken Judentum
TWNT	Gerhard Kittel and Gerhard Friedrich, eds. <i>Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament</i> .
TZ	<i>Theologische Zeitschrift</i>
UF	<i>Ugarit-Forschungen</i>
UUA	Uppsala Universitetsårskrift
VD	<i>Verbum domini</i>
VT	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
VTSup	Supplements to Vetus Testamentum
WF	Wege der Forschung
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
YJS	Yale Judaica Series
ZAW	<i>Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
ZDPV	<i>Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins</i>
ZNW	<i>Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
ZPE	<i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik</i>
ZTK	<i>Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche</i>

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Economic organization is a fundamental feature of human society. The construction of an economy in any given situation is intertwined with the historical and cultural particularities of the social group under observation, so that economic organization reveals aspects of the group that are not limited to economic matters. Rather, the ways in which a group coordinates the production and distribution of goods and services indicate the political assumptions, the social locations, and the ideological frameworks of the group, just as they help to shape them.

The study that follows is an exploration of the economic organization and ideology of the social group(s) that collected and wrote the Dead Sea Scrolls and that lived at Qumran. Because the subject of the study lies in antiquity, the evidence is fragmentary and limited. Nevertheless, enough literary and archaeological material has been discovered and published to sketch the contours of the economic practices of the group(s) and their governing rationales.

The discussion of wealth in the Dead Sea Scrolls has focused in large measure on the practice of shared property mentioned in the Rule of the Community. While common property will continue to be a central issue in the present study, it does not exhaust the topic of economic evidence in the scrolls and the Qumran community. In fact, there is a great deal of material on wealth in contexts that range across the genres of literature and the categories of artifacts at Qumran, and all of this material will be introduced and evaluated.

Before this can be done, however, it is necessary to offer some preliminary definitions of terms, to assess the state of the question, and to delimit the scope and method of the present study.

1.1 *Preliminary Definitions*

The term “economics” will be understood to refer to all aspects of the production and distribution of goods and services in a given social unit, in this case, the community interested in and responsible for the collection of literature found at Qumran. Thus the discussion of economics will encompass much more than the matter of shared property known to us from the Rule of the Community; it will also include any literary references to and material evi-

dence for systems of production and distribution in the ideology and practice of the community. "Commerce" will be treated as that aspect of social intercourse in which commodities, such as produce, material goods, or women in the marriage transaction, are exchanged. "Wealth" (אִתְּוּ) will be understood to be those assets which enable one to produce goods as well as the goods thus produced. To anticipate the results of the present study somewhat, "wealth" appears to refer to land and food more often than it does to money or commodities such as livestock or moveable property.

The social group at Qumran has frequently been referred to as a sect, and that convention will be observed in this study. Albert I. Baumgarten has drawn on the work of Max Weber, Ernst Troeltsch and Mary Douglas to offer the following working definition:

[A sect is] a voluntary association of protest, which utilizes boundary marking mechanisms—the social means of differentiating between insiders and outsiders—to distinguish between its own members and those otherwise normally regarded as belonging to the same national or religious entity.¹

The key elements of this definition are that the movement be voluntary, that it intentionally separate itself from a larger social unit in protest, and that it create boundary-marking mechanisms through its constitutive social institutions in order to create and maintain its separation.² The boundaries may differ from sect to sect in their degree of permeability, so that a sect with relatively impermeable boundaries would be one that sought to replace the irredeemable larger social unit, whereas permeable boundaries would characterize a sect that sought merely to reform the larger social unit.³ The economy will be one of the social institutions through which the sect will separate itself from the larger society, in addition to the institutions of family, religion/Temple, and politics. The economy of the sect, in other words, may provide visible evidence of the degree and character of the protest around which the sect is organized. We must also allow for the increasing complexity of a sect over time, such that it may itself begin to subdivide into groups with more or less permeable boundaries. Indeed, this seems to be the best way to understand

¹ *The Flourishing of Jewish Sects in the Maccabean Era: An Interpretation* (JSJSup 55; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1997) 7.

² Shemaryahu Talmon requires that, in the case of religious sectarianism, the sect separate itself from a normative religion. He believes that, since there was no single, normative religion at the time of the Qumran group, this subgroup cannot be referred to as a sect. He prefers the designation "the community of the renewed covenant" ("Qumran Studies: Past, Present, and Future," *JQR* 85 [1994] 6). Baumgarten disagrees that a normative religion is a useful prerequisite, since "normativity" is an elusive and subjective criterion, and in any case is difficult to assign to ancient social organizations.

³ Baumgarten here follows Bryan R. Wilson's distinction between "introversionist" and "reformist" sects; see Wilson, *Magic and the Millennium: A Sociological Study of Religious Movements of Protest among Tribal and Third-world Peoples* (New York: Harper & Row, 1973) 18-26; Baumgarten, *Flourishing of Jewish Sects*, 12-13.

the similarities and differences between the sources, especially the Damascus Document and the Rule of the Community.

Sociological analysis of sects or “new religious movements” suggests that members join such groups because they perceive a degree of deprivation relative to other social groups, whether that disadvantage be physical, economic, social, ethical, or psychic.⁴ Jean Duhaime has applied this insight to historical reconstructions of the scroll communities’ origins, and has found that the latter three disadvantages predominate.⁵ The burden of the present study will be to demonstrate that, when the scrolls themselves are examined, economic deprivation emerges as a motive for and result of separation and is inseparably intertwined with the other perceived sources of deprivation.

This leads to another matter which must be clarified from the outset, namely whether we should speak of a single community or of multiple communities when dealing with the Qumran corpus.⁶ The discovery of over eight hundred manuscripts within a short distance of a compound of buildings utilized over a one- to two-hundred-year period points to at least one community, as does the language in the constitutional literature of a “unity” (יחד) and a “congregation” (עדה) and the uniform design of the majority of graves in the nearby cemeteries. However, the occasional contradictions of beliefs and practices in the literature, the small size and thus portability of some manuscripts, the lack of residential space at the compound, the incongruity of the number of graves and *miqva’ot* with the residential capacity of the site, the presence of what seem to be affiliated sites in the vicinity, and the references in the constitutional literature to those residing in “camps,” all point to a more dispersed social entity, that is, to communities rather than a single community. What unified and separated these disparate communities is still an open question toward which the present study may make a contribution.

1.2 *Past Study of Wealth in the Dead Sea Scrolls*

Discussions impinging on wealth in the Dead Sea Scrolls began before the scrolls were found and entered discrete phases determined by the publication of new material. The first phase was initiated by the publication of the Zadokite Fragments in 1910, a work that would later become known as the Damascus Document. The second phase of discussion was inaugurated by the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Qumran compound (1947–

⁴ C. Y. Glock, “On the Origin and Evolution of Religious Groups,” in *Religion in Sociological Perspective: Essays in the Empirical Study of Religion* (ed. C. Y. Glock; Wadsworth Series in Sociology; Belmont, California: Wadsworth, 1973) 207-220.

⁵ “Relative Deprivation in New Religious Movements and the Qumran Community,” *RevQ* 62 (1993) 265-76.

⁶ See P. R. Davies, “Communities in the Qumran Scrolls,” *PIBA* 17 (1994) 55-68.

1956). This phase was dominated by the consensus view that the group behind these artifacts was to be identified with the Essenes, and their common life was to be understood as a kind of monastic and ascetic retreat from the world. The third and most recent phase began in the 1990s with the publication of most of the Cave 4 material and some of the archaeological evidence and the reevaluation of the consensus view in the wake of these fresh perspectives and new discoveries.

1.2.1 *The Publication of the Zadokite Fragments*

Before the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls, the academic discussion of Jewish sectarian economic practices clustered around a limited number of groups and sources. Scholars had at their disposal ancient secondary accounts of the Essenes in Judea and the Therapeutae in Egypt, as well as primary literature from Christian circles about the economic organization of the early church. In addition to this more immediate evidence for Jewish practice, rabbinic literature provided information about a type of Jewish association known as the *havurah* (חבורה), a fellowship committed to strict purity requirements and scripturally mandated economic acts.

The examination of this body of literature conducted in Christian circles was driven by the question of Jewish precedents for the practice of shared property in the early Jerusalem church. The relevant Christian sources included not only the summaries of early Christian practice in Acts 2:44-45 and 4:32-35, but also Pauline accounts of his collection for “the poor among the saints in Jerusalem” (Rom 15:25-28⁷) and the descriptions of the early Christian institution of the daily bread distribution, the first controversy to confound the church (Acts 6:1-7). Jewish sects such as the Essenes and the Therapeutae enjoyed a common life and a concern for holiness or purity, and in these attributes appeared analogous to early Christianity. The parallels between the early Christians and the Essenes in particular, which included ritual washings, common sacred meals, prayer and common property, were judged significant enough for Ernest Rénan to conclude in 1891 that Christianity was an Essenism which had largely succeeded.⁸

The discussion and study of Jewish sects in the Second Temple period was stimulated by Solomon Schechter’s 1910 publication of the so-called Zadokite Fragments from the Cairo Genizah, later designated the Cairo Damascus Documents (CD-A, CD-B).⁹ Schechter himself thought that the

⁷ Cf. Gal 2:10/Acts 11:29-30; 1 Cor 16:1-4; 2 Cor 8-9.

⁸ *Histoire du peuple d’Israël*, 5 vols. (Paris: Calmann-Levy, 1891; English edition, Boston: Roberts Brothers, 1896) 5.70.

⁹ *Documents of Jewish Sectaries*, vol. 1, *Fragments of a Zadokite Work* (LBS; New York: KTAV, 1970; original Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1910); the texts were among a cache of perhaps 90,000 fragments that Schechter retrieved from the Ezra Synagogue of Old

eighteen columns he translated were originally the product of another pre-Christian Jewish sect, the Dositheans, whom he understood to be an offshoot of the Samaritans and opponents of the Pharisees.¹⁰ One point of his argument bears on the subject of shared property: Schechter repeats Epiphanius' comment that the Dositheans "have no intercourse with all people because they detest all mankind," and understands this as consistent with the certain proscriptions of economic or social intercourse with Gentiles on the sabbath. The accusation of anti-social behavior, however, was applied so regularly to "the other" in antiquity that it proves useless in identifying any particular sect with the group who composed this document.

Schechter's association of the Zadokite Fragments with the Dositheans/Zadokites was challenged by others in the following decades. Eduard Meyer accepted the assignation of the fragments to the Seleucid period but tentatively associated them with the Essenes rather than with the Zadokites/Sadducees.¹¹ Louis Ginzberg also understood the Zadokite Fragments to have been influenced by Essenism. For Ginzberg, the points of contact between Essene doctrine and the practices and beliefs articulated in the Zadokite Fragments were compelling: the office of the Examiner (מבקר) resembled that of the overseer in Josephus (ἐπιμελητής), only adult males participated, although children could be included with certain restrictions, and primary and secondary sources agreed that members took a special oath upon entry and avoided pronouncing the divine name. Ginzberg was less convinced that the economic practices of the Zadokite Fragments corresponded to ancient descriptions of the Essenes:

These points of correspondence do not, of course, lead us to ascribe our document to Essene provenance. Our sect rejects essential Essene doctrines, such as common ownership of property, objection to slavery, etc. The similarities which do exist, are, however, evident and obvious and they show that our sect belongs to the era during which Essenism was still a vital force.¹²

Others such as George Margoliouth contended that the original authors were Sadducean Christians in Damascus,¹³ while still others despaired of an ancient

Cairo (Fustat) in 1896 (J. A. Fitzmyer, S. J., "Prolegomenon," *Documents of the Jewish Sectaries*, 10-11). A further fragment purportedly of the same manuscript was published by I. Lévi, "Document relatif à la 'Communauté des fils de Sadoc,'" *REJ* 65 (1913) 24-31. The fragment may be more closely identified with IQSb; see Talmon, "The 'Manual of Benedictions' of the Sect of the Judaean Desert," *RevQ* 2 (1959-1960) 475-500.

¹⁰ *Documents of the Jewish Sectaries*, XVIII-XXVI (= [50]-[58]).

¹¹ "Die Gemeinde des neuen Bundes im Lande Damaskus: Eine jüdische Schrift aus der Seleukidenzeit," *Abhandlung der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Berlin: Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1919) 1-65.

¹² L. Ginzberg, *An Unknown Jewish Sect* (New York: Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1976) 397.

¹³ "The Sadducean Christians of Damascus," *Bibliotheca sacra* 69 (1912) 421-37; "The Sadducean Christians of Damascus," *Athenaeum* 4335 (26 November 1910) 657-59; 4349 (4

sectarian identification at all, and concluded that the fragments were medieval compositions of the Karaite sect.¹⁴

Correlations were also made between the Zadokite Fragments and the early Christian sources. Schechter himself proposed some affinities that bear on the present study, namely that both the Fragments and the New Testament refer to the new covenant and to the interpretation of the command to love one's neighbor from Leviticus 19:18.¹⁵ R. H. Charles observed a similarity between the Examiner (מבקר) in the Zadokite Fragments and the Overseer (ἐπισκοπός) in the New Testament, a correlation similar to Büchler's earlier association of the Examiners and the Essene overseers of Josephus.¹⁶

The economic organization of the sect behind the Zadokite Fragments did not receive monograph-length treatment, but was rather subsumed into larger discussions on the development of Jewish halakhah, the corollary question of the sect's place in that development, and the matter of the identification of the sect.

1.2.2 *The Discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Qumran Compound*

The discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls in 1947 and the years following generated great excitement and a proportionate explosion in research. The economic issue of greatest interest in these first forty years of scrolls scholarship was the community of goods described in the Rule of the Community. Attention to this issue clustered around parallels to ancient and already known practices, namely the early Christian community of goods described primarily in Acts 2:44-45 and 4:32-35, the Jewish institution of the *havurot* known from rabbinic literature, Greco-Roman associations, and the Pythagorean philosophical school.

1.2.2.1 *Correlations between the Yahad and the Early Christians*

Since most of these early studies were conducted in Christian circles, the dominant interest was in demonstrating the relationship between the scrolls and the New Testament. Scholars took one of three positions: that Christian practices were not *sui generis* but rather depended on the Qumran/Essene ori-

March 1911) 249; and "The Sadducean Christians of Damascus," *Expositor* 8 (1911-1912) 2.499-517; 3.213-35.

¹⁴ A. Büchler, "Schechter's Jewish Sectaries," *JQR* n.s. 3 (1912-1913) 429-85; A. Mamorstein, "Eine unbekannte jüdische Sekte," *ThT* 52 (1918) 92-122; and S. Zeitlin, *The Zadokite Fragments. Facsimile of the Manuscripts in the Cairo Genizah Collection in the Possession of the University Library, Cambridge, England* (JQRMS 1; Philadelphia: Dropsie College for Hebrew and Cognate Learning, 1952). For a thorough refutation of this possibility, see Ginzberg, "The Karaite Hypothesis Disproved," in *An Unknown Jewish Sect*, 338-408.

¹⁵ New covenant: CD VI 19 and 1 Cor 11:25; Heb 8:8. Love of neighbor: CD VI 21; Rom 12:19. Cf. Schechter, *Documents of the Jewish Sectaries*, XXXIX (= [71]) 39 n. 32.

¹⁶ "Fragments of a Zadokite Work," *APOT* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1913) 2.785-834.

gins of Christianity; that the Qumran phenomenon and early Christianity were in no way related (thus preserving Christianity's presumed uniqueness), or that some relationship between the scrolls and the New Testament existed, but could not be a matter of literary dependence or simple equation of communities.¹⁷ Economic organization and practice provided a locus to debate the relationship between the Qumran community and Jerusalem Christianity. Apart from issues related to John the Baptist and eschatological and messianic beliefs, as George J. Brooke has observed, "it is predominantly in matters of community organization (a group of twelve, *mebbaqer* = *episkopos*) and practice (community of goods) that suitable parallels can be found."¹⁸

Indeed, the research record from this period bears out Brooke's observation that one of the most fruitful points of comparison between the two corpora is the community of goods. However, no monograph-length study on this particular topic emerged in this period, perhaps, as Brooke suggested, because scholars were reluctant to propose comprehensive theories while so much of the primary evidence remained unpublished. Rather, references to the community of goods were embedded in general studies of the relationship between the scrolls and the New Testament¹⁹ or were given article-length

¹⁷ "The Scrolls and the Study of the New Testament," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls at Fifty: Proceedings of the 1997 Society of Biblical Literature Qumran Section Meetings* (ed. R. A. Kugler and E. M. Schuller; SBLEJL 15; Atlanta: Scholars, 1999) 61-76. The paper was delivered in a special session, "The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years," Annual Meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature, San Francisco, CA, 24 November 1997.

¹⁸ "The Scrolls and the Study of the New Testament," 66.

¹⁹ K. G. Kuhn, "Zur Bedeutung der neuen palästinensischen Handschriftenfunde für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft," *TLZ* 75 (1950) 85-6; J. L. Teicher, "The Damascus Fragments and the Origin of the Jewish Christian Sect," *JJS* 2 (1951) 115-43; *idem*, "The Dead Sea Scrolls—Documents of the Jewish-Christian Sect of Ebionites," *JJS* 2 (1951) 67-99; *idem*, "Jesus in the Habakkuk Scroll," *JJS* 3 (1952) 53-5; *idem*, "Material Evidence of the Christian Origin of the Dead Sea Scrolls," *JJS* 3 (1952) 128-32; and *idem*, "Teaching of the Pre-Pauline Church in the Dead Sea Scrolls," *JJS* 4 (1953) 4-9; Kuhn, "Die Schriftrollen vom Toten Meer: Zum Heutigen Stand ihrer Veröffentlichung," *EvT* 12 (1952-1953) 72-5; J. Coppens, "Les documents du Désert de Juda et les Origines du Christianisme," *ALBO* II 39 (1953) 29-38; A. Dupont-Sommer, *The Dead Sea Scrolls, a Preliminary Survey* (trans. E. M. Rowley; New York: Macmillan, 1956; French original, Paris: Maisonneuve, 1950) 201; Teicher, "The Habakkuk Scroll," *JJS* 5 (1954) 47-59; *idem*, "Jesus' Sayings in the Dead Sea Scrolls," *JJS* 5 (1954) 38; N. Adler, "Die Bedeutung der Qumrân-Texte für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft," *TZ* 6 (1955) 290-299; O. Cullmann, "The Significance of the Qumran Texts for Research into the Beginnings of Christianity," *JBL* 74 (1955) 216, reprinted in *The Scrolls and the New Testament* (ed. K. Stendahl; New York: Harper, 1957) 21; H. H. Rowley, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the New Testament* (London: SPCK, 1957) 13; J. Schmitt, "Les écrits du Nouveau Testament et le texte de Qumran. Bilan de cinq années de recherches," *RevScRel* 29 (1955) 275-80; G. Graystone, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Originality of Christ* (New York: Sheed & Ward, 1956) 19-21, 26-9; R. E. Murphy, *Dead Sea Scrolls and the Bible* (Westminster, Maryland: Newman, 1956) 88-90; H. Braun, *Spätjüdisch-häretischer und frühchristlicher Radikalismus: Jesus von Nazareth und die essenische Qumransekte*, 2 vols. (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1957) 2.73-80; 2.76, n. 3; J. Daniélou, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and Primitive Christianity*, trans. S. Attanasio (Baltimore: Helicon, 1958; French original, Paris: Éd. de l'Orante, 1974; original 1957) 38-40.

treatment.²⁰ Almost all of the researchers at this early stage argued that the scrolls and the New Testament were similar in their descriptions of the practice of shared property, although few went as far as J. Louis Teicher in arguing from similarity to the Essene origins of early Christianity. Many were in retrospect somewhat excessive in what Samuel Sandmel has aptly called “parallelomania,” adducing genetic links between documents and communities on the basis of some thematic similarities, although the vast majority denied such explicit connections.

In addition to the observation that the scrolls and the Acts of the Apostles both speak of a community of goods, particular aspects of the practice were compared and contrasted. These can be grouped in three categories: the contribution of wealth as a feature of communal life, the punishment for lying about property, and the various roles within the community relative to property.

Regarding the contribution of wealth as a feature of communal life, scholars noted several points, including the affinity of the terms “community” (קהל) in the scrolls and “fellowship” (κοινωνία) in Acts and the symbolic role that wealth played in marking membership. Differences between the scrolls and Acts were also asserted, some of which no longer bear up well to scrutiny. For example, some scholars contrasted the source of the funds, alleging that in Acts they were raised from the sale of real estate, while at Qumran they seemed to include all one’s assets and were paired with other contributed attributes like knowledge and strength.²¹ Another point of contrast was asserted regarding the purpose of the fund, which was understood to be a subsidy for the poor at Qumran on the basis of CD XIV 12-17 in alleged contrast to the more general organizational needs met by the fund in Acts; as Herbert Braun cautioned, the evidence of the Rule of the Community is more consistent with the Acts passage on this point and thus problematizes general assumptions about the “Qumran evidence.”²² Two further contrasts were discerned between the practices mentioned in the Damascus Document and the Rule of the Community and those mentioned in Acts: the mandatory contribution for all initiates in the Qumran texts versus the voluntary nature of the donation in Acts, and the probationary period for integrating members’ wealth in the Rule

²⁰ S. E. Johnson, “The Dead Sea Manual of Discipline and the Jerusalem Church of Acts,” *ZAW* 66 (1954) 106-20; reprinted in *The Scrolls and the New Testament*, 129-42; S. Segert, “Die Gütergemeinschaft der Essäer,” *Studia antiqua Antonio Salac septuagenario oblata* (ed. C. Varclé; Československa akademie ved. Sekce jazyka a literatury; Sbornik filologický 3.1; Prague: Sumptibus Academiae Scientiarum Bohemoslovenicae Pragae, 1955) 66-73; Daniélou, “La communauté de Qumrân et l’organisation de l’Église ancienne,” *RHPR* 35 (1955) 113; B. Reicke, “The Constitution of the Primitive Church in the Light of Jewish Documents,” in *The Scrolls and the New Testament*, 151; and J. G. Greehy, “Community of Goods: Qumran and Acts,” *ITQ* 32 (1965) 230-40.

²¹ See, Coppens, Murphy, and Schmitt.

²² H. Braun, *Spätjüdisch-häretischer*, 1.77-80.

of the Community *versus* the immediate and complete participation in the early Christian community, which may in the end have more to do with the genres of our documents than with a difference in practice.

The second category of similarity between the scrolls and the Acts summaries is the punishment for lying about property. In both the Damascus Document and the Rule of the Community, the member is punished in a manner that can include a reduction in food, while in Acts the transgressors Ananias and Sapphira are executed for their crime against the Holy Spirit (5:1-11). Some evaluate the fact that lying about property is punished as evidence of similarity, while others emphasize the harsher sentence in Acts as a point of contrast.²³

The third and final category of comparisons and contrasts between the scrolls and Acts is the fact that in both certain officials within the community are designated as responsible for the oversight, collection and distribution of the common funds. In the case of the scrolls, it is the Examiner (מבקר), while in Acts the role is first filled by Peter (5:3-4, 8-9) and the other apostles (4:35, 37; 5:2) and eventually also by the Hellenist deacons (6:1-7).

Comparisons between the sectarian constitutional literature and the early Christian testimony generated some conundra. Chief among these was the apparent contradiction between the creation of a community of goods and the simultaneous preservation of private property. How could the Rule mandate pecuniary fines and how could Acts describe occasional contributions if members had turned over all their assets to the community? Another discrepancy was observed within the Qumran material itself: unlike the Rule, the Damascus Document did not require a complete pooling of resources, but only the contribution of two days' wages per month to a common fund. Finally, if the Qumran material was to be identified with the Essenes of Philo and Josephus, there were real discrepancies there as well, although the discovery of the Rule did much to offset them. For example, as Ginzberg had noted, the Damascus Document did not correspond to the description of the Essenes' common property, although the Rule of the Community did in many respects.

After an initial flurry of activity in discerning the parallels and noting the discrepancies, a lull in scholarship on the community of goods ensued. Studies published between the 1960s and the present largely focused on the Greco-Roman context of the Acts material or on the literary and apologetic purposes of Luke's portrait of early Christianity.²⁴ What little was said about

²³ H. Conzelmann, *Acts of the Apostles: A Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles*, trans. J. Limburg, A. T. Kraabel and D. H. Juel (ed. E. J. Epp and C. R. Matthews; Hermeneia; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1987; German original 1972) 37.

²⁴ On the Greco-Roman context of the Acts material, see particularly L. E. Keck, "The Poor among the Saints in the New Testament," *ZNW* 56 (1965) 100-129; Fitzmyer, "Jewish Christianity in Acts in Light of the Qumran Scrolls," in *Studies in Luke-Acts: Essays Presented in Honour*

the Qumran evidence was appropriately cautious about drawing any historical connections between the Essene and Christian communities or any genetic links between their literary products.²⁵ One exception to this trend has been the work of Brian J. Capper. Capper has argued that the Greek phrasing of the summaries and the Lukan witness that both private and public property were enjoyed in the early church reflect the terminology and the practices contained in the Rule, and has concluded from these terminological affinities that the early Jerusalem Christian community had a core Essene membership.²⁶ His thesis rests on two phrases in Acts 4:32–5:11 which are awkward in Greek but can be understood if compared to the Rule. While Capper moves in an important direction in explaining the coexistence of private and public property in the Essene and early Christian communities, his conclusion of a genetic historical link between the two groups is not necessary and disre-

of Paul Schubert (ed. L. E. Keck and J. L. Martyn; Nashville: Abingdon, 1966) 230-57; J. Dupont, O. S. B., "The Community of Goods in the Early Church," in *The Salvation of the Gentiles: Essays on the Acts of the Apostles* (trans. J. R. Keating, S. J.; New York: Paulist, 1979; French original, Paris: Cerf, 1967) 85-102; U. Wilckens, "Urchristlicher Kommunismus," in *Christentum und Gesellschaft* (ed. W. Lohff and B. Lohse; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1969) 129-44; E. Haenchen, "Acts 2:42-47. The Way of Life of the First Community" and "Acts 4:32-37. Community of Goods in the Primitive Church," in *The Acts of the Apostles: A Commentary* (trans. B. Noble, G. Shinn and R. McL. Wilson; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1971) 190-96, 230-35; H. J. Kraus, "Aktualität des urchristlichen Kommunismus?" in *Freispruch und Freiheit: Theologische Aufsätze für Walter Kreck zum 65. Geburtstag* (ed. H.-G. Geyer, H. Reiffen and B. Klappert; Munich: Kaiser, 1973) 306-327; D. L. Mealand, "Community of Goods at Qumran," *TZ* 31 (1975) 129-39; *idem*, "Community of Goods and Utopian Allusions in Acts II-IV," *JTS* 28 (1977) 96-9; *idem*, *Poverty and Expectation in the Gospels* (London: SPCK, 1980); D. P. Seccombe, *Possessions and the Poor in Luke-Acts* (SNTSU B.6; Linz: Studien zum Neuen Testament und seiner Umwelt, 1982); H.-J. Klauck, "Gütergemeinschaft in der klassischen Antike, in Qumran und im neuen Testament," *RevQ* 11 (1982-1985) 47-79; M. Wacht, "Gütergemeinschaft," *RAC* 13 (1982-1984) 47-79; B. J. Capper, "The Interpretation of Acts 5:4," *JSNT* 19 (1983) 117-31; S. S. Bartchy, "Community of Goods in Acts: Idealization or Social Reality?" in *The Future of Early Christianity: Essays in Honor of Helmut Koester* (ed. B. A. Pearson; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1991) 309-18; G. E. Sterling, "'Athletes of Virtue': An Analysis of the Summaries in Acts (2:41-47; 4:32-35; 5:12-16)," *JBL* 113 (1994) 679-96.

On the literary purpose of the Acts descriptions, see L. T. Johnson, *The Literary Function of Possessions in Luke-Acts* (SBLDS 39; Missoula: Scholars Press, 1977); *idem*, *Sharing Possessions: Mandate and Symbol of Faith* (OBT 9; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1981). On the apologetic purpose of Luke's project, see G. E. Sterling, *Historiography and Self-Definition: Josephus, Luke-Acts and Apologetic Historiography* (NovTSup 64; Leiden: Brill, 1992).

²⁵ Hence Conzelmann could conclude that the ideal community in Acts may reflect some knowledge about "communitistic groups" like the Essenes but more likely was the product of various sources, including information handed on by tradition, descriptions of ideal philosophical groups like the Pythagoreans, and utopian dream accounts of primeval times; *Acts of the Apostles*, 24, 36. See also Johnson, *Literary Function*, 3-4; Keck, "The Poor among the Saints in Jewish Christianity and Qumran," *ZNW* 57 (1966) 54-78.

²⁶ See "Erwägungen zu 1QS VI.20 und der urchristlichen Gütergemeinschaft," *RevQ* 12 (1986) 223-36; *idem*, "Community of Goods in the Early Jerusalem Church," in *ANRW* 2.26.2 (ed. W. Haase; New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1995) 1730-1774; *idem*, "The Palestinian Cultural Context of Earliest Christian Community of Goods," in *The Book of Acts in Its Palestinian Setting* (ed. R. Bauckham; BAFCS 4; Grand Rapids/ Carlisle, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans/ Paternoster, 1995) 323-56.

gards other dissimilarities between the groups, as if shared property were the only criterion for comparison. Apart from Capper's work, attention generally turned to new lines of inquiry emphasizing sociological comparisons.

1.2.2.2 *Correlations between the Yahad and the Havurot*

The first scholar to correlate the *yahad* of the Rule of the Community with the rabbinic *havurot* was Saul Lieberman.²⁷ Lieberman described the *havurah* as an association bound by voluntary vows to greater purity and religious observance. Such vows impinged upon economics because they included fidelity to requirements to separate out priestly portions (*terumot*) and tithes (*ma'aserot*), along with the consequent restrictions on commerce, business associations and joint inheritance between associates and the less observant.²⁸ In addition, participation in a *havurah* was entirely forbidden to men engaged in certain occupations such as tax collection.²⁹ Lieberman made a case that the *yahad* shared features with the *havurot*. He noted a handful of verbal links, such as the terminology for admission ("to accept" [קבל] and "to bring near" [קרב]), along with conceptual similarities, such as concern for ritual purity, a gradual initiation, periodic examination, public commitment before "the Many" (הרבים), and complete expulsion upon relapse. At the same time, Lieberman observed that there were divergences between the *yahad* and the *havurah*, namely in the nature of specific regulations and in the degree of "hatred" for outsiders. In the end he was careful not to identify the two groups, or to identify the *yahad* with the Essenes, because of the number of Jewish sects in the Second Temple period and the limited nature of our evidence. His caution was warranted in terms of the economic laws of the *yahad*, which went well beyond the matter of tithes and related commerce to encompass all economic transactions.

Subsequent study of similarities between the *yahad* and the *havurot* were even more circumspect than Lieberman.³⁰ Chaim Rabin and Joseph M. Baumgarten found that the likeness was limited to an interest in ritual purity, and thus did not include many of the economic and political structures peculiar to the *yahad*.³¹ Adherence to the laws of tithing set the group apart, especially after the destruction of the Temple rendered the requirement for priestly

²⁷ "The Discipline in the So-Called Dead Sea Manual of Discipline," *JBL* 71 (1952) 199-206.

²⁸ *M. Demai* 2:2-3; 6:6, 8, 9, 12; *m. Bik.* 3:12; *t. Demai* 2.2-3, 15; *y. Demai* 2.22d-23a; *b. Bek.* 30b-31a.

²⁹ *T. Demai* 3.9; *y. Demai* 2.3; *b. Bek.* 31a.

³⁰ The one exception is G. W. Buchanan, "The Role of Purity in the Structure of the Essene Sect," *RevQ* 15 (1963) 397-406. Buchanan viewed the Essenes on a continuum with the rabbinic *havurot*; both required a kind of worthiness ("ἀξίως," according to Josephus and Hippolytus on the Essenes, "נאמן" or reliability, truthfulness in the *havurot*).

³¹ Rabin, *Qumran Studies* (ScrJud 2; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1957) 1-21, 31-6; Baumgarten, "Review of C. Rabin, *Qumran Studies*," *JBL* 77 (1958) 249-57.

maintenance ambiguous.³² Like the Qumran sect, social relationships would be increasingly restricted as the purity status of food allowed the *haver* was more narrowly defined.³³ The stages of admission, beginning with a commitment to be reliable in *terumot* and tithes and culminating in a state in which the associate was required to keep all produce, whether consumed or simply exchanged in commerce, in a state of ritual purity, separated the associate not only in the economic arena but also from kin at a common table.³⁴ The gradual social alienation was compensated by the practice of communal meals monthly (*m. Sanh.* 8:2) and on Passover (*m. Pesah.* 7:13; 8:4), if not on other festivals.³⁵ Unlike the *yahad*, however, the separation from society was not so complete; commerce with outsiders was restricted only on the basis of the commodity's susceptibility to impurity and the likelihood of proper separation of *terumot* and tithes. *Haverim* maintained their own property, including land and slaves. In contrast, as we shall see, the *yahad* leveled more sweeping judgments against others and therefore would require a more comprehensive set of commercial restrictions and economic laws.³⁶ Not surprisingly, the *yahad* also had a longer period of initiation than the *havurot*.

³² Despite the cessation of ritual sacrifice, there is evidence that agricultural taxes were paid to priests during the first several centuries of the common era; see Büchler, "The Patriarch R. Judah I and the Graeco-Roman Cities of Palestine," in *Studies in Jewish History: The Adolf Büchler Memorial Volume* (ed. I. Brodie and J. Rabinowitz; New York: Oxford University Press, 1956) 179-244; and the Rehov inscription (Y. Sussmann, "The Halakic Inscription from Bet Shean," *Tarbiz* 43 [1973-1974] 88-158 [Hebrew]).

³³ Jacob Neusner makes this point in his articles on the *havurah*: "Qumran and Jerusalem: Two Jewish Roads to Utopia," *JBR* 27 (1959) 284-90 (reprinted as "Qumran and Jerusalem: Two Types of Jewish Fellowship in Ancient Times," in *Contemporary Judaic Fellowship in Theory and in Practice* [ed. J. Neusner; New York: KTAV, 1972] 1-11); "The Fellowship (חבורה) in the Second Jewish Commonwealth," *HTR* 53 (1960) 125-42 (reprinted as "Fellowship through Law: The Ancient *Havurah*," in *Contemporary Judaic Fellowship in Theory and in Practice*, 13-30); *Fellowship in Judaism: The First Century and Today* (London: Valentine, Mitchell, 1963); "HBR and N³MN," *RevQ* 5 (1964-1966) 119-22.

³⁴ Solomon J. Spiro does not believe that the terms חִבּוּר and נִאֲמָן refer to two stages in a single initiation process, but rather to two different roles in the community, the former supervision over tithe collection, the latter strict observance of purity ("Who Was the *Haber*? A New Approach to an Ancient Institution," *JSJ* 11 [1980] 186-216). The distinction is not critical for the present study, except insofar as it weakens the correlation between the *yahad* and the *havurot* on the matter of gradual initiation.

³⁵ Mathias Delcor is incorrect in distinguishing these association meals from the "sacred" meals of the Essenes; he disregards the fact that the associates' dietary restrictions are most akin to those of priests, which introduces some measure of sanctity to the common meal similar to discussion of "the purity" in the Qumran sectarian literature. See "Repas cultuels esséniens et thérapeutes, thèses at haburoth," *RevQ* 6 (1968) 401-425, especially 422-4.

³⁶ Neusner's terminology, that the *yahad* represents a revolutionary utopianism and the *havurot* a social utopianism, does not do justice to the evidence (see "Qumran and Jerusalem: Two Types of Jewish Fellowship in Ancient Times"). He presents the revolutionary utopian as one who wants to destroy the world to recreate it, and the social utopian as a conservative reformist concerned to restore society to some past religious ideal. By these definitions, as we shall see, the *yahad* is both social and revolutionary, as well as exclusive.

Aharon Oppenheimer has noted one additional tradition about the *havurot* that bears on the study of the economics of Jewish associations in the Second Temple period.³⁷ Rabbinic literature mentions the “*havurot* which were in Jerusalem.” These *havurot* took on special charitable obligations in the city, no doubt related to the special purity of the place. They would help to fund and/or celebrate various events (engagements, weddings, circumcisions, funerals), they would collect bones, and they would tend to the sick (*t. Sukkah* 2.10; *b. Sukkah* 41b; *t. Meg.* 3.15). These special obligations apparently only obtained in Jerusalem, and in their charitable purpose bear some similarity to the institution referred to as the “house of the association” (בית החבר) in 4QDamascus Document^a 10 i 10.

1.2.2.3 *Economic Organization and Greco-Roman Voluntary Associations*

A few years after Lieberman, Rabin and Baumgarten began to discuss the *yahad* in terms of the *havurot*, other scholars began to compare the *yahad* to voluntary associations in the Greco-Roman world, utilizing epigraphic evidence from Ptolemaic Egypt and elsewhere. The earliest such studies by Hans Bardtke and Carl Schneider introduced the most prominent similarities.³⁸ These included internal political organization and juridical authority, the renewable statutes and private rites, a festival calendar to which members were bound, and initiation procedures that included testing and education. More relevant for the present study were the economic attributes that the associations and the *yahad* allegedly shared in common: both included a treasurer among their officers (ταμίας³⁹), both maintained a common fund (κοινόν) from member contributions, both owned land with buildings used by the group, and both had jurisdictional authority to fine members, distrain property, and expel miscreants. Bardtke noted, however, that the *yahad* and the associations were not exactly alike on these points. He observed that the common fund of the *yahad* was generated not by annual dues but by a capital levy assessed upon initiation, and he thought it unlikely that members donated all of their land to the group because this would have led to an oppressive tax liability as the accumulation of land grew (although he found IQS IX 22-23 suggestive of such a situation).

³⁷ “Benevolent Societies in Jerusalem at the End of the Second Temple Period,” in *Intertestamental Essays in Honour of Jozef Tadeusz Milik* (QM 6; Kraków: Enigma, 1992) 149-65; *idem*, “Haverim,” *EDSS* 1.333-6.

³⁸ H. Bardtke, “44. Die Rechtsstellung der Qumrān-Gemeinde,” *TLZ* 86 (1961) 93-104; *idem*, “4. Soziologie und Rechtsstellung der Gemeinde von Qumrān,” *TRu* 33 (1968) 217-36; C. Schneider, “Zur Problematik des Hellenistischen in den Qumrāntexten,” in *Qumrān-Probleme: Vorträge des Leipziger Symposiums über Qumrān-Probleme vom 9. bis 14. Oktober 1961* (ed. H. Bardtke; DAWBSSA 42; Berlin: Akademie, 1963) 299-314, especially 308-311.

³⁹ Philo, *Apology for the Jews* (apud Eusebius, *Praep. ev.* 8.11.10); Josephus, *War* 2.8.4 (§125).

Two studies appeared soon after that largely agreed with and built on the work of Bardtke and Schneider. Bruno W. Dombrowski believed that the term *yahad* was the translation equivalent of τὸ κοινόν, and therefore considered the community of the Rule to be a religious version of a Hellenistic association.⁴⁰ He noted that a bilingual *marzeah* inscription on a marble *stèle* from third century B.C.E. Piraeus preserves the term κοινόν and translates it into the Phoenician term for a social body or community (גג for גג). While this is not the term “*yahad*,” the term “body” was similar enough to the term “community” for Dombrowski and their functions so alike that the *yahad* had to reflect a symbiosis of Hellenistic and Jewish sociological forms. Mathias Delcor looked less to the Egyptian epigraphic evidence and more to Philo’s testimony about the Essenes, which of course presumes that the sectarian Rule is to be associated with that group.⁴¹ He thought Philo’s comment that the Essenes formed religious associations (θίασοι) confirmed the suspicion that they were indeed comparable to these groups.⁴² The principal act in the religious life of these groups, according to Delcor, was sacrifice and an ensuing banquet, a fact he found suggestive for his larger project of comparing the sacred meals of Essenes, Therapeutae, the Hellenistic brotherhoods and the *havurot*. The shared meal around a common table functioned to create a fictive family out of otherwise unrelated individuals. Beyond this attention to commensality, however, Delcor did not probe the economic similarities of the groups.

The parallels drawn between the *yahad* on the one hand and the *havurot* and Hellenistic associations on the other were themselves compared by Preben Wernberg-Møller in 1969.⁴³ He found the likeness to the *havurot* more compelling because in his view the Rule of the Community did not enjoin the same kind of secrecy on its initiates as did the Hellenistic religious associations and trade guilds.⁴⁴ Martin Hengel reached the opposite conclusion that

⁴⁰ “*Repas cultuels esséniens et thérapeutes, thiasés à haburoth*,” especially pp. 410-12. (1966) 293-307.

⁴¹ “*Repas cultuels esséniens et thérapeutes, thiasés à haburoth*,” especially pp. 410-12.

⁴² Philo, *Apology for the Jews (Hypothetica)*, apud Eusebius, *Praep. ev.*, 8.11.5.

⁴³ “The Nature of the YAHAD According to the Manual of Discipline and Related Documents,” in *Dead Sea Scrolls Studies 1969* (ALUOS 6; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1969) 56-81. Some other studies from this period include W. Tyloch, “Les thiasés et la communauté de Qumran,” in *Fourth World Congress of Jewish Studies: Papers*, vol. 1 (Bibl. Fac. Theologie 12; Jerusalem: World Union of Jewish Studies, 1967-1968) 225-8.

⁴⁴ For the importance of maintaining the secrets of a trade guild, see the inscription in the mosaic floor of the ‘Ein Gedi synagogue, which forbids the revelation of the “secret of the city” (רזיא דקרתא), probably something having to do with the production of spices. B. Mazar, “The Inscription on the Floor of the Synagogue in En-Gedi—Preliminary Survey,” *Tarbiz* 40 (1971) 18-23 [Hebrew]; J. Naveh, *On Stone and Mosaic—The Aramaic and Hebrew Inscriptions from Ancient Synagogues* (Tel Aviv: Maariv, 1978) 107-109, inscription 70 [Hebrew]; M. Weinfeld, “Appendix B. The Ein-Gedi Community,” in *The Organizational Pattern and the Penal Code of the Qumran Sect: A Comparison with Guilds and Religious Associations of the Hellenistic-*

same year.⁴⁵ For Hengel, the matter of secrecy was less significant than the hierarchical organization of the sect, a structure lacking to the *havurot* but present in the offices of the associations.

The first monograph-length study comparing the *yahad* to the Hellenistic brotherhoods was undertaken by Moshe Weinfeld in 1986.⁴⁶ Weinfeld added greater detail to the earlier work of Bardtke by supplying a number of terminological and procedural affinities between the two types of groups. For example, he observed that the hierarchy of officers in both types of associations, whether in the Jewish, Greek, Roman or Egyptian context, included a priest (יהוה, ἱερεύς, *magister*, *wv*), a chief executive (רִיב, ἐπιμελητής, *curator*, *mr mš*), a treasurer (רִבְמָה, ταμίχας, *quaestor*, *mr šn*), and sometimes a president and scribes. He further noted the custom of registering the contributions of members in all types of groups, although he concurred with Bardtke that the property transfer in the Rule was more comprehensive than the mere entry fees in the Hellenistic brotherhoods. He observed that all types of groups included provisions in their penal codes against insults to superiors, laws of evidence, and theft of community property, but noted that only the Rule included a statute prohibiting lying about property. All groups assessed penalties for violations of their statutes, which were most often fines and ostracism in the associations; Weinfeld believed the *yahad* did not generally assess fines because there was no private property, but this depends on his *a priori* conclusion that all property was common. Perhaps most significantly, Weinfeld contrasted the content of the codes of the groups: whereas the associations legislated regular Temple sacrifices, funeral obligations, membership dues, and punitive fines, the Rule speaks only metaphorically of sacrifices, makes no mention of funeral practices (and this despite the 1,200 graves a few yards from the caves), requires a complete integration of all one's assets, and assesses fines in terms of food. In addition, the Rule has material not found in the statutes of Hellenistic associations, such as the blessing and curse formulas drawn from Deuteronomy, religious, moralistic rhetoric, hymns, and eschatological elements. Because of these differences, Weinfeld believed that the external form and structure of the *yahad* was similar to the form and structure of Hellenistic associations, but that the internal ideology and procedures of the group were uniquely Jewish and even in that context were distinctive.

There have been three studies published since Weinfeld's monograph which have challenged his conclusions, though in different ways. Matthias

Roman Period (NTOA 2; Fribourg/Göttingen: Universitätsverlag/Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1986) 58-64.

⁴⁵ "The Form of the Essene Community and the Question of Pythagorean Influence," in *Judaism and Hellenism: Studies in Their Encounter in Palestine during the Early Hellenistic Period* (2d ed.; trans. J. Bowden; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1974; German original Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1969) 1.243-7, 2.164-7.

⁴⁶ *The Organizational Pattern and the Penal Code of the Qumran Sect*; see n. 44 above.

Klinghardt faulted Weinfeld's study for excluding a great deal of Greco-Roman epigraphic material which would have rendered his alleged differences between the *yahad* and the associations moot.⁴⁷ Contrary to Weinfeld's view, cult associations rarely offered sacrifices, since they served a social rather than a religious function. Those whose members were of higher social standing had no need of funerary regulations, a datum which leads Klinghardt to assert that the people of the Rule were not of the lowest social level. Weinfeld believed that the Rule did not require annual dues because the community held property jointly; Klinghardt discusses many associations that had no need of annual dues because an endowment or a one-time entrance fee funded the group sufficiently. He understands the shared property in the Rule community as a pooling of part but not all of the members' resources, on analogy to the Pythagorean associations. Furthermore, Weinfeld's assertion that pecuniary fines are lacking in the Rule is faulted because the reductions of food portions should be understood as pecuniary fines. The theological, moral and eschatological differences Weinfeld noted between the Rule and the statutes of Hellenistic associations do not stand up when the Rule is compared to other Jewish-Christian associations (1 Corinthians, *Didache*). In the end, Klinghardt understands the *yahad* not as a cenobitic monastery but as a Palestinian synagogue community modeled on the social pattern of Hellenistic associations and perhaps even existing to serve the cult of the Jerusalem Temple. While Klinghardt's additional evidence and analogies are helpful, and his understanding of common property and fines is shared in this study, his conclusions depend upon the premise that the scrolls are unassociated with the nearby compound. Methodologically, it is problematic to propose a sociological correlation to another culture when this requires a dissociation with material evidence that lies near at hand.

Sandra Walker-Ramisch reached quite a different conclusion in her analysis of the Damascus Document against the Greek associations.⁴⁸ In fact, she was more circumspect than Weinfeld, let alone Klinghardt, in finding that the community of the Damascus Document did not resemble the Hellenistic associations in one essential respect. Whereas the associations served as an inte-

⁴⁷ "The Manual of Discipline in the Light of Statutes of Hellenistic Associations," in *Methods of Investigation of the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Khirbet Qumran Site: Present Realities and Future Prospects* (ed. M. O. Wise, N. Golb, J. J. Collins, and D. G. Pardee; ANYAS 722; New York: The New York Academy of Sciences, 1994) 251-67. Per Bilde also concluded that the *yahad* was a Hellenistic association on the basis of Philo and Josephus' testimony about the Essenes. He argues that the Hellenistic portrait of the Essenes in the secondary sources is due not to distortion but to the Hellenistic nature of the *yahad* itself ("The Essenes in Philo and Josephus," in *Qumran Between the Old and New Testaments* [ed. F. H. Cryer and T. L. Thompson; JSOTSup 290/CIS 6; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998] 32-68, especially 67-8).

⁴⁸ "Graeco-Roman Voluntary Associations and the Damascus Document," in *Voluntary Associations in the Graeco-Roman World* (ed. J. S. Kloppenborg and S. G. Wilson; New York: Routledge, 1996) 128-45.

grating part of life in the *polis* and empire and mirrored their political structures and organizing principles, the community in the Damascus Document sought to denounce and separate from the dominant social order. The associations may have used the language of secrecy to create boundaries and communicate an alternative vision, but they did not do so in opposition to the larger society. Had they done so, they likely would not have been allowed to proliferate during the imperial period as evidence suggests they did. In contrast, the Damascus Document restricts commerce with outsiders, speaks of its own cultic practices as the one true way, and recounts its founding as a separation from Israel, all of which suggest a degree of separation from society lacking in the records of the associations. In addition to its socially disruptive stance, the Damascus Document community differed from the Hellenistic associations in one other respect, in that it existed as a translocal phenomenon, with members living in various towns or "camps" (CD VII 6; 1QS VI 1-2, 3, 6-7). This contrasts to the local, *polis*-bound identifications of the associations. Thus, despite the manifest similarities in organization, terminology, and functions, it is the differences between the Damascus community and the associations that are most telling, and Walker-Ramisch finds these differences due to specific Jewish ideals.

Albert I. Baumgarten examined correlations between the Essenes of Philo and Josephus and the Greco-Roman associations, since it was after all Philo and Josephus who made those associations in the first place.⁴⁹ Independently of Walker-Ramisch, Baumgarten reaches the same conclusion: that the two social groups are dissimilar in their degree of connection to the larger society. Baumgarten focuses his reflections around the issue of commensality. While the Greco-Roman associations met occasionally for common meals, the Essenes ate together exclusively, only ate food prepared under community auspices, and even restricted the commerce necessary to secure food. Theirs was a greedy institution, that is an institution in which members' individual identities are comparatively effaced.⁵⁰ Like Greco-Roman associations, the Essenes began as an urban phenomenon, most likely centered in Jerusalem, but eventually the group migrated to the location Pliny describes above 'Ein Gedi. The Damascus Document suggests a Jerusalem origin for the Qumran sect as well, while the Rule indicates the migration to the desert at a later stage of the community's existence (1QS IX 19-20). Baumgarten suggests that the originally urban Essenes, who share some features with Greco-Roman associations, may have been spawned by the same kind of social pressures experienced by those groups in the Hellenistic period, namely immigration to

⁴⁹ "Graeco-Roman Voluntary Associations and Ancient Jewish Sects," in *Jews in a Graeco-Roman World* (ed. M. Goodman; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999) 93-111, 261-4.

⁵⁰ See L. A. Coser, *Greedy Institutions: Patterns of Undivided Commitment* (New York: Free Press, 1974) especially 103-116.

cities and the consequent lack of cohesion experienced by subsets of the population.⁵¹

Comparisons between the *yahad* and the Greco-Roman associations have ranged from identification of the two social groups to a more recent emphasis on their distinguishing features. The chief divergences between them are the degree of affiliation with the larger culture, the extent of their statutes (such as how often to eat together), and their geographic distribution.⁵² But while most of the recent commentators find significant differences, the similarities suggest that similar social forces lie behind the origins of these groups and that similar social paradigms govern their internal organization. To the extent that both function as semi-autonomous entities, both require internal economic arrangements and model these on the agents and practices of the larger economy. But their dissimilar stances toward the larger culture require that their commercial boundaries be more or less permeable, and their internal economy more or less autonomous.

1.2.2.4 *Correlations between the Yahad and the Pythagoreans*

The impetus for associating the Essenes and later the Qumran community with the Pythagoreans stems from an analogy made by Josephus in his *Antiquities* 15.10.4 (§371). While Josephus never developed his analogy *per se*, scholars such as Eduard Zeller and Isidore Lévy did this for him long before the Dead Sea Scrolls were discovered.⁵³ In general, their conclusions about correlations between the groups were favorable. The Pythagoreans, known only from a few ancient sources,⁵⁴ were initiated into the community,

⁵¹ This theory was first articulated by M. I. Rostovtzeff, *Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1941) 2.1064; see also E. W. Larson, "Greco-Roman Guilds," *EDSS* 2.321-3.

⁵² Richard S. Ascough, however, has argued that the voluntary associations were frequently translocal; see "Translocal Relationships among Voluntary Associations and Early Christianity," *J ECS* 5 (1997) 223-41. Hartmut Stegemann believes that the Qumran Essenes were not part of a localized association at all, but rather were part of a confederation of all existing Jewish groups, insofar as they thought of themselves as *ha-yahad* or the union; see "The Qumran Essenes—Local Members of the Main Jewish Union in Late Second Temple Times," in *The Madrid Qumran Congress: Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls, Madrid 18-21 March, 1991* (ed. J. Trebolle Barrera and L. Vegas Montaner; *STDJ* 11.1; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1992) 1.154-8 (the true page 157 is lacking, with material from p. 156 repeated on it). For an illuminating discussion of the institution of common property in the context of this hypothesis, see Stegemann, *The Library of Qumran: On the Essenes, John the Baptist and Jesus* (Leiden/Grand Rapids, Michigan: E. J. Brill/William B. Eerdmans, 1998; German original, Freiburg: Herder, 1993) 176-90.

⁵³ Zeller, *Die Philosophie der Griechen in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung*, 5th ed., 3 vols. (Leipzig: O. R. Reisland, 1923; first edition 1844–1852) 3.365-77; Lévy, *La légende de Pythagore de Grèce en Palestine* (BÉHÉ 215; Paris: E. Champion, 1827) 264-93, 573-84.

⁵⁴ On the sixth century B.C.E. philosopher himself, see Diogenes Laertius, *Lives and Opinions of Eminent Philosophers*, 8.1-50; Porphyry, *The Life of Pythagoras*; Iamblichus, *On the Pythagorean Way of Life* (ed. J. Dillon and J. Hershbell; *SBLTT* 29, *Graeco-Roman Religion* 11; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1991).

wore white linen, participated together in prayer, purifications, and educational sessions, observed the sun's positions, restricted oaths apart from an initiatory vow and, more to the point of the present study, lived and ate simply and communally, and had no private property. While some raised the possibility that Josephus had adapted a Jewish group to Hellenistic categories or that the more likely source of influence was Persian or Babylonian,⁵⁵ others were convinced by the conclusions of Zeller and Lévy.⁵⁶ Franz Cumont found support for the reliability of Josephus' testimony in the fact that Josephus unwittingly preserved an Essene teaching on eternal life that bore resemblance to Pythagorean interpretation, something about which Josephus, as a disciple of the Pharisees, would have been completely ignorant.

The discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls led to a reevaluation of the Pythagorean connection. André Dupont-Sommer and Moses Hadas offered the first syntheses, which essentially transferred the earlier association of Pythagoreans and Essenes to the Qumran sect itself.⁵⁷ As Zeller and Lévy had argued for the direct influence of Pythagoreanism on the Essenes, so Dupont-Sommer and Hadas argued for the direct influence of Pythagoreanism on the Qumran sect. Dupont-Sommer recognized that some of the literature of the community manifested a group thoroughly concerned with traditional Jewish law and tradition, but he believed that the peculiar teachings of the group which set it apart from Judaism, such as prayer to the sun and a solar calendar and the phrase "for the holy of holies and the sign *nun*" (לקודש) לקודש) (קודשים ואות נ, IQS X 4), were dependent upon neo-Pythagorianism *via* the Alexandrian Jewish community.⁵⁸

Since these initial studies, the trend has been toward greater skepticism. Georg Molin and Martin Hengel reject theories of direct connection. Hengel explains that any similarities between Pythagorean communities and the Qumran sect are due to the appropriation of forms from Hellenistic religious associations and Jewish priestly purity regulations rather than to the appropri-

⁵⁵ W. Bousset, *Religion des Judentums im neutestamentlichen Zeitalter*, 2d ed. (Berlin: Reuther and Reichard, 1906) 458; W. Bauer, "Essener," PW, Supplement 4.426-7; for others, see Dupont-Sommer, "Le problème des influences étrangères sur la secte juive de Qoumrân," *RHPR* 35 (1955) 78.

⁵⁶ See F. Cumont, "Esséniens et Pythagoriciens d'après un passage de Josèphe," CRAI (Paris: Klincksieck, 1930) 99-112; and M.-J. Lagrange, *Le Judaïsme avant Jésus-Christ* (Paris: J. Gabalda, 1931); Dupont-Sommer provides a complete list in "Le problème des influences étrangères," 77.

⁵⁷ Dupont-Sommer, "Le problème des influences étrangères," 75-92; Hadas, *Hellenistic Culture: Fusion and Diffusion* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1959) 194-6.

⁵⁸ The number fifty was considered the perfect number in Pythagoreanism, as it represented the sum of the squares of the three sides of a right triangle ($3 \times 3 + 4 \times 4 + 5 \times 5$); cf. Philo, *On the Contemplative Life* 65; *The Special Laws* 2.177. Hengel and others consider the isolated *nun* to be a scribal error rather than an intentional symbol ("The Form of the Essene Community," in *Judaism and Hellenism*, 1.245-6, 2.166).

ation of a Pythagorean lifestyle.⁵⁹ Hengel further observed regarding Josephus that his testimony alone cannot prove Pythagorean influence on the Essenes, but it certainly proves that the Essenes could be correlated with Pythagoreanism in the Hellenistic Jewish mind.⁶⁰ Todd S. Beall agreed, insofar as he argued that Josephus (and his sources) exaggerated those elements of the Essene way of life that most resembled the Pythagoreans so that his Greco-Roman audience would recognize this otherwise alien Jewish phenomenon.⁶¹ If this thesis is true, it would recommend a cautious approach to Josephus' account as a historical record, and it would help to explain why Josephus' portrait of the Essene economy is somewhat at odds with the sectarian literary evidence. More recently, Roland Bergmeier has provided a complete inventory of comparisons between the Essenes and the Pythagoreans, and concludes that the Essene economy was influenced by Pythagoreanism, although it was also dependent upon religious impulses.⁶² This conclusion is problematic; scholars are now questioning whether Pythagorean communities ever existed in the way Iamblichus describes them, and thus we are left comparing a utopian construct to primary evidence from the community itself.⁶³ If the Essene or the Qumran sectarian economies were influenced by Pythagoreanism, it is safer to say that the nature of that influence was through literary descriptions of imagined Pythagorean communities rather than through actual exposure to Pythagorean fellowships, and even that thesis of influence is tenuous.

1.2.3 *More Recent Developments*

The availability of the scrolls, both in microfiche format and increasingly through the critical editions, has prompted renewed research activity and new theories about the Qumran group. In addition, the expansion of the official editorial team, the availability of photographs to other scholars, and the discovery of new evidence have all contributed to the generation of new issues, questions and arguments.

⁵⁹ Hengel, "The Form of the Essene Community," in *Judaism and Hellenism*, 1.243-7, 2.164-7. See also Molin, "Qumrân-Apokalyptik-Essenismus," *Saeculum* 6 (1955) 244-81; W. Burkert, "Hellenistische Pseudopythagorica," *Phil* 105 (1961) 233-4; and P. Gorman, "Pythagoras Palaestinus," *Phil* 127 (1983) 30-42. Bilde has recently revived Hengel's thesis in his argument that Philo and Josephus' accounts are not Hellenizing distortions but faithful historical renderings describing the true nature of the Essenes as a Hellenistic association: "The Essenes in Philo and Josephus," 66-8.

⁶⁰ *Judaism and Hellenism*, 1.247.

⁶¹ *Josephus' Description of the Essenes Illustrated by the Dead Sea Scrolls* (SNTSMS 58; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988) 131-2.

⁶² *Die Essener-Berichte des Flavius Josephus: Quellenstudien zu den Essenertexten im Werk des jüdischen Historiographen* (Kampen: Kok Pharos, 1993) 79-107. For a summary of the positions, see J. T. Fitzgerald, "Pythagoreans," *EDSS*, 2.728-9.

⁶³ See Dillon and Hershbell, "Introduction," *Iamblichus: On the Pythagorean Way of Life*, 15-16.

Five consequences of these developments impinge on the reconstruction of attitudes and practices relating to wealth in the scrolls. First, there are more texts with which to work than there were when reconstructions of the Qumran economy were first proposed. These “texts” include not only the literary material, but also archaeological artifacts and documentary texts. A second and related development is a greater appreciation for the diversity of the social groups behind the scrolls, increasing awareness of the variety of their economic arrangements, and renewed interests in the Lukan portrait of the early Christian community in light of these insights. Justin Taylor, for example, finds that the variety of practices manifest in the scrolls are likewise present in the redactional layers of the Lukan summaries in Acts 2:44-45 and 4:32, 34-35, thus suggesting a new context for understanding wealth in the early Christian church.⁶⁴ Third, there is a growing appreciation for the halakhic context of the prescriptions one finds in the sectarian literature, even for those statutes which go well beyond Torah. This turn was stimulated in part by the discovery of legal material in the Cave 4 copies of the Damascus Document, but is also due to the expertise of scholars who applied their knowledge of rabbinic law to the particular issues raised in the scrolls. Fourth, the partial publication of the archaeological and osteological material from the Qumran site and environs has led to new questions about the nature and economic status of the group who utilized the site and the extent of their economic network in the vicinity. The discovery of some fineware, over a thousand coins, decorative items and industrial installations at the ruins have prompted several interpreters to propose that the site was a villa, a fortified farm, or a commercial center of some kind—in other words, a site integrated with and benefitting from the local economy rather than a secluded, ascetic community.⁶⁵ Fifth, the recent publication of papyrus, parchment and ceramic documentary texts from Qumran raises issues about the nature, exercise and extent of the Qumran economy, and indeed about whether these documents actually derive from Qumran at all.

⁶⁴ “The Community of Goods among the First Christians and among the Essenes,” in *Historical Perspectives: Jewish Perspectives from the Maccabees to Bar Kokhba in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls. Proceedings of the Fourth International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 27-31 January, 1999* (ed. D. Goodblatt, A. Pinnick and D. R. Schwartz; STDJ; Leiden/Boston: Brill, forthcoming).

⁶⁵ J. T. Milik had observed that the expansion of the Qumran site during Period Ib and the increased number of coins from this time indicate that at this point the community was no longer able to function economically in isolation from the surrounding region, but likely imported food; *Ten Years of Discovery in the Wilderness of Judaea*, trans. J. Strugnell (SBT 26; London: SCM, 1959; French original, Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1957) 52.

1.3 *Scope and Methodology of the Present Study*

The following study turns to the full body of literary, archaeological, and documentary evidence to review closely the complete range of material about wealth and to reconstruct to the limited degree that is possible the economic attitudes and practices of the communities that gathered and used the Dead Sea Scrolls. Because the bulk of the study is a reevaluation of the evidence, it is organized along the lines of that evidence, so that the major literary works to mention wealth are discussed first, followed by other literary works, archaeological evidence, documentary material, and finally the ancient secondary testimony about the Essenes.

More specifically, the texts of greatest relevance for our inquiry are the sectarian constitutional documents discovered at Qumran, the most extensive of which are the Damascus Document and the Rule of the Community. Since the Damascus Document is generally understood to represent an earlier or perhaps broader social phenomenon than the Rule, the Damascus Document will be the first text treated (Chapter 2), while a discussion of the Rule will follow in Chapter 3. These documents speak of the group as an association or unity, and contain laws about economic organization that serve to reinforce and maintain the group over against the competing forces of kinship obligation, material need, and political pressure. The group did not simply cut itself off from society and then replicate that society within its own boundaries. Rather, it envisioned a future inversion of the current economic and political structures and sought to replicate *that* image in its own internal economy. The eschatological vision was influenced by the interpretation of past biblical traditions and articulated against oppressive economic structures and practices from which it did not entirely break free.⁶⁶ Yet insofar as that vision provides a governing ideal toward which the community strives, it too is a useful source from which to reconstruct the rationales and possibly the practices of the Qumran community.

After the discussion of the chief constitutional documents of the Qumran corpus, the remaining chapters turn to other works that bear on the discussion of wealth in the Dead Sea Scrolls. Chapter 4 focuses on a text that must have been important for the community, given the number and distribution of copies of it and the references to its themes in the constitutional literature, namely the sapiential work now entitled "Instruction" (*olim* Sapiential Work A). Although most commentators recognize this piece as a pre-sectarian work, its popularity at Qumran and the prominence of economic advice in it

⁶⁶ For a sociological perspective on the failure of contemporary new religious movements to create an alternative and improved society, see E. Barker, "Behold the New Jerusalem! Catch 22s in the Kingdom-building Endeavors of New Religious Movements," *Sociology of Religion* 54 (1993) 337-52.

warrant its separate treatment in the present study. Other sectarian and non-sectarian works are then analyzed in Chapter 5. Chapter 6 turns to the archaeological record of the Qumran compound and related sites in the vicinity, and to interpretations of this evidence, with a particular focus on reconstructions of the economy practiced at the site. Correlations and discrepancies with the economic perspectives in the sectarian literature will be discussed. In Chapter 7, another body of evidence will be introduced, namely documentary texts found in the Judean desert. This type of literature, which includes deeds, contracts, and other legal-economic instruments, is modestly represented in the Qumran corpus, but the samples are somewhat unusual and their transcription, provenance and significance are hotly debated. Chapter 8 reevaluates the ancient secondary testimony on the Essenes in light of the discoveries in the previous chapters. A final chapter summarizes and concludes the study.

The method employed in this exploration is most closely aligned with the socio-redactional approach developed among some New Testament critics.⁶⁷ This method begins with the assumption that traditions are shaped according to the socio-political pressures experienced by the communities behind the texts. Religious expressions are not articulated (because they are not experienced) in a vacuum sealed from social reality. Rather, they are part of a symbol system that encompasses other institutions (family, economy, politics), and thus we can expect that economic categories will shed light on religious expressions and *vice versa*. But religious and economic systems are not accessible in the same way. Religious symbols can be compared against the sources from which they are derived in order to determine how the authorial community has shaped them (redaction criticism). But the economy, and social reality in general, is more difficult to reconstruct, for it is presumed by the author and shared by his audience and thus lies beyond the reach of an outside observer. The observer inevitably fills the void with his or her own conceptual system to some degree, a phenomenon all the more likely when the evidence is fragmentary and the subject communities long dead. The antidote to complete eisegesis is to gather as many fragments as possible in order to retrieve interests common to a broad range of sources, and then to test what appears to be typical against specific texts.⁶⁸ In those scrolls that can be labeled sectarian, the "typical" is somewhat easier to discern, for it is articu-

⁶⁷ See J. E. Stambaugh and D. L. Balch, *The New Testament in its Social Environment* (LEC 2; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1986); R. M. Grant, *Early Christianity and Society* (London: Collins, 1978); Hengel, *Acts and the History of Earliest Christianity*, trans. J. Bowden (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1979); and A. Malherbe, *Social Aspects of Early Christianity* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1977).

⁶⁸ Max Weber referred to the common interests thus gathered as "ideal types," indicating their somewhat subjective nature; see *The Methodology of the Social Sciences* (New York: The Free Press, 1968) 90.

lated in explicit criticism of practices outside the community.⁶⁹ In the final analysis, what is reconstructed as “typical” remains less a historical assertion than a heuristic tool whereby the evidence can be understood within a framework of meaning. In this respect, it is similar to the goal of “thick description” to which Clifford Geertz summoned his fellow anthropologists:

The claim to attention of an ethnographic account does not rest on its author’s ability to capture primitive facts in faraway places and carry them home like a mask or a carving, but on the degree to which he is able to clarify what goes on in such places, to reduce the puzzlement ... to which unfamiliar acts emerging out of unknown backgrounds naturally give rise. This raises some serious problems of verification [or appraisal], of how you can tell a better account from a worse one. But that is precisely the virtue of it. It is not against a body of uninterpreted data, radically thinned descriptions, that we must measure the cogency of our explications, but against the power of the scientific imagination to bring us into touch with the lives of strangers. It is not worth it, as Thoreau said, to go round the world to count the cats in Zanzibar.⁷⁰

In the following chapters, the goal will not be simply to count the coins at the site and to define the economic terminology of the scrolls, but rather to reconstruct in some measure the symbolic world in and against which the sectarian economy functioned. As the study will demonstrate, this symbolic world was governed by the commitment to radical covenant fidelity. Economic transactions will provide community members with so many occasions to apply the Torah commands to love God with their whole strength and to love their neighbors. This symbolic system of covenant fidelity allows several other frameworks of meaning to be integrated with a radical Torah ethic, including the wilderness experience of Israel’s past, the cultic context of sacrificial acts, and the eschatological ideals of a restored Temple and an economy turned on its head.

⁶⁹ P. F. Esler has demonstrated this in his study, *Community and Gospel in Luke-Acts: The Social and Political Motivations of Lucan Theology* (SNTSMS 57; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987). See also J. G. Gager, *Kingdom and Community: The Social World of Early Christianity* (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1975), who explores the creation of new worlds or communities as the product of their advocates’ conflict with the old world.

⁷⁰ C. Geertz, “Thick Description: Toward an Interpretive Theory of Culture,” in *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York: Basic Books, 1973) 16.

CHAPTER TWO

WEALTH IN THE DAMASCUS DOCUMENT TRADITION

2.1 Introduction

The Damascus Document frequently refers to wealth in contexts illustrative of communal history, relations and ideals. In references suggestive of historical events, the community behind the text identifies itself as “the poor ones of the flock” over against the princes of Judah who commit treason with “wicked wealth.” Wealth is regulated as a means of maintaining communal relations and communal boundaries, with particular emphasis on commercial and sacrificial transactions and less frequent mention of family law (e.g., dowry, inheritance, support for widows and orphans). In addition, the community idealizes these relations and thereby divulges its rationales through biblical allusions to the wilderness exilic community of Israel, the ideal sanctuary of the wilderness (Exodus–Deuteronomy) and of the eschaton (Ezekiel), covenant fidelity, jubilee legislation, and proverbial wisdom about the nature of wealth.

With the publication of the Cave 4 Damascus Document manuscripts by Joseph M. Baumgarten, we are now in a position to explore all of the evidence for the disposition of wealth as admonished and legislated in this textual tradition.¹ The number of manuscripts discovered would normally allow for some analysis of the diachronic development of the legislation about wealth, but because the wealth passages do not vary appreciably from one another, this line of inquiry yields little information. While the Cave 4 versions do not furnish significant variants, they do provide material additional to the Cairo versions in which the disposition of wealth is discussed.

2.2 Textual Evidence

The Damascus Document survives in two medieval manuscripts found in the

¹ J. M. Baumgarten, *Qumran Cave 4.XIII: The Damascus Document (4Q266-273)* (DJD 18; Oxford: Clarendon, 1996). The volume includes a concordance for the 4QD materials, with references to parallel passages in the Cairo Damascus Document and in the *Serek* manuscripts (S. J. Pfann, “Concordance,” 199-236). E. J. C. Tigchelaar and H. Stegemann have placed several fragments that were unidentified in Baumgarten’s edition. For 4QD^{d,c}, see Tigchelaar, “More Identifications of Scraps and Overlaps,” *RevQ* 19 (1999) 67-8. For 4QD^d, see Stegemann, “269. 4QDamascus Document^d frgs. 10, 11 (Re-edition), 15, 16,” in *Qumran Cave 4.XXVI: Cryptic Texts and Miscellanea, Part 1* (ed. Pfann et al.; DJD 36; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000) 201-211, pl. IX, and “More Identified Fragments of 4QD^d (4Q269),” *RevQ* 18 (1998) 497-509.

Cairo Genizah and in ten manuscripts from the Qumran caves. The number of copies discovered at Qumran renders this text one of the most heavily attested sectarian compositions in the Dead Sea Scrolls corpus.² Where the copies from the Qumran caves parallel the less fragmentary medieval exemplars, they demonstrate few significant textual variants, and where the Qumran copies preserve parallel passages, they are, in the judgment of Baumgarten, fairly compatible with each other.³

Before examining closely the particular sections of the document that treat the disposition of wealth, it will be useful to have a general sense of the textual witnesses and their development over time.

2.2.1 Manuscripts

The first copies of the Damascus Document were discovered in a synagogue storeroom in Cairo at the end of the nineteenth century. These were published by Solomon Schechter as "Fragments of a Zadokite Work" in 1910.⁴

² Compare to twelve or possibly thirteen copies of the Rule of the Community (1QS, 4QS^{a-f}, 5Q11; see also 5Q13), nine copies of Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice (4QShirShabb^{a-h}, 11QShir-Shabb), seven copies of the War Scroll (1QM, 4QM^{a-f}, and four other related works) and six copies of the Halakic Letter (4QMMT^{a-f}).

³ Baumgarten, *DJD* 18, 6-7.

⁴ Schechter, *Documents of Jewish Sectaries*, vol. 1, *Fragments of a Zadokite Work* (LBS; New York: KTAV, 1970; original Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1910). Schechter includes photographs of only two pages of CD, one from CD-A (page I), and one from CD-B (page XX). The full set of photographs was published by S. Zeitlin, *The Zadokite Fragments. Facsimile of the Manuscripts in the Cairo Genizah Collection in the Possession of the University Library, Cambridge, England* (JQRMS 1; Philadelphia: Dropsie College for Hebrew and Cognate Learning, 1952) and by M. Broshi, ed., *The Damascus Document Reconsidered* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society and The Shrine of the Book, Israel Museum, 1992). A critical edition of the manuscripts was published by L. Rost, *Die Damaskusschrift* (KIT 167; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1933) and by C. Rabin, *The Zadokite Documents: I. The Admonition; II. The Laws, Edited with a Translation* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1954; 2d rev. ed., 1958). See also S. A. White, "A Comparison of the 'A' and 'B' Manuscripts of the Damascus Document," *RevQ* 48 (1987) 537-53; she argues that the two manuscripts were part of the same document.

Vocalized Hebrew texts were published by A. M. Habermann, "The Documents of the Damascus Covenanters," in *Megilloth Midbar Yehuda: The Scrolls from the Judean Desert* (Jerusalem: Machbaroth Lesifrut, 1959; includes a concordance) 71-88, and by E. Lohse, *Die Texte aus Qumran: Hebräisch und Deutsch* (Munich: Kösel, 1981; original 1964).

For recent translations into English, see F. García Martínez, "2. The Damascus Document, A. Copies from the Genizah," in *DSSST*, 33-47; J. M. Baumgarten and D. R. Schwartz, "Damascus Document (CD)," in *DSSHAG*, 2.4-57; G. Vermes, "The Damascus Rule (CD)," in *DSSE*, 81-99; and Rabin, *Zadokite Documents*.

M. A. Knibb includes a translation of and commentary on the Damascus Document in his *The Qumran Community* (CCWJCW 2; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987) 13-76; in his translation of the text, he presents the parallel portions of pages VII-VIII and XIX synoptically. P. R. Davies includes the Hebrew text with his translation in *The Damascus Covenant: An Interpretation of the "Damascus Document"* (JSOTSup 25; Sheffield: JSOT, 1982) 232-67.

M. O. Wise, M. Abegg, Jr., and E. M. Cook have published a translation of the Damascus Document that conflates the versional evidence in "The Damascus Document (Genizah A+B,

While Schechter designated these two manuscripts “Text A” (hereafter CD-A) and “Text B” (CD-B), he nevertheless paginated them in sequence, so that CD-A included pages I–XVI and CD-B pages XIX–XX. The sequential numbering obscures the fact that the two copies are different versions of the same document: page XIX of CD-B overlaps with and is slightly different from pages VII–VIII of CD-A,⁵ while page XX of CD-B is unparalleled in CD-A.

Three of the caves at Qumran yielded additional manuscripts of the Damascus Document. Caves 5 and 6 each supplied one small and fragmentary copy, designated 5Q12 and 6Q15 respectively.⁶ Cave 4 provided the richest hoard—eight certain copies of the Damascus Document (4QD^{a–h}) and one manuscript that conflates portions of it with the Rule of the Community (4QMiscellaneous Rules [*olim* 4QSerek Damascus Rule], 4Q265).⁷ As Józef T. Milik noted as early as 1957, the Cave 4 manuscripts provide important correctives for a view of the Damascus Document based only on CD-A and CD-B.⁸ 4QD^a frg. 8 and 4QD^e frg. 6 demonstrate that CD pages XV–XVI directly preceded CD IX, a datum borne out by the fact that pages XVI and IX both deal with oaths and vows. Moreover, the Cave 4 manuscripts attest to a portion of legal material missing from CD after page VIII. Some of this material deals with tithes and the integrity of commercial relations and so bears on the present topic.

Table 1, “Dates of inscription of the Damascus Document manuscripts,” provides the relative dates of inscription of these manuscripts as established by Schechter (CD), Milik (5QD), Maurice Baillet (6QD), and Ada Yardeni (4QD).⁹ Milik’s early work on the 4QD manuscripts led him to reevaluate their relative dates and redesignate several of them; both sets of designations appear in Table 1.

These dates together demonstrate the viability of the Damascus Document over a span of 150–200 years, although they cannot individually be used to establish a linear trajectory for the development of that tradition. As Sarianna Metso has demonstrated in her work with the Rule of the Community, manu-

4Q266–272),” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A New Translation* (San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 1996) 49–74.

⁵ Specifically, CD-B XIX corresponds to CD-A VII 5-10/VIII2-21.

⁶ The two manuscripts from Caves 5 and 6 have been published by M. Baillet and J. T. Milik, respectively, in *Les “petites grottes” de Qumrân* (DJDJ 3, 3a, ed. Baillet, Milik, and R. de Vaux, O. P.; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1962): 5QD (5Q12) 181, pl. XXXVIII; 6QD (6Q15) 128–31, pl. XXVI.

⁷ For 4QD^{a–h}, see DJD 18. For 4Q265, see §5.2.1 below.

⁸ Milik, *Ten Years of Discovery in the Wilderness of Judaea*, trans. J. Strugnell (SBT 26; London, SCM, 1959; French original, Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1957) 38–9, 151–2, n. 3.

⁹ Schechter, *Documents of Jewish Sectaries*, 41–2; Milik, “12. Document de Damas,” (DJDJ 3) 181; Baillet, “15. Document de Damas,” (DJDJ 3) 129. For Yardeni’s dates of the various Cave 4 manuscripts, see Baumgarten, “4Q266–273. Introduction,” in DJD 18, 1–2, along with the following pages in the individual editions: 26, 96, 118, 124, 138, 170, 187.

Table 1.
Dates of inscription of the Damascus Document manuscripts

<i>Date</i>	<i>Revised and Final Manuscript Sigla</i>	<i>Manuscript Number</i>	<i>Initial Manuscript Sigla</i>
175–100 B.C.E. (<i>or 150–100</i>)	4 tiny frags. collated with 4QD ^h on PAM 43.303	(4Q273)	—
100–30	4QD ^a	4Q266	4QD ^b
50–1	5QD	5Q12	—
50–30	4QD ^f	4Q271	4QD ^c
30–1	4QD ^b	4Q267	4QD ^d
30–1	4QD ^d	4Q269	4QD ^f
30–1	4QD ^g	4Q272	—
30–1	4QD ^h	4Q273	—
1–30 C.E.	4QD ^c	4Q268	4QD ^c
1–30 (<i>or 50</i>)	4QD ^e	4Q270	—
1–68	6QD	6Q15	—
900–10000	CD A (I–XVIII)	T.-S. 10 K 6	—
1000–1200	CD B (XIX–XX)	T.-S. 16 311	—

scripts inscribed later in time may actually reflect older stages of the tradition which, though substantially different from later forms, nevertheless continued to be copied.

2.2.2 *The Development of the Damascus Document*

The scholarship on the Damascus Document can be divided into three periods.¹⁰ The first preceded the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls and focused by necessity on the Cairo manuscripts and the identity of the ancient community behind the medieval text. A fundamental distinction was made during this period between two portions of the text, the first an admonition, the second a collection of laws. The second period encompassed the first fifty years after the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls. During this time, critical editions of only the Cave 5 and Cave 6 manuscripts were published, along with suggestive references to the Cave 4 materials. Numerous synthetic discussions assumed a connection between the Qumran “community” and the sectarian

¹⁰ I rely for the first two of these periods on Davies’ discussion of the scholarship in *Damascus Covenant*, 3–47.

literature found in its caves, although significant dissent was voiced.¹¹ Greater attention was paid to the admonitory section of the document than to the laws; some scholars even considered the laws to be extraneous additions to the Damascus Document tradition.¹² The third period was initiated by the critical edition of the Cave 4 materials in 1996. This period has seen and will continue to see greater emphasis on the legislative portions of the tradition, for which the Cave 4 versions provide additional evidence. The legislative portion has a disproportionate number of references to the disposition of wealth (see Table 2 below). The official publication of the Cave 4 material also enables more comprehensive work on the reconstruction of the textual history of the document.¹³ Both of these lines of inquiry will certainly shed light on the relationship between the manuscript tradition and the communities that composed and used the text.

2.2.2.1 Redactional Stages

Past attempts to analyze the redactional history of the Damascus Document tradition have suffered from a lack of evidence. With only the medieval manuscripts and fragmentary Cave 5 and Cave 6 versions available for study, there were not enough textual witnesses or significant variants to ground hypotheses. Attempts to theorize about the nature of the document ranged from Schechter's view that it was "put together in a haphazard way, with little regard to completeness or order," to Philip R. Davies' opinion that the initial admonitory section was "the outcome of an extremely accomplished piece of redaction."¹⁴ Davies summarizes the viewpoints in between:

Among recent commentators, few follow Rost in taking the *Admonition* as a single and coherent composition, yet there is little agreement as to the way in which it has been put together. Some consider it a fragment of a larger work (Dupont-Sommer), others as a collection of smaller units worked together

¹¹ Those who argue for or assume a connection between the Damascus Document and the (Essene?) community at Qumran include G. Jeremias, *Der Lehrer der Gerechtigkeit* (SUNT 2; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1963) and Stegemann, *Die Entstehung der Qumrangemeinde*, Ph.D. Dissertation (Bonn, 1971). Dissenting voices include Davies (*Damascus Covenant*) and earlier scholars such as J. Murphy-O'Connor, "An Essene Missionary Document? CD II, 14-VI, 1," *RB* 77 (1970) 201-229; "A Literary Analysis of Damascus Document VI, 2-VIII, 3," *RB* 78 (1971) 210-32; "The Original Text of CD 7:9-8:2 = 19:5-14," *HTR* 64 (1971) 379-86; "The Translation of Damascus Document VI, 11-14," *RevQ* 7 (1971) 553-6; "The Critique of the Princes of Judah (CD VIII, 3-19)," *RB* 79 (1972) 200-216; "A Literary Analysis of Damascus Document XIX, 33-XX, 34," *RB* 79 (1972) 544-64; "The *Damascus Document* Revisited," *RB* 92 (1985) 223-46.

¹² Note, for example, that neither Knibb nor Davies translates portions of the laws (CD IX-XVI) in their treatments of the Damascus Document (Knibb, *Qumran Community*, 15-76; Davies, *Damascus Covenant*).

¹³ Baumgarten notes that Stegemann and his team plan to offer such a reconstruction in the near future; *DJD* 18, 3 n. 3.

¹⁴ Schechter, *Documents of Jewish Sectaries*, 10; Davies, *Damascus Covenant*, 50.

(Maier), some as a number of coherent documents built up in a more or less systematic way around a core (Murphy-O'Connor) or a basic document heavily interpolated (Rabinowitz, and to a large extent, Stegemann).¹⁵

Davies' view is that CD and the Qumran versions of the initial admonition (I–VIII, XIX–XX) all represent a Qumranic recension of a much older document.¹⁶ This document reflects several stages in the community's history, from its initial origins (I 1–IV 12a), to its assertion that outsiders are straying from its law (IV 12b–VII 9), to warnings couched against the religious establishment at a later period (VII 5–VIII 19), to a more heated denunciation of apostates from its own group, whom Davies identifies as the Qumran settlers (XIX 33–XX 34).

Davies' assertion that these latter-day apostates are in fact the Qumran sectaries is particularly interesting given the obvious affinities between the Damascus Document and the Rule of the (Qumran) Community. Both begin with a catechetical section that is structured like a covenant formulary (historical prologue, stipulations of covenant, blessings and curses), both indicate directions for joining the community, and both incorporate penal codes. Beyond these formal similarities, the documents share particular laws and interpretations of law, a dualistic and eschatological outlook, a solar calendar, and sectarian terminology (e.g., sons of dawn, men of the pit). On the topic of wealth, as we will see, both documents stipulate penalties for lying about property, and both enjoin a contribution to the community (of all one's wealth in the Rule, of two-days' wages in the Damascus Document). Is it possible, as Davies suggests, that these similarities are best explained by the divergence of two formerly affiliated communities? Or do the textual relations point to some other sort of development? These are comparative questions that cannot be answered until more groundwork on the textual development of the Damascus Document itself has been done.

Literary critical studies have also been conducted on the legislative portion of the Damascus Document (XV–XVI, IX–XIV), most recently by Charlotte Hempel.¹⁷ Hempel applies several criteria to the legal texts in order to discern

¹⁵ Davies, *Damascus Covenant*, 48. The studies he cites are L. Rost, *Die Damaskusschrift*; Dupont-Sommer, *The Essene Writings from Qumran*, trans. Vermes (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1961; French original, Paris: Payot, 1960); J. Maier, *Die Texte vom Toten Meer* (Munich: E. Reinhardt, 1960); Murphy-O'Connor (see above); I. Rabinowitz, "A Reconsideration of 'Damascus' and '390 Years' in the 'Damascus' ('Zadokite') Fragments," *JBL* 73 (1954) 11–35; and Stegemann (see above).

¹⁶ Davies, *Damascus Covenant*, 2–3, 52–3.

¹⁷ *The Laws of the Damascus Document: Sources, Tradition and Redaction* (STDJ 29; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1998). Hempel summarizes the most significant of the studies prior to her own on pp. 8–14. She includes A. Rubinstein, "Urban Halakhah and Camp Rules in the 'Cairo Fragments of a Damascene Covenant,'" *Sefarad* 12 (1952) 283–96; R. W. Davis, Jr., "The History of the Composition of the Damascus Document Statutes (CD 9–16 + 4QD)," Ph.D. Dissertation (Harvard University, 1991).

thematic units, which she further identifies as redactional stages. Whereas Davies appears to limit himself to the single criterion of polemical or ideological stance, Hempel adds three further criteria: frame of reference, vocabulary, and form. On the basis of these criteria Hempel discerns two major literary strata, in addition to miscellaneous laws, traditions and redactional passages. The first major literary stratum she designates “halakhah” (XVI 6b-20; IX 1-10a; X 10–XI 21; XII 6b-11a; additional legal material in 4QD^{a, e-f}), the second laws related to community organization (XV 5–XVI 2; IX 10–X 7; XII 22-23; XIII 1-7, 12b-13; 15b-16a, 20; XIV 3-22; penal code material in 4QD^{a, e}). The former stratum contains material of a general orientation that does not presuppose a sectarian community and does not demonstrate a great deal of editorial alteration. The latter stratum does presuppose a particular community within Israel and does display evidence of extensive redactional activity, including some additions that conform the document to terminology found in the Rule of the Community. In the end, Hempel comes to a conclusion opposite from that reached by Davies: the legal material was revised so that it would be more closely aligned with (rather than more sharply distinguished from) the Rule of the Community.

Hempel’s identification of a *Serek* redaction is supported by vocabulary and by structures of governance known only from the Rule of the Community. Her redactional claims for the earlier strata are more problematic. The generic and thematic differences which Hempel carefully presents remain generic or thematic, rather than redactional, in the absence of other corroborating evidence of redactional development (e.g., age of manuscripts, variations in versions). In other words, it would be impossible on the basis of thematic distinctions alone to determine the relative age of the various units so defined.

A closer analysis of the redactional history of the Damascus Document lies beyond the scope of the present work, and would in any case be complicated by the fact that the versions are not all that different. It is also worth noting that redactional stages, when they can be reconstructed, reveal only the diachronic development of ideas and practices but cannot account for the juxtaposition and ongoing validity of multiple and multivalent traditions.¹⁸ Nevertheless, let us presume that Davies and Hempel have at least discerned legitimately discrete sections in their respective portions of the Damascus Document, sections which will provide an organizing framework for examining the evidence. The question now arises, how are texts treating the disposition of wealth distributed across these redactional stages?

¹⁸ On this point, see the recent dissertation by M. L. Grossman, “Reading the History of the Righteous Remnant: Ideology and Constructions of Identity in the Damascus Document” (University of Pennsylvania, 2000).

Table 2, “Texts mentioning wealth in the Damascus Document manuscripts arranged by redactional stages,” presents the redactional stages identified by Davies (Admonition) and Hempel (Laws). There are twenty-six passages in the Damascus Document that discuss wealth explicitly. These passages, each represented by a dot in Table 2, have been matched to the appropriate redactional stage in which they occur. A bracketed dot indicates a passage not assigned to that redactional stage, but similar in content to it. Each dot in the table represents one passage for which parallel versions often exist.

Table 2.

Texts mentioning wealth in the Damascus Document manuscripts arranged by redactional stages

<i>Redactional Stage</i>	<i>Number of Wealth Passages</i>
Admonition	
1. Initial origins	
2. Outsiders straying from the law	• •
3. Warnings against religious establishment	• [•]
4. Denunciation of (Qumran?) apostates	• [•]
Laws	
1. Halakhah	• • • • • • • • • [•] [•] [•]
2. Community Organization	• • • • • •
3. <i>Serek</i> Redaction	•

The only redactional stage from which a reference to wealth is missing is the first stage identified by Davies, the initial origins of the community. The fact that every other stage includes some reference to wealth is significant because it demonstrates a consistent interest in the disposition of wealth across time.

2.2.2.2 *Structure of the Document and Generic Categories*

A structural analysis of the Damascus Document comprehensive of the Cave 4 evidence has yet to be attempted. Baumgarten has provided a provisional outline of the contents, along with a detailed list of the manuscript witnesses for each topic, in his outline.¹⁹ An abbreviated form of this outline is presented in Table 3, “Structure and generic categories of the Damascus Docu-

¹⁹ Baumgarten, *DJD* 18, 3-5.

ment"; some of Baumgarten's terms for the smaller subdivisions have been adapted to correspond to categories shared with the Rule of the Community. The general division of the document into two parts—admonition and laws—is well accepted. The subdivision of material within the legal portion provides a useful means of analyzing the document, but it has some limitations. The authorities, for example, are leaders of the community, and so overlap somewhat with the category "communal organization." More importantly, the distinction between the various laws (e.g., marriage, commerce) and the laws of communal discipline or penal code belies the fact that many of the same issues are treated in each.

Table 3.
Structure and generic categories of the Damascus Document

<i>Generic Category</i>	<i>CD</i>	<i>4QD MSS</i>	<i>5QD</i>	<i>6QD</i>
Admonition		<i>4QD^{g-h} lacks</i>		
Introduction	<i>lacking</i>	<i>4QD^{a-c}</i>		
Admonition	I–VIII (≅ XIX)	<i>4QD^{a-f}</i>		extant
	XX	<i>lacking</i>		
Catalogue of Transgressors	<i>lacking</i>	<i>4QD^c</i>		
Laws				
Authorities	<i>lacking</i>	<i>4Q^{a-b, h}</i>		
Skin disease, fluxes, agriculture, marriage, commerce	<i>lacking</i>	<i>4QD^{a-b, d-h}</i>		
Initiation into Community	XV–XVI	<i>4QD^{a, e-f}</i>		
Communal Organization	IX–XIV	<i>4QD^{a-c, e-f}</i>		extant
Communal Discipline	XIV	<i>4QD^{a-b, d-e}</i>		
Expulsion Ceremony, End		<i>4QD^{a, c}</i>		

Texts treating the disposition of property are present in each of the generic categories of the Damascus Document except the introduction to the admonition and the brief reference to the community's authorities in the legal portion (see Table 4, "Texts mentioning wealth in the Damascus Document manuscripts arranged by generic categories"). That is, despite the variables of generic category and therefore possibly of public function, an interest in the disposition of wealth remains constant.

Table 4.
 Texts mentioning wealth in the Damascus Document manuscripts arranged
 by generic categories

<i>Generic Category</i>	<i>Number of Wealth Passages</i>
Admonition	
Introduction	
Admonition	• • • • •
Catalogue of Transgressors	•
Laws	
Authorities	
Skin disease, fluxes, agriculture, marriage, commerce	• • • •
Initiation into Community	• •
Communal Organization	• • • • • • • • • •
Communal Discipline (penal code)	•
Expulsion Ceremony, End	•

The twenty-six passages on the disposition of wealth in the Damascus Document may be grouped in three major categories: those illustrative of the community's history, those illustrative of communal relations, and those related to communal ideals. These categories are not mutually exclusive, and are distinguished chiefly as a means of presenting the material. Complete Hebrew texts with English translations are available in Appendix A, "Parallel Passages on the Disposition of Wealth in All Damascus Document Manuscripts." Where more than one manuscript attests to a passage, the evidence of all the relevant witnesses is laid out synoptically. The passages are arranged in the appendix in the order of CD, rather than in the order of presentation in this chapter. A guide at the beginning of the Appendix will help to locate any given passage.

2.3 Texts Illustrative of Communal History

Three of the passages which mention wealth do so in a context that suggests the social situation of the author or the document's adherents. In these passages, the community's members are likened to "the poor ones of the flock"

and its leader to the shepherd. The first two passages derive from the admonition, the last from the laws.

2.3.1 *The Poor Ones of the Flock*

The first passage occurs in CD-B XIX 5-11, in a part of the larger admonition that consoles the persecuted community with a promise of God's retributive justice against its enemies. Davies does not locate this passage in his redactional outline, but does place the somewhat parallel CD-A VII at the third stage of the tradition's development, when the community expanded its warning to criticize members of the religious establishment.

But (over) all those who hate the precepts | and the statutes, he will pay back the recompense of the wicked against them, when God visits the earth, | when there comes the word which is written by the hand of Zechariah, the prophet: "Wake up, sword, against | my shepherd, and against the male who is my companion," says God, "wound the shepherd and the flock will be scattered | and I shall turn my hand upon the little ones." Those who are faithful to him are the poor ones of the flock. | These shall escape in the age of the visitation; but those that remain shall be delivered up to the sword when there comes the messiah | of Aaron and Israel.

The passage is not attested in the Qumran versions. It is found in CD-A VII 12b-21a, but the biblical explication of God's visitation is quite different in each. In CD-A VII, Isaiah 7:17 is cited with Amos 5:26-27 and 9:11-12 to explain the first visitation and the foundation of the exiled community in Damascus, whereas in CD-B XIX, Zechariah 13:7 is quoted to explain the present persecution of "the flock" and the pending visitation. The explicating texts differ, as do the historical referents (past exile to Damascus, present persecution) and the time frame of the visitation (past *versus* future). Nevertheless, the interpretive method is the same—to ground the community's historical experience in the plan of God made manifest in scripture.

Community members are identified with Zechariah's images of the scattered flock and "the little ones" (הַצִּיְעִימִים). These "little" or "insignificant" ones are further identified with those who remain "faithful to [God²⁰]...the poor ones of the flock" whose shepherd has been wounded. The interpretation promises that it is these poor ones who will escape in the age of the visitation, while their enemies will be repaid for their hatred of the law. In the use of the phrase "poor ones of the flock" (עֲנִי הַצֹּאֵן), integrates a phrase from an earlier passage in Zechariah (11:11). The choice of this particular biblical allusion may be entirely gratuitous, or it may have been chosen because it corresponded to the community's experience of economic deprivation at the

²⁰ Ginzberg emends אֲוֹרֵי תוֹרָה ("to them"), that is, to the commandments; he contrasts this group to those in line 5 who "hate the precepts" (*Unknown Jewish Sect.* 101-102).

hands of its enemies. It is conceivable that, at some stage of the community's history, pressure from enemies outside the community who interpreted the law differently had financial repercussions for community members, from which the community sought God's deliverance in the final age of recompense. This same application is made in an allusion to Zephaniah 3:12 in CD XIX 34, in the *Peshet* of Habakkuk (1QpHab XII 1-10) and in other sectarian literature from Qumran (see §5.2 below).

2.3.2 *The Way of Evil Wealth*

The second excerpt from the Damascus Document which illuminates the social situation of the community follows soon after the first, in CD XIX 15-24 (*par* VIII 2-12). Davies has associated this passage with the third stage of the admonition, when the community asserted its identity over against outsiders. The prior passage concerns the economic woes of the victims; the present passage explains more clearly the economic crimes that precipitated these woes. In both passages, the misuse of wealth merits divine retribution:

This is the day when God will visit, as he says, "The princes of Judah will be like those who move | the boundary, upon them he will pour out his fury like water." For they entered the covenant of conversion, | but did not depart from the way of traitors but rather wallowed in the ways of fornication and in wicked wealth, | each avenging and bearing grudges against his brother and each hating his neighbor. And each ignored | his near relation, and drew near for incest. And they strove mightily for wealth²¹ and vicious gain, and each man | did what was right in his own eyes, and each chose according to the wantonness of his heart, and did not remove himself from the people | and from their sins. And they let loose the haughty hand, walking in ways of evil, about whom | God says against them, "their wine is serpents' venom and the head of cruel, harsh asps." The serpents | are the kings of the peoples and the wine their paths and the asps' head is the head of the | kings of Greece, which comes against them to carry out vengeance.

The enemies of the author's or redactor's community are designated "those who did not depart from (לֹא סָרּוּ) the way of traitors." In both CD-B XIX and its parallel version CD-A VIII, these "departers" are linked by homophonic relation to the "princes" (שָׂרִי) of Judah in Micah 5:10.²² The reference is merely an allusion in CD-A VIII: "This is the day | when God will visit the princes of Judah, for you will pour out the wrath upon them, | for they shall be sick with no healing, and all bitter plagues shall pierce them [?]." In contrast, the Micah passage is fully cited in CD-B XIX, a trait commonly associated with a later stage of developing tradition. In effect, the earlier passage

²¹ Schwartz incorrectly transcribes לְהִין (arrogance), but correctly translates "wealth" (לְהִין); *DSSHAG*, 2.28-29.

²² Murphy-O'Connor, "The Critique of the Princes of Judah," 205-206, 216.

dwells on the visitation and long-awaited recompense of the wicked, while the later CD-B XIX explores the nature of the outsiders' crime and their historical relationship to the true members of the covenant. This later reflection is evident also in the longer treatment of the evildoers: in CD-B XIX they are no longer simply "those who did not depart from the way of traitors," but they are also described as having first entered the covenant of conversion themselves. Thus they are not merely evil outsiders, but apostates. Of the two Cave 4 versions of the Damascus Document that parallel this passage, 4QD^a and 4QD^d, only 4QD^a is extensive enough to shed light on this variant between CD-A and CD-B, and it agrees with the earlier, shorter form of CD-A.

The central portion of the passage mentions wealth as one of the two ways in which these princes of Judah erred. In this central portion, all of the four manuscript witnesses agree. The pursuit of wealth is characterized as a means of exacting vengeance on neighbors for grudges long borne. The wickedness of these actions is described as self-centered, wanton and vicious. It is further characterized as a choice "according to the wantonness of [one's] heart" (שרירות לבו), a phrase found frequently in Jeremiah and in the Rule of the Community.²³ CD-A and CD-B criticize the outsider for not removing himself from the people (CD-B adds "and from their sins"). Both further explicate this choice in terms of Deuteronomy 32:33, likening the serpents to the kings of the people, the asps' head to the chief king of Greece and the wine/venom to the wayward paths of those who might otherwise have been part of this community. The initial pun on princes/departers (סרו/שרי) now appears less gratuitous: the pressure to err after the wantonness of one's heart is apparently being brought to bear by Hellenistic kings and hellenizing Jewish "princes." The pressure is specifically associated with new marriage customs and profiting at the expense of one's kin and neighbors.

The pairing of marriage customs and the pursuit of wealth occurs frequently in the Damascus Document. An explanation for the correlation is provided in CD IV 12-19. In this portion of the admonition, the author presents the world's wickedness as three nets of Belial in which Israel is trapped:

And during all these years | Belial will be sent forth against Israel, as God said by the hand of Isaiah the prophet, son of | Amoz, saying: "Panic and pit and snare against you, earth dwellers." *Blank* Its interpretation: | The three nets of Belial about which Levi, son of Jacob, spoke against them, | in which he catches Israel [Ezek 14:4] and makes them appear before them like three types of | righteousness. The first is fornication; the second, wealth (ההין), emended to (ההין); the third, | defilement of the temple. Who eludes one is caught in another, and he who is freed from that is caught | in another. *Blank*

²³ Jer 3:17; 7:24; 9:13; 11:8; 13:10; 16:12; 18:12; 23:17; IQS I 6; II 14, 26; III 3; VII 19, 24; IX 9-10; cf. Deut 29:18; Ps 81:13.

The author cites an alliterative curse from Isaiah 24:17, “Panic and pit and snare (פחד ופחח ופח) against you,” and interprets the three terms with the aid of an unknown work of Levi to refer to fornication, wealth, and defilement of the temple.²⁴ According to the interpretation, Israel falsely believes its present practices in these three areas to be righteous.

The reading “wealth” for the second net is an emendation accepted by most scholars.²⁵ The manuscript clearly reads “arrogance” (להין) rather than “wealth” (להון): *waws* and *yods* in CD are clearly distinguished, and the central letter has the curving, short stroke characteristic of *yod*. Perhaps the emendation is not necessary; as the author explicates the three nets of Belial, he links arrogance to economic acts.

Just after the three nets of Belial are introduced (IV 14-19), the first net, fornication, is explicated (IV 19–V 11). That the exposition is about fornication is suggested by the opening repetition of the term fornication (זנות) in IV 20, and by the multiple references to bodily or marital defilement in subsequent lines (taking two wives, IV 20-21; multiplying wives V 2; intercourse with the menstruant, V 7; incest, V 7-11). Within this exposition, the author introduces the third net of Belial, defilement of the Temple: “And they also continuously polluted the sanctuary” by not separating according to Torah, by intercourse with the menstruant, and by committing incest (V 6-11). The conflation of the first and third nets, which may depend on *Jubilees* 23:21, exemplifies the author’s observation that, by unchastity, “the builders of the barrier” are actually caught by two snares (IV 19-20). While the two “nets” are linked, they are also clearly demarcated in the medieval manuscript: the reference to the defilement (טמא) of the Temple is separated from the preceding text by a mid-line interval and a coordinating conjunction (וגם).

The repetition of the same pattern of demarcation in V 11—the mid-line interval and coordinating conjunction—indicates that the last remaining net is being introduced. This is further suggested by the terms of the introductory phrase itself, “They also polluted (טמא) their holy spirits,” which echoes the verb used for the prior sins (טמא) and complements the physical referents of these sins by shifting the object of defilement from body and Temple to spirit.²⁶ The exposition of the second net continues until VI 21–VII 4, where a mid-line interval (VI 21) introduces a resumptive exhortation to seek the

²⁴ See also Jer 48:43. Note in this excerpt from the Damascus Document that Isa 24:18 / Jer 48:44 are alluded to in the final sentence. See also Lam 3:47. A copy of the Aramaic *Testament of Levi* found in the Cairo Genizah, Bodleian B, ll. 14-16, presents the three evils as unchastity (פחח), impurity (of the sanctuary, טמא), and fornication (זנות); cf. 4Q213–4Q214 (especially 4Q213a 1 i 13) and see J. C. Greenfield, “The Words of Levi Son of Jacob in Damascus Document IV, 15-19,” *RevQ* 13 (1988) 319-22.

²⁵ Schechter, *Documents of Jewish Sectaries*, 68; Ginzberg further would supply “wickedness” (רשע/דרשעה) in the small space after הין, but this is unnecessary and the space is too small (*Unknown Jewish Sect*, 18 n. 41).

²⁶ Ginzberg also takes this as a natural break (*Unknown Jewish Sect*, 25).

peace of one's brothers by refraining from defilement of the body (VII 1-3) and spirit (VII 3-4).

The content of the exposition of the second net begins with an attribution of arrogance to the community's enemies in CD V 11-16:

They also polluted their holy spirits,²⁷ and with a tongue of | blasphemies they opened (their) mouth against the statutes of God's covenant, saying, "They are not right," and abomination [Isa 32:6] | they are speaking against them. They are all lighters of fire and burners of brands, webs of | a spider (are) their webs and eggs of vipers (are) their eggs.²⁸ One who comes close to them | will not be exculpated. As (at) the mountain, his house will be held guilty,²⁹ unless he was under duress. For in former days God took note | of their w[o]rks and his wrath was kindled against their perverse deeds.

Daniel R. Schwartz understands the "tongue of blasphemies" to be a reference to the Hebrews' arrogant attempt to go up into the hill country and battle the Amorites (Num 14:40-45; Deut 1:41-45). In Deuteronomy 1:41, the Hebrews "make light of" going up into the hill country (וַחֲזִינוּ, *hif'il* of הָיוּ); the additional nuance of arrogance is provided, in Schwartz's estimation, by the nearby terms "to boil up, act proudly" (*hif'il* of זָיַד, Deut 1:43) and "to be heedless, presumptuous" (עָפַל, Num 14:44).³⁰ Following this biblical exposition of the presumption attributed to the community's enemies, the author continues to explicate their arrogance in terms of the misuse of wealth in which outsiders are trapped (CD VI 11–VII 1 and parallels). Abuses include "wicked wealth (הוֹן הַרְשָׁעָה) impure due to oath and dedication" and "the wealth of the sanctuary" (הוֹן הַמִּקְדָּשׁ) stolen from the poor, widows and orphans (VI 15-17). Note that, just as with fornication, two snares are implicated in the same act: the outsider is caught both in his own wealth and in the defilement of sacred things. Those trapped by this net of Belial are referred to as "the sons of the pit" (בְּנֵי הַשְּׁחָח), which is both a common term for certain economic agents who literally managed contributions of commodities to pits for storage (see §§2.4.2.5 and 7.5 below), and also a deft play on the Isaianic curse that opened the exposition in IV 14: "Panic and pit (פַּחַח) and snare." Furthermore, the depiction of the righteous is developed as the positive anti-type of the negative pit dwellers in CD VI 3-11:

And they dug the well, "the well was dug by the princes and excavated by | the nobles of the people, with a ruler" [Num 21:18]. The well is the Torah and those who dig it are | the penitents of Israel who depart from the land of Judah and dwell in the land of Damascus. | God called them all princes, for they sought him and their honor was not | rejected by anyone's mouth. *Blank* And

²⁷ See Psalm 51:13; cf. Mark 3:29: "But whoever blasphemes against the Holy Spirit can never have forgiveness, but is guilty of an eternal sin."

²⁸ Isa 50:11; 59:5-6; Jer 8:17.

²⁹ Prov 6:29; Exod 19:12.

³⁰ Schwartz, "Damascus Document (CD)," in *DSSHAG*, 2.21 n. 45.

the ruler is the interpreter of the Torah, of whom | Isaiah said, “He takes out a vessel for his work” [Isa 54:16].³¹ And the nobles of the people are | those who come to excavate the well with the statutes which were ordained by the ruler | to walk in them in the entire time of evil, and will obtain no others until the rise of | one who will teach righteousness in the end of days. *Blank*

and in CD VI 20-21 (cf. 4QD^d 4 ii 1-4; 6QD 4 2-4):

[They are] to offer up the holy things according to their interpretations, to love each man his brother as himself, | and to support the poor and destitute and the proselyte, and to seek each man the peace of his brother.

The pit and its association with the abuse of wealth govern the exposition of the second net of arrogance or wealth and even suggest the biblical texts that ground that exposition.

The association of wealth with fornication (the first net) and Temple defilement (the third net) occurs not only in IV 12–VI 21 but also throughout the document. The pairing of wealth and fornication relies—at times, explicitly—on the view that both involve hatred of one’s neighbor (CD VI 11–VII 1; VIII 2-12 *par* XIX 15-24; cf. 4QD^e 7 i 11-13). The conjunction of wealth and Temple defilement can involve any confusion of profane and sacred wealth or goods (CD XVI 13-20; IX 8-16; X 14-21; XI 15; XII 6-11; XIII 12-19). The frequent references to fornication, wealth and defilement of the sacred throughout the text support the argument that the second net in IV 17 is a specific kind of arrogance, that associated with the abuse of wealth.

2.3.3 *Loosing the Chains that Bind*

The final passage is found in CD XIII 9-10 just before the instructions for the Examiner of the camp governing the examination of initiates (these instructions will be discussed in §2.4.1.5 below). Unlike the two previous examples which derive from the admonition, this passage is from a portion of the laws generically designated as laws about communal organization.

Let him have mercy upon them as a father for his sons and show concern (for them) in all their distress like a shepherd for his flock. | Let him loose all chains that bind them lest there be one oppressed and crushed in his congregation. | *Blank*

Several factors within and beyond this passage indicate that the distress of the flock and the chains that bind them are economic in nature. First, there is the literary context of the passage in CD XIII; second, there is the phrase “show concern (for them) in all their distress” (‘ישקוד לכל מרהובם’), which occurs in 4QInstruction^b in a discussion about the disposition of one’s wealth; and

³¹ Cf. Acts 9:15. For rabbinic references to Moses as God’s vessel, see Ginzberg, *Unknown Jewish Sect*, 28.

third, the vocabulary of this passage resonates with Isaiah 58:6-7, a prophetic exhortation to expenditures on behalf of the oppressed and poor. Each of these literary similarities supports the argument that the mercy the Examiner was to show community members included some action on behalf of their economic well-being.

The literary context of the passage in CD XIII 9-10 supports the contention that initiates' financial obligations were a concern for the community. In the lines which immediately follow our passage and are separated from it by a small interval at the right margin,³² the Examiner of the camp is instructed to search the novice (פִּקְדוֹהוּ) with regard to his wealth, as well as his intelligence, strength and might (line 11). Moreover, the first obligation listed for incoming members is that they refrain from buying and selling with other "sons of dawn" but rather convey goods only in kind ("from hand to hand [כִּף לְכִף]," lines 14-15). One further financial stipulation is then enjoined on the members: they are not to do anything involving buying and selling (presumably this would be with people other than the "sons of dawn") without informing the Examiner in the camp. These multiple references to commercial transactions and their place at the head of a list of obligations incumbent upon members demonstrate the significance of economic obligations for this community. Financial relations within the community and between it and the outside world are of manifest symbolic importance for the community's identity. The Examiner's role in overseeing these financial relations is consistent with an economic interpretation of his "mercy" and oversight in line 9.

The particular phrase used for this oversight in line 9 is "[let him] show concern (for them) in all their distress" (יִשְׁקֹד לְכָל מַדְהוּבָם).³³ The term "distress" (מַדְהוּבָם) is uncommon and complicates the readings. It occurs in Isaiah 14:4 in an apparent reference to imperial oppression (the oppression of the king of Babylon is the parallel phrase in the first stich). If it is indeed a term for oppression, it would be a noun formed off the *pu'el* or *hof'al* participle of the root, מַדְהַב, which means to be red.³⁴ This could be an alternative form of צַהַב, which can mean in the *pa'el* form "to grieve or provoke," and, if

³² 4QD^b 9 iv 8 is not preserved at this point. As reconstructed by Baumgarten, there is no interval at the right margin, although the alignment of text based on the photograph does not preclude an interval of approximately two letter-spaces at the margin (see the interval on line 9); *DJD* 18, 108, pl. XX.

³³ For יִשְׁקֹד, Schechter transcribes only רִישׁוֹ, but *qop*, *waw* and *dalet* are clear even on the somewhat faint facsimile in Zeitlin, *Zadokite Fragments*, pl. XX. For the term "their distress" (מַדְהוּבָם), Schechter emends to מַרְדוּחָם, while Ginzberg reads הוּבָם, "the rebelliousness of their sins" (*Unknown Jewish Sect*, 86).

³⁴ M. Jastrow, סֵפֶר מִלִּים, *Dictionary of the Targumim, Talmud Babli, Yerushalmi and Midrashic Literature* (New York: Judaica, 1971; original 1903) 281; he notes that *Lev. Rab.* 15, punning on Isa 14:4, reads "that reddens with indignation the face of every one coming near her" (שְׁהִיא מַדְהַבַת וְכִי).

a passive participle existed, would mean “to be grieved, provoked.”³⁵ The reading in the Masoretic text of Isaiah appears to have been a case of *res/dalet* confusion; the term מרהבה, which means “boisterous, raging, or arrogant behavior,” is attested in several of the versions and also in 1QIsaiah^a.³⁶ In any case, the term occurs with the *dalet* in CD XIII 9 and also in 4QInstruction^b 2 ii 14 and, in CD, occurs in a context that indicates oppression or crushing burdens.

The occurrence of the term in 4QInstruction^b 2 ii 14 is important for our discussion. Here, the phrase is formulated negatively and in the context of the sage’s advice for proper financial relationships with one’s superior or master:

If he entrusts you with his service, let there be no rest for your soul or sleep for your eyes until you have performed his commands (all of them?), but do no more. And it is possible to act hu[m]bly... and do not leave anything undone (or do not do too much?) for him. Wealth of taxes (הון בלי) not [...] him, lest he say, “He has despoiled me, and fallen is [...] Lift up your] eyes and see how great is the enviousness of man and deceitful the heart more than all [...] If with his favor you undertake his service, and the wisdom of his secrets you [...] And ... you counsel him, then you will become a first-born son for him, and he will show mercy to you as a man does to his only child, [...] for you are his servant, his elect one. But do not win others’ confidence lest you become hated, or [...] keep watch from your oppression/distress (אל תשקוד ממדהבכה); but become to him like a wise servant.³⁷

This work, and the problems in the Hebrew of the final line, will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 4. For now, it is adequate to note a few features. First, the instructed individual is counseled to show concern for every wish and command of his master, but not to be so consumed with the master’s needs that he forgets his own distress or financial lack. This reinforces that distress and servitude were not to be embraced but rather to be avoided. In CD XIII, the same phrase occurs, but in this case it is directed to the equivalent of the master rather than the servant and he is enjoined to show concern for his charges.³⁸ But while the subject of the advice is reversed, the end result is the same: the master or Examiner takes responsibility for his dependents, and this works to their financial good. Secondly, this responsibility is characterized in both 4QInstruction^b and CD as a kind of paternal mercy or pity: in both cases the relationship is compared to that of a “man [to...] his

³⁵ צהב: active: to be bright, shine; passive participle: to be jealous, angry, to be grieved (Jastrow, *ספר מלים*, 1264).

³⁶ מרהבה; מרהבה; מרהבה 1QIsa^a טו ט ט ט ט.

³⁷ D. J. Harrington, S. J., and T. Elgvin, with J. A. Fitzmyer, S. J., eds., *Qumran Cave 4.XXIV: Sapiential Texts, Part 2, 4QInstruction (Mūsār L^E Mēvîn): 4Q415 ff.* (DJD 34; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999) 93.

³⁸ See 1QS IX 22-23 and parallels: “[The Instructor] shall leave to [the men of the pit] wealth (and violent gain) and labor of hands like a servant to the one who rules over him and (like) the oppressed before the one who dominates him.”

only child” or “that of a father [to] his children,” and the verbs used of the father figure’s attitude are similar (CD “to have mercy” [ירחם], 4QInstruction^b “to spare, have compassion” [חמל]). Finally, the content of 4QInstruction^b 2 i–iv 13 is entirely advice about financial matters and proper behavior within the socio-economic hierarchy, with special emphasis on increasing states of material deprivation. Because CD XIII 9-10 uses vocabulary similar to that of 4QInstruction^b to describe a relation between a superior and his dependents, it is likely that the passage in CD is to be associated with economic matters as well.

A third argument for the economic nature of the distress of community members in CD XIII 9-10 is the economic character of another passage alluded to in these lines. The Damascus Document mentions that the Examiner is to “[loosen] all chains that bind them lest there be one oppressed and crushed in his congregation” (line 10). Three of the terms in this brief phrase, loose (יתר),³⁹ chains (חרצבות), and crushed (רצוץ) also occur in Isaiah 58:6-7:

הלוא זה צום אבחרהו	Is not this the fast that I choose:
פתח חרצבות רשע	to loose the <u>bonds</u> of wickedness,
התר אגדות מוטה	<u>to undo</u> the thongs of the yoke,
ושלח רצוצים חפשים	to let <u>the oppressed</u> go free,
וכל מוטה תנתקי	and to break every yoke?
הלוא פרס לרעב לחמך	Is it not to share your bread with the hungry,
ועניים מרודים תביא בית	and bring the homeless poor into your house;
כי תראה ערם וכסיתו	when you see the naked, to cover them,
ומבשרך לא תחגלם	and not to hide yourself from your own kin?

The bonds of injustice and the nature of the yoke are not specified. However, the subsequent exhortation to share one’s bread with the hungry, open one’s home to the poor, cover the naked, and support one’s relatives all bespeak a financial obligation, and therefore by analogy suggest that the bonds, yoke, and oppression of verse 6 are also economic in nature.⁴⁰

The allusion to Isaiah 58:6 in CD XIII points beyond the practical nature of the Examiner’s concern to at least two biblical rationales for the communal assumption of individual economic obligations. First, the Damascus covenants create the community envisioned by third Isaiah when they relieve their

³⁹ Ginzberg compares the phrase “loosen the bonds” to the later rabbinic use of רחר, “to permit, loosen,” an antonym for אסר “to bind, forbid.” The meaning of this passage would thus be that the leader has the authority to release a person from vows (cf. Matt 16:19). But as Ginzberg notes, the reference to the “oppressed and crushed” points to external oppression rather than to obligations internal to the community; *Unknown Jewish Sect*, 86-7.

⁴⁰ Cf. Matt 25:35 and Luke 4:18-19, as well as Isa 61:1-2. Ezek 18:5-13 does not share the vocabulary of CD XIII and Isa 58:6-7, but lists oppression (יידר) with economic acts like returning a pledge received for a debt, robbery, giving food to the hungry, clothing the naked, lending at interest, and exacting high interest. The metaphor of the Examiner as the good shepherd in CD XIII 9-10 may also depend upon Ezekiel 34; note that verses 11-12 use the term בקר of the shepherd’s care (cf. Jer 23:1-2; Zech 11:4-17; Mark 6:14-44, esp. 34; Matt 25:31-46; John 10; and Acts 20:28).

neighbors' economic distress by freeing the oppressed, feeding the hungry, housing the homeless, and caring for community members (as we will see, the community explicitly makes provision for groups such as these elsewhere in the Damascus Document; see CD XIV 12-19). The obligation is taken so seriously that even those reduced to gleaning are required to tithe part of the produce they collect (4QD^c 3 ii 17-19), a stipulation that exceeds later rabbinic law. A second, related rationale may also be at play. To the extent that oppression, hunger, homelessness and other economic misfortunes were associated with the curses of the covenant (cf. Deut 28), the absence of such evidence of divine disfavor in a community would demonstrate the favor or blessing which God had bestowed on its members. The practice of economic liberation thus functions to legitimate the community's claim to uphold the true covenant and to enjoy God's blessing.

We can only speculate as to the nature of the economic "chains" that might have bound incoming members. The biblical texts upon which CD XIII relies suggests a range of issues—lack of food, clothing, shelter, failure of kin to provide support. Such circumstances would be particularly acute in times of drought and famine. As David G. Flusser argues, it was at such times of hardship that the wilderness sect, with its ethic of shared goods, equitable portions and ample storerooms, was particularly attractive to the populace (cf. 4QpPs^a III 2-5).⁴¹ Pliny the Elder attributes this motivation to the Essenes:

Owing to the throng of newcomers this people is daily reborn in equal number. Indeed, those whom, wearied by the fluctuations of fortune, life leads to adopt their customs, stream in in great numbers. (*Nat. Hist.* 5.17.4)

Whatever the motivation, 4QInstruction^b shares an important phrase with CD XIII, and thereby implies that the incoming member be freed from service to a master outside the community and enter the care of a new master, the Examiner. The new benefactor, on behalf of the community, may have assumed or redeemed any number of liabilities incumbent on the initiate, for example debt obligations under high interest, liens on property, surety or collateral obligations, or contracts for service in return for the provision of basic needs (what we might call contract labor or slavery). This would help to explain the presence at Qumran of various documentary texts representing commercial transactions such as debt acknowledgements and other deeds.⁴²

⁴¹ Flusser believes that the famine of 25–24 B.C.E. swelled the ranks of the Qumran community; see "Qumran and the Famine during the Reign of Herod," *Israel Museum Journal* 6 (1987) 7-16. I would like to thank H. Eshel for drawing my attention to this article.

⁴² For a complete discussion of the Qumran documentary texts, see §7.7 below.

2.3.4 *Conclusions*

These three texts demonstrate that wealth was at some point an issue in the separation of the Damascus Document community from society, in its self-understanding as a community of the poor ones, and in its organization as a redeemed community. These people identified themselves as “the poor” and their enemies as avaricious. Moreover, entrance into this community was accompanied by scrutiny of one’s commercial behavior and obligations and by an attempt on the part of the Examiner as communal representative to ease the economic burden of initiates. All of this evidence recommends that real economic conflicts and circumstances, such as severe famine, contributed to the growth of the Damascus Document community.

2.4 *Texts Illustrative of Communal Relations*

Various passages in both the admonitory and the legal portions of the Damascus Document regulate or describe the proper use of wealth by community members. These texts can be grouped into four categories: those dealing with commercial transactions between community members, those governing sacrificial expenditures of community members, those legislating the proper disposition of wealth in familial matters, and finally those treating transactions between community members and outsiders. The first three categories govern economic relations within the community; the last category establishes communal boundaries by legislating about transactions with outsiders.

2.4.1 *Commercial Transactions between Community Members*

The first category of texts that illustrate communal relations is one that governs commercial transactions between community members. All seven of the texts in this category derive from the legal portion of the Damascus Document.

2.4.1.1 *Usury and Surety*

The first text is found only in a fragmentary manuscript, 4QD^b 4 8-11:

[] in the covenant [] and let him not
 stan[d] let him not giv[e | as su]rety, and his money for usury, and his
 [fo]od for increase, let him not giv[e |] for vanity because...

Although the text is fragmentary, it does appear to be directed to community members, by virtue of the reference to “[those?] in the covenant” and by the negative hortatory particle, “let not” (לֹא), customarily used to introduce pro-

hibitions in the legal sections of the document. This early legal injunction is largely based on the Levitical law against usury (Lev 25:37; cf. Ezek 18; Ps 15). But this particular interpretation goes beyond the biblical ban against lending money or food at excessive interest to include a ban against lending money or standing in oneself as surety for another's debt.⁴³ This is not an innovative teaching in the Damascus Document; Proverbs 17:18 advises, "Senseless is the man who claps his hand in pledge, who becomes surety for his neighbor." What is unparalleled is the elevation of the maxim to the level of a statute and the association of the surety prohibition with the law against usury. As Baumgarten notes, rabbinic teaching would later make the same association, but to an opposite conclusion. In a Talmudic commentary on Leviticus 25:37, we hear, "Take not from him usury and increase, but you may become surety for him" (אָל תִּקַּח מֵאִתּוֹ נֶשֶׁךְ וְהִרְבִּיתָ אָבֶל אִתּוֹהּ נַעֲשֶׂה לוֹ עֶרֶב) (*b. B. Mes.* 71a). In comparison to biblical and later rabbinic law, the Damascus Document interpretation is more restrictive.

This prohibition becomes even more interesting when compared to the documentary evidence from the Judean desert. Three types of Aramaic and Greek documents—deeds of sale, slave conveyances, and waivers of claims—include a standard commercial formula known as the defension clause in which the seller pledges himself to be "responsible and a security (ἄναδοχος/עַרְבִי) to establish (לְקִימָא/σταθόντες⁴⁴) and to cleanse" the item being sold from all claims to title.⁴⁵ The significance of the documentary evidence will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 7. For the present, it is adequate to note the pervasiveness of the custom of pledging oneself as surety in certain commercial transactions. Indeed, the formulaic nature of the phrase attests to a long-standing commercial practice; legal formulae are by nature conservative and stable. Moreover, several documentary texts include in the stipulations for sale or lease particular pledged securities, such as one's house and orchard (XHev/Se 66) or one's courtyard (P. Yadin 11). Documents from Ptolemaic Egypt (third century B.C.E.) attest to yet another use of securities, the registration of persons and their properties as securities for tax collection:

⁴³ The term for surety, בְּעֶרְבִיּוֹת, is only partially extant. Baumgarten follows Milik in not reading 'ayin (בערְבִיּוֹת). However, there is a spot of ink underneath the cross-stroke of *reš* that is too far to the left to be part of the downstroke of *reš*; it is, however, consistent with the bottom of 'ayin (see *see* 4QD^b 9 iv 6, Baumgarten, *DJD* 18, pl. XX).

⁴⁴ The language of the documents is frequently vulgar, hence σταθόντες rather than σταθέντες; see P. Yadin 20 14, 37 (N. Lewis, Y. Yadin and J. C. Greenfield, eds., *The Documents from the Bar Kokhba Period in the Cave of Letters*, vol. 1, *Greek Papyri and Aramaic and Nabatean Signatures and Subscriptions* [JDS 2; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, and the Shrine of the Book, 1989]).

⁴⁵ One full and standard formulation of the defension clause is "I and anything which I own and anything which I might acquire, are responsible and a security to establish and to cleanse those places (before you) from any dispute or challenge which will come upon you..." (XHev/Se 7 6, 8 6-7, 8a 11, 9 8-9, etc.).

a tax contractor would offer to pay the reigning power a certain amount for the tax, and then would collect sureties from members of the local population to guarantee that the sum would be met.⁴⁶ If such a practice was customary in the world of the Damascus Document community, the prohibition of standing as surety might have functioned to separate community members somewhat from the tax-farming system, rendering them security-exempt if not tax-exempt. The Damascus Document, or at least one witness to it, forbids some one or all of these customary practices in an interpretation that both departs from biblical law and differs from later rabbinic interpretation. By forbidding a practice within the community that is commonplace outside it, the community both manages internal relations and establishes its boundaries in the commercial arena.

2.4.1.2 Oaths about Misappropriated Property

The second text derives like the first from the earliest literary stratum of the Damascus Document tradition. It deals with a community member's acquisition or misappropriation of property and the subsequent use of oaths to adjudicate claims regarding it. While CD IX 8-16 is the most complete version of the passage, three Qumran manuscripts attest to it. These other witnesses, 4QD^b 9 i 4-8, 4QD^e 6 iv 2-3, and 5QD 1 3-5, are fragmentary and poorly preserved, but where extant they correspond to CD IX and their lacunae do not seem to admit of any appreciable variants.⁴⁷

Blank Concerning oaths: As to that which | He said, "Let not your hand save you," a man who causes (another) to swear in the open field, | that is not in the presence of the judges or by their word, has let his hand save him. And anything lost | and it is not known who stole it from the abundance of the camp in which it was stolen, its owner shall cause to be pronounced | this oath, and he who hears it, if he knows and does not tell, shall bear guilt. *Blank* | *Blank* Any guilt restitution when there is no owner, the one making restitution shall confess⁴⁸ to the priest | and it shall belong to him, besides the ram of the guilt offering. *Blank* {Everything}⁴⁹ And in the same way, every lost object which has been

⁴⁶ M. Kaimid, "On the Sureties of Tax Contractors in Ptolemaic Egypt," in *Proceedings of the XVI International Congress of Papyrology. New York, 24-31 July 1980* (American Studies in Papyrology 23; ed. R. S. Bagnol, et al.; Chico: Scholars Press, 1981) 281-7; G. M. Harper, Jr., "Tax Contractors and their Relation to Tax Collection in Ptolemaic Egypt," *Aeg* 14 (1934) 49-64; *idem*, "The Relation of Ἀρχώτης, Μέτοχοι, and Ἐγγυοὶ to Each Other, to the Government and to the Tax Contract in Ptolemaic Egypt," *Aeg* 14 (1934) 269-85.

⁴⁷ The solitary variant is in the preservation of an interval after the judgment that an oath in the open field is a case of "[letting] his hand save him"; neither CD nor 4QD^b has the interval.

⁴⁸ Baumgarten erroneously reads וְהוֹרִיחַ but reflects the correct reading וְהוֹרִיחַ in his translation, "confess" ("Damascus Document [CD]," in *DSSHAG*, 2.42-3). The stipulation that confession must be made to a priest is unusual, though not unparalleled in rabbinic literature, although generally the rabbis oppose public confession (*b. Yoma* 86b; *b. Ber.* 34; *b. Soṭah* 32b; *y. Yebam.* 8, 9c; see Ginzberg, *Unknown Jewish Sect.*, 42-3).

⁴⁹ The ink of this word כלל is faint, and it makes no grammatical sense. This is probably a case of parablepsis from *kap* to *kap*: the next sentence begins וְכֵן כֹּל ("And in the same way, ev-

found and has | no owner, will be for the priests, for he who found it does not know the judgment in its regard; | if its owner is not found, they shall keep it.

The subject of this passage is first judgments about oaths and then procedures for the transfer of lost property.⁵⁰ Both parts of the passage fall under the same formal heading, "concerning oaths" (על השבועה), although they are separated from each other at the end of line 12 and the beginning of line 13 with intervals.

The first part of the passage concerns the prohibition of oaths in the open field as well as oaths required in the case of stolen property. Oaths in the open field may or may not have involved economic transactions. In either case, the emphasis of this portion of the judgment is not on the subject of the oath, but rather on the private circumstances of its invocation, and therefore need concern us no further. The second judgment concerning oaths is more significant for the issue of the disposition of wealth. It requires the owner of lost property to cause an oath to be pronounced in order to detect the guilty party or any knowing accomplice. It enjoins that anyone who knows the guilty party and does not speak up shares the guilt. The extension of guilt beyond the culprit to anyone who knows is of biblical origin (Lev 5:1), but the specific application of the precept to stolen property is unique to the Damascus Document. Furthermore, the oath of adjuration is not required in Leviticus 5:1, but is drawn to this case by analogy from the case of the woman suspected of adultery (*sotah*) in Numbers 5:21.⁵¹ The text indicates that theft occurred and private property existed in this community. More importantly, it establishes that a member of this community retained ownership of and authority over property which was simultaneously considered part of the "abundance of the camp" (ממאד המותר). Both of these terms bear further scrutiny.

The term for abundance is the same term which occurs in Deuteronomy 6:5, "You shall love the Lord your God with all your heart, with all your soul, and with all your strength" (ממאדך). This term is specifically associated with money in targumic and rabbinic interpretation (*Tg. Ps.-J. Deut 6:5; m. Ber. 9:5* on Deut 6:5; for a complete discussion, see §3.3.1).⁵² Its use here as a proper term for the communal pool of resources (whether money, food, or other commodities) may be due to its occurrence in Deuteronomy 6:5. Fre-

ery..."); the scribe accidentally wrote the second word first, rubbed it out, and proceeded with the correct reading. If the word is not accidental, it likely refers to the payment not only of the stolen principal and sacrifice, but also the one-fifth penalty required in Leviticus 5:24; thus Ginzberg, *Unknown Jewish Sect*, 43; Rabin, *Zadokite Documents*, 47; L. H. Schiffman, *Sectarian Law in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Courts, Testimony, and the Penal Code* (BJS 33; Chico, California: Scholars Press, 1983) 120.

⁵⁰ Schiffman, *Sectarian Law*, 111-32.

⁵¹ Schiffman, *Sectarian Law*, 112.

⁵² Ginzberg, *Unknown Jewish Sect*, 41.

quently in both the Damascus Document and the Rule of the Community, members are enjoined to enter the covenant by bringing their knowledge, insight and wealth into the community, parallel to the trio "heart, soul and strength" in Deuteronomy. The same symbols of covenant fidelity are scrutinized by the Examiner of the camp (CD XIII 11-12; see below). The commands of Deuteronomy 6:5 have thus become the tokens symbolizing entry into this community, and by the incorporation of new members, the community itself comes to have a strength or abundance that is dedicated to God. Thus while there are still individual owners who may have their property stolen, it is the entire community that is deprived of the property's use, and thus it must be a communal representative to whom restitution is made.⁵³ Moreover, the fact that the oath is pronounced over the community rather than by its individual constituents, and that the individuals' only binding comment is "Amen, Amen," indicates that on the matter of property the Damascus community understood itself to be a single entity, if not a *yahad*.

The second term in the phrase is a designation for the communal space, "camp." This designation occurs elsewhere in the document (e.g., CD XIII 12-20) and correlates to the frequent references to mustering members (CD IX 22-X 3 below). The term derives from the tradition of Israel's wilderness wandering and military organization, and was frequently used in Qumran sectarian literature of the community mustered for the future eschatological battle. Its appearance suggests that the community saw itself as that ideal wilderness community or camp, bearing temporary privation in radical dependence on God (see §2.5.3 below). The rationale of the wilderness community is not unrelated to the communal ideal of covenant fidelity.

Following the section concerning oaths, the document goes on to describe the procedures for making guilt restitution when there is no owner.⁵⁴ Although this part of the passage is separated from the first by an end-of-line and a beginning-of-line interval, it is related to the first: the first ended with a reference to guilt (אשם) when there is an owner, and this next begins with guilt restitution (אשם מושב) when there is no owner. There are two judgments in this section, one concerning guilt restitution of stolen property when there is no owner, and one concerning found property when there is no owner. In either case, the thief or discoverer is to turn over the property to a priest. Just as the first part of the passage went beyond biblical law in applying the extension of guilt specifically to stolen property, so the second part of the passage exceeds biblical law in granting found property to the priests rather than to the

⁵³ This is perhaps also due to the fact that, in the absence of a functioning cult, the priests of the community could not receive the expiatory sacrifice required by the law; Ginzberg, *Unknown Jewish Sect*, 95; Schiffman, *Sectarian Law*, 119.

⁵⁴ This law is based on Numbers 5:8 and takes it to mean, "If the man (finder) has no redeemer (owner) to whom to make restitution," where the redeemer is no longer kin but the property owner; see Schiffman, *Sectarian Law*, 118.

finder. This extension of biblical law is more precisely a case in which two biblical texts are being read in light of one another. Numbers 5:5-8 treats the general case of injury and restitution:

The Lord spoke to Moses, saying: "Speak to the Israelites: When a man or a woman wrongs another, breaking faith with the Lord, that person incurs guilt and shall confess the sin that has been committed. The person shall make full restitution for the wrong, adding one-fifth to it, and giving it to the one who was wronged. If the injured party has no next of kin to whom restitution may be made for the wrong, the restitution for wrong shall go to the Lord for the priest, in addition to the ram of atonement with which atonement is made for the guilty party."

Note that, in the absence of the injured party or their kin, the priests receive all the damages as well as the sacrifice. Leviticus 5:20-26 (6:1-7 NRSV) is the second text which the Damascus Document will read with Numbers 5. Leviticus treats the case of a particular injury, the theft or discovery of property about which one then lies. This passage does not discuss what to do if the injured party or their kin are no longer alive:

The Lord spoke to Moses, saying: When any of you sin and commit a trespass against the Lord by deceiving a neighbor in a matter of a deposit or a pledge, or by robbery, or if you have defrauded a neighbor, or have found something lost and lied about it⁵⁵—if you swear falsely regarding any of the various things that one may do and sin thereby—when you have sinned and realize your guilt, and would restore what you took by robbery or by fraud or the deposit that was committed to you, or the lost thing that you found, or anything else about which you have sworn falsely, you shall repay the principal amount and shall add one-fifth to it. You shall pay it to its owner when you realize your guilt. And you shall bring to the priest, as your guilt offering to the Lord, a ram without blemish from the flock, or its equivalent, for a guilt offering. The priest shall make atonement on your behalf before the Lord, and you shall be forgiven for any of the things that one may do and incur guilt thereby.

The case that Leviticus does not treat is stolen or found property about which one has lied, in cases where kin are unknown or no longer alive. But since Numbers 5 treats *general* injury, stipulates identical terms of restitution and does deal with cases when the injured party is unknown, it can be drawn in to fill the gaps in Leviticus. The result is a ruling extraneous to biblical law which allows that priests receive all damages in this newly imagined case, as they do in Numbers 5:8-10. The fusion of these two passages explains two other phenomena in CD IX 13-14: first, the reference to the ram of the guilt offering of Leviticus 5:25 (אֵיל הַאֲשָׁם) in a passage otherwise dependent on Numbers 5:8 (which mentions a ram of atonement, אֵיל הַכִּפְרִים),⁵⁶ and second,

⁵⁵ Leviticus specifies the offenses, whereas Numbers and CD are vague.

⁵⁶ Ginzberg, *Unknown Jewish Sect*, 43-4.

the oath of adjuration, not present in Numbers 5:5-8 but central to Leviticus 5:20-26.⁵⁷

The end result is that the Damascus Document stipulates that the priests are to receive all property that has been stolen or found if the owner is unknown. This represents an extension of the priests' prerogatives in the Damascus Document community, although Schiffman notes that these are the only cases of priestly economic advantage and therefore should not be read to signify the exercise of political power. Rather, this innovation depends upon biblical exegesis, on an interpretive move which in turn alters the law of found property. In Deuteronomy 22:2, the finder is allowed to keep property until the owner appears ("it shall remain with you"). In CD, this phrase retains its validity, but takes on a communal sense: it now means that found property remains with the community through its priests rather than with the individual finder.⁵⁸ The community's self-definition is likely not the catalyst for this particular innovation, however; rather, the hermeneutical method of drawing analogies between Numbers 5:5-8, Leviticus 5:20-26 and Deuteronomy 22:1-3 based on their shared words and phrases likely led to this particular interpretation.⁵⁹ The effect of the ruling is that property has been sacralized by the consignment of liminal property (stolen or found, true owner unknown) to the priests, illustrating that the illegal alienation of property was understood to affect the cosmic and social order and to require remedy.⁶⁰

The first two examples of texts concerning commercial relations within the community illustrate sectarian laws that are more restrictive than biblical legislation. The next text, which also concerns oaths, simultaneously strengthens a biblical command and liberalizes its application. CD XV 1-6 derives from a section of the laws governing initiation into the community. It is corroborated by 4QD^e 6 i 20-21, although this fragment only has two words and therefore provides little basis for comparison.

He will (not) swear either by the Aleph and the Lamed or by the Aleph and the Daleth, except for the oath of youths | by the curses of the covenant. *Blank* Neither should one mention the law of Moses, for [] *Blank* | *Blank* And if he swears and transgresses, he profanes the name. *Blank* And if by the curses of the covenant the judges | [adjure him], *Blank* if he transgresses, he is guilty and will have to confess and return (what he took) but he shall not be liable for sin | and (shall not) die. *Blank* Whoever enters the covenant for all Israel, for

⁵⁷ Schiffman observes that the oath of adjuration (שבועת האלהים) may appear in CD IX 11-12 in the treatment of Numbers 5:5-8 because in Numbers 5:11-31 the oath figures prominently in the law of *sojah* (*Sectarian Law*, 112). It is true that this term only occurs in 5:21 and likely influenced CD. But the invocation of an oath is likely also influenced by the reference to swearing falsely in Leviticus 5:22, 24.

⁵⁸ *Sectarian Law*, 121.

⁵⁹ Schiffman, *Sectarian Law*, 123.

⁶⁰ Schiffman, *Sectarian Law*, 111.

an eternal law they shall establish upon their sons, | who have reached (the age) to pass among those mustered, the oath of the covenant. *Blank*

Community members are instructed not to swear by the divine name at all, although they may swear by the lesser curses of the covenant (Deut 28:15-19).⁶¹ Neither are they to swear by the law of Moses, for transgression of both such oaths is considered a capital offense. The judges could bind someone by the curses of the covenant on occasions other than entrance into the community, and in such cases the penalty for lying under oath is much less severe: the transgressor must confess and make restitution, but is not liable for sin and will not die.⁶² The text makes clear that these “other occasions” are inquiries into stolen property similar to the point at issue in the last passage examined. The judgment here depends on Leviticus 5:20-26, and clearly treats the misappropriation of property. It is striking that, unlike the Levitical passage, the guilty party is not liable for sin, but merely confesses and makes restitution. This apparent liberalization of the Levitical command may be due to the strengthening of the punishment for profaning the name. That is, since transgressions of oaths involving the divine name are capital crimes in this community, exceptions are made to punishment in cases of transgression. As in the last passage, we have evidence not only that community members had private property, but also that they could and did steal it from one another. This is a point of contrast with the Rule of the Community, where apparently members shared their property in common and so would not be liable to “steal” from *each other* (though they could still misappropriate the common funds; 1QS VII 6-8).

2.4.1.3 *Lying about Property*

The fourth text about commercial transactions within the community derives from the beginning of the penal code. The text is most fully preserved in CD XIV 20-21, although even here it is fragmentary and corrupt. Further aid in reconstructing the passage is provided by 4QD^a 10 i 14 and 4QD^d 11 i 4-5, and by the parallel passage in 1QS VI 24-25. The following translation follows CD XIV; where CD is lacking, text has been supplied from 4QD^a, ^d (italic text) and 1QS (bracketed and underlined text):

⁶¹ “The Aleph and the Lamed” refers to the divine name אֱלֹהִים or אֱל, while “the Aleph and the Daleth” refers to אֱלֹהֵינוּ. Note that the former is written in paleo-Hebrew script in 4QD^c 1 9 and in 4QD^b 9 i 2; 9 iv 4; 9 v 5 (though it is also written in square script in 4QD^b at 2 5, 7 bis, 13 and 9 iv 7). Josephus reports that the Essenes do not swear, but that they do pronounce tremendous oaths when initiated into membership (*War* 2.8.7 [§139]). He further notes that they hold most in awe the name of the lawgiver; anyone who blasphemes his name is punished with death (*War* 2.8.9 [§145]). This would explain the severe constraints on swearing by the law of Moses in CD XVI 1-6. See Ginzberg, *Unknown Jewish Sect*, 91-3, especially 92 n. 321.

⁶² Schiffman, *Sectarian Law*, 133-54.

[The o]ne who [li]es about money knowingly shall be [separat]ed from the pu-
rity [for one year] | [and shall be pu]nished for six days.

While the passage is brief, there are several significant textual issues and variants to be noted. First, the term “lies” (ישקר, 1QS) is preserved in the Damascus Document witnesses only in CD, and there the reading is corrupt: the first two letters of the word, *yod* and *šin*, are not present on the manuscript; rather, *kap* and *reš* are clearly preceded by a space and the final *reš* of the previous word (thus קר ואשר as opposed to 1QS ישקר).⁶³ Since the last two letters alone are unintelligible, the passage is translated above following 1QS. Secondly, the subject of the lie differs in the Damascus Document and the Rule of the Community: it is money (ממון) in CD and wealth (הון) in the Rule. The terms appear to be somewhat interchangeable; in a Rule passage on obeying one’s superiors, one witness has the term “money” (1QS VI 2), while the other two read “wealth” (4QSD^{II} 7; 4QSⁱ line 3). Finally, the period of punishment differs: in CD, there is space to reconstruct the initial separation from the purity (4QD^{a, d}, 1QS), but the additional period of punishment is a mere six days (ימים ששה), in contrast to the sixty days of 4QD^d (ששים יום) and the fine of one-fourth one’s bread in 1QS.

The variants noted above should not obscure the fact that lying about wealth or money is the first judgment rendered in the penal codes of both the Rule and Damascus Document traditions. Commercial relations within and beyond the community were subject to the judgment of the community, and were the foremost subject of communal judgment.⁶⁴ The fact that lying about wealth is the first case introduced for discussion indicates its significance either as the most commonly contested point of law or as the most concrete symbol of behavioral fidelity to the community (see §3.3.1 below). Its priority as a symbol of covenant fidelity likely relies on the priority given to economic ethics in contemporary apocalyptic works that integrated sapiential material as the criteria for eschatological judgment, such as *Sibilline Oracle* 2.56-148, *1 Enoch* 91-104 and *2 Enoch* 39-66.⁶⁵ Furthermore, while other associations in the Greco-Roman world also incorporated penal codes in their statutes, none includes a prohibition of lying about property, further suggesting an origin in Jewish tradition. The fact that an economic matter has first place in the penal code is consistent with the other evidence adduced thus far, that this community interpreted biblical law radically, elevating commercial

⁶³ Pace Baumgarten, “Damascus Document (CD),” in *DSSHAG*, 2.56; see Zeitlin, *Zadokite Fragments*, pl. XIV; and Qimron, *The Damascus Document Reconsidered*, 37 n. 24.

⁶⁴ This is all the more true if these penal stipulations were used as part of the initiation rite, as Schiffman has suggested (*Sectarian Law*, 157-9). Thus property figures as the first of the final complement of laws to which the novice must assent in order finally to enter full membership.

⁶⁵ For a full discussion, see pages 184-6 below and J. J. Collins, “Wisdom, Apocalypticism, and Generic Compatibility,” in *In Search of Wisdom: Essays in Memory of John G. Gammie* (ed. L. G. Perdue, et al.; Louisville: Westminster/John Knox, 1993) 165-85.

relations within the community to higher, sacralized status and concurrently degrading commercial relations with outsiders to the category of sin and defilement. This appears to have been even more the case in the community of the Rule, where the penalty for lying about property is not merely separation from the pure food and punishment for a period of days, but separation from the sacred food and deprivation of ordinary food as well (1QS VI 24). If this judgment is an example of *lex talionis*, then the nature of lying about money or wealth becomes clear: it is lying about what one brings into the community on a regular basis, the produce of one's daily work.

More interesting still is the purpose of the punishments. In the Damascus Document, the penalties are presented as alternative sacrifices, the judgments that atone for iniquity in the period before the messianic age (CD XIV 18-19; cf. 1QS VIII 1-10).

And this is the explanation of the judgments which [] the Mess[ia]h of Aaron and Israel. And their iniquity will be atoned (ויכפר עוונם).

Baumgarten believes that CD locates atonement in future messianic acts rather than in present disciplinary acts.⁶⁶ Even if his interpretation is correct—and the text is too fragmentary to decide the matter—the conjunction of the messianic atonement and the penal code indicates that the community's punishments played a provisional role in anticipating the final judgment and forgiveness of sin (see §2.4.2 below). As will be noted below, the correlation of communal examination and the future eschatological visitation is apparent in the Damascus Document's frequent use of the root פקד for the Examiner, for those mustered, and for the future judgment.

2.4.1.4 Witnesses for Commercial Litigation

The fifth text treating commercial relations within the community derives from the generic section of laws governing community organization and discusses the required number of witnesses for various offenses. The most complete example of this passage is CD IX 22–X 3, with the Qumran witnesses 4QD^e 6 iv 12-15 and 4QD^a 8 iii 3 corroborating the text.⁶⁷

⁶⁶ J. M. Baumgarten, "Messianic Forgiveness of Sin in CD 14:19 (4Q266 10 I 12–13)," in *Provo*, 537-44.

⁶⁷ The one variant is negligible: rather than reading "[they shall rely] on one [witness] to separate (him from) the purity" (ועל אחד להבדיל הטהרה), CD, 4QD^e 6 iv 13 reads, "[they shall judge] by the mouth of one witness to se[parate (him from) the purity]" (ועל פי פִּי אֶחָד לְהַבְדִּיל (הטהרה)). The expected preposition "from" (מִן) is lacking, in contrast to the parallel phrase just before our passage, in CD IX 21: "the man shall only be separated from the purity" (והובדיל (האיש מן הטהרה לבד)). The literal meaning in our passage, "but on one [witness] to separate the purity," may refer to separating the transgressor from the pure community, but probably has the same meaning as the prior phrase, separating the transgressor from the pure food of the community.

And concerning wealth they [shall receive]⁶⁸ two | reliable witnesses, *Blank* but on one to separate (him from) the purity. No witness shall be received | by the judges to put someone to death by his mouth, unless he has reached the age to pass | among those that are mustered (and) fears God. *Blank* A man shall not be believed against his neighbor | for a witness who transgresses a word from the commandment with a haughty hand, until he is cleansed by repentance. *Blank*

This passage is preceded by another concerning witnesses. The first passage treats trespasses against the Torah that are capital crimes (CD IX 16-22), whereas the second passage quoted above deals with trespasses concerning wealth. The first passage stipulates that two witnesses to discrete violations of Torah are required to separate a person from the purity, whereas if two witnesses report the same transgression to the Examiner, the burden of proof for capital punishment is met. Then attention turns to violations of wealth, and here the number of witnesses is smaller: only one witness is required to separate a person from the purity, while only two witnesses are required to render a greater punishment. That is, the violation of communal rules regarding wealth is treated as a lesser trespass against the Torah.

The lower burden of proof indicates one of two conclusions. If violations of wealth are a subset of capital crimes, then their lower burden of proof indicates that property crimes constitute the most serious category of violation against Torah, a conclusion that would correspond to the priority of lies about property in the penal code. If, on the other hand, violations of wealth are not a subset of capital crimes but rather a separate and lesser category of offense, as indeed they are treated in biblical and rabbinic literature, then the reduced number of witnesses should be read as a reflection of the lower stakes involved in such a transgression. In support of the latter position, Schiffman suggests that the generation of two types of cases, capital and financial, is likely due to a reading of Deuteronomy 19:15, which requires that "Only on the evidence of two and three witnesses shall a charge be sustained."⁶⁹ Under the hermeneutical principle that the Torah contains nothing superfluous, the reference to "two and three witnesses" is taken by the sectarian exegetes to be a significant distinction and to refer to two different types of cases.⁷⁰

Four arguments may be made in favor of the capital nature of the violations regarding wealth. To begin with, the violations of Torah in the preceding material are referred to as capital affairs (דבר מוֹת), and the passage on wealth is presented as a subsidiary case of the same phenomenon. Second, the treatment of witnesses in cases of wealth is followed by age and character restrictions on witnesses in capital matters, indicating that both of the prior

⁶⁸ Schechter erroneously reads יקים rather than יקיבל; *Documents* 110; earlier in the same line, he reads יקבלו for יקבלו.

⁶⁹ *Sectarian Law*, 74-5.

⁷⁰ Cf. Matt 18:16; John 8:17; 2 Cor 13:1-3; 1 Tim 5:19; Heb 10:28; Rev 11:3.

cases are being treated as capital crimes. Third, the contribution of wealth is framed in the Damascus Document and the Rule as a matter of fidelity to Torah, the overriding concern of the community. Fourth, violations regarding wealth are treated elsewhere in the document as worthy of complete judgment or expulsion. In a passage from CD XV that has already been discussed, oaths involving the divine name or the law of Moses are forbidden in the apparently common case of stolen property, because violation of such oaths warrants death. We also hear of one crime that warrants “complete judgment” by the community’s officers or expulsion from the community rather than death—eating from the wealth of or inquiring into the welfare of an expelled member (4QD^a 11 14-16).

If it is somewhat unclear whether these transgressions related to wealth are capital crimes, it is equally uncertain what is meant by “capital.” Are these misdeeds punished by actual death, or by a figurative death such as expulsion from the community? In support of the latter, an expulsion ceremony is found in the Damascus Document tradition while a procedure for execution is not (see 4QD^a 11 5-16; cf. 4QD^e 7 ii).⁷¹ The Damascus Document elsewhere renders capital penalties where biblical law warrants only expulsion from the congregation (see 4QD^a 6 ii 5-10 / Num 19:20); this indicates either that the document’s adherents intensified the law or that they simply intensified the language while enforcing the law of expulsion.

Just as the punishments are unclear, so too are the crimes themselves, that is, the precise violations of “wealth.” While this particular passage does not describe any particular crimes, crimes involving wealth are mentioned elsewhere. We have already noted that false oaths involving the divine name and eating from the wealth of an apostate or inquiring into his welfare warranted complete judgment. Certain commercial crimes do not appear to be capital offenses, insofar as lesser penalties are assessed at their occurrence: these include lying about property, violating oaths in trials involving property stolen from an individual or from the abundance of the camp when one has been adjudged by the judges of the community, and sharing in the wealth of an expelled member. But it is also possible that any one of these crimes, when committed twice, became a capital offense, thus the earliest known example of a “two strikes, you’re out” law.

The age at which a man may be admitted as a witness in capital matters regarding Torah and property is twenty, the same age at which young men could muster into the community (CD XV 5-6), marry (1QSa I 8-11) and, according to Exodus 30:11-16 and 38:26, pay the half-shekel contribution for

⁷¹ These are the very two Qumran manuscripts that corroborate the rules regarding witnesses. See Baumgarten, *DJD* 18, 76-8, pl. XIV (4QD^a), and 166-7, pl. XXXV (4QD^e). See also Hempel, *Laws of the Damascus Document*, 175-85.

the maintenance of the sanctuary.⁷² It would make sense that men would be forbidden from judging capital offenses related to wealth until they themselves began to contribute to the abundance of the camp in a substantial and/or regular fashion.

The passage stipulates that the witnesses in capital matters be members of the sect, either by virtue of having reached the age of majority or by virtue of being “God-fearers.” This would seem to imply, as Schiffman has suggested, that non-member novices could be admitted as witnesses on lesser offenses, but that only full members could testify if the crime was a capital offense.⁷³ No testimony is accepted from one who has transgressed Torah intentionally until he has repented fully.

2.4.1.5 *Supervision of the Examiner in Commercial Matters*

The sixth passage bearing on commercial relations must be reconstructed on the basis of its three manuscript witnesses. In the transcription below, the base text in plain face type is provided by CD XIII 12-19. The first part of the passage is corroborated by 4QD^b 9 iv 9-11. The second part of the passage is fragmentary in CD, but is well preserved in 4QD^a 9 iii 1-10.⁷⁴ Italic text in the following transcription indicates text reconstructed on the basis of 4QD^a. Hartmut Stegemann has noticed that 4QD^d 10 ii 1-2, properly transcribed, also attests to this passage.⁷⁵

Blank Let no one of the sons of the camp bring a man into the congregation except according to the Examiner of the camp. *Blank* None of those who have entered the covenant of God “shall either ask or give to” the sons of the dawn, [] except “from hand to hand.” *Blank* Let no one do anything to buy or to sell except before the Examiner who is in the camp; he shall do it [] *so that they do not err. Likewise for anyone who tak[es a wife,] let it be with counsel, and so shall he guide one who divorces. And he shall instruct their sons (and daughters?) and their children [in a spi]rit of humility and loving-kind[ness.] Let him not keep a grudge against them [] with wrathful an[ger be]cause of their [fajilings, and against one who is not bound by their judgments.*

⁷² See J. Liver, “The Half-Shekel Offering in Biblical and Post-Biblical Literature,” *HTR* 56 (1963) 173-98, esp. 196-7; J. M. Baumgarten, “On the Testimony of Women in 1QSa,” *JBL* 76 (1957) 266-9. However, the sect apparently deferred to age twenty-five the responsibility to serve in the military (1QM VI 13–VII 3), the judiciary, or the “service of the congregation” (1QSa I 6-19; Schiffman, *Sectarian Law*, 30-32, 56). Perhaps as Yadin suggests these deferred responsibilities conform them with the minimum age of Levitical service (Num 8:24; *The Scroll of the War of the Sons of Light against the Sons of Darkness*, trans. B. Rabin and C. Rabin [London: Oxford University Press, 1962] 77).

⁷³ Because Schiffman reads the lesser offenses as financial matters, he understands that novices and full members alike could testify in these cases (*Sectarian Law*, 60-61).

⁷⁴ Baumgarten provides a much fuller and more accurate transcription than Schechter; “Damascus Document (CD),” in *DSSHAG*, 2.54-5; cf. Schechter, *Documents of Jewish Sectaries*, 106. See also Zeitlin, *Zadokite Fragments*, pl. XIII.

⁷⁵ *DJD* 36, 204-206; “More Identified Fragments of 4QD^d (4Q269),” 498-501.

The Examiner in the camp is given complete authority not only to accept or reject incoming members, but also to approve or prohibit all purchases and sales. The reason for this oversight is given: so that members do not err. Error in purchases and sales could include engaging with the wrong people (e.g., the sons of the pit), handling tainted funds (wealth gotten by violence), or contributing to institutions rejected by the community (the Temple, perhaps the tax-farming system). In any case, the transactions subject to oversight appear to have been with outsiders: the intervening verse mandates a barter system for community members rather than monetary transactions, so that money would only be used if trading with outsiders (note that this same stipulation would prohibit gifts, loans, debts or deposits with outsiders as well). The barter system for the sectarians is indicated by the verbs, “to ask from” and “to give,” which contrast the verbs used of outside transactions, “to buy” and “to sell.” Moreover, the injunction to ask or to give directly “from hand to hand” (כף לִכְף) rather than through the medium of money demonstrates that a barter system is intended. This is verified by a passage in IQS V 16-17, which stipulates that community members are not to “eat of any of [the man of sin’s] possessions, or drink or accept anything from his hands, unless at its price....” The price, or cash transacted, was a necessary buffer that shielded the sectarian from defilement in a more sinful economy.

The subjects of this barter arrangement are the “sons of dawn” (בְּנֵי שׁוֹחַר), a phrase which as Baumgarten notes may refer to initiates in the “sons of light” (cf. CD V 18; XIII 2).⁷⁶ The final *reš* of the word “dawn” is faint. If the final letter is *taw* rather than *reš*, the reading would be, “None of those who have entered the covenant of God ‘shall either ask or give to’ the sons of the pit (בְּנֵי שׁוֹחַר), [] except ‘from hand to hand.’” But the reading is problematic, for all the reasons adduced above and on orthographic grounds. The vertical stance of the faint letter is more consistent with *reš*, as is the curve at the upper right corner. The reading “sons of dawn” is therefore fairly certain.⁷⁷ The introduction of this new title for the initiates and the lack of specific reference to the Examiner supports Hempel’s view that this verse about barter within the community is a later addition. It is possible that, in earlier stages of the community’s organization, goods transacted within the community were purchased for money rather than bartered.

The verses about barter within the camp and the financial supervision of the Examiner for all outside transactions are followed by the requirement that

⁷⁶ J. M. Baumgarten, “The ‘Sons of Dawn’ in CDC 13:14-15 and the Ban on Commerce among the Essenes,” *IEJ* 33 (1983) 81-5. See also IQS VI 16-23.

⁷⁷ The term is used of initiates in another sectarian work, 4Qcrypt A Words of the Maskil to the Sons of Dawn; for the critical edition by Pfann and M. Kister, see “298. 4Qcrypt A Words of the Maskil to All Sons of Dawn,” in *Qumran Cave 4.XV: Sapiential Texts, Part 1* (ed. T. Elgvin et al.; DJD 20; Oxford: Clarendon, 1997) 1-30, pls. I-II; for an earlier edition, see Pfann, “4Q298: The Maskil’s Address to All Sons of Dawn,” *JQR* 85 (1994) 203-235.

the Examiner also supervise marriages and divorces. The location of the directive about the supervision of marital contracts in the larger context of the Examiner's fiduciary responsibilities suggests that the Examiner's duties encompassed the oversight of the financial arrangements that accompanied marital agreements and was not simply a matter of marital counseling (§2.4.3.1 below).

The seventh text treating commercial relations within the community immediately precedes the last. CD XIII 11-12 (see 4QD^b 9 iv 8-9) describes other duties of the Examiner in the camp in language reminiscent of the Rule of the Community (1QS I 11-15; III 2-3; VI 16-23).

Blank And everyone who joins his congregation he shall examine him for his deeds and his insight and his strength and his might and his wealth, 1 and they shall inscribe him in his place according to his inheritance in the lot of light.

Blank

The supervisory action of the Examiner is to scrutinize or examine (רָפַק) the initiates' deeds, insight, strength, might, and wealth. The verbal root has several related meanings, many of which bear on the covenanters' practice and ideology. The root meaning is "to attend to, to visit, to muster, or to appoint," and it is therefore associated with overseeing everything from deposits of money or commodities, to collecting and attending to a military host, to ministerial appointments, to visiting grace or judgment. In fragmentary Aramaic documents from the late first and/or early second century, the verb is also used for the act of depositing wealth with another person.⁷⁸ The particular meaning of the verb in CD XIII 11 is "to pay careful attention to or to examine," and since one of the objects of the Examiner's scrutiny is the initiate's wealth, it is tempting to associate the economic meaning of the verbal root with this activity. But such an association cannot be supported. For one thing, the subject of the verb is the Examiner, rather than the initiate, and while it would make sense on analogy to the Rule of the Community to claim that the initiate deposits or pledges his wealth to the community through the Examiner (1QS VI 16-23), it would not make sense to apply this meaning to the Examiner. Moreover, while translators have found it necessary to utilize most of the meanings of the root for occasions of רָפַק in the Damascus Document,⁷⁹ the one meaning that does not occur is the economic act of depositing wealth.

⁷⁸ Mur 44 8 (Milik, "44. Lettre de Šim'on (fils de Kosba) à Yešua' fils de Galgula," in *Les grottes de Murabba'at* [ed. P. Benoit, O. P., Milik, and de Vaux; DJD 2, 2a; Oxford: Clarendon, 1961] 161-3, pl. XLVI); XHev/Se 26 4; 35 1 (A. Yardeni, *Aramaic, Hebrew and Greek Documentary Texts from Nahal Hever and Other Sites, with an Appendix Containing Alleged Qumran Texts [The Seiyâl Collection II]* [ed. H. M. Cotton and Yardeni; DJD 27; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997] 95-6, 111, figs. 16, 19, pls. XVII, XXII).

⁷⁹ Collecting and attending to a military host: 4QD^b 9 v 6 = CD XIV 3; 4QD^f 2 12; appointing ministers: CD VIII 3 = 4QD^a 3 iii 25; 4QD^a 11 8; CD XIV 6 = 4QD^b 9 v 11; 4QD^c 7 i 16;

Nevertheless, while the term for the Examiner's scrutiny is ambiguous, the object of his attention is clear. He is to examine the initiates' deeds, insight, strength and wealth. These terms reflect a radical interpretation of the Deuteronomic injunction to covenant fidelity: "You shall love the Lord your God with all your heart, with all your soul, and with all your strength" (בְּאֵרֶךְ) (Deut 6:5; see §3.3.1 below). The strength which one owed God is brought into the Damascus community as strength and might and wealth, all subject to the scrutiny of the Examiner. We have already seen that the community members had an obligation to maintain a common fund referred to as the "abundance of the camp" (בְּאֵרֶךְ הַמַּחֲנֶה), which further suggests a relationship between the Deuteronomic terminology and the economic self-understanding of the Damascus Document community. Moreover, the inscription of members is explicitly rendered in terms of spiritual economy: places are allocated on the basis of one's "inheritance in the lot of life." The community was nothing if not a new and alternative *oikonomia*. The text which follows this passage emphasizes wealth rather than the other contributions of the initiate (insight, deeds), and thus illustrates that wealth is the foremost object of the Examiner's scrutiny.

2.4.1.6 Conclusions

The texts that discuss commercial relations within the community indicate that members contributed their property in some manner to the communal fund upon initiation. Thereafter, and perhaps at another stage of the document's history, their transactions with each other were characterized by barter, while their transactions of purchase and sale with outsiders were carefully scrutinized by the Examiner in the camp. Members stole from each other, indicating the preservation of some private property, and took property or material from the common fund. Mechanisms existed to render capital punishment in cases of lies about property or lies under oath related to property. It is not clear whether "capital punishment" referred to execution or expulsion from the community.

Schiffman observes that neither the Damascus Document nor the Rule incorporates the full corpus of biblical law related to commerce, finance and real estate.⁸⁰ His conclusion is that this is because the sect viewed revealed law as sufficient on economic matters to preclude the necessity of sectarian interpretation, except in the cases noted above. But it is also possible that the full complement of biblical law was not repeated because it was rendered moot by the adjuration of common use within the sect and by the restriction of external commerce under the oversight of the Examiners. The entire com-

visiting (as in bestowing) grace: CD I 7 = 4QD^a 2 i 11 = 4QD^c 1 14; visiting (as in rendering) judgment: 4QD^a 1 2; 3 iii 24 = CD VIII 2; 4QD^e 7 ii 13.

⁸⁰ *Sectarian Law*, 211.

munity would not need to be reminded of biblical law if its agents were the only ones engaged in open transactions with the outside world in the manner imagined in scripture. Thus the absence of revealed commercial law from the Damascus Document is to be explained not by the acceptance that law enjoyed in the sect but rather by the hidden revelation of an alternative economy in the sect that relativized the practical application of biblical law.⁸¹

2.4.2 Transactions Involving Sanctified Property and Time

Twelve texts discuss the disposition of *sancta* and the regulation of work in sacred time (the sabbath). These matters range from regulations for free-will offerings to sabbath prohibitions of work, from judgments regarding tithing and contributions to denunciations of the commercial system of the official cult.

2.4.2.1 Free-will Offerings

The first text on the disposition of wealth in the sacrificial system discusses the character of free-will offerings and penalties for improper donation. This particular passage is attested by four manuscripts, chiefly CD XVI 13-20 for the first half (plain text below, with italic text from the parallel 4QD^f 4 ii 12-16) and 4QD^a 8 ii 1-7 (dotted underline below, with solid underline text from the parallel 4QD^e 6 iii 13-15).

Blank Concerning the judgment for free-will offerings. *Blank* No one should dedicate anything to the altar that has been taken by force, nor should the priests take it from *the hand* of Israel. *Blank* No one should sanctify the food of his mouth [for G]od, for this is what he said: "Each one traps his neighbor with a ban" [Mic 7:2] *Blank* And no one should sanctify anything of [. . .] And if [. . .] his possession he will sanctify [. . .] *also the judgment* [. . .] the one who dedicates shall be punished [one-fifth] its assessed value [. . .] to cause a judgment [to the judges]. *Blank* to judge righteously [. . .] after [. . .] it is taken by force until he is chastised and the oppressor makes restitution, if he did not speak the truth with his neighbor and until [. . .] equal to it, for he did not establish [. . .] truth. *Blank*

The Qumran manuscripts differ from CD only by their more frequent attestation of intervals and one minor variant.⁸² The lacunae do not admit of any significant variants; the greatest lacuna, in the damaged lower portion of CD

⁸¹ On the distinction of *nistar* (hidden) and *nigleh* (revealed) law at Qumran, see Schiffman, *The Halakhah at Qumran* (SJLA 16; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1975) 22-23.

⁸² In the third line of the transcription above, at "from *the hand* of Israel," CD has "nor should the priests take it from Israel" (בְּיַד יִשְׂרָאֵל), while 4QD^f reads "nor should the priests take it from the hand of Israel" (בְּיַד יִשְׂרָאֵל).

XVI, could have contained three additional lines of text, which in turn could have accommodated the material supplied from 4QD^a,^e above (underlined).⁸³

No particular biblical law is cited at the outset of the section on free-will offerings (נדבחה). In fact, references to these offerings are infrequent in scripture. The term is used for the contribution incumbent on all Israelites, both for the construction of the wilderness sanctuary (Exod 35:29; 36:3) and for the rebuilding of the Temple after the exile (Ezra 1:4; 8:28). Legal discussion of the nature of the offering is limited to the stipulations that the offering may be eaten on the day of sacrifice and the day after (Lev 7:15-19), that it must be unblemished (Lev 22:17-25), that it be offered in the one sanctuary (in Jerusalem, Deut 12:6-7), that its amount be proportionate to one's prosperity (Deut 16:9-12; cf. Sir 35:7-9), and that one must make good on free-will vows.⁸⁴ There is, however, no biblical statute prohibiting the dedication of either the food of one's mouth or something taken by force, although there are several prophetic and sapiential texts that criticize sacrifices acquired by robbery.⁸⁵ These more restrictive rulings go beyond biblical law, and therefore indicate at least the early stages of the Damascus community's disaffection with alternative, probably dominant cultic practices.⁸⁶ At the same time, these regulations do not yet forbid participation in the cult or visualize the community as the alternative Temple as the Rule of the Community will, but rather simply advocate a more pure form of worship.⁸⁷

⁸³ Columns I–VIII of CD contain twenty-one lines each, while cols. IX–XII contain twenty-three lines each.

⁸⁴ Cf. Deut 23:22-24; Prov 20:25; Qoh 5:3-6. One text from Amos 4:5 indicates that people often proclaimed their free-will offerings publicly (cf. Matt 6:1-6). Free-will offerings are also mentioned in lists of festival sacrifices (Lev 23:38; Num 29:39; Ezra 3:5), and procedures are given for the free-will offering of a prince (Ezek 46:12). In 2 Chron 31:14-15, we hear of the Levite Kore, who during Hezekiah's reign supervised the storage and distribution of free-will offerings. On one occasion, God's gift of rain is referred to as a free-will offering (Ps 68:10). See also Ps 119:108.

⁸⁵ See Isa 61:8; Mal 1:13; Sir 34:21–35:26; cf. Philo, *Plant. 25; b. Sukkan 30a*. Sir 34:21–35:26 is perhaps the most interesting insofar as it thoroughly correlates justice and the sacrificial system in language that the Damascus Document may echo. For example, "If one sacrifices ill-gotten goods, the offering is blemished; the gifts of the lawless are not acceptable" (34:21-22), and "Like one who kills a son before his father's eyes is the person who offers a sacrifice from the property of the poor. The bread of the needy is the life of the poor; whoever deprives them of it is a murderer. To take away a neighbor's living is to commit murder; to deprive an employee of wages is to shed blood" (34:24-27).

⁸⁶ On the independence of the Damascus community from the Temple, see Schiffman, *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls: The History of Judaism, the Background of Christianity, the Lost Library of Qumran* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1994) 282; and Steudel, "The Houses of Prostration CD XI, 21–XII, 1—Duplicates of the Temple," *RevQ* 16 (1993) 49-68. Hempel disagrees, and presumes ongoing participation in the Temple cult (*Laws of the Damascus Document*, 37-8). A. Solomon also imagines that the Damascus community is still sacrificing in Jerusalem; see "The Prohibition against Tēvul Yom and Defilement of the Daily Whole Offering in the Jerusalem Temple in CD 11:21–12:1: A New Understanding," *DSD* 4 (1997) 1-20.

⁸⁷ On the question of the Essenes' relationship to the official cult, see also A. I. Baumgarten, "Josephus on Essene Sacrifice," *JJS* 35 (1994) 169-83; J. M. Baumgarten, "Sacrifice and

A comparison with the use of the term נדבה in the Rule of the Community demonstrates the modest scope of the Damascus Document legislation. The noun, “free-will offering,” occurs in IQS only at IX 5, where it is used as a metaphor for correct behavior: “The offering of the lips in compliance with the decree will be like the pleasant aroma of justice and the correctness of behavior will be acceptable like a free-will offering.” The aroma of sacrifice and the free-will offering are redefined in ethical terms and are thereby dissociated from the Temple. Moreover, the related term “those who voluntarily offer” (הנדבים/המתנדבים) has become in the Rule a technical designation for the adherents of the sect (V 1, 6, 8, 10, 21, 22; VI 13; IX 5; see §3.2.2.2 below). The redefinition of the term from its biblical meaning into a metaphor for the community and its behavior can be traced to some of the earliest stages of the Rule tradition (see Table 6). At these early stages, the community was defining itself over against the Temple. By contrast, the Damascus Document community is not envisioned as an alternative Temple, although in response to perceived abominations in the Temple it later will assume Temple functions (collecting the half-shekel tax, distributing alms).

Three laws are preserved in the passage, followed by penalties incurred for their violation. The first law is the prohibition against the layperson dedicating or the priests receiving something that has been taken by force (אונס). The term is late, appearing in scripture only once in Esther and otherwise in the Targums and rabbinic literature. Its root meaning is “to take by force, snatch, rob, oppress.”⁸⁸ It is frequently used of Gentiles and the lawless, but more to the point are the references to specific economic issues.⁸⁹ For example, it is used in an explication of Samuel’s question to Israel, “Whose ox have I taken? Whose ass have I taken? Whom have I cheated? Whom have I oppressed? From whom have I accepted a bribe and overlooked his guilt? I will make restitution to you” (*Tg.* 1 Sam 12:3-4). The economic associations are the theft of property, cheating and bribery that results in loss. An even clearer reference to commercial “force” appears in *t. Kil’ayim* 7.6.5. Here, the category of reclaimable property is judged to include property purchased from one who obtained it by violent means. The context indicates that these means could include distraint, that is, the action of seizing or holding property to compel payment or reparation of debt, as well as confiscation without prior claim, outright robbery, and any bribery associated with these ends. This early injunction against dedicating or receiving wealth tainted with violence is consistent with other perjorative references to economic oppression in the

Worship among the Jewish Sectarians of the Dead Sea (Qumran) Scrolls,” *HTR* 46 (1953) 141-59; reprinted in *Studies in Qumran Law* (SJLA 24; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1977) 39-56; *idem*, “The Essenes and the Temple: A Reappraisal,” in *Studies in Qumran Law*, 57-74.

⁸⁸ Jastrow, ספר מלים, 86.

⁸⁹ Gentiles, *b. B. Bat.* 45a; lawless *b. Hul.* 94b.

Damascus Document: we hear of wealth and vicious gain (הון ורביצט; VIII 7; X 18; XI 15; XII 7; XIX 19), the wealth of wickedness (הון הרשעה; VI 15; VIII 5; XIX 17), and wealth as one of Belial's nets (IV 12-19). It is somewhat unclear who is seizing the wealth in the Damascus Document, whether it is the would-be donor in his attempt to acquire the property or the priest in his attempt to forcibly seize the priestly portion.⁹⁰ Whatever the referent, the Damascus Document extends the biblical law to prohibit the cultic use of wealth tainted by violence. In the sectarian view, such wealth is equivalent to the blemished animal: it is not a permissible offering to God.

The second law regarding property is, like the first, a more stringent interpretation of biblical law. This time, the biblical citation from Micah 7:2 is clearly introduced after the interpretation with the formula, "for this is what he said" (כי הוא אשר אמר). The citation itself is brief: "Each one traps his neighbor with a ban" (איש את רעהו יצורו חרם). The quotation expands the scope of the original term "brother" (אחיהו) to "neighbor" (רעהו), which may in any case have been understood in the Micah passage. More interesting is the application of this prophetic indictment to food in particular and to the prohibition of *all* food vows. The original Micah verses do not treat food *per se*, although the opening and closing metaphors of fruitless Israel may suggest the interpretation:

Alas! I am as when the fruit is gathered,
 as when the vines have been gleaned;
 There is no cluster to eat,
 no early fig that I crave.
 The faithful are gone from the earth,
 among men the upright are no more!
 They all lie in wait to shed blood,
 each one traps his neighbor with a ban (חרם).
 Their hands succeed at evil;
 the prince makes demands,
 The judge is had for a price,
 the great man speaks as he pleases,
 The best of them is like a brier,
 the most upright like a thorn hedge.

The ban or improper dedication is not explained; it is linked by virtue of poetic parallelism with "lying in wait to shed blood" in the previous stich, and thus could refer to any act of violence or oppression such as murder, political abuses of power, and bribery. But in CD XVI, it is applied specifically to the dedication of food. It is unclear how the neighbor is trapped by another's dedication of food. If the neighbor were to steal food dedicated to God, his penalty would presumably be stiffer than if he were to steal profane food.

⁹⁰ Ginzberg, *Unknown Jewish Sect*, 100. He suggests parallels to Josephus, *Ant.* 20.8.8 (§181) and *t. Menah.* 12.18.

Alternatively, the neighbor might be trapped by the vow because, once dedicated to God, the food could not be received by anyone else. The implication of the passage is that people dedicated their food to God precisely to avoid the covenant claims of their needy neighbors. That is, the dedication of food was a sort of prophylactic against sharing it with possible claimants.⁹¹ CD XVI prohibits *all* dedication of food in order to avoid occasions of *improper* dedication of food. In this way, its moral code is more stringent than that of the outside Jewish world and appears to be articulated in open critique of the sacrificial practices of that world.

The third law is too fragmentarily preserved to illuminate the passage as a whole. The reference reads, “And no one should sanctify anything of [...].” There is just enough text to indicate the presence of a third law; note that it begins as the other two laws did, with the formula, “no man shall do ‘x’” (אל שׁאן [verb]). But there is too little text to reconstruct what that law is.

The final section of the passage treats the penalty for violating the above laws. Although three manuscripts attest to the passage, each is fragmentary, particularly in the opening section of the penalty, so that even the composite text has significant lacunae. Nevertheless, certain shared terms and formal affinities between the laws and the penalty demonstrate that they are to be understood together. The penalty begins, “the one who dedicates shall be punished [one-fi]fth its assessed value” (CD XVI 17-18 + 4QD^a 8 ii 2-3); the reference to “one who dedicates” (הנודר) links this penalty to the foregoing judgments about improper dedications, “No one should dedicate (ידור) anything to the altar that has been taken by force.” Further references in the penalty to a judgment regarding something “taken by force” (אונס) (4QD^a 8 ii 4) and to the chastised person as the “oppressor” (האונס) (4QD^c 6 iii 14) connect the subject and object of the penalty with the crimes stipulated above, particularly with the dedication of something “taken by force” (אונס) but also with the violent seizure implied in “trapping” (צידוד) one’s neighbor with a dedicated thing. The fact that the penalties include a fine of one-fifth the assessed value of the improperly acquired or sheltered goods and restitution suits the economic nature of the crime of improper vows. In addition to these affinities in vocabulary and content, a structural or formal consideration joins the crimes and the penalty: they both fall under the category, “concerning the judgment for free-will offerings.” The judgment is then offered in two forms, in prescriptive declarations (“Let no man do ‘x’”) and in penal procedures.

⁹¹ See Matt 15:5 *par* Mark 7:11 for just such an accusation against the Pharisees, whom Jesus indicts for dedicating property to God against the rightful claims of needy parents. Interestingly, Luke does not include the specific example of parental need; rather, Jesus enjoins the Pharisees to “give for alms those things which are within” (Luke 11:41). The discussion of what foods are clean (v. 42) is thus expanded to include “clean” almsgiving.

A final word should be said about the nature of the punishment (שׁעֲרָה, CD XVI 17). First, this term occurs most frequently in the penal code of the Rule of the Community, but also on this one occasion in a penal section of the Damascus Document.⁹² In the Rule, the nature of the penalty is only stipulated once: in VI 25, the one who lies about property is punished one-fourth of his bread as well as excluded from the purity. In every other case in the Rule, only the period of punishment rather than the nature of it is given. In the Damascus Document passage under scrutiny, the nature rather than the duration of the punishment is specified: the offender is fined one-fifth the assessed value (עֲרָה) of the misdeditated property.⁹³ Baumgarten observes that the one-fifth surcharge is applied to four offenses in the Torah: the restitution of sanctified offerings inadvertently violated (Lev 5:16; 22:14), the redemption of a sanctified unclean animal (Lev 27:13), the redemption of a sanctified field (Lev 27:19), and the restitution of misappropriated property for which the offender had under oath denied responsibility (Lev 5:24; cf. Num 5:7). Baumgarten believes that the last case may best explain the context of the penalty in 4QD^a 8 ii 1-7, because 4QD^a refers to the offender as “one who did not speak the truth.”⁹⁴ It seems more likely, however, that the penalty is to be associated with the first Torah offense, the restitution of sanctified offerings inadvertently violated. In both cases, there is a question of something being sinfully withheld: in Leviticus 5:14-16, it is the silver shekels due to God, while in the Damascus Document, it is the food or other property due to needy others. In Leviticus, the offering is withheld inadvertently, while in the Damascus Document, it is made intentionally and with the precise object of rendering to God what was due to others. In a sense, this is the opposite of the Levitical crime in that *too much* is given to God. Despite this difference, both the Levitical legislation and the Damascus Document draw boundaries around sanctified offerings. Baumgarten’s argument that the CD XVI penalty treats misappropriation of property is unlikely for two other reasons. Another well-preserved section of the document, IX 8-16, treats precisely this issue (see §2.4.1 above). Furthermore, the reference to “one who did not speak the truth” could refer to the illegality of the vow itself, rather than to lies under oath about misappropriated property.

2.4.2.2 *Wealth and the Sabbath*

The next texts that discuss the disposition of wealth in the context of sacred matters derive from the earliest stratum of the legal material and concern sab-

⁹² Rule: VI 25, 27; VII 2, 3, 4 bis, 5, 6, 8 bis, 11, 12 bis, 13, 14 bis, 15, 16, 18, 19 (see Appendix B). See also 1QS IX 1 and Damascus Document: III 4; XIV 2, 21.

⁹³ An entire tractate of the Mishnah, ‘*Arakin*, is devoted to vows of valuation.

⁹⁴ Baumgarten, *DJD* 18, 65-6.

bath law.⁹⁵ The first of these is attested chiefly by CD X 14-21, and fragmentarily by 4QD^e 6 v 1-4. It inaugurates a section of sabbath laws which ultimately ends with the adjudication of a penalty for profaning the sabbath in CD XII 3-6. In this first passage, the readings do not differ, nor do the lacunae of 4QD^e admit of any appreciable variants.

Concerning the sabbath, to guard it according to its judgment. *Blank* No one should do | work on the sixth day, from the time when the disc of the sun is | at a distance of its diameter from the gate, for this is what he said, "Guard the | sabbath day to keep it holy" [Deut 5:12]. And on the day of the sabbath, no one should say a | useless or stupid word. He should not hold anything against his neighbor. He should not pour out regarding wealth or gain. | He should not speak about matters of work or of the service to be carried out on the following day. | *Blank* No one is to walk in the field to do the service of his interest | (on) the sabbath. *Blank*

The first sabbath regulation is the general rule against work (בלאסכה) on the seventh day.⁹⁶ The term is frequently used in sabbath legislation, and refers to a work, trade, vocation, or task.⁹⁷ The author begins exploring this regulation by discussing when the sabbath begins: not at sunset on the evening before sabbath, but somewhat before the sun has entered its evening gate on the horizon. This extension of the biblical law is then supported by the biblical law itself: "Guard the sabbath day to keep it holy" (Deut 5:12-15).⁹⁸ The sabbath is guarded by extending the period at its outset to ensure that the period from sunset to sunset is protected from profane activity.⁹⁹ Only two of the laws relating to the sabbath are explicitly warranted by biblical law, CD X 14-17 and XI 17-18, and they form an *inclusio* to the sabbath code.

The document then introduces a variety of profane activities forbidden on the sabbath.¹⁰⁰ The first prohibition is against saying a useless or stupid word, or pursuing a useless or stupid matter, on the holy day (אל ידבר איש דבר נבל ורק). As several commentators have noted, the repetition of the root for speech or matter (דבר) depends upon the exhortation against profaning the sabbath in Isaiah 58:13:¹⁰¹

⁹⁵ See Schiffman, *Halakhah at Qumran*, 77-136.

⁹⁶ Schiffman, *Halakhah at Qumran*, 84-7.

⁹⁷ Exod 20:9-10; Lev 23:3; Deut 5:13-14; Jer 17:22, 24. See also F. Brown, S. R. Driver and C. A. Briggs, *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1951; original 1906) 522.

⁹⁸ Cf. Exod 20:8-11; 23:12; 31:12-17; 34:21; 35:1-3; Lev 23:3.

⁹⁹ See *b. Yoma* 81a, b and *Sipra 'Emot* 14.7-9 for a similar rabbinic interpretation, the *tosefet melakhah*. Ginzberg suggests that the impetus to protect the sabbath depended on the command to "guard" the sabbath (שמור; Deut 5:12) rather than the original "remember" the sabbath (זכור; Exod 20:8); *Unknown Jewish Sect*, 56-7.

¹⁰⁰ Schiffman, *Halakhah at Qumran*, 87-91.

¹⁰¹ Schiffman, *Halakhah at Qumran*, 89-90; Baumgarten, "Damascus Document (CD)," in *DSSHAG*, 2.47 n. 162.

If you refrain from trampling the sabbath,
 from pursuing your own interests (עשות חפצ'ך) on my holy day;
 if you call the sabbath a delight
 and the holy day of the Lord honorable;
 if you honor it, not going your own ways,
 serving your own interests¹⁰² (ממעוצא חפצ'ך),
 or pursuing your own affairs (ודבר דבר);
 then you shall take delight in the Lord,
 and I will make you ride upon the heights of the earth;
 I will feed you with the heritage of your ancestor Jacob,
 for the mouth of the Lord has spoken.

The dependence on Isaiah 58:13 is confirmed by the occurrence of the phrase, “pursuing [one’s] interest(s)” in both CD X 20 and Isa 58:13bis. The meaning of the phrase in the Damascus Document is clarified by two adjectives which describe the affair pursued or the word spoken as “useless or stupid” (נבל ורק). The use of these particular adjectives may be related, in the first case, to the biblical critique of vain speech (“every mouth spoke folly [פה דבר],” Isa 9:17¹⁰³), and in the second case to the Mosaic summary of all of the commandments (“This is no trifling matter for you [כי לא דבר רק הוא] [מכם], but rather your very life,” Deut 32:47). Note that, in both cases, the adjectives are joined to the term דבר. Whatever the source, the function is to render all profane work useless or stupid if conducted on the holy day.

The next two prohibitions in CD X 14-21 are related. One must not “hold anything against one’s neighbor” (אל ישה ברעהו), and neither should one “pour out regarding wealth and gain” (כל אל ישפכו על הון ובצע). The verbal relationship is antithetical: one refers to lifting up or holding (from נשה), the other to pouring forth or giving away (שפך). The economic references, however, are less clear. Translators have rendered the first phrase variously: Baumgarten reads, “He shall not demand payment from his neighbor for anything,” while Schechter reads, “None shall demand any debt of his neighbor,” and Schiffman has, “Let him not lend his neighbor anything.” I have chosen a more literal translation, but agree with these translators that the reference is to holding or initiating something—most likely a debt, claim or pledge—against one’s fellow Israelite (cf. Deut 15:2).¹⁰⁴ The second phrase is problematic, because translators thus far have misread the consonants of

¹⁰² The “interests” (חפצ'ים) are clearly business affairs in Isaiah and therefore in the Damascus Document; see also 4QInstruction^B 1 + 2 i 6 (T. Elgvin, “423. 4QInstruction^B [Mūsār L^É Mēvin^S], in *Qumran Cave 4.XXIV: Sapiential Texts, Part 2, 4QInstruction [Mūsār L^É Mēvin]: 4Q415 ff.* [ed. J. Strugnell, D. J. Harrington, S. J., and Elgvin, with J. A. Fitzmyer, S. J.; DJD 34; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999] 507-513, pl. XXX; see §4.5 below).

¹⁰³ See also Isa 32:6; 1QS X 22; Job 2:10; cf. Isa 30:7; *b. Šabb.* 150a.

¹⁰⁴ Schiffman notes that the prohibition of loans on the sabbath is a rabbinic ideal as well, but is so contrary to common practice that the rabbis concede, enjoining that the loan must at least be executed through some kind of circumlocution rather than in plain speech (*m. Šabb.* 23:1; *Halakhah at Qumran*, 88-9).

CD. Schechter transcribed שפוט and translated “shall judge,”¹⁰⁵ while Baumgarten correctly transcribed שפוכי but kept the translation “make judgments.”¹⁰⁶ The reading שפוכי suggests a giving away of the wealth or gain; perhaps the reference is simply to any payment of debts, interest, or loans, or to pouring forth speech about these matters.¹⁰⁷

Wealth and gain (הון ובצע) are the objects of the holding up and pouring forth. This pair of terms makes frequent appearances in the Damascus Document. The term wealth (הון) is rather late, appearing in the Bible only in the wisdom literature (see §3.4.1 below). The term “gain” (בצע) is more common in scripture. The employment of both terms in place of more customary commercial vocabulary reflects a biblicizing trend in the sectarian literature. It is usually understood as profit viciously acquired, as in Jeremiah 22:15b-17:

Did not your father eat and drink? He did what was right and just, and it went well with him.

Because he dispensed justice to the weak and the poor, it went well with him.

Is this not true knowledge of me? says the Lord.

But your eyes and heart are set on nothing except on your own gain (בצע)

On shedding innocent blood (ועל דם הנקי לשפוך),

on practicing oppression (הרעשק) and extortion (המרציה).

Note in verse 17 of this passage the juxtaposition of the concepts present also in CD X 14-21: the vanity of one’s own interests, which are then described as one’s own gain (בצע) and the pouring out (שפוך) of blood, as well as oppression and extortion (cf. CD XIII 10). The association of (vicious) gain with the shedding of blood is also made in Ezekiel 22:26-27:

Its priests have done violence to my teaching and have profaned my holy things; they have made no distinction between the holy and the common, neither have they taught the difference between the unclean and the clean, and they have disregarded my sabbaths, so that I am profaned among them. Its officials within it are like wolves tearing the prey, shedding blood (לשפך דם), destroying lives to get dishonest gain (בצע).

¹⁰⁵ Schiffman has the same transcription, but reads, “Let him not dispute,” following Ginzberg, *Unknown Jewish Sect*, 58 (*Halakhah at Qumran*, 87 n. 22). Ginzberg quotes the Falasha pseudepigraph *Teezaza Sanbat* 19a.

¹⁰⁶ Schechter, *Documents of Jewish Sectaries*, 109, 80; Baumgarten, “Damascus Document,” *DSSHAG*, 2.46-7. The reading is clearly שפוכי; the *kap* and final *waw* are clearly separated, and the upper cross-stroke of *kap* is straight rather than curving; see *כחשפטי* on line 14 in Zeitlin, *Zadokite Fragments*, pl. X.

¹⁰⁷ As in *b. Šabb.* 15b, “One shall not say to his neighbor on the Sabbath, I am thinking of spending such and such a sum.” If the reading is to be emended, it should read שפט, “let him not dispute/litigate,” Ginzberg, *Unknown Jewish Sect*, 428; Schiffman, *Halakhah at Qumran*, 87 n. 22.

CD X 14-21 is not quite so graphic; it does not describe the work, wealth or gain as specifically the result of violence. The prohibition against these activities is broader than a mere prohibition of violent commercial practices. It is rather a prohibition of work at all, whether destructive of others or not.

This is clear in final two stipulations about forbidden sabbath activities. One may neither speak about any matter related to work (מלאכה) or service (עבודה), or even walk in the field the better to imagine his commercial strategy.¹⁰⁸

The remaining laws regarding the disposition of wealth on the sabbath are quite brief. The first, found in CD XI 2, reads, "He shall not send out the son of a foreigner to do his interests (לעשות את הפצו) on the day of the sabbath." As in CD X 20 above, we have a prohibition of promoting one's business interests, this time through the agency of a foreigner. This represents an extension of biblical law beyond the restrictions imposed on relations with servants and the stranger in Exodus 20:10 and Deuteronomy 5:14.¹⁰⁹ It prohibits a sectarian from appointing a foreigner as proxy to conduct business for him on the sabbath.¹¹⁰ The next restriction, found in CD XI 4-5 (*par* 4QD^f 5 i 1-2), prohibits associations with other members of the community: "Let no man associate according to his pleasure (אל יתערב איש מרצונו) | on the sabbath." This passage has no parallel in biblical or rabbinic law, which has led several commentators to emend the text to "Let no man fast voluntarily (אל יתעב) (/יתענה איש מרצונו) on the sabbath."¹¹¹ Alternatively, one may agree with Schiffman to let the text stand and to explain it in terms of the sectarian economy.¹¹² That is, the passage is a natural application of the prohibition of useless activity in Isaiah 58:13 to the peculiar and voluntary intermingling of property that characterized members of the Damascus community. The final law about the disposition of wealth on the sabbath comes further in the same column, in CD XI 15 (*par* 4QD^e 6 v 18-19, 4QD^f 5 i 10, and possibly 4QD^a 9 i 1). It reads, "No one should profane the sabbath by wealth or vicious gain (הון ובצע) on the sabbath." This stipulation largely repeats X 18, although in the latter case the prohibition was against pouring out wealth or gain, whereas here there is no restriction to mere words. If X 18 concerned the pouring out or payment of debts, interest or loans, this stipulation appears to encompass both income and payment. On analogy to rabbinic law, it may additionally

¹⁰⁸ Here I follow Ginzberg, *Unknown Jewish Sect*, 58-9, who adduces a talmudic parallel in *b. Šabb.* 150b and *y. Šabb.* 15:15a: "A man shall not go into his field (on the Sabbath) in order to see what work is necessary (after the Sabbath)." The Talmud allows, "You may not attend to your affairs on the Sabbath but only to the affairs of Heaven" (i.e., care of the poor). But see Schiffman, *Halakhah at Qumran*, 90-91.

¹⁰⁹ *M. Šabb.* 23:3.

¹¹⁰ Schiffman, *Halakhah at Qumran*, 104-106.

¹¹¹ Schechter, Rabin, Ginzberg; cf. *Jub* 50:12, which decrees the death penalty for fasting on the sabbath.

¹¹² *Halakhah at Qumran*, 109-111.

imply that any threat to property (theft, destruction) is not warrant enough to violate the sabbath by acting to prevent damage or loss (*t. 'Erub. 4.5; b. 'Erub. 65b*). In this sense the law would function alongside the following stipulation, which prohibits the violation of sabbath by the use of instruments to save someone who is drowning.¹¹³

Keeping the sabbath holy includes not only the prohibition of work, but also prohibitions of lending, discussing riches or gain (הָיִן וְכִצֵּעַ), and speaking about matters of work or service to be performed the following day. The three sabbath law texts that discuss the disposition of wealth extend the profaning possibilities of work from work itself to words about work. The reason for this extension is a reconceptualization of work itself as the domain of “wealth and vicious gain,” viewed here as dangers that must be circumscribed by the community more aggressively than they have been by other interpreters of the law.

2.4.2.3 *Terumah and Tithes*

The next texts that treat the disposition of wealth in the context of ritual *sancta* concern tithing. The first of these is attested in only one Qumran manuscript, 4QD^e 2 ii 3-10. It derives from a section found only in that manuscript, the Catalogue of Transgressors. Baumgarten, following Milik, understands this catalogue to have concluded the admonitory portion of the document and to have served as an introduction to the laws.¹¹⁴ Baumgarten notes that seven of the twelve transgressions listed are discussed at greater length elsewhere in the document. Hempel observes this same repetition, and concludes that the catalogue circulated independently and was later merged with the laws.

The stipulations of the catalogue are consistent with biblical law. The portion of the catalogue that treats tithes and sacred offerings scarcely diverges from biblical requirements:

to the source [] and] to
 []]
 []c]ancel[s lifting up []]
 [] to the sons of Aaron the planting of the fo[urth year]]
 [] the fir[s]t of all they possess and the tithe of [their] an[imals]]
 and the flock and the ranso[m of firstlings? of] unclean [anim]als and the ran-
 som of the first-[born of man?]] the flock, and the valuation
 money for the ransom of their spirit, and []] cannot be
 returned, together with the additional fifth (assessed?) against them, or...

¹¹³ On the principle of *piqquah nefesh*, first initiated under Mattathias during the Maccabean Revolt (1 Macc 2:32-41), see Schiffman, *Halakhah at Qumran*, 124-8.

¹¹⁴ Baumgarten, *DJD* 18, 12-13.

The stipulated offerings represent a collation of various laws in scripture: the first of all one has and the tithes of their animals from Leviticus 27:32,¹¹⁵ the ransom of firstlings of unclean animals and of humans from Numbers 18:15, the first (shearings?) of sheep from Deuteronomy 18:4; the valuation money for humans from Leviticus 27:1-8,¹¹⁶ the guilt restitution (value of misappropriated property plus one-fifth) to the priests from Numbers 5:6-8.¹¹⁷ The first law in the list, however, is an extension of biblical law. If the phrase is correctly reconstructed to read, “the planting of the fourth year,” then this means that the adherents of this document held the plantings of the fourth year as well as those of the first year to belong to the priests.

An interesting term is used in the fragmentary beginning of the passage. The transgressor in the case of improper tithing is referred to as one who “cancels (סחא) lifting up....” Baumgarten translates “refuses” rather than “cancels,” and while this conveys the general sense, it misses the economic nuances of the verb. The root סחא means “to clap one’s hands,” usually in exultation (Isa 55:12; Ezek 25:6; Ps 98:8).¹¹⁸ In the context of offering or dedicating property, this definition does not appear to make sense. The verb may be an Aramaic form of the root סחה, “to wipe out, cancel or obliterate.”¹¹⁹ In later rabbinic Hebrew, the noun סחאה is used for a protest which aims to cancel someone’s claim to clear title in a legal dispute.¹²⁰ The use of a verb which could have such legal or economic nuances in the context of a discussion of ritual offerings confirms our suspicion that the dedication of property to God was understood in part as a covenanted economic obligation.

Another text concerning the sanctified status of wealth treats the subject of the proper tithes to be assessed against damaged fields, gleanings, and the *terumah* of bread offered during the Festival of Weeks. The most complete

¹¹⁵ Cf. 2 Chr 31:6; see also 4QMMT B 63-64.

¹¹⁶ See also 2 Kings 12:5, *m. Arakin*, 4Q159 1 ii 6.

¹¹⁷ This last law is discussed in CD IX 10-14, where likewise the regulation follows Numbers 5:6-8 for guilt restitution. But CD IX 14-16 then extends the biblical law by applying the same result to cases of found property—it will be “for the priests, for he who found it does not know the judgment in its regard.”

¹¹⁸ Brown, Driver, and Briggs, *Hebrew and English Lexicon*, 561.

¹¹⁹ Brown, Driver, and Briggs, *Hebrew and English Lexicon*, 562; for Baumgarten’s translation, see *DJD* 18, 145.

¹²⁰ Jastrow, *ספר מלים*, 756. The gesture of clapping the hands in exultation is similar in appearance, if not in significance, to the gesture of clapping the hands of an associate to seal a commercial agreement. Perhaps this lies behind the use of the root סחה in our passage. See Prov 17:18: “Senseless is the man who claps his hand in pledge, who becomes surety for his neighbor,” and Ezek 22:12-13, where God claps his hands together to seal the fate of those who have shed blood through their nefarious business dealings:

In you, they take bribes to shed blood; you take both advance interest and accrued interest, and make gain of your neighbors by extortion; and you have forgotten me, says the Lord God.

See, I strike my hands together at the dishonest gain you have made, and at the blood that has been shed within you.

witness to the passage is 4QD^c 3 ii 13-21, although two other manuscripts provide parallels (4QD^a 6 iii 6-10; 4QD^b 6 3-7). In the translation below, the base text 4QD^c is in plain text; terms derived from 4QD^a are underlined with a dotted line, terms from 4QD^b are underscored with a single line, and words supplied from both 4QD^a and 4QD^b are underscored with a double line.

(a field) which does not yield its seed has neither terumah [nor] broken-off (berries, nor does it yield) its single grapes up to ten be[rries.] And for the shaking of the olive, [the fruit] of its produce, if it is intact, its shaking is one out of thirty, and all [], but if the field was muddied or scorched by fire, but one seah per bet seah was broken off, there is tithes in it. And if one person gleanes one [seah] from it in one day the terumah from it shall be [one] isaron. [] [] loaves of terumah, it is for all homes of Israel when they eat of the bread [] to lift up terumah once a year. One isaron shall be each (loaf) [] before] its completion by Israel, let no one raise (his hand to eat of the bread...)

This passage derives from a larger section of agricultural laws introduced in 4QD^a with a fragmentary sectional title in red ink (3 i 19; Baumgarten reconstructs, "Concerning the laws of the lands"). As Baumgarten notes, two topics are treated in this passage: gleanings (3 ii 12-19a) and the terumah or offering from bread (3 ii 19b-21).¹²¹ On the subject of gleanings, our passage is more stringent than later rabbinic interpretation. According to the Qumran Cave 4 evidence, gleaners may on a given day collect the equivalent of the seed used for planting a field—ten single grapes, or one-thirtieth the olive harvest—but if they collect a seah or more in a day, they must return one-third of their gleanings to the priest as terumah or offering.¹²² The rabbis, on the other hand, exempted gleanings from tithes (*m. Hal.* 1:3).¹²³ In contrast, two other rulings in this passage are similar to or more lenient than rabbinic law. According to Mishnaic interpretation, if one's field was damaged but the harvest was partly salvageable, the owner himself was still required to pay a tithe (cf. *m. Pe'ah* 2:7). The ruling in the Damascus Document is similar. The judgment about the terumah from bread is more lenient in the Damascus Document than in rabbinic law; in the passage above, it is clear that the offering is to be taken only once a year, during the celebration of the first fruit of the wheat (that is, during the Festival of Weeks), while in rabbinic law the

¹²¹ Baumgarten, *DJD* 18, 147-50.

¹²² Baumgarten explains that the isaron is one-tenth of an ephah. There are three seahs in an ephah; thus, the isaron represents three-tenths of a seah, or three-tenths of the amount collected (*DJD* 18, 149).

¹²³ The terumah is technically an offering to the priests (Num 5:9; 15:19; Deut 12:6), and not necessarily the Levitical tithe (however, see Num 18:24). The terms terumah and tithe are used somewhat interchangeably in this passage; J. M. Baumgarten, "On the Non-literal Use of Ma'aser/Dekate," *JBL* 103 (1984) 245-61.

terumah is to be taken from every kneading of bread dough throughout the year (*Sipre Num.* 110; cf. Num 15:19-21).¹²⁴

Rulings about tithes of produce presume the involvement of the audience in agricultural production and in the maintenance of some system of cultic taxation. It is unclear from this passage whether offerings are to be made to the official cult or to an alternative economic system of income redistribution and sanctification within the community. If Hempel's early date for this portion of the legal material is correct, participation in the official cult is more likely, although this participation is still governed by the group's particular interpretations of the law. Legislation about gleaning presumes the presence of and concern for the poor (see CD XIV 12-19 and parallels below). The imposition of an offering even upon the needy points to the significance of offerings for every member of this community, while the leniency regarding *terumah* from bread suggests that there were limits set on the contribution of food from a community of modest means.

The seventh passage on tithes is preserved most fully in 4QD^f 2 4-7, with fragmentary parallels in 4QD^d 8 i 2-3 and 4QD^e 3 iii 19. The underlined text below is supplied exclusively from 4QD^e.

Let [no?] man eat [] and from the garden before [the
 prie]sts stretch forth their hand | [to ble]ss first. [] house
 (belongs ?) to the man, he may sell and with [] and then will he be clean |
 [] and the
 [] mixed field | []
 [] from the judgments of the com[mu]nity three times

That this text is classified as a passage on tithes is dependent less upon its own content, which is too fragmentary to reconstruct with confidence, than upon the material just prior to it. In the three preceding lines of 4QD^f, measures for the *terumah* offerings for wheat, fruit, and lambs are stipulated. The text next mandates a priestly blessing over produce (see 1QS VI 5) and renders some judgments regarding the sale of something related to the home and the field of mixed produce. Baumgarten suggests that the legislation governs the sale of untithed produce,¹²⁵ and if this is the case, it could be considered a case of commercial legislation rather than of tithes. It is presented here with the other material on sanctified property since the overarching category in this portion of the Damascus Document is tithes. Also, since a judgment is rendered about the purity status of the seller, this suggests that we are not dealing with any sale of property but rather with sales of sacred or potentially sacred property.

¹²⁴ See Baumgarten, *DJD* 18, 149-50 for a full discussion, and his article, "The Laws of 'Orlah and First Fruits in the Light of Jubilees, the Qumran Writings, and Targum Ps. Jonathan," *JJS* 38 (1987) 195-202.

¹²⁵ *M. Ma'as.* 2:1-5.

2.4.2.4 *Contribution of Offerings*

A single text on the sacrificial offering of wealth within the community derives from the legal material in the document. It is fragmentary in both manuscript witnesses, 4QD^a 7 iii 1-7 (plain text) and 4QD^b 8 3-7 (italic when the sole witness).

enter [] | before the [Examin]er []
 [] | to the Examiner who is over the camp. *Blank* []
 | [] he will seek from his hand []
 [] the one who hate[s the To]rah [] *Is[ra]el* []
 [] d]eeds [] | he

While much of the text is missing, extant references to the Examiner, to (placing?) something(s) before him, and to the phrase “he will seek from his hand” may indicate the contribution of some item of value to the Examiner’s care or for his judgment. This possibility is recommended by the supervisory role of the Examiner described elsewhere in the document (XIII 12-19; XIV 12-19; 4QD^a 11 14-16). It is also recommended by the affinity of the phrase, “he will seek from his hand,” to a passage in 11QT^a LIII 11: “If you make a vow, do not delay in fulfilling it, because I shall certainly demand it from your hand” (דרוש אדורשני מירכה). The Examiner may have had the authority to exact pledges from community members. The reference “before the Examiner” would be consistent with the biblical and sacrificial language of the ritual of contribution.¹²⁶

2.4.2.5 *Distribution of Temple Funds*

The final text on the sacrificial disposition of wealth, CD VI 11–VII 1 and parallels, appears in the introductory admonitory portion of the document, in what Davies considers to be the second stage of the admonition’s development. Davies identifies this stage by its frequent distinction of outsiders who have strayed from the law. Indeed, that is precisely the issue at stake in this passage, and misuse of wealth is the means by which these people have strayed:

Blank And everyone who was brought into the covenant | so as not to enter the Temple to light his altar in vain is a “shutter of | the door,” of whom God said, “who of you will shut his door and not light my altar | in vain?” [Mal 1:10]
Blank unless they take care to act according to the requirements of the Law to the end of evil, to separate themselves | from the sons of the pit and to hold themselves sacredly aloof from the evil wealth (which is) impure because of vows and bans | and with the wealth of the Temple, (for they) rob the poor of his people: widows are their prey | and orphans they murder. And (they must also take care) to distinguish between the impure and the pure, and to make known (the difference) between | the holy and the profane, and to observe the

¹²⁶ See Acts 4:35: ἐτίθουν παρά τοὺς πόδας τῶν ἀποστόλων; cf. 4:37; 5:2.

Sabbath day according to its requirements, and the appointed times | and the day of the fast as it was found by those who entered the new covenant in the land of Damascus, | to offer up the holy things according to their requirements, to love each man his brother as himself, | and to strengthen the hand of the poor and destitute and proselyte, *Blank* and to seek each man the peace | of his brother.

In this passage, the covenant community is cast as an explicit alternative to the Temple: “all who were brought into the covenant so as not to enter the Temple to light his altar in vain....” Sacrificial worship in the Temple is vain because its practitioners do not separate from the sons of the pit, nor do they hold themselves sacredly aloof (להנור) from either evil wealth (הון הרשעה) or the wealth of the Temple (הון המקדש). Each of these three charges is economic in character, and each of the three functions as a critique of contemporary practice.

The phrase “sons of the pit” occurs in CD VI 15 and is partly extant in 4QD^a 3 ii 20-21.¹²⁷ While the phrase is frequently understood to be a derogatory metaphor for the community’s enemies,¹²⁸ it has a concrete referent in local economic practice. In Aramaic ostraca from fourth century B.C.E. Idumaea, the pit (מִקְרֵה in Aramaic) is frequently referred to as a communal storage place for grain, oil, or other commodities (Ostraca 2 3, 9 2, 15 2, 34 1, 38 2, 49 3, 54 3, 81 3, 108 2, 124 2, 131 1, 151 1).¹²⁹ In one ostrakon, we hear of the owners of the pit (150 2). Were the “men of the pit” collectors of taxes in kind, Temple functionaries who collected the priestly tithes, or merchant brokers who bought low and sold high? The phrase alone does not yield much information. Its inclusion with two categories of sacred wealth, vowed goods and Temple wealth, may suggest that the men of the pit had some responsibility for dedicated property. Further support for this lies in the fact that the covenanters are enjoined not just to disregard the men of the pit, but “to separate from” (להבדיל) them just as they are encouraged to distinguish (להבדיל) between the impure and the pure (CD VI 17). The language of boundaries and purity is religious language, and it may derive from the role of the men of the pit as much as from the perspective of the covenanters. Alternatively, the list of three forbidden interactions may progress from profane economic vio-

¹²⁷ Baumgarten transcribes מְבִנֵי הַשְּׁחָח rather than מְבִנֵי הַשְּׁחָח , but the ink trace he takes for the upper stroke of *lamed* is uniformly thin and low. *Lameds* in this hand are generally thicker at the top and rise fully to the baseline of the line above. On the other hand, *taw* is also problematic; one would expect to see the left edge of the cross-stroke on the extant leather, though *taws* vary dramatically in this manuscript (cf. 4QD^a 5 ii line 11 בְּשִׁירֵיהֶם , line 12 עֲצֵם); *DJD* 18, 41.

¹²⁸ For example, Davies: “[...C]hildren of the Pit,’ or ‘children of corruption.’ I prefer the former translation because these outsiders are defined not positively as wilfully disobedient so much as negatively as those abandoned by God and destined for destruction” (*Damascus Covenant*, 128). The pit becomes a synonym for Gehenna (גֵּיהֶנֶם) in later rabbinic tradition; b. *Eruv*. 19a; *Pesiq. Rab.* 10, 36b.

¹²⁹ I. Eph’al and J. Naveh, *Aramaic Ostraca of the Fourth Century BC from Idumaea* (Jerusalem: Magnes/Israel Exploration Society, 1996); see §7.5 below.

lence to sacred economic violations, with the improper dedication of profane property lying between the two. Whatever the specific social referent, the men of the pit are certainly associated with wealth by violence, not only at this point in the Damascus Document but at other points as well (CD VI 15; XIII 14; cf. 1QS IX 16, 22; X 19).

The second obligation of the covenanters is to “hold themselves sacredly aloof from evil wealth” (להגור מהון הרשעה). Both Davies and Schwartz translate the *nif'al* infinitive construct of נור “to refrain from,” while Schechter has “to separate from.”¹³⁰ While these translations are accurate, they do not convey the nuance of the root, which is to dedicate or consecrate. As with the injunction to separate from the men of the pit, so here a term for distinguishing sacred from profane is applied to wealth. In this case, there is a neat parallelism between the injunction and the prohibited item: the wealth to be shunned is precisely that which has been *misdedicated* through improper vows, bans, and dedications to the Temple.¹³¹ Individuals could avoid payment of debts or legal obligations by dedicating the property at issue to the Temple, an arrangement by which they retained usufruct of the property (cf. CD XVI 13-14).¹³² The author of the Damascus Document not only criticizes this practice, but also prescribes that covenanters shun the practice and the practitioners of self-interested dedication.

The third and final economic prohibition is to avoid the wealth of the sanctuary. This prohibition is syntactically governed by the same verb that forbade commerce in misdeditated wealth, “to hold oneself sacredly aloof from” (להגור). This links the two types of wealth. It also suggests that the following gloss applies equally to both: “(for they) rob the poor of his people: widows are their prey and orphans they murder.” The abuse of the poor, particularly widows and orphans, is presented as the chief consequence or intent of improper oaths and mismanaged Temple resources. It is also possible, as Schwartz suggests, that some of the Temple wealth had actually belonged to widows and orphans or by law was due to them (cf. Deut 14:29), but had been subsequently misappropriated from their original deposits or care fund (cf. 2 Macc 3:10).¹³³

Alternatively, the charge against opponents may be less a matter of misused Temple funds than a matter of halakhic dispute.¹³⁴ For example, rabbinic literature testifies that the Sadducees granted inheritance rights to daughters as well as sons, but that the Pharisees considered this a case of

¹³⁰ Davies, *Damascus Covenant*, 249; Schwartz, “Damascus Document (CD),” in *DSSHAG*, 2.23; Schechter, *Documents of Jewish Sectaries*, 70.

¹³¹ Ginzberg reads the phrase, “vows and bans and with the wealth of the Temple” as syntactically governed by the preceding “impure” (הטמאה; *Unknown Jewish Sect*, 31).

¹³² Davies, *Damascus Covenant*, 129; cf. Mark 7:11-13.

¹³³ Schwartz, “Damascus Document (CD),” in *DSSHAG*, 2.23 n. 60.

¹³⁴ Ginzberg, *Unknown Jewish Sect*, 156-7.

“robbing (male) orphans.”¹³⁵ The Damascus sect, for its part, creates a communal fund to maintain groups like young women lacking dowry benefits and youths with no one to care for them, and charges its enemies with preying on widows and murdering orphans. It is not difficult to imagine that the vulnerability of these groups might have been exacerbated by laws of inheritance and relaxed guardianship and maintenance obligations.

In contrast to the abuses of the men of the pit and the misuse of vows and dedicated property, adherents of this covenant are enjoined to support the poor and destitute and proselyte. This charitable effort does not appear to differ from biblical law, and the elevation of charity and justice over ritual acts (let alone illegitimate ones!) is of course a familiar prophetic *topos*. But the fact that the profanation of sacred wealth grounds the covenanters’ mandate, and the fact that the language of profane and sacred is redistributed in the covenanters’ favor, demonstrate that wealth was a constitutive dimension of the group’s “sacred” identity vis-à-vis the outside “profane” community. That is, the Damascus covenanters usurped the priestly role of sanctifying wealth—through the collection and redistribution of offerings—in an explicit polemical stance against those who profaned sacred wealth outside their community.

That the covenanters understood themselves as priests is borne out in two other parts of the passage. The entire injunction to separate from wicked wealth is set up as an explication of Malachi 1:10: “And everyone who was brought into the covenant so as not to enter the Temple to light his altar in vain is a ‘shutter of the door,’ of whom God said, ‘who of you will shut his door and not light my altar in vain?’” By “shutting the door” on improper practice, the covenanters become the protectors of the altar and the Temple. By separating from those who profane the sacred, they become the ones who are able:

...to distinguish between the impure and the pure, and to make known (the difference) between | the holy and the profane, and to observe the Sabbath day according to its requirements, and the appointed times | and the day of the fast...to offer up the holy things according to their requirements.

As Davies notes, the fact that the community arrogates to itself what are properly priestly responsibilities (cf. Ezek 22:26; Lev 10:10) indicates that it understood itself as the proper guardian of cultic matters.¹³⁶

2.4.2.6 *Conclusions*

Many of the references to wealth in the Damascus Document occur in discussions of sacred time and sanctified offerings. Judgments regarding the sab-

¹³⁵ Ginzberg, *Unknown Jewish Sect*, 157.

¹³⁶ *Damascus Covenant*, 130.

bath and the *sancta* are articulated against prevailing practice. Free-will offerings could never include wealth gotten by violence, nor could any food be dedicated to God so as to avoid meeting a neighbor's need; presumably, offerings included precisely these means and motives in the larger society. Sabbath rest embraced a longer period than it did for those outside the community, and for those within the community it included not only rest from work but rest even from words or plans regarding work. Tithes and the other offerings follow biblical stipulations, with the additional obligation that even gleaners contribute from their scant harvest. At some stage in the document's history, the community segregated itself more completely from the Temple cult. At this point, the community designated its own agent, the Examiner, as the recipient, registrar, and overseer of contributions and ongoing commercial activity. At the same time, it forbade dependence on the Temple treasury, since it understood Temple income as the product of violent gain.

The legal rulings on sacred time and the *sancta* suggest in comparison to biblical and rabbinic law a context of deprivation. The unique rulings in the Damascus Document are designed to entitle the hungry to others' food, to protect them from destitution and death (the other side of "violent gain" and the kind of commerce that "sheds blood"), to establish a common bond (even the poor must offer a portion of their gleanings to the priests), and to preserve people's daily bread from *terumah*. Other legal and admonitory material appears less desperate and more explicitly organized: there is an agent who supervises the common life, as well as a pool of resources to support the needy. The community could credibly enjoin its members to avoid the wealth of the Temple only if it could provide an alternative social welfare system.

2.4.3 *Commercial Transactions Related to Family Law*

Three passages in the Damascus Document discuss the disposition of wealth within families and in the larger social network of the Damascus Document community. In the first category are discussions of commercial arrangements related to marriage. In the second category are provisions for the needy of the community.

2.4.3.1 *Marriage Transactions*

Two passages in the Damascus Document treat the disposition of wealth in matters related to the family. The earliest of these passages begins with a tantalizing but fragmentary reference to the jubilee year, followed by an interpretation of the law of fraud applied to marriage arrangements (4QD^f 3 1-10, with parallels). The second passage, CD XIII 15-18 and its parallel, mentions the responsibility of the Examiner to supervise marriage and divorce arrangements.

The first text begins with a fragmentary reference to money in the context of the jubilee year, and then explicates the law of fraud (Lev 25:14) as it applies to sales of man and beast and marriage arrangements. The passage must be reconstructed from its several manuscript witnesses. This can be justified because the manuscripts are identical where extant, and their lacunae do not allow for any significant variants. In the composite text below, words in plain face are derived from the base text, 4QD^f 3 1-10, words with dotted underline are found only in 4QD^b 7 1-13, while words with single underline come from 4QD^d 9 1-3. The final manuscript witness, 4QD^e 5 14-17 + 10, supplied readings in a few places (double underline).¹³⁷ Italic text is supplied from Leviticus 25:14:

[] with money []
 and if he can not attain [his] sufficiency [] and the [Jubilee] year approach[es?] and man, and God will release h[im from a]ll his iniquities. Let not [] in common, for it is an abomination. And concerning what He said, [*When you sell anything to or buy anything from your neighbor*, you shall not defraud one another" [Lev 25:14]. And this is the interpretation [] everything that he knows that is found in it [] give [] and also (he should) not [] while he knows that he is wronging him, whether about man or beast. And if a man [gives] [his] daug[hter] to a man, let him recount all her blemishes to him, lest he bring upon himself the judgment of the curse which is [said] (of the one) who "makes the blind to wander in the way" [Deut 27:18]. Moreover, he should not give her to one who is not prepared for her, for that is "the junction of two." (ploughing with) an ox and ass and wearing wool and linen together.

The opening discussion of money in the context of the jubilee or sabbatical year is quite fragmentary. There is a reference to money, to one's capacity to return (property), to a special year, and to the divine release from iniquity. While the specific term "jubilee" is missing, several other phrases point to the jubilarian legislation in Leviticus 25:8-17, 23-34, 39-55. The phrase from 4QD^{b+f} translated above, "if he can not attain his sufficiency" (ואם לוא השיגה), is drawn from Leviticus 25:26 and 28.¹³⁸ The metaphor of divine release from bondage depends upon the kind of commercial redemption of debts, persons and property envisioned in the sabbatical and jubilee legislation. Moreover, the explicit citation of Leviticus 25:14-17 in 4QD^f 3 5-6 indicates that this entire Damascus Document passage is an explication not merely of

¹³⁷ For the addition of frg. 10 to frg. 5, see Tigchelaar, "More Identifications of Scraps and Overlaps," 68.

¹³⁸ Lev 25:26: "If the person has no one to redeem [the piece of property he was forced to sell], but then prospers and finds sufficient means to do so..." (ואיש כי לא יהיה לו גאל והשיגה יד). (ומצא כד נאלחו ואם לא מצא) Lev 25:28: "But if there is not sufficient means to recover it (ידו די השיב לו), what was sold shall remain with the purchaser until the year of jubilee...." The phrase also occurs in 4QInstruction^d 126 ii 13 in reference to the failure of God's power to extend to a remedy for the sage's poverty.

commercial fraud, but specifically of commercial fraud related to the jubilee year.

The jubilarian economic system stipulated that property reverts to its original owner every fiftieth year, and therefore the value of that property is to be assessed according to its productive capacity in the years between the sale and the next jubilee. That is, the same field will be worth more in the first year after a jubilee than it will in the forty-ninth year, just before the redemption of the land. The sabbatical or seventh years leading up to the jubilee, while not periods of complete restoration, are nevertheless periods of rest for the land and are presumably not to be assessed as if they were productive years (Lev 25:1-7, 18-22). Further legislation in Deuteronomy 15:1-18 stipulates that debts are to be redeemed and Israelite slaves are to be freed even in the sabbatical year, and that no one is to defraud their neighbor as the sabbatical year approaches.¹³⁹ The Damascus Document prohibits charging more for property than it is worth in the sabbatical-jubilarian economic system. It also correlates God's pending redemption with the economic system of the community. The concept of redemption as a restoration to the true nature of things and the prohibition of commercial fraud appear to have been influential in this community that prized truth and integrity in economic and cultic affairs.¹⁴⁰

Prescriptive legislation such as the sabbatical and jubilee laws and their reiteration in the Damascus Document cannot simply be correlated to social practice. Nevertheless, there is evidence from the Bar Kokhba Revolt two centuries after the composition of the Damascus Document that indicates that the sabbatical system was enforced. A document discovered at Wadi Murabba'at, Mur 24, is a series of rental contracts executed in the name of the messianic leader, Bar Kosiba.¹⁴¹ In these contracts, Bar Kosiba assumes the right to rental income "until the end of the eve of the remission" (עד סוף ערב) (השמיטה), that is, until the next sabbatical year (for "the remission" or "the letting drop of exactions" at the seventh year, see Deut 15:1-2, 9; 31:10). This indicates that the sabbatical year was indeed practiced, at least for those few years when Judea was again governed by a Jewish leader. While these documents were executed well over two hundred years after the Damascus Document and by a very different group, they nevertheless demonstrate the economic origins and implications of redemption language.¹⁴² They also il-

¹³⁹ See also Deut 31:10.

¹⁴⁰ This also helps to explain why lying about property is the first "judgment" in the penal codes of both the Damascus Document (CD XIV 20-21) and the Rule of the Community (1QS VI 24-25).

¹⁴¹ For a full discussion of these contracts, see §7.4 below, with Plates III-V and the accompanying transcriptions in Appendix G, "Transcriptions of Plates."

¹⁴² The term "redeem, redemption" (גאולה) is rare in the sectarian literature; see 4QpsEzek^a (4Q385) 2 1, where God redeems his people, giving them the covenant; and 4QPolemical Text

illustrate the practice of a group which sought to generate support from the local populace by reviving the sabbatical promise of redemption.

Returning to 4QD^f 3 1-10 and parallels, the law against fraud is interpreted to apply generally to all intentional misrepresentations in commercial transactions of human beings and beasts, and then specifically to bridal transactions.¹⁴³ The father has a responsibility to disclose all his daughter's blemishes as a mark of integrity; failure to do so is a case of commercial fraud worthy of a curse. As Baumgarten notes, the Mishnah also applies the fraud prohibition in the jubilee legislation not merely to price gauging, but also to concealing blemishes in goods for sale (*m. B. Meṣ.* 4:3-12). The particular curse invoked is explicitly based on Deuteronomy 27:18: concealing blemishes in commercial transactions is a case of "mak[ing] the blind to wander¹⁴⁴ in the way." The biblical text is introduced to render the bridal transaction more sacrosanct.

The second passage on the disposition of wealth in marriage and divorce proceedings has already been introduced and discussed. It is preserved in 4QD^a 9 iii 1-5 (italic text below) and CD XIII 15-17 (plain text).¹⁴⁵

Blank Let no one do anything to buy or to sell except before the Examiner who is in the camp; he shall do it¹⁴⁶ [] so that they do not err. Likewise for anyone who tak[es a wife,] let it be with counsel, and so shall he guide one who divorces.

In the present passage, the Examiner is given supervisory authority over all purchases and sales undertaken by community members. Immediately after this general rule, the Examiner is given supervisory authority over all marriage and divorce arrangements. It is clear that the counsel he is to provide is warranted because marriage and divorce arrangements involve the transfer of property.¹⁴⁷ That is, guidance in marriage and divorce arrangements is a subset of the larger category of the Examiner's supervision of purchases and sales. This interpretation is warranted by the juxtaposition of the two stipulations, by their correlation with the term "likewise" (וְכֵן), and by the fact that their shared purpose is preventing error through counsel. Marriage contracts

(4Q471a olim 4Q471 frg. 6) line 3, where the community's enemies say, "We shall fight [God's] battles, because he redeemed us." The terms פָּדָה and שָׁע are more common.

¹⁴³ See 4QInstruction^a 11 + 4Q418 frg. 167 + 4Q418a frg. 15 (?) for a parallel passage.

¹⁴⁴ The word for causing one to wander, מְשַׁעֵה (שָׁעָה), is similar to several of the terms in the jubilee legislation above: to reach or be able (וְשָׁלַח הַשִּׁיגָה), and the drawing near (וְנִשְׁלַח, הַגִּישָׁה) of the (jubilee) year. This suggests that similarity of sound accounts for the selection of this particular proof-text from Deuteronomy. See 4QInstruction^a 11 5 for a similar interpretation.

¹⁴⁵ For a complete discussion of this passage, see §2.4.1.5 above.

¹⁴⁶ For "he shall do it," T. Holmén reads, "and executes [a contract]" (וְעָשָׂה אִמּוּנָה); see "Divorce in CD 4:20-5:2 and 11QT 57:17-18: Some Remarks on the Pertinence of the Question," *RevQ* 18 (1998) 397-408, especially 403-404 and 404 n. 31.

¹⁴⁷ Is there a play on words between the requirement that marriage be transacted "with counsel" (בְּעֵצָה) and the frequent condemnation of "vicious gain" (בְּצַעַת)?

at the time contained all of the major documentary sections and clauses found in other deeds of sale or lease, a fact which supports the classification of marriage and divorce as types of commercial transactions (see §7.7 below). Furthermore, the term used for the act of marriage in our passage, anyone who “takes” (a wife), is consistent with a view of marriage as, among other things, an economic act.¹⁴⁸ At this stage of the Damascus community’s history, all economic acts fall under the purview of the Examiner in the camp.

2.4.3.2 *Commercial Laws Governing the “House of the Association”*

One passage in the Damascus Document stipulates a monthly contribution of at least two-days’ wages for the support of the needy in the community. It refers to this work as part of the service of the association (עבודת החבר), performed so that the house of the association (בית החבר) will not be cut off. The extension of kinship responsibilities to members of this brotherhood warrants considering this passage in the context of family law.

The base text below derives from CD XIV 12-19 (plain text), with supplementary readings provided from 4QD^a 10 i 5-13 (underlined text). Italic text indicates material found in CD XIV and likely not present in 4QD^a. Another manuscript, 4QD^d 11 i 1-3 + 14, corresponds to this passage but does not shed any additional light on its readings.¹⁴⁹

And this is the rule for the Many to provide for all their concerns: the wages of two days¹⁵⁰ at least *for/in each month*, and they will be given into the hand of the Examiner and the judges. From it they will give for the wounded,¹⁵¹ and from it they will strengthen the hand of¹⁵² the poor and the destitute, the old man who is bowed down and the man who is afflicted, the one captured by a foreign people and the virgin who has no redeemer; the youth who has no one to care for him, and all the service [of] the association, so that the house of the association will not be cut off from among them. And this is the explication of the dwelling

¹⁴⁸ See my article, “Celibacy as a Strategy for Economic Purity in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” forthcoming.

¹⁴⁹ For the addition of frg. 14 to frg. 11, see Tigchelaar, “More Identifications of Scraps and Overlaps,” 67-8.

¹⁵⁰ Schechter reads הם חרומתן הם, but the letter traces cannot correspond to these consonants (*Documents of Jewish Sectaries*, 105).

¹⁵¹ Baumgarten reads יתוּמִים, “their wound,” but his reading is incorrect. The ink traces he transcribes as medial *mem* are actually the base-stroke of *šade* followed by the curving down-stroke of *‘ayin* (פְּצִעָה, “the wounded”). The piece of leather on which these letters are written has apparently separated from the manuscript; if rotated counterclockwise a few degrees, the orientation of the base-stroke of *šade* would be at the angle customary in this manuscript.

¹⁵² 4QD^a has יחזקוּן בער (support) rather than CD’s יחזקוּן ביד (strengthen the hand of; see CD VI 21). For the CD phrase in connection with the poor and needy, see Ezek 16:49.

of the [camps]¹⁵³ and these are the foundation walls of the assembly.¹⁵⁴ And this is the explication of the judgments by which [they will be judged until the rise of the Messiah of Aaron and Israel,¹⁵⁵ and he will atone their iniquity [] [me]al and sin-offerings...

The text stipulates a regular charitable contribution and distribution on behalf of the most vulnerable members of the community. The term for the provision, להכין, means “to provide, establish, secure.” It is similar to the term used in the standard defension clause of contemporary documentary texts, when the seller pledges “to establish (לקימא) and cleanse” title to the property in question from any claims to ownership other than that of the purchaser. The phrase found in CD XIV 12 is not a defension clause, but the fact that it employs a verb similar to the one commonly used for guaranteeing the rights of the recipient suggests that the charitable donation was understood as an economic contract as well as a religious obligation. In this context, it is interesting to note that the next section of the Damascus Document, the penal code, begins with an injunction against lying about property (see §2.4.1.3 above).

The concern to redistribute income to the weak and needy is well-represented in scripture, where the poor and needy on the one hand and the alien, orphan and widow on the other are frequently grouped. Interestingly, neither the alien nor the widow are mentioned in CD XIV. Instead, we hear of the wounded and afflicted, the elderly man, the Israelite taken captive by a foreigner,¹⁵⁶ the virgin who has no one to pay her dowry, the fatherless youth in need of a male guardian for maintenance. A more significant difference between the biblical injunction to charity and the present stipulation is the specificity of the command in the Damascus Document. A specific contribution of at least two-days’ wages is assessed, a monthly term for the collection is declared, the agents of the redistributive effort are authorized (Examiner and judges), the characteristic recipients of the funds are identified, and the

¹⁵³ Baumgarten suggests the reconstruction on the basis of CD XIV 3, וסרך מושב כל המחנה, (DJD 18, 73).

¹⁵⁴ In Hebrew, יסדה אונשין [הקהל]. The construct plural form אונשׁ is from the late term אונש, “foundations” (Jastrow, מלים, 35), from אשה, “to support” and the noun “buttresses” (אשיה) formed off of it (Jer 50:15).

¹⁵⁵ The lacuna in CD XIV 18-19 between the final *sin* of פרושׁ and the final *het* of משיחׁ is approximately forty letter-spaces, while on 4QD^a the distance between these letters is approximately thirty letter-spaces. Hence Baumgarten reconstructs a longer version of this phrase for CD, “And this is the explication of the judgments by which they will be judged in the period of evil (בקץ הרשעה) until the rise of the Messiah of Aaron and Israel” (see DJD 18, 74, variant at line 12).

¹⁵⁶ Ginzberg reads this as a foreigner who resides in their camp, since he cannot imagine someone taken captive by a foreigner residing in a sectarian camp (*Unknown Jewish Sect*, 90-91). But if these settlements were normal villages, and if the captivity is the result of economic forces rather than military ones, the scenario becomes more likely and Ginzberg’s emendation unnecessary.

purpose or function of the effort is presented. The purpose is to prevent the “house of the association” (בית החבר) from being cut off, to enable it to survive as a just society until the advent of the messiah. These last judgments about charitable contributions and all of the prior regulations about the dwelling of the camps are referred to as the “foundation walls of the assembly” (ויאלה יסדות אושי הקהל), and as atoning acts to be replaced eventually by the atoning acts of the messiahs.¹⁵⁷ As in the Rule of the Community, an architectural reference and ritual function proper to the Temple have been re-assigned to the disciplines of the community (see IQS IX 5-9 and §3.2.2.5 below). Unlike the Rule, the Damascus Document does not explicitly apply the metaphor of the Temple to the community itself. Rather, it uses a term for the community found nowhere else in the document, “the association” (החבר). But it combines this term with other words commonly associated with the Temple, “service” (עבודה) and “house” (בית החבר) (cf. חבר כהנים, Hos 6:9 מ). Given the polemic against current Temple practice, the charitable assessment may have functioned as an alternative free-will offering, eventually to be replaced itself by the atoning acts of the messiahs of Aaron and Israel.

The association (החבר) may refer not only to an alternative religious institution but to an alternative economic one as well. In Nehemiah 3:8, a guild of the goldsmiths (חבר הצרפטים) is mentioned.¹⁵⁸ In Job 40:30, we hear of the “peddlers” (חבריים), who appear in parallelism with Canaanite merchants. Naphtali H. Tur-Sinai explains that there was an institution, the *bêt heber*, which functioned as a granary or warehouse.¹⁵⁹ If this professional designation in Job is related to that institution, the peddlers would appear to be keepers of the food warehouses, analogous to the men of the pit. If this institution existed in the time of the Damascus Document, the community’s self-designation as a “house of association” (בית החבר) may indicate that they understood their role in distributing food to be that of an alternative economic institution. It is also possible that the בית החבר of the Damascus Document is linked somehow to the *havurot* known to us from rabbinic literature, as Saul Lieberman and others have argued.¹⁶⁰ The more explicit references in the

¹⁵⁷ Or, more likely, of the priestly messiah of Aaron; see Ginzberg, *Unknown Jewish Sect*, 91. In 11QMelchizedek, when Melchizedek ushers in the year of release, the atonement is associated with economic and spiritual redemption (II 2-8; García Martínez, Tigchelaar, and A. S. van der Woude, “13. 11QMelchizedek,” in *Qumran Cave 11.II: 11Q2-18, 11Q20-31* [DJD 23; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998] 221-42, pl. XXVII). For a discussion of the messiahs of Qumran and their roles, see Collins, *The Scepter and the Star: The Messiahs of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Ancient Literature* (ABRL; New York: Doubleday, 1995).

¹⁵⁸ See also 2 Chron 20:35-36 and the Egyptian Tale of Wen-Amun I 59-II 1 (B. Mazar, *The Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, Proceedings* 1:7 [1964] 2-3).

¹⁵⁹ *The Book of Job: A New Commentary*, rev. ed. (Jerusalem: Kiryath Sepher, 1957), cited by M. H. Pope, *Job* (AB; Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1965) 279.

¹⁶⁰ “The Discipline in the So-Called Dead Sea Manual of Discipline,” *JBL* 71 (1952) 199-206; see §1.2.2.2 above.

Rule to the mixture of wealth (ערב הון) employ a term used of business associations which may also have provided a model for sharing assets.¹⁶¹

Another interesting feature of the passage is the agents charged with redistributing the income. One expects that the Examiner would have this responsibility, because his duties include many executive economic tasks. But the judges of the community are also assigned the job of meting out charity. Schiffman explains that this role may help to offset the requirement that they be impartial in their judgments, which would often work to the detriment of the needy.¹⁶²

The reference to the requirements of justice and charity as the foundation walls of the community is reminiscent of a chapter in the Book of Ezekiel alluded to elsewhere in the Damascus Document (see §2.4.2.2 above). In Ezekiel 22:29-31, the prophet indicts the people for failing to “repair the wall” of his people by treating the poor, needy and alien with justice:

The people of the land have practiced extortion and committed robbery; they have oppressed the poor and needy, and have extorted from the alien without redress. And I sought for anyone among them who would repair the wall and stand in the breach before me on behalf of the land, so that I would not destroy it; but I found no one. Therefore I have poured out my indignation upon them; I have consumed them with the fire of my wrath; I have returned their conduct upon their heads, says the Lord God.

The Damascus covenanters through their monthly contribution for the poor build the foundation walls for the future messianic city. At the same time, they assign the prophetic indictment to their contemporaries for failing to treat the vulnerable as the law commands.

The extension of financial obligations to the needy, the regularization of these obligations, and the designation of the community as an association or fellowship (ביח החבר) may be understood as alternative religious or economic institutions. A third possibility is to understand these features as an extension of the kinship support system. That is, the obligations incumbent upon Israelites to support and redeem their immediate relatives (Lev 25) have been extended to include support and redemption of all the needy in the community. The association has replaced the family.

The degree of organization necessary for such a regular collection and expenditure of support might be taken as evidence of a later, more institutional stage of the community’s history. But we have already seen that the obligation of another kind of contribution, the tithe for the priests, was taken so seriously in the community’s interpretation of biblical law that the poor themselves were required to tithe from their gleanings (4QD^e 3 ii 17-19; see

¹⁶¹ 1QS VI 22; VII 26-27; VIII 23; IX 8; cf. 4QInstruction^b 2 ii 18; see pp. 184-6 below.

¹⁶² *Sectarian Law*, 37-40, 50-54.

§2.4.2.3 above).¹⁶³ Moreover, the support of the poor, destitute and proselyte and the obligation to “seek the peace” or “care for the welfare” (לדרוש איש אתה) (שלום) of one’s brother is enjoined in the admonition as well (VI 20–VII 1), where it serves to explicate the Levitical command to love one’s neighbor (Lev 19:18). Notice that the same term “to seek, to care” (דרוש) is used in the discussion of the fellowship in reference to the care of a guardian for an orphaned youth.¹⁶⁴

2.4.3.3 Conclusions

Marital transactions were a special kind of economic exchange in biblical law and in the Damascus Document. They involved a transfer of property, and as such warranted attention. At one stage of the document’s redaction, such attention was enjoined on the father of the bride; at another stage, it was enjoined on a designated officer of the community, the Examiner in the camp. At one stage, the attention to integrity in the transaction is an application of the law against fraud found in the Levitical jubilee legislation. The connection of marital law to the jubilarian economic system suggests that this community understood the demand for economic integrity as a realization of the jubilee ideal. Documentary evidence from the period of the Bar Kokhba Revolt was adduced to support this possibility.

A similar motif of proleptic redemption was discerned in the legislation governing the monthly contribution for the service of the association. This service specifically includes the redemption of vulnerable community members. It is envisioned as a temporary correlative to the atoning sacrifice anticipated in the coming messianic age.

2.4.4 Communal Boundaries

Wealth is discussed not only as a domain in which communal relations are maintained, but also as a domain in which the community defines itself vis-à-vis wicked outsiders. The boundaries of the Damascus community can shift and at times even overlap with those of other affiliated groups, as Grossman has recently demonstrated.¹⁶⁵ In its prescriptive legislation, however, where

¹⁶³ As Baumgarten notes, rabbinic law exempts the poor from tithes; *DJD* 18, 148-9.

¹⁶⁴ Several of the documents from the Babatha archive attest to the important financial role such a guardian played in the support of the orphan. See especially the records of Babatha’s litigation to pressure her son’s guardians into paying for his support (P. Yadin 5, 12–15, 27–28, 30 and possibly 33), and others’ attempts to force Babatha to release property that “rightfully” belongs to the children they care for (P. Yadin 20, 23–26; Lewis, *DBKP*, vol. 1). From these documents, we also learn that a woman could serve as a guardian (P. Yadin 20), and that the Greek terms associated with this role were ἐπισκοπός and ἐπιτροπός. See §7.5 below.

¹⁶⁵ “Reading the History of the Righteous Remnant.”

most of the references to wealth occur, wealth is used as a boundary-marking mechanism against those who do not subscribe to the community's views.

The first example of a text that defines communal boundaries is a legal passage restricting commerce with Gentiles (CD XII 6-11). Other texts limit commerce with apostate members of the community (4QD^e 7 i 11-13; 4QD^a 11 14-16; CD-B XX 6-10).

2.4.4.1 *Foreigners*¹⁶⁶

An early legal text prohibits profiting at the expense of foreigners, as well as commercial transactions of any commodities that either could become pagan cultic offerings or have become part of the Abrahamic covenant. Only CD XII 6-11 preserves the entire text, but three fragmentary Qumran manuscripts supply corroborating evidence (4QD^a 9 i 16-17; 4QD^b 9 iii 2-4; 4QD^f 5 i 21-5 ii 2-4).¹⁶⁷

Blank He is not to stretch out his hand to shed the blood of one of the foreigners | for the sake of riches and vicious gain. *Blank* Neither should he take away any of their wealth, so that they do not | blaspheme, except with the counsel of the association of Israel. *Blank* No one should sell an animal | or a clean bird to the foreigners lest they sacrifice them. *Blank* And from his granary | and from his press he should not sell them anything of his excess. And his servant and his maidservant he should not sell | to them, for they entered the covenant of Abraham with him. *Blank*

The initial prohibitions concerning interactions with Gentiles do not ban all commerce, but rather forbid two particular activities, profiting by some violence (stretching out the hand to shed blood) or theft.¹⁶⁸ In each case, the reason given for the injunction appears in a phrase introduced by “for the sake of/lest” (בַּעֲבוּר [אִשֶּׁר]). Stretching out one’s hand or undertaking to shed blood—perhaps in an act of agreement, oath, or testimony—is forbidden “for the sake of riches or vicious gain.” It is unclear from the syntax whether riches and vicious gain are the motive for the violent act or the reason why that act is forbidden. Either possibility is supported by the frequent denuncia-

¹⁶⁶ Schiffman, “Legislation Concerning Relations with Non-Jews in the *Zadokite Fragments* and in Tannaitic Literature,” *RevQ* 11 (1989) 379-89.

¹⁶⁷ There are two insignificant variants between CD and the Qumran manuscripts. The first is the presence of an additional word in 4QD^a 9 i 17 and 4QD^b 9 iii 2, אִישׁ, which merely supplements the syntax of the sentence (CD, “Neither should he take away any of their wealth,” 4QD^{a, b}, “[Neither should] a man [take aw]ay [any of their wealth]”). The second variant is the spelling of the word, “association” (CD, חֲבֵר, 4QD^b 9 iii 3, חֲבַר).

¹⁶⁸ Ginzberg reads the second case not as one of theft, but rather one of accepting charitable contributions from Gentiles, on analogy to *b. B. Bat.* 10b and *b. Sanh.* 26b; *Unknown Jewish Sect.* 75. It seems more likely that, since “stretching out the hand to shed blood” is clearly a violent act that could clearly lead Gentiles to blaspheme the Jewish God, the second act is a violent act as well, hence theft rather than acceptance of charity. However, charity might lead to blasphemy if it induced the Gentiles to question the beneficence of the Jewish God, who could not provide adequately for the Jewish people.

tion of the pursuit of “wealth and vicious gain” in the Damascus Document.¹⁶⁹ The reason given for not stealing from Gentiles is so that they will not be scandalized and blaspheme the community.¹⁷⁰

An exception to this last command is made if one seeks out and receives the “counsel of the association of Israel” (עצת חברי ישראל). As Chaim Rabin has noted, the phrase, *חבר היהודים*, was used on Hasmonean coins in reference to the government of Israel.¹⁷¹ Thus, it is possible, as Hempel has argued, that the phrase here may be a general reference to some governing body within the wider Israel, rather than to the authorities of the Damascus Document community. This would support Hempel’s assignation of this passage to the earliest and least sectarian stratum of the document. Against Hempel’s position is the occurrence of the term “association” in strata she assigns to later stages of the document’s history (4QD^a 10 i 10; XIV 16) and the full construct phrase, “the *counsel* of the association of Israel.” The term “counsel” customarily denotes the judgments, interpretations and insights of members of the particular communities behind the Damascus Document and the Rule of the Community. To particularize a term elsewhere used of this community (“association”) with a reference to an attribute of its governance highlighted in its constitutional literature (“counsel”) does indicate that, even in the early legal material, an alternative governing body is authorized to counsel its members on the matter of stealing from Gentiles.

The next group of prohibitions again do not ban all commerce with Gentiles, but only transactions that involve potential cultic offerings or servants who are already marked by and members of the covenant of Abraham.¹⁷² The potential cultic offerings that one might sell a Gentile are animals, clean birds, grain, oil or wine. The restricted commerce in these products goes beyond biblical and later rabbinic law, which allows the sale of sheep, goats, grain and wine to Gentiles.¹⁷³ The grain, oil and wine are, more exactly, the produce of the individual’s granary and press, and of these the individual is prohibited from selling “anything from his excess” (בכל מאדו). The reference to one’s excess as one’s “more” or “strength” recalls the use of

¹⁶⁹ VIII 7; X 18; XI 15; XIX 19. See also 1QpHab IX 5 and 1QH^a XVIII 22-23, 29-30.

¹⁷⁰ See *t. B. Qam.* 10.15: robbing a Gentile is worse than robbing a Jew because the Gentile will curse God.

¹⁷¹ Rabin, *Zadokite Documents*, 61 n. 8.

¹⁷² The sale of servants is allowed if the individuals are not yet circumcised or considered to be members of the covenant of Abraham by association. This judgment presumes that the secretaries owned and sold slaves, a fact supported by the so-called “Yahad” ostrakon but contradicted by Philo (*Good Person*, 79) and Josephus (*Ant.* 18.1.5 [§21]); see §§7.7.1 and 8.2 below. Cf. *Mek. Exod.* 20:10.

¹⁷³ In rabbinic literature, larger cattle only are forbidden, whereas sheep and goats are allowed (*m. Pesah.* 4:3; *y. Pesah.* 4.30d, 31a; *m. ‘Abod. Zar.* 1:6; *b. ‘Abod. Zar.* 15a). The later distinction precluded the dominant Gentile population from deriving the benefit of agricultural labor from large animals sold by Jews, while the Damascus Document is more concerned about Gentile sacrifice (Ginzberg, *Unknown Jewish Sect.* 76-8).

this term in the Deuteronomic command to love God with all one's heart, soul, and "strength" (מִאֲדָרְךָ; Deut 6:5). The occurrence of this term here in a clearly economic context supports the thesis asserted earlier that the disposition of property in the Damascus Document and the Rule of the Community was in part governed by a radical interpretation of the Deuteronomic command to love God with all one's strength, a thesis which will be more fully developed in Chapter 3.

2.4.4.2 *Apostates*

Three texts from the laws and the admonition forbid covenanters from associating with expelled members of their own community. The prohibition against association varies depending upon the passage, but always includes a sanction against sharing the apostate's wealth.¹⁷⁴ The wealth is further qualified in two of the passages as that from which one might eat.

The first prohibition against commerce with the apostate occurs in 4QD^a 11 14-16, with a corroborating passage in 4QD^d 16 12-15.¹⁷⁵ This passage is part of the legal material, and particularly part of the expulsion ceremony at the end of the work.

And the one being expelled shall go away. And the one | who eats from their wealth, or who inquires about his welfare of the one being expelled,¹⁷⁶ or who agrees with him, | shall have his action inscribed by the Examiner permanently, and his judgment will be complete.

Of interest is the plural suffix on the word wealth (מִדְהוֹנָם), which is the sole plural suffix in the sequence "their wealth, his welfare (שְׁלוֹמוֹ), with him" (עִמּוֹ) and may betray the existence of communally-held assets and/or the influence of IQS V 16 (לֹא יִכַּל מִדְהוֹנָם כֹּל).¹⁷⁷

The remaining community members are forbidden three activities with those who are expelled or sent away. First, they may not eat from their wealth. This combination of the verb "to eat" and the object clause "from their wealth" indicates that wealth should be understood to encompass at least the food that one produces. In this sense, it includes the potential sacrificial items which one could not sell to a foreigner: an animal, a clean bird, or anything from one's granary or one's wine or olive oil press (CD XII 8-10). The second prohibition is that one may not inquire about the apostate's welfare. We have seen that this term "to inquire after" (דָּרַשׁ) may have the sense of care, supervision or oversight, as of a guardian for an orphan or other ward

¹⁷⁴ Schiffman, *Sectarian Law*, 168-73.

¹⁷⁵ The identification of 4QD^d frg. 16 was made by Stegemann, *DJD* 36, 207-211; "More Identified Fragments on 4QD^d (4Q269)," 503-509.

¹⁷⁶ This repeated use of the term הַמְשַׁחֲלֵחַ is grammatically unnecessary; after it was written, it was crossed out and a box was drawn around it.

¹⁷⁷ Baumgarten, *DJD* 18, 78.

(CD VI 20–VII 1; see §2.4.3.2 above). Thus “inquiring” after one’s welfare might have included the provision of financial resources or physical sustenance (food, clothing, shelter). The third type of association prohibited between apostates and community members is “agreeing with” the expelled person (see CD XX 7). The term agree (אָרַת) is the *nif^cal* imperfect form of the root, אָרַת, “to consent or agree.” It is used in biblical Hebrew in contexts of covenants or contracts that involve the exchange of livestock, property and animals (Gen 34:15, 22-23) or cash donations (2 Kgs 12:9). Thus all three of the prohibited engagements with apostates are of a commercial nature.

The penalty for the one who associates with the apostate is that his action will be inscribed by the Examiner permanently,¹⁷⁸ and his judgment will be complete. This is not as severe as in IQS VII 22-25, where the violator is himself expelled from the community. The action of inscribing the offense in a register is akin to the initial inscription of the initiate into his place according to his deeds, insight, strength, might and wealth (XIII 11-12): both are done by the Examiner in a register, both involve wealth, and both serve to locate the member in his proper place (see also XIV 4; XIX 35; cf. XX 19). The only other offense that is inscribed against the member is likewise an economic matter, namely lying about the misappropriation of property (IX 16-29). Thus the nature of the penalty as well as the crimes it answers are associated with wealth.

The second text prohibiting association with apostates is found in 4QD^c 7 i 11-13 and the parallel manuscript 4QD^b 9 vi 1-5. There are no extant variants between the two manuscripts. The plain text below represents 4QD^e, while underlined text is supplied from 4QD^b where 4QD^e is not extant. This passage, like the first, is found in the legal material, specifically the penal code.

*Bl[ank] One who despises the judgment of the Many shall depart and [return]n no more. Blank [] | his food contrary to (lit. outside) the judgment and shall return it to the man fro[m whom] he took it. *Blank* And one who approaches | to fornicate with his wife contrary to the judgment shall depart and return no more. *Blan[k]**

The passage is fragmentary precisely at the point of interest, at the beginning of the judgment against someone who misappropriates another’s food. Therefore it is unclear whether the ruling is simply against thievery and fornication in the community, or whether it is against taking food from the one just mentioned who has been expelled from the community. In either case, the one taking the food is commanded to return it. We have seen that there are several regulations in the Damascus Document about misappropriated property. Here, the property is clearly food. The penalty for stealing it is not as

¹⁷⁸ Baumgarten suggests that the term translated “permanently” (בְּחֶרֶת) might be בְּחֶרֶת, “with a graving tool” (as in IQH^a IX 24, בְּחֶרֶת זָכְרוֹן, *DJD* 18, 78). The letter is damaged, but appears to be *kap*; it does not have the flaring tip on the right end of the base-stroke associated with *bet*.

grave as the penalties for despising the judgment of the Many or fornicating with one's wife. Both of these crimes merit expulsion, while taking food against the judgment of the community (perhaps from the expelled member?) here simply warrants a return of the misappropriated property. Nor is the penalty as severe as in the prior passage, where some permanent record was registered against the offender.

The final passage that delimits the boundaries of the community through wealth is found only in CD-B XX 6-10. This passage occurs in the admonition.

But when his deeds are evident, according to the interpretation of the law in which | the men of perfect holiness walk, no one should agree with him in wealth or service, | for all the holy ones of the Most High have cursed him. And (proceed) according to this judgment for all those who despise, among the first | as among the last who have placed idols on their heart ~~and have placed~~ and have walked in the stubbornness of | their heart. There is for them no share in the house of the law.

Davies concludes from the clear denunciation of former members that the passage derives from a late redactional stage, when the community was dealing with treason. The reference to those "among the first [and] among the last" who despise judgment presumes a period of time during which members apostatised, a period ranging from the first founding of the community to the author's generation. The treachery of these members warrants the application of Ezekiel's charge of idolatry (14:3) and the application of Jeremiah's indictment to them, that they have "walked in the stubbornness of their hearts." Their treason may also account for the reference to the faithful as "the men of perfect holiness"; alternatively, this title may simply distinguish an upper echelon within the community.

As in the first passage, so here the members are forbidden from "agreeing with" the apostate in matters of wealth.¹⁷⁹ But in addition to this prohibition, another forum of commerce is proscribed, namely "service" (עבודה). We have encountered this term in the context of the monthly charitable distribution referred to as the "service of the association" (עבודת חבר; CD XIV 16, §2.4.3.2 above). The term may also refer to cultic worship or to any activity, such as charitable expenditures, which had become associated with a sacrificial function.

2.4.4.3 *Conclusions*

Wealth, particularly food, becomes a vehicle for maintaining the boundaries of the community in the penal and admonitory portions of the Damascus Document. The forbidden commerce includes shared meals and food, super-

¹⁷⁹ The verb is יָצַח, which Ginzberg reads as יָצַח; *Unknown Jewish Sect.*, 102-103.

visory care and sustenance, any kind of agreement or contract, and charitable or cultic service. The Examiner of the camp is sometimes mentioned as the executive agent of the punishment, while in one text the judicial authority is the Many. In one text, a written registry is mentioned as a kind of permanent rap sheet against members who associate with apostates.

2.5 Communal Ideals in the Texts

The passages introduced above link teachings about wealth to a variety of biblical and social contexts. These contexts include the ideal wilderness community and particularly the wilderness and Ezekielian sanctuary, the Deuteronomic exhortation to covenant fidelity, the sabbatical and jubilee year legislation, the prophetic critique against economic offenses, and the wisdom tradition on the dangers of wealth and vicious gain. These contexts are appropriated by the community and are used to provide a framework for understanding and legitimating their economic practices. Each of these rationales has been introduced above in connection with specific texts. Therefore, they will only be recapitulated here.

2.5.1 Wilderness Community of Israel

The most predominant explanatory framework for texts on the disposition of wealth in the Damascus Document is that the Damascus covenanters are like the post-Exodus wilderness community of Israel. Certain terms originally applied to this community are taken over by the Damascus covenanters. For example, they become the camps,¹⁸⁰ the congregation,¹⁸¹ and those mustered.¹⁸² The first and last of these terms are particularly associated with wealth. The term used for the communal assets is the “abundance of the camp” (מֵאֲדָר הַמַּחֲנֶה), and it has been proposed that both terms derive from the wilderness experience. As for mustering, the purpose of the act is in part to collect monetary donations; and in the Damascus Document the age of mustering is also the age at which a person is admitted to witness against his fellows in matters of Torah and property. The term for mustering, מִפְקָד, is elsewhere associated with the scrutiny of members’ wealth (CD XIII 11).

¹⁸⁰ מֵאֲדָר: VII 6; IX 11; X 23; XII 23; XIII 4, 5, 7, 13 bis, 16, 20; XIV 3, 9; XIX 2; XX 26.

¹⁸¹ עֵדָה: I 12; II 1; III 9; VII 20; VIII 13; X 4, 5, 8; XIII 10, 11, 13; XIV 10; XIX 26; XX 2, 3.

¹⁸² הַמְּפֻקָּדִים: XX 2. The normative age for this mustering was twenty years (1QSa I 8, 10, 12 bis, 27 tris; 1QM II 2, 10; VII 3; IX 4), at which time the sons also paid the half-shekel contribution for the support of the sanctuary (4QOrd^a 1 ii 6-16, 4QOrd^b 1-2 i 2-5). See E. Qimron, “שבועת” הַבְּנִיִּים in the Damascus Covenant 15.1-2,” *JQR* 81 (1990) 115-118. The language of registration or mustering also bears connotations of holy war. See Schiffman, “The Assembly at the End of Days,” in *The Eschatological Community of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (SBLMS 38; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989) 37-52.

In addition to particular terms, certain other allusions point to the wilderness experience. Later stages of the document mention the role of judges, an office first known in the wilderness period. These judges have authority to impose oaths (IX 10; XV 4), to condemn on matters of property (X 1), and to help the Examiner receive and distribute the monthly collection (XIV 13).¹⁸³ The hierarchical ranks into which the community is divided are based on the organizational units of the wilderness period (“thousands, hundreds, fifties, and tens,” CD XIII 1-2).¹⁸⁴ The criticism of the community’s enemy, the “Man of Mockery,” as one who “led them astray in a trackless chaos, depressing [ancient] hills” (4QD^a 2 i 18-25) may be phrased in such a way in negative dependence on Isaiah 40:3-4, a passage which in the Rule of the Community is clearly taken as a mandate for the community’s existence:

A voice cries out:

“In the wilderness prepare the way of the Lord,
make straight in the desert a highway for our God.

Every valley shall be lifted up,
and every mountain and hill be made low;
the uneven ground shall become level,
and the rough places a plain.”

Furthermore, the style of biblical interpretation and legal argumentation in the Damascus Document explicitly turns to the wilderness revelation and Moses as its authority. References to Moses ground many legal interpretations (V 8, 18, 21; VIII 14/ XIX 26), the command to return to the law of Moses is central to the community’s self-understanding (CD VIII 14-19; XV 9 bis, 12; XVI 2, 5), and the community presents its own legal interpretations as the only legitimate ones since Moses (I 1–II 1; XIX 27-31).¹⁸⁵ It is interesting on this point to note that the commercial laws in the document appear in most cases to be new interpretations of biblical commands which go well beyond the Mosaic requirements. Even so, the author grounds these interpretations in terms of the wilderness experience: in the exposition of the three nets of Belial, the new well dug by the righteous as an alternative to the pit of the wicked is a type of the well (באר) dug at Be’er (Num 21:18). Furthermore, this passage is adduced to explain the origins and exile of the Damascus community, and

¹⁸³ Schiffman compares the economic oversight of panel of ten judges in CD X 4-10 to the appointment of judicial panels of three men to oversee financial matters in tannaitic tradition; see *Sectarian Law*, 23-54.

¹⁸⁴ Cf. IQS II 21-22; IQSa I 14-15; I 29–II 1; IQM IV 3, 4.

¹⁸⁵ Cf. CD V 2-3, where it is said that even David did not know Torah, since it had been hidden from the time of Joshua and the elders. A. Shemesh and C. Werman explain that, for the Damascus covenanters, the hidden was reserved to God during the period of the First Temple, but during the Second Temple period the hidden was made available to the sectarian community (CD III 9-20; V 20–VI 11). The community believed that Deuteronomy 29–30 applied not to all of Israel, but only to themselves. “Hidden Things and Their Revelation,” *RevQ* 18 (1998) 409-427.

so may be understood as a central metaphor.¹⁸⁶ Finally, the prohibition of murmuring (לִיז) against the fathers and mothers in the community depends upon a motif from the wilderness wandering (4QD^e 7 i 13-15; cf. 1QS VII 19).

2.5.2 Wilderness Sanctuary and Ezekiel's Ideal Temple

There is some indication in the Damascus Document that the covenanters identified themselves not only as the wilderness community, but more particularly as the tabernacle or sanctuary in that community, or as its priests.¹⁸⁷ This phenomenon is much less pronounced than in the Rule of the Community, but is present nonetheless. In the Damascus Document, laws about tithes, sacrificial donations, and oaths presuppose continuing involvement in the official cult. But other passages in the document, perhaps deriving from later stages, evidence greater alienation from the official cult and arrogation of its economic role, agents and redemptive functions to the community's members. This shift in self-understanding is grounded in reference both to the ideal wilderness sanctuary of Exodus–Deuteronomy and to Ezekiel's vision of the eschatological temple in the new Jerusalem.

The past wilderness sanctuary is suggested by several matters in the Damascus Document, primarily the correspondence of the age of initiation into the house of the association to the age of census and the half-shekel contribution, the self-designation as a "congregation" (עֵדָה), the regular provision of bread which is further named "the purity," and perhaps the discussion of free-will offerings (נְדָבָה).

The future eschatological ideal based on Ezekiel's depiction of the restored Temple is perhaps most explicit in CD III 20–IV 4, which interprets Ezekiel 44:15 as a prophecy of the community's origins:

As I God swore to them through the hand of Ezekiel, the prophet, saying, "The priests and the Levites and the Sons of I Zadok, who kept the watch of my sanctuary when the children of Israel strayed I from me, they shall present to me fat and blood." "The priests" are the penitents of Israel I who depart from the land of Judah and the ones joined to them (וְהַגִּלְיוֹם עִמָּהֶם) *Blank* and "the Sons of Zadok" are the chosen ones of I Israel, those called by name, who stand in the end of days.

¹⁸⁶ M. Fishbane, "The Well of Living Water: A Biblical Motif and Its Ancient Transformations," in *Sha'arei Talmon: Studies in the Bible, Qumran, and the Ancient Near East Presented to Shemaryahu Talmon* (ed. Fishbane and Tov, with W. W. Fields; Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 1992) 3-16.

¹⁸⁷ Grossman, "Reading the History of the Righteous Remnant," 189-200; Davies, "The Ideology of the Temple in the Damascus Document," *JJS* 33 (1982) 287-301; reprinted in *Sects and Scrolls: Essays on Qumran and Related Topics* (SFSHJ 134; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996) 45-60.

In the continuation of this passage, the contemporary covenanters appear to be others who join the group. The term for those who join, הנלרים, is the *nif'al* substantive participle based on the verbal root which the term Levite shares (לרה; see Num 18:2-4).¹⁸⁸ The covenanters live in a time when they may still join the house of Judah, but this opportunity will end in the completion of time (IV 10-11), when the house of Judah will be cut off. Thus the present time represents an interim during which the covenanters can participate in a provisional way in the ultimate cultic service. References to the sect as the house that will not be cut off (CD III 19; 4QD^a 10 i 10) point to the future judgment and associate the covenanters with the sure house of the promised Zadokite priesthood in 1 Sam 2:33-35 and 1 Kings 2:27.¹⁸⁹ The atoning function of disciplines related to wealth is realized provisionally in the judgments of the community, and frequently in that context connected to the future messianic redemption (IV 9-10; XIV 18-19).¹⁹⁰ The negative associations of the wilderness and the exile are transformed by this community into ideal moments in Israel's history in which they alone participate.

The primary work of the house of the association is to provide for the needs of its most vulnerable members. Likewise, one of the chief economic roles of the Temple is to receive and distribute donations for the poor and needy. The present Temple system of redistribution is indicted for hoarding this money (CD VI 11-20) and for allowing property to be dedicated so that the needy could not claim it (CD XVI 13-20). The community then assumes the role of collecting and distributing donations in a more just manner (VI 20-VII 1; XIV 12-17). The term for free-will offerings is used in the Damascus Document, but unlike the Rule the reference appears to be to actual Temple offerings rather than to the donation of one's excess to the community (CD XVI 13-20). Nevertheless, a new restriction is placed on these contributions, in that they cannot be offered out of goods violently acquired.

In addition to sacrificial income and expenditure, the cultic categories of priestly agency and atoning function are applied to the agents and actions of the Damascus community. As in the Rule, members are assigned hierarchical ranks on the basis of their deeds, insight, strength, might and wealth (XIII 11-12). These ranks are subject to change, depending on the actions of the member. Thus, violation of laws related to property, particularly with regard to apostates, results in the registration of the offense against the offender and a

¹⁸⁸ R. Eisenman believes that these joiners are foreign God-fearers who were attaching themselves to the Damascus community; see "Joining/Joiners, 'Arizei-Go'im, and the Simple of Ephraim Relating to a Cadre of Gentile God-Fearers at Qumran," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the First Christians: Essays and Translations* (Rockport, Massachusetts: Element, 1996) 313-331, esp. 328-31.

¹⁸⁹ Schwartz, "Damascus Document (CD)," in *DSSHAG*, 2.17 n. 26; Ginzberg, *Unknown Jewish Sect*, 15.

¹⁹⁰ In some passages, God is the one who atones (CD II 5; III 18; IV 6-7; XX 34).

corresponding, if temporary, loss of status (III 3; IX 18; cf. XIX 35). Nevertheless, all of the members are understood to be guardians of the altar (VI 11–VII 1). Judgments against the offender are styled as the atoning sacrifices of the congregation until the coming of the Messiahs of Aaron and Israel (XIV 18–19). In addition to the priestly role of all members, there is recognition within the community of static ranks based on more traditional hierarchies first introduced in the wilderness period: “They shall all be mustered by their names; the priests first, the Levites second, the sons of Israel third, and the proselyte fourth” (XIV 3–4, 5–6).

2.5.3 *Covenant Fidelity*

A third rationale for the community’s more stringent interpretation of commercial law is that aggressive support of the poor and needy fulfills two central commands of the law, to love God “with your whole heart, your whole soul, and your whole strength” (וְכָל מְאֹדֶךָ; Deut 6:5), and to love your neighbor as yourself (Lev 19:18). The Deuteronomic command is suggested by the cluster of attributes the initiate brings to the congregation: “his deeds, his insight, his strength, his might, and his wealth” (XIII 11–12) echo “your heart, your soul, your strength.” This terminology is even more prominent in the Rule tradition; therefore a full argument for the Deuteronomic echoes of these phrases is deferred to Chapter 3. But the Damascus Document preserves one hint of Deuteronomy 6:5 that the Rule does not share. The term used in the *Shema*^c for strength, מְאֹד, is the very term used for the communal assets of the Damascus community (the “abundance of the camp,” מְאֹד הַמַּחֲנֶה) and for one’s excess livestock, grain, wine and oil (XII 10). In addition, the designation “lover of God” is reserved for Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, and all those who are faithful to God’s covenant (CD III 2–4; XIX 1–2; XX 21–22), thus demonstrating the significance of “loving God” for adherents of this document. Initiation into the community is understood as a return to the law of Moses, so it would be important for the primary contributions of the initiate to be grounded in one of the most frequently repeated summaries of Mosaic law.

In this context, it is important to recall the significance of the book of *Jubilees* in the Qumran library, in the community’s ritual organization, and in the Damascus Document itself, where the parabiblical work is cited as authoritative (CD XVI 2–4).¹⁹¹ The book reprises the history of Israel from the vantage point of the second century B.C.E., although it is ostensibly set in the

¹⁹¹ See further B. Noack, “Qumran and the Book of Jubilees,” *SEÅ* 22–23 (1957–1958) 191–201; J. C. VanderKam, *Textual and Historical Studies in the Book of Jubilees* (HSM 14; Missoula, Montana: Scholars Press, 1977); *idem*, “Jubilees and the Priestly Messiah of Qumran,” *RevQ* 13 (1988) 353–65; *idem*, “The Jubilees Fragments from Qumran Cave 4,” in *Madrid*, 2.635–48.

fiftieth jubilee after the creation, during Moses' sojourn on Mount Sinai. From this privileged setting God promises:

"And afterward they will turn to me from among the nations with all their heart and with all their soul and with all their might. And I shall gather them from the midst of all the nations. And they will seek me so that I might be found by them. When they seek me with all their heart and with all their soul, I shall reveal to them an abundance of peace in righteousness. And with all my heart and with all my soul I shall transplant them as a righteous plant. And they will be a blessing and not a curse. And they will be the head and not the tail." (*Jub* 1:15-16)¹⁹²

The return to the covenant that will come to characterize the Damascus community is stylized in terms of Deuteronomy 6:5, and God responds in kind with all God's "heart and soul." Thus the rationale of covenant fidelity which undergirds and orients the economy of the covenanters is itself framed within the tradition of the return from exile and all its historical, literary and theological associations.¹⁹³ In fact, *Jubilees* is itself heavily dependent not only on Deuteronomy but on exilic formulations of covenant theology found in Jeremiah, for example at 29:13-14:

When you search for me, you will find me; if you seek me with all your heart, I will let you find me, says the Lord, and I will restore your fortunes and gather you from all the nations and all the places where I have driven you, says the Lord, and I will bring you back to the place from which I sent you into exile.

It is also in Jeremiah that we hear God pledge to plant his people in their land with all [God's] heart and all [God's] soul (32:41). The Damascus Document thus continues a long tradition of intertextual reflection on the covenant.

A second Mosaic law is explicitly cited to warrant the economic legislation of the Damascus community. The command to "love one's neighbor as oneself" (Lev 19:18) is quoted in CD VI 20-21 to warrant support for the poor, destitute, and proselyte. Ginzberg observes:

It was only through the close and inward association of members with one another that they could hope to realize their ideal of the strict observance of the law, where love and concord were very specially commanded.¹⁹⁴

Moreover, the enemies of the community are denigrated as those who "hate their neighbors" (CD VIII 6), an indictment which is immediately contextualized in terms of economic crimes. The condemnation of economic crimes is

¹⁹² O. S. Wintermute, trans., "Jubilees," in *OTP* 2.53.

¹⁹³ Knibb, "The Exile in the Literature of the Intertestamental Period," *HeyJ* 17 (1976) 253-72; *idem*, "Jubilees and the Origins of the Qumran Community," Inaugural Lecture in the Department of Biblical Studies, King's College, London, 17 January 1989; VanderKam, "Exile in Jewish Apocalyptic Literature," in *Exile: Old Testament, Jewish, and Christian Conceptions* (ed. J. M. Scott; JSJSup 56; Leiden/New York: E. J. Brill, 1997) 89-109.

¹⁹⁴ *Unknown Jewish Sect*, 156.

not an innovation in the Damascus Document; literary allusions to Isaiah 58 and Ezekiel 22 indicate dependence on earlier prophetic critiques.

Fidelity to the covenant in economic matters appears to be more stringently understood in the Damascus community than in the larger Jewish society. Commercial legislation in the document exceeds biblical and later rabbinic law in almost every case: usury, work on the sabbath, tithes, oaths, fraud, and the collection for the poor and needy. Lying about property is the first sin mentioned in the penal code and may require fewer witnesses to convict; both of these factors betray the priority of this stringent legislation in the document. The only exception to the community's pattern of more severe interpretation is the requirement for the *terumah* from bread dough, which in rabbinic literature is collected at every (daily) kneading, but in the Damascus Document is required only once a year (4QD^f 3 1-10).

Divine favor, if not material prosperity, is connected throughout the document and throughout Torah with covenant fidelity (XIX 1-2; XX 27-34). The provision for the needy and the lack of extreme need in the community might have served to demonstrate divine favor for this alternative Jewish community.

2.5.4 Sabbatical and Jubilee Legislation

A fragmentary reference to the jubilee legislation of Leviticus 25 occurs in 4QD^f 3 1-10. The text indicates that God will release the person from his iniquities, most likely in the jubilee year. The text then applies the jubilee law against fraud to marital arrangements. The application of a law governing a special period of time to the daily life of the community suggests that the jubilee economic system had been taken over to some extent as a governing framework for every year of the community's existence.

Redemption of land, debts and persons in biblical law was incumbent upon people in the seventh year (Exod 21:1-6; 23:10-11; Lev 25:1-7, 18-24; Deut 15:1-3, 12-18) and in the jubilee or fiftieth year (Lev 25:8-17, 25-55), but redemption of persons was only incumbent upon one's kin.¹⁹⁵ There has been much debate about whether these laws were practiced, and in fact there is biblical evidence that they were not (e.g., 2 Chron 36:21; Jer 34:8-22; cf. Neh

¹⁹⁵ R. G. North, *Sociology of the Biblical Jubilee* (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1954); R. Westbrook, "Jubilee Laws," *Israel Law Review* 6 (1971) 209-26; C. J. H. Wright, "What Happened Every Seven Years in Israel? Old Testament Sabbatical Institutions for Land, Debts and Slaves," *EvQ* 56 (1984) 129-38, 193-201; M. Weinfeld, "Sabbatical Year and Jubilee in the Pentateuchal Laws and Their Ancient Near Eastern Background," in *The Law in the Bible and in its Environment* (ed. T. Veijola; PFES 51; Helsinki/Göttingen: The Finnish Exegetical Society/Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1990) 39-62.

10:32),¹⁹⁶ not to mention that the laws could be abrogated in exemption clauses in particular cases.¹⁹⁷ Perhaps because of this, and influenced by the alienation from the land suffered during the exile, the years of release enter the eschatological vocabulary as early as Isaiah 61:1-3:

The Spirit of the Lord God is upon me,
because the Lord has anointed me;
he has sent me to bring good news to the oppressed,
to bind up the brokenhearted,
to proclaim liberty to the captives
and release to the prisoners;
to proclaim the year of the Lord's favor,
and the day of vengeance of our God....¹⁹⁸

In the Damascus Document, redemption is not only a future hope, but has been institutionalized in the monthly collection for the service of the association (XIV 12-19).¹⁹⁹ Monetary contributions toward the redemption of the vulnerable have become incumbent upon community members every month. Unlike the law against fraud, which derives from the jubilee legislation and is applied to regular (not fiftieth-year) marriage transactions, the monthly donation of two-days' wages derives from the redemption laws of the sabbatical cycle, which have a stronger claim to a history of practice.²⁰⁰

¹⁹⁶ See Westbrook, "Jubilee Laws," who believes that the jubilee laws were academic extrapolations of the sabbatical laws in the post-exilic period. Others have argued that the jubilee was practiced, perhaps in a very early period on analogy to other ancient Near Eastern institutions. See J. P. M. van der Ploeg, "Studies in Hebrew Law," *CBQ* 12 (1950) 248-59, 416-27; *CBQ* 13 (1951) 28-43, 164-71, 296-307; North, *The Sociology of the Biblical Jubilee*; E. Neufeld, "The Socio-Economic Background to *yōbēl* and *š'mitta*," *RivSO* 33 (1958) 53-124. The analogous ancient Near Eastern institution for the practice of debt cancellation, release from slavery, and restoration of land was the Babylonian and Assyrian *misharum*, but this was always and only an occasional administrative act rather than a prescribed and cyclical law; see J. Lewy, "The Biblical Institution of *dērōr* in the Light of Akkadian Documents," *Erlsr* 5 (1958) 21-31; J. J. Finkelstein, "Some New Misharum Material and its Implications," in *Studies in Honor of Benno Landsberger on his Seventy-fifth Birthday, April 21, 1965* (AS 16; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965) 233-46; Westbrook, "Jubilee Laws," 215-21. See also the proclamation of liberty by Ptolemy VIII in 118 B.C.E. (L. Koenen, *Eine ptolemäische Königsurkunde* [P. Kroll] [KPS 19; Wiesbaden: O. Harrassowitz, 1957]).

¹⁹⁷ See, for example, Mur 18 6-7 (Milik, "18. Reconnaissance de dette, en araméen [55/56 ap. J.-C.]" [DJD 2] 100-104, pl. XXIX). This text, which is contemporary with the final years of the Qumran settlement, stipulates that the loan must be paid in full "even in the year of remission" (אערוענק... ונשנה שמיטה דיה).

¹⁹⁸ See not only Luke 4:16-22, where Jesus inaugurates his public ministry by reading this passage, but also Luke 2:1-7, which sets Jesus' birth not in an act of imperial redemption, but in an act of imperial registration for the purpose of taxation. Luke thus contrasts the oppression of this world's rulers to the jubilee release offered by God.

¹⁹⁹ Cf. "the appointed time of release" (למועד דרוור) in 1QS X 8; Ezek 46:16.

²⁰⁰ See Westbrook, "Jubilee Laws," 224-6; see also the discussion of Mur 24 in §7.4 below.

2.5.5 *Proverbial Wisdom about Wealth and Vicious Gain*

The term “wealth” (הון) used frequently in the Damascus Document is a late term, found in scripture only in the wisdom tradition. There, as in the Damascus Document, wealth is not consistently evaluated positively or negatively, but can be viewed either way depending upon the context. The regular association of wealth with vicious gain (בצט) in the Damascus Document provides occasions for an exclusively negative context. The term “vicious gain” occurs often in the prophetic literature to describe a range of economic practices leading to personal profit at the expense of others (see especially Jer 22 and Ezek 22). When wealth and vicious gain are paired, the Damascus Document bears some similarity to proverbial warnings about wealth and desire.

The most extensive exploration of the dangerous nature of wealth is found in CD IV 12–VI 21. There, the community’s enemies are said to be caught in the three nets of Belial, one of which is arrogance/wealth (הון / הין). Arrogance is associated with wealth in the explication which follows. References to the “haughty hands” of those who seek gain at others’ expense corroborate the association of arrogance and wicked wealth (e.g., VIII 2-12 / XIX 15-24).

Another imprint of the sapiential treatment of wealth is the instructions for the Examiner in the camp. It is the Examiner’s job to scrutinize the financial obligations and practices of potential members, as well as the initiate’s wealth and the members’ ongoing commercial activities. In addition to relieving initiates’ economic burdens, the Examiner plays a leading role in the regular distribution to the community’s vulnerable members. Finally, he is responsible for registering commercial misdeeds, such as lying about property, improper oaths in cases of misappropriated property, and commerce with Gentiles or apostates that transgresses the community’s legislation. This responsibility is presented as paternal oversight and stylized as mercy or pity in XIII 9-12, just as it is presented in 4QInstruction^b 2 ii 14.

The fact that the judgment for lying about property inaugurates the penal code in the Damascus Document may also be due to the influence of the sapiential tradition, or more precisely to those texts which incorporate sapiential material in apocalyptic contexts as the criteria for the eschatological judgments. In these hybrid documents, the opening statement almost always reflects economic concerns.

2.6 *Conclusions*

Wealth is an issue for the Damascus Document community. It is present in all the tentatively defined redactional stages of the document. It is mentioned

in almost every generic category, from the admonition to the various legal subgenres.

The discussion of wealth reveals that economic practices, particularly commercial and sacrificial exchanges, played a role in spawning the community and in shaping later stages of its identity. The document stipulates that wealth be used to build up the community rather than to elevate the individual, and does so in explicit contradistinction to the practice of outsiders. Wealth is a boundary marker for the community as well as a proper domain for its scrutiny and judgment. Private property is made public within the limited bounds of the association.

Several rationales for the community's economic attitude emerge from the texts. The community extended covenant fidelity (Deut 6:5 + Lev 19:18) to include the dedication and proper disposition of their commercial assets and interactions. They present this as a "return" to the original covenant and then imagine themselves as the original covenant community arranged in camps in the wilderness, exiled from their homeland by those who misinterpret the law. This sojourn and exile is temporary, in that the day of God's visitation is near at hand, when the men of the pit will be judged and the poor ones of the flock redeemed. Their provision for each other proleptically realizes the redemption, and they live a sort of perpetual jubilee by virtue of their more radical interpretation of biblical law. From the wisdom and prophetic traditions, they appropriate disdain for the arrogance and viciousness associated with wealth. In choosing to live a different lifestyle, the Damascus covenanters step into the end time they anticipate, and give economic witness to the eschatological justice for which they hope.

CHAPTER THREE

WEALTH IN THE RULE OF THE COMMUNITY

3.1 *Introduction*

The Rule of the Community or *Serek ha-Yahad* (סרך היחד) frequently mentions wealth as a token of membership in and alienation from the community. Members in good standing share their wealth and separate from the wealth of outsiders. In addition, shared wealth is so closely identified with the nature of the *yahad* that it becomes a disciplinary tool: community members are forbidden from mixing with the wealth of those members who transgress communal statutes. Wealth is one of the domains in which the authority of the community and its officers is exercised.

With the publication of a critical edition of the Cave 4 Rule manuscripts and with the aid of several examinations of the redactional development of the Rule, we are in a better position to explore the nature and significance of wealth for the community or communities that used the Rule texts. Discussion of wealth appears at all redactional stages of the Rule and in each of its constitutive genres. Yet while interest in wealth is consistent across time and in a variety of contexts, the specific treatment of wealth varies within and among the Rule texts. The versions and sections reveal at least three rationales for sharing wealth and suggest realities of practice that may be profitably compared against one another. In particular, the most prominent rationales for shared wealth are covenant fidelity, sacrificial offering and communal unity in the holy spirit. The texts also shed light on practical questions such as what the wealth was, how it was shared or mixed, and whether it was shared so completely as to render members equal.

The complexity of our sources and their literary and fragmentary nature disallow facile historical reconstructions. Nevertheless, the number of Rule manuscripts and the frequent references to economic practices in particular yield some information that will help to generate both the criteria for determining historical possibilities and the historical possibilities themselves.

3.2 *Textual Evidence*

The Rule of the Community is the most heavily attested sectarian document

in the Dead Sea Scrolls corpus. Twelve or possibly thirteen copies have been identified, and one of these manuscripts, the text from Cave 1 (1QS), has been preserved almost in its entirety. The extensive extant content, and the number of and variants between the textual witnesses, afford a view of the changing beliefs and practices of the community that held this text to be authoritative.

Before examining closely the particular sections of the document that treat the voluntary offering of property, it will be useful to have a general sense of the textual witnesses and their development over time and the relevance of these matters for passages about wealth.

3.2.1 Manuscripts

The Rule of the Community was one of the first documents discovered in the cache of Cave 1 texts.¹ Eleven columns constitute this nearly complete manuscript. Other fragments purchased at a later date proved to be part of the same scroll. They included the title, written on the verso of an initial *page de*

¹ M. Burrows, J. C. Trever, and W. H. Brownlee, *The Dead Sea Scrolls of St. Mark's Monastery*, vol. 2, fasc. 2, *Plates and Transcription of the Manual of Discipline* (New Haven, Connecticut: American Schools of Oriental Research, 1951), with black and white photographs. The photographs have since been published in Brownlee, *The Dead Sea Manual of Discipline: Translation and Notes* (BASORSup 10–12; New Haven: American Schools of Oriental Research, 1951); F. M. Cross, D. N. Freedman and J. A. Sanders, eds., *Scrolls from Qumrân Cave 1: The Great Isaiah Scroll, The Order of the Community, The Peshet to Habakkuk. From Photographs by John C. Trever* (Jerusalem: Albright Institute of Archaeological Research, 1972); and J. H. Charlesworth, ed., *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Rule of the Community, Photographic Multi-Language Edition* (Philadelphia: American Interfaith Institute/World Alliance, 1996). Vocalized Hebrew texts were published by A. M. Habermann, *Megilloth Midbar Yehuda: The Scrolls from the Judean Desert* (Jerusalem: Machbaroth Lesifrut, 1959) 60-70 (includes a concordance), and by E. Lohse, *Die Texte aus Qumran: Hebräisch und Deutsch*, 2d ed. (Munich: Kösel, 1971; orig. 1964). For contemporary translations, see F. García Martínez, "1. The Rule of the Community, A. The Cave 1 Copy," in *DSST*, 3-19; E. Qimron and Charlesworth, "Rule of the Community (1QS; cf. 4QS MSS A-J, 5Q11)," in *DSSHAG*, 1.1-51; G. Vermes, "The Community Rule (1QS)," in *DSSE*, 61-80; and C. Martone, *La "Regola della Comunità."* *Edizione critica* (Quaderni di Henoch 8; Torino: S. Zamorani, 1995). M. O. Wise, M. Abegg, Jr., and E. Cook have published a form of the document that conflates the versional evidence in "Charter of a Jewish Sectarian Association (1QS, 4Q255–264a, 5Q11)," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A New Translation* (San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 1996) 123-43.

Translations, commentaries and editions of 1QS include J. T. Milik, "Manuale disciplinae," *VD* 29 (1951) 129-58; P. Wernberg-Møller, *The Manual of Discipline* (STDJ 1; Leiden/Grand Rapids: E. J. Brill/Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1957); J. Licht, *The Rule Scroll: A Scroll from the Wilderness of Judaea—1QS, 1QSa, 1QSB: Text, Introduction and Commentary* (Jerusalem: The Bialik Institute, 1965); A. R. C. Leaney, *The Rule of the Community and its Meaning: Introduction, Translation and Commentary* (NTL; London/Philadelphia: SCM/Westminster, 1966); and M. A. Knibb, *The Qumran Community* (CCWJCW 2; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987) 77-144 (only treats cols. 1-9).

A concordance to the Cave 1 materials was published by K. G. Kuhn, *Konkordanz zu den Qumrantexten* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1960).

garde, along with two texts that had originally followed the 1QS text, the Rule of the Congregation (1QSa) and the Blessings (1QSB).²

Ten or possibly eleven partial copies of the Rule of the Community were unearthed in Cave 4 (4QS^{a-j}, 4Q255–264), and have been published by Philip S. Alexander and Geza Vermes.³ The eleventh copy has been published as part of 4QS^b, but paleography suggests it is not part of that manuscript.⁴ The relationships of these manuscripts to one another and to 1QS have been discussed extensively by Alexander and Vermes and by Sarianna Metso in her study, *The Textual Development of the Qumran Community Rule*.⁵ According to Metso, the six most extensive copies of the Rule from Cave 4 have material additional to 1QS: four of the manuscripts exhibit or require additional text after words paralleling the conclusion of 1QS at XI 22, one has hymnic material on its recto, and one has unidentified material on its verso.⁶ One of the

² These sections of 1QS are discussed in Chapter 5 (§5.2.1). 1QSa and 1QSB look toward the future end of days in much the same manner as 1QS VIII 1–XI 22, and with some of the same blessings employed in 1QS I 22–II 2, 4-18, and V 12. For the curses that accompany the blessings in the present, see also CD VIII 8; X 3; Deut 29:20.

³ *Qumran Cave 4.XIX: Serekh ha-Yahad and Two Related Texts* (DJD 26; Oxford: Clarendon, 1998). In references to the 4QS material, I follow the fragment, column, and line designations of the critical edition, although the transcriptions and translations are my own.

Early and partial analysis and publication of the 4Q manuscripts was accomplished by two scholars assigned to the task: Milik, “Le travail d’édition des fragments manuscrits de Qumran,” *RB* 63 (1956) 60–61; *idem*, “Review of P. Wernberg-Møller, *The Manual of Discipline* (1957),” *RB* 67 (1960) 410–416; *idem*, *The Books of Enoch* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1976) 187 (variants to 1QS X 2–5); *idem*, “Numérotation des feuilles des rouleaux dans le scriptorium de Qumrân,” *Sem* 27 (1977) 75–81 (col. V); Qimron, “Manuscript D of the Community Rule from Qumran Cave IV: Preliminary Publication of Columns 7–8,” *Tarbiz* 60 (1991) 434–43 [Hebrew]. Other preliminary publications include Vermes, “Preliminary Remarks on Unpublished Fragments of the Community Rule from Qumran Cave 4,” *JJS* 42 (1991) 250–55 (1QS V 1–4 and the variant texts of 4QS^{b, d}); *idem*, “Qumran Forum Miscellanea I,” *JJS* 43 (1992) 300–301; *idem*, “Corrigenda to Qumran Forum Miscellanea I,” *JJS* 44 (1993) 300; C. Hempel, “Comments on the Translation of 4QS^d I, 1,” *JJS* 44 (1993) 127–8; Metso, “The Primary Results of the Reconstruction of 4QS^e,” *JJS* 44 (1993) 303–308.

For contemporary translations, see García Martínez, “1. The Rule of the Community, B. The Cave 4 Copies,” *DSS*, 20–32; Qimron and Charlesworth, “Cave IV Fragments Related to the Rule of the Community (4Q255–264 = 4QS MSS A–J),” in *DSSHAG*, 1.53–103.

⁴ 4QS^b frg. 1 (*par* 1QS I 10), *DJD* 26, 47, pl. II.

⁵ STDJ 21; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1997.

⁶ 4QS^b includes two lines of text after the last word of 1QS, while the scroll of 4QS^e included a calendrical text, 4QOt (U. Gleßner, “4QOt,” in *Qumran Cave 4.XVI: Calendrical Texts* [ed. S. Talmon, J. Ben Dov, and Gleßner; DJD 21; Oxford: Clarendon, 2001]). Metso’s reconstruction indicates that 4QS^{d, f} also included additional text after material parallel to the end of 1QS. 4Qpap^a, a papyrus manuscript, has a hymnic composition on the verso (4QpapHodayot-like Text B = 4Q433a, published by E. Schuller in *Qumran Cave 4.XX: Poetical and Liturgical Texts, Part 2* [ed. E. Chazon et al.; DJD 29; Oxford: Clarendon, 1999] 237–46, pl. XV). 4Qpap^c, also a papyrus manuscript, has letter-traces on the verso that remain unidentified; Metso considers the traces to be an unidentified text (*Textual Development*, 31), while Alexander and Vermes consider the traces to be part of a title of the manuscript that was subsequently erased (*DJD* 26, pp. 66, 69–70).

Cave 4 texts, 4QS^h, may be merely a citation of the Rule in another, possibly hymnic, composition.⁷

Two of the Cave 4 manuscripts were small: 4QS^f (*par* 1QS IX 23–X 24) is reconstructed to have been 8.3 centimeters in height, while 4QS^j was 4.4 centimeters in height.⁸ Stephen Pfann believes that the small size of these scrolls suggests that they were portable, and further contends that portability indicates individual ownership of these scrolls and the use of them during certain feasts.⁹ The thesis of individual ownership should not be made too strongly, since this very document advocates common ownership of property (1QS VI 16–23, *par* 4QS^b XI 12–13), but the small size of the scroll certainly suggests portability and individual rather than public use. It is significant that both versions preserve hymnic material, perhaps as Pfann suggests for use in prayer or during festivals.

Cave 5 yielded one manuscript of the work (5QS, 5Q11) along with another manuscript that appears to cite the Rule (5Q13).¹⁰

Finally, Cave 11 yielded one fragment of the Rule, although this fragment has not been identified officially as a manuscript of the Rule.¹¹

The relative dates of inscription of these manuscripts have been established on paleographic grounds by Frank Moore Cross, and have been accepted by the editors of the critical editions (see Table 5, “Dates of inscription of Qumran Rule manuscripts”).¹² The current sigla of the Cave 4 manuscripts

⁷ This is Metso’s suggestion (*Textual Development*, 61). She notes that the portion of the Rule that appears in 4QS^h, parallel to 1QS III 4–5, is the same portion cited in 5Q13.

⁸ *DJD* 26, pp. 153–67, pl. XVII (4QS^f); pp. 201–206, pl. XXI (4QS^j).

⁹ “4Q298: The Maskil’s Address to All Sons of Dawn,” *JQR* 85 (1994) 213; *DJD* 20, 7 n. 17.

¹⁰ Milik, “11. Règle de la Communauté,” in *Les “petites grottes” de Qumran* (ed. M. Baillet, Milik, and R. de Vaux; *DJDJ* 3, 3a; Oxford: Clarendon, 1962) 181–3, pls. XXXIX–XL; see also Metso, *Textual Development*, 65–6. For other contemporary translations, see García Martínez, “1. The Rule of the Community, C. Copies from other Caves,” *DSSJ*, 32; Charlesworth, “Possible Fragment of the Rule of the Community (5Q11),” in *DSSHAG*, 1.105–107.

¹¹ García Martínez, E. J. C. Tigchelaar and A. S. van der Woude, “29. 11QFragment Related to Serekh ha-Yahad,” in *Qumran Cave 11.II: 11Q2–18, 11Q20–31* (*DJD* 23; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998) 433–4, pl. L; see also Tigchelaar, “A Newly Identified *Serekh ha-Yahad* Fragment from Cave 11?” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Fifty Years after Their Discovery 1947–1997. Proceedings of the Jerusalem Congress, July 20–25, 1997* (ed. L. H. Schiffman, E. Tov and J. C. VanderKam; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society in cooperation with the Shrine of the Book, Israel Museum, 2000) 285–92.

¹² “The Paleographical Dates of the Manuscripts,” in *DSSHAG*, 1.57. See also by the same author *The Ancient Library of Qumran and Modern Biblical Studies. The Haskell Lectures* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1958; reprint 1980); and “The Development of the Jewish Scripts,” in *The Bible and the Ancient Near East* (ed. G. E. Wright; Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1961) 170–264. For other discussions of palaeography and radiocarbon dating, see S. A. Birnbaum, *The Qumran (Dead Sea) Scrolls and Palaeography* (BASORSUP 13–14; New Haven: American Schools of Oriental Research, 1952); N. Avigad, “The Palaeography of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Documents,” *ScrHier* 4 (eds. C. Rabin and Y. Yadin; Jerusalem: Magnes, 1958) 71; G. Bonani, M. Broshi, I. Carmi, S. Ivy, J. Strugnell, and W. Wölfi, “Radiocarbon Dating of the Dead Sea Scrolls,” *Atiqot* 20 (1991) 27–32; *idem*, “Radiocarbon Dating of Fourteen Dead Sea Scrolls,” *Radiocarbon* 34 (1992) 843–9; D. G. Pardee, “Report and Discus-

differ from the designations used in the literature (for a summary of the changes, see *DJD* 26, 21, 25).

Table 5.
Dates of inscription of Qumran Rule manuscripts

<i>Date</i>	<i>Manuscript</i>
125–100 B.C.E.	4QpapS ^a [11Q29]
100–75 B.C.E.	1QS, 4QpapS ^c
50–25 B.C.E.	4QS ^e , j ¹³
50–1 B.C.E.	4QS ^g
30–1 B.C.E.	4QS ^b , d, f, i, 4QS ^b frg. 1, 5Q11
1–50 C.E.	4QS ^h
1–100 C.E.	[5Q13]

The Cave 1 version of the Rule is not the earliest of our inscribed witnesses. Moreover, as has become clear from close study of the 1QS text alone and in comparison with the other witnesses, it represents a rather late stage in a textual tradition that spans the entire period of the community's presence at the Qumran site. Of interest are the relatively numerous exemplars from the late first century B.C.E. (two-thirds of the total). These may reflect a period of denser occupation or heightened activity at Qumran, although the accidental character of any given scroll's survival precludes drawing firm conclusions.

sion Concerning Radiocarbon Dating of Fourteen Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Methods of Investigation of the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Khirbet Qumran Site: Present Realities and Future Prospects* (ed. M. O. Wise, N. Golb, J. J. Collins and D. G. Pardee; ANYAS 722; New York: The New York Academy of Sciences, 1994) 441-53; A. J. T. Jull, D. J. Donahue, Broshi, and Tov, "Radiocarbon Dating of the Scrolls and Linen Fragments from the Judean Desert," *Radiocarbon* 37 (1995) 11-19; *idem*, "Radiocarbon Dating of Scrolls and Linen Fragments from the Judean Desert," *Atiqot* 28 (1996) 1*-7*, 85-91; G. Doudna, "Dating the Scrolls on the Basis of Radiocarbon Analysis," in *DSSFY* (ed. P. W. Flint and J. C. VanderKam; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1998) 1.430-71; R. Van de Water, "Reconsidering Palaeographic and Radiocarbon Dating of the Dead Sea Scrolls," *RevQ* 19 (1999-2000) 423-39.

¹³ Émile Puech believes that 4QS^e is earlier, perhaps dating from the first half of the first century B.C.E.; "L'alphabet cryptique A en 4QS^e (4Q259)," *RevQ* 18 (1998) 429-35, especially 434-5.

3.2.2 *The Development of the Rule of the Community*

3.2.2.1 *Redactional Stages*

Metso has analyzed thoroughly the textual witnesses to the Rule of the Community in her published dissertation. In a careful comparison particularly of the more extensive witnesses (4QS^{b, d, e}) against 1QS, Metso concludes that the two textual traditions represented on the one hand by 4QS^e and on the other hand by 4QS^{b, d} predate 1QS.¹⁴ She proposes that the original form of the Rule (which she designates in her stemma as “O”) began with a short version of what would later become 1QS V–IX, and excluded the first full section of 1QS (I 1–IV 26), the material in 1QS VIII 15b–IX 11, and the Instructor’s final psalm (1QS X 9–XI 22). The two traditions represented by 4QS^e on the one hand and 4QS^{b, d} on the other developed secondarily. The tradition represented by 4QS^e added scriptural proof texts and other material to strengthen the self-understanding of the community, and added a calendrical section (4QOtot) at the end (stemma branch “A”). 4QS^{b, d} included a version of 1QS VIII 15b–IX 11, the final psalm, and, at a later stage represented by 4QS^b, material parallel to 1QS I–IV (also attested by the earliest inscribed manuscripts, 4QpapS^{a, c}; stemma branch “B”). The texts in these two lines of tradition (4QS^e and 4QS^{b, c}) were merged in 1QS and amplified by the original scribe of the document (Scribe A, c.100–75 B.C.E.; stemma branch “C”). Subsequently, our extant manuscripts of the relatively shorter witnesses 4QS^{b, d, e} were penned (50–1 B.C.E.). Finally, a second scribe of 1QS (Scribe B) emended that text in a manner that at some points reflects the earlier witnesses but at other points diverges from them (stemma branch “D”).¹⁵

¹⁴ Metso, *Textual Development*, 69–149. J. Murphy-O’Connor and J. Pouilly have argued that the Rule developed around a core “Manifesto” (1QS cols. VIII 1–16 and IX 3–X 8) to which later appendices were added to deal with disciplinary matters (Murphy-O’Connor, “La genèse littéraire de la Règle de la Communauté,” *RB* 76 [1969] 528–49; and Pouilly, *La Règle de la Communauté de Qumrân: Son évolution littéraire* [CRB 17; Paris: J. Gabalda, 1976]). See also Wernberg-Møller, *The Manual of Discipline*; Licht, *The Rule Scroll*; R. A. J. Gagnon, “How Did the Rule of the Community Obtain its Final Shape? A Review of Scholarly Research,” *JSP* 10 (1992) 61–79; Vermes, “The Leadership of the Qumran Community: Sons of Zadok—Priests—Congregation,” in *Geschichte—Tradition—Reflexion: Festschrift für Martin Hengel zum 70. Geburtstag*, vol. 1, *Judentum* (ed. P. Schäfer; Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1996) 375–84; Alexander, “The Redaction-History of *Serekh ha-Yahad*: A Proposal,” *RevQ* 17 (1996) 437–56; P. Garnet, “Cave 4 MS Parallels to 1QS 5.1–7: Towards a *Serek* Text History,” *JSP* 15 (1997) 67–78; and M. Bockmuehl, “Redaction and Ideology in the *Rule of the Community*,” *RevQ* 18 (1998) 541–60.

¹⁵ The issue of two scribes in 1QS VII–VIII is analyzed by Puech, “Remarques sur l’écriture de 1QS VII–VIII,” *RevQ* 10 (1979) 35–43 (scribe B used a different manuscript as the basis for his corrections); P. Guilbert, “Deux écritures dans les colonnes VII et VIII de la Règle de la Communauté,” *RevQ* 1 (1958) 199–212 (scribe B revised the text without the aid of a revisor-exemplar); and M. Martin, *The Scribal Character of the Dead Sea Scrolls, I–II* (Bibliothèque du Museon 44–45; Louvain: Louvain Publications Universitaires, 1958) 439–42, 447–8 (scribe B

Alexander and Vermes propose at least four recensions of the Rule on the basis of textual similarities and variants.¹⁶ Three of these correspond to the branches of Metso's stemma, because Alexander and Vermes also believe that 1QS, 4QS^b,^d and 4QS^e represent different recensions of the text. To these three the authors add a fourth recension represented by 4QS^g (see Table 6).

Table 6.

Texts mentioning wealth in the Qumran Rule manuscripts arranged by redactional stages and recensions

	Recen. C	Recen. B	Recen. A		Recen. D*
<i>Proposed Original "O"</i>	<i>MSS Representing "A"</i>	<i>Earliest Redacted Versions "B"</i>	<i>1QS Scribe A "C"</i>	<i>1QS Scribe B "D"</i>	<i>Other Manuscripts</i>
			I 11-15		
			III 2-3		4QpapS ^c III 3-4
[V 1-4]		4QS ^d I 2-3 4QS ^b IX 2-4	V 1-4		
[V 14-20]		4QS ^d I 9-12 4QS ^b IX 10-13	V 14-20		
[VI 2-3]		4QS ^d II 6-7	VI 2-3		4QS ⁱ line 3
[VI 16-23]		4QS ^b XI 12-13	VI 16-23		*4QS ^g 3 1
[VI 24-25]			VI 24-25		
[VII 6-8]			VII 6-8	VII 6-8	
[VII 22-25]	4QS ^e II 4-9		VII 22-25	VII 22-25	
		4QS ^d VI 12 / VII 1	VIII 21-25		
		4QS ^d VII 6-9	IX 6-9		
[IX 21-24]	4QS ^e IV 2-6	4QS ^d VIII 5-8 4QS ^b XVIII 4-7	IX 21-24		4QS ^f I 1-2
		4QS ^d X 6-8 4QS ^b XX 6-7	X 17-19		4QS ^f IV 4-8
			XI 1-2		

revised the text using a revisor-exemplar, and scribe A returned to edit cols. VII–VIII). See also Metso's summary, *Textual Development*, 95-105.

¹⁶ *DJD* 26, 9-12.

However Metso and Alexander diverge on their interpretation of the coexistence of multiple versions; whereas Metso argues that shorter and apparently older recensions (4QS^{b, d}) continued to be copied after the amplified 1QS was composed, Alexander disagrees that more than one version would have been in use at any given time.¹⁷

Table 6, "Texts mentioning wealth in the Qumran Rule manuscripts arranged by redactional stages and recensions," represents both Alexander and Vermes' recensions (first row) and Metso's redactional stages (second row). Vertical columns display the redactional stages and the wealth passages that occur in them. Each horizontal row represents a single passage; if that passage is attested in multiple versions, those versions will appear in the same row, and in the appropriate column depending on their redactional stage. Thus, if a row has multiple witnesses in various columns, it means that several different recensional stages attest to the same passage.

Texts treating the voluntary offering of property are present at each of the redactional stages, whether those of Metso or Alexander and Vermes are used. This is significant in that it demonstrates a consistent interest in wealth as a feature of communal identity across time. But if the interest is consistent, certain features of the specific treatment of wealth in each of the stages vary appreciably. These differences will be examined in greater detail below, following Metso's diachronic analysis of the relationship of the versions.

3.2.2.2 1QS: Scribal Structure and the Repetition of Material

The Cave 1 copy of the Rule is our most complete manuscript witness to the various traditions that developed over time. It is clearly a composite text, a fact demonstrated by the repetition of genres or categories within the document, the presence of paragraph markings at points where these generic parallels begin,¹⁸ scribal corrections particularly in columns VII–VIII, and now

¹⁷ "The Redaction-History of *Serekh ha-Yahad*: A Proposal," 448.

¹⁸ The *paragraphos* symbols are used to demarcate sections of text or to draw attention to particular phrases, terms, or sections. They appear in many Qumran documents (e.g., 1QIsa^a, 1QpHab, 4QpaleoExod^m, 4QCant^b) and are similar to scribal markings found in other documents of this period. In 1QS the marks may be secondary, although since they can be assumed to bear some functional import they are used here as one basis for determining sections of the text. See Tov, "Scribal Markings in the Texts from the Judean Desert," in *Current Research and Technological Developments on the Dead Sea Scrolls: Conference on the Texts from the Judean Desert, Jerusalem, 30 April 1995* (ed. D. W. Parry and S. D. Ricks; STDJ 20; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1996) 41-77; and *idem*, "Letters of the Cryptic A Script and Paleo-Hebrew Letters Used as Scribal Marks in Some Qumran Scrolls," *DSD* 2 (1995) 330-39.

The first major *paragraphos* at 1QS V 1 is a paleo-Hebrew *waw*, a common symbol though it is usually to be read as part of the following word; see, e.g., 4QpaleoExod^m in *Qumran Cave 4.IV: Palaeo-Hebrew and Greek Biblical Manuscripts* (P. W. Skehan, E. Ulrich and J. E. Sanderson; DJD 9; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992) 53-130, pls. VII–XXXIII. The second major *paragraphos* at the bottom of col. VII before 1QS VIII 1 is according to Tov the combination of a paleo-Hebrew *zayin* and some other unknown character (see paleo-*zayin* in 4QShirShabb^b 18 iii 8

demonstrable variants in other versions of the Rule, and differences in sectarian terminology in the identified sections.

Together, this evidence yields a picture of the structure of 1QS (see Table 7, "Repetition of generic categories in the four major sections of 1QS").¹⁹ Three major paragraph markings divide the document into four sections. The *paragraphos* at 1QS V 1 occurs precisely at the place where 4QS^d (and probably 4QS^e) begin, suggesting that the scribal mark might have indicated the point at which sources were conflated or where content begins to repeat. The break between columns I–IV and columns V–IX is further suggested on the basis of a change in sectarian terminology. In columns I–IV, the members of the community are referred to as "sons of light" (בני אור) in contrast to the "sons of darkness" (בני חושך), while in columns V–IX the sectarians call themselves "men of the *yahad*" (אנשי היחד) or "men of holiness" (אנשי הקודש). Furthermore, and more pertinent for the present study, in columns I–IV the sectarians use the *nif'al* participle of the verb "to voluntarily offer" (הנרבים) as a self-designation, while in columns V–IX the *hitpa'el* participle is used (המתנדבים).²⁰ Two other *paragraphos* marks occur within columns V–IX, at VIII 1 and IX 3. These do not correspond to any evidence of terminological changes or textual breaks in the extant versions,²¹ although they do coincide with points at which generic categories begin to repeat.

The subdivisions of each section into generic categories are based primarily on the form and content of the text. In some cases these partitions are supported by minor paragraph-divisions within the text²² (for a complete outline of 1QS based on the paragraph-divisions in the document, see Appendix C, "Outline of the Rule of the Community [1QS] Based on Paragraph Markings"). In one case, a textual variant in the versions confirms another division in 1QS: 4QS^e does not have material paralleling 1QS VIII 16b-19/20–IX 2

and 1QIsa^a XXII 10). The third major *paragraphos* at 1QS IX 3 is in Tov's estimation a paleo-Hebrew *zayin* and *samek* (see 1QIsa^a VI 22, and 4QTanhumim I 1 5 in *Qumrân Cave 4.1* [4Q158–4Q186] [ed. J. M. Allegro; DJDJ 4; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968] 60–66, pls. XXII–XXIII).

¹⁹ Metso provides a discussion of the scholarship on the scribal and literary structure of 1QS (*Textual Development*, 5–17). I have diverged from her categories and from some of her content divisions in my own analysis of the text.

²⁰ A. Dupont Sommer understood this as evidence that columns I–IV were directed to novices, while columns V–IX 2 were for more advanced members of the community. This explanation for the change in vocabulary is unlikely, as Wernberg-Møller points out, because the covenant renewal ceremony was not for novices only (*The Manual of Discipline*, 88).

²¹ While a scribe of 1QS clearly demarcated the section beginning at VIII 1 from the prior one with a *paragraphos* at 1QS VII 25, there is no clear textual evidence that the second and third sections existed separately from one another (Metso, *Textual Development*, 108). The *paragraphos* at 1QS IX 3 occurs at a natural break in the content of the text, but there is no evidence that the material either prior and subsequent to it ever existed separately: 4QS^d, the only version extant at this point, preserves the equivalent of 1QS IX 2–3 with an end-of-line interval separating them; 4QS^e, witnessing to an apparently earlier version, lacks VIII 15b/16a–IX 11 entirely.

²² 1QS II 19; III 13; VI 8, 24; VIII 20; IX 12. There are other minor and intermediate paragraph markings in the text which do not, however, correspond to these content divisions.

Table 7.
 Repetition of generic categories in the four major sections of 1QS

<i>Symbol in Text</i>	<i>Citation</i>	<i>Content</i>
NA	I 1-15	Introduction
	I 16–II 18	Covenant initiation and renewal
	II 19-25a	Rules of communal organization
	II 25b–III 12	Covenant initiation and renewal
	III 13–IV 26	Guidelines for the wise leader
𐤇	V 1-7a	Introduction
	V 7b–VI 1b	Covenant initiation and renewal
	VI 1b-8a/8b-13	Rules of communal organization
	VI 13b-23	Covenant initiation and renewal
	VI 24–VII 25	Rules of communal discipline
𐤇	VIII 1-16a	Introduction regarding 12 lay/ 3 priestly leaders
	VIII 16b-19/20–IX 2	Rules of communal discipline
𐤇	IX 3-11	Introduction
	IX 12–XI 22	Guidelines for the wise leader
	IX 12-21a/21b-26a	Principles of separation
	IX 26b–X 8	Calendrical section
	X 9–XI 22	Psalm

(Rules of Communal Discipline)²³ or IX 3-11 (Introduction), and instead of the *Maskil's* hymn of 1QS (IX 26b–X 8 [calendrical section] and X 9–XI 22 [psalm]) had a calendrical work known as 4QOtot (4Q319; see *DJD* 21).

For the most part, however, the form and content of the text suggests the subdivisions outlined above. There are five major categories of material in 1QS: introductions, liturgical norms of covenant initiation and renewal, principles of communal organization, rules of communal discipline, and guidelines or instructional standards for the wise leader.

²³ 4QS^c concludes the introduction, "This is [the study of the Torah which God] commanded by the hand of Moses" (III 6) 1QS VIII 15-16a reads, "This is the study of the Torah wh[i]ch [God] commanded [us] to do by the hand of Moses, according to all which has been revealed from time to time | and as the prophets have revealed in his holy spirit" (variants from 4QS^c are italicized). Clearly 1QS, the later text, has added the specifications that the commands are to be enacted and that the authoritative commands are not only Torah but also the prophets and subsequent revelation (to the community's leaders). The effect of these changes is to encourage action and to buttress the interpretive authority of the community.

The introductions are formally marked by an opening address which identifies the work and its audience, and by statements of the general purpose of the work or of the community's adherence to it that are presented syntactically as a string of infinitive construct clauses. The content of the introductions includes some assertion of the fundamental separation from evil and adherence to God's covenant, and in that context often invokes the authorities whom the initiate or member must obey. This type of section has the character (and perhaps served the function?) of an initiatory oath.

Liturgical norms of covenant initiation and renewal are formally identified by explicit liturgical directives for ritual gestures and speech by or toward the worthy or unworthy initiate or member. The content of these sections includes procedures for the initiation and rejection of would-be candidates. The function of these texts appears to be liturgical.

Principles of communal organization are formally identified by some sort of statement generalizing a specific order over time and space ("Thus they shall do year after year," II 19;²⁴ "Wherever they are found," VI 2; "This is the rule for the session of the Many," VI 8b). Their content includes reference to the constitutive ranks within the community and their respective roles and relative authority. The sections serve a political function as explicit assertions or reflections of hierarchies of authority.

Rules of communal discipline are formally identified by the introductory phrase, "These are the judgments" (VI 24; VIII 19, 20). Their contents include actions subject to communal discipline and an assignation of particular punishments for those acts. In the most extensive list of rules in 1QS VI 24–VII 25, the misdeeds are for the most part arranged in groups internally arrayed in decreasing order of severity (see Appendix D, "Arrangement of the Rules of Communal Discipline in 1QS VI 24–VII 25"). These sections apparently functioned as penal codes.²⁵

Guidelines for the wise leader are formally identified by an introductory statement directed to or for the Instructor ("It is for the Instructor to distinguish and to teach..." III 13; "These are the statutes by which the Instructor

²⁴ This phrase should be taken with the following material on communal organization, rather than with the preceding material on covenant initiation: notice that the original scribe has indicated a new section before this phrase by leaving an interval at the end of the prior line and indenting this phrase from the right margin. In addition, scribe A or B added a minor *paragraphos* in the right margin.

²⁵ The alteration of two punishments in 1QS VII 8 suggests that these texts were functional: the community changed the punishments as its practices changed over time. On the development of the penal code, see M. Weinfeld, *The Organizational Pattern and the Penal Code of the Qumran Sect: A Comparison with Guilds and Religious Associations of the Hellenistic-Roman Period* (NTOA 2; Fribourg/Göttingen: Universitätsverlag/Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1986); J. M. Baumgarten, "The Cave 4 Versions of the Qumran Penal Code," *JJS* 43 (1992) 274; and Milik, *Ten Years of Discovery in the Wilderness of Judaea*, trans. J. Strugnell (SBT 26; London: SCM, 1959, French original, Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1957) 83-93.

shall walk," IX 12). Their content may be akin to any one of the earlier genres: it may include the purpose of the Instructor's role in an introductory fashion, the manner in which he is to separate from the outside world, the principles by which he should weigh members' covenant fidelity and rank, and the prayers and liturgical responsibilities he bears on behalf of the community. These sections vary in aspect—they are theological (III 15b–IV 26), liturgical (IX 26b–XI 22), and didactic (III 13–15a; IX 12–26a)—but as a group they appear to have functioned as instructional guidelines for the *Maskil*.

The subdivision of the document into these genres is supported by the fact that parallels to Rule passages are found in other manuscripts representing these genres exclusively. For example, the rules of communal discipline or penal code in 1QS VI 24–VIII 6 are paralleled in penal codes of other constitutional and legal texts (CD XIV 20–21; 4QD^{a, d, e}, 4QSD). Phrases found in the guidelines for the wise leader or *Maskil's* hymn at the end of 1QS are similar enough to the Hodayot to suggest some kind of literary relationship, in the view of Alexander and Vermes.²⁶ This suggests that the various generic sections of 1QS circulated and functioned independently, and were collated in the Rule as a kind of official compendium.

The subdivision into categories or genres of material is complicated by the fact that these genres shifted over time. The prime case is 1QS column V. The earliest form of col. V, attested by 4QS^{b, d}, was directed to the Instructor (מדרש למשכיל), and so in terms of the above categories should be classified as "guidelines for the wise leader." Of the two sections still addressed to the Instructor in 1QS, 4QS^b probably had material parallel to 1QS III 13–IV 26 and definitely had a section parallel to IX 15–XI 22, while 4QS^d did not have the former but did have the latter. In either case, the greater part of 4QS^{b, d} was directed explicitly to the Instructor. By the time 1QS was collated, col. V was directed to the community in general (זוהו הסרכ לאנשי היחד),²⁷ and the document retained the two other sections specifically for the Instructor. Moreover, the genre categories are not mutually exclusive. For example, the very category "guidelines for the wise leader" may be too comprehensive, since it often includes the other genres (albeit with a more limited audience of one in mind), and since it may have been true of the entire document in the tradition's earliest stages.²⁸ Bearing these caveats in mind, the above cate-

²⁶ *DJD* 26, 3–4.

²⁷ The redirection of 1QS V to the entire community might indicate a certain democratization of authority but for that column's marked attribution of authority to the sons of Zadok, who are absent from the parallel material in 4QS^{b, d}.

²⁸ Another example of the inadequacy of categorical distinctions is the material listed under the title, "covenant initiation and renewal." This category may include oaths similar to what one finds in the introductions (compare the covenant oaths of V 7b–20a against the introductory pledges of I 1–15), as well as the procedure for a miscreant member's repentance similar to what one finds in the rules of communal discipline (compare the initiatory exhortation to repentance in II 25b–III 12 against the disciplinary procedures outlined in VII 18–25 and VIII 16b–IX 2).

gories still provide one useful means of analyzing the document on the basis of textual evidence.

There are fourteen passages in the Rule that mention wealth. These are each represented by a dot on Table 8, "Texts mentioning wealth in the Qumran Rule manuscripts arranged by section and generic categories." Each text is distributed in the Table into its appropriate section and generic category. These designations are included with the complete Hebrew text and English translation of each passage in Appendix B ("Parallel Passages on the Disposition of Wealth in All Rule Manuscripts"). Where more than one manuscript attests to a passage, the evidence of all the relevant witnesses is laid out synoptically. The passages are arranged in the appendix in the order of 1QS, rather than in the order of presentation in this chapter. A guide at the beginning of the Appendix will help to locate any given passage.

Table 8.

Texts mentioning wealth in the Qumran Rule manuscripts arranged by section and generic categories

<i>Category of Material</i>	<i>Sect. 1</i>	<i>Sect. 2</i>	<i>Sect. 3</i>	<i>Sect. 4</i>
Introduction	•	•		•
Covenant initiation and renewal	•	• •		
Rules of communal organization		•		
Rules of communal discipline		• • •	•	
Guidelines for the wise leader				• • •

Texts treating the disposition of wealth in the community are present in each of the four major sections of 1QS and in all its generic categories. That is, despite the variables of generic category and therefore presumably of functional use, an interest in members' wealth as a symbol of their communal identity remains constant. The more detailed analysis of specific wealth texts below will indicate whether the generic categories manifest significant variations in their attention to shared wealth.

3.2.3 *Problems Raised by the Textual Evidence*

The composite nature of 1QS in particular and the redactional history of the Rule tradition in general raise important questions about the possibility of reconstructing historical practice from such evidence. As Metso points out, the

fact that briefer and quite different Rule traditions predating 1QS in composition were still being copied 50–100 years *after* 1QS was inscribed raises doubt as to whether there was ever one single, legitimate version of the Rule in use.²⁹ Philip R. Davies does not believe that the Rule was ever in use at all. Referring specifically to 1QS, he calls the Rule “an incoherent, unsystematic and in some respects contradictory text,” such a mixture of rules and genres that

[...]no community could actually function by using this text as a basis for its identity, belief or conduct. At best, it is a rather muddled archive, a receptacle of bits and pieces from different times, authors and perhaps even circles. It is not a *functional* text at all....[The] *Sitz im Leben* of the text known as 1QS is not a *living community*; it has not been written, composed, edited or whatever to serve as a rule for a community.³⁰

The “muddled archive” is indeed composite and at times contradictory. But one need not conclude from that phenomenon that the text was not functional for a community or communities. In fact, the multiplicity of sources and the number of corrections in any given manuscript may point to precisely the opposite conclusion—that the text was so significant for the life of a community that its members juxtaposed, rather than harmonized, multiple traditions in deference to the authority enjoyed by each discrete original version. This compositional principle is a well-known attribute of biblical and rabbinic literatures. Turning from the question of compositional layers to the issue of function, it is possible that the duplicate sections of 1QS were used for different events (e.g., 1QS I–IV for the covenant renewal ceremony, V 1–VII 25 for the session of the Many; VIII 1–IX 2 for the Council of twelve laymen and three priests; IX 3–XI 22 for the Instructor). Alternatively, each section might have originated in and been functional for different communities.³¹ In any case, the presence of multiple, contradictory sections does not necessarily mean that each form of the tradition was simultaneously accorded equal weight. If it did, we would have to agree with Davies that the “Order of the Community” is in fact the most disordered sort of text.

The search for the *Sitz im Leben* of the community behind the Rule has become the victim of an unusual foe for the scholar of antiquity: we have too much evidence. It is ironic that one of the richest manuscript discoveries from the Second Temple period should by its very richness discourage historical hypotheses.

²⁹ “In Search of the *Sitz im Leben* of the Community Rule,” in *Provo*, 306–315.

³⁰ “Communities in the Qumran Scrolls,” *PIBA* 17 (1994) 65. He does not want to call the text “sectarian” because he limits this appellation to texts “functional in terms of the belief and practice of a sect.”

³¹ Bockmuehl also considers this possibility in “Redaction and Ideology in the *Rule of the Community*,” 545.

The texts do yield historical evidence. The constancy of wealth as a symbol of the community against the variables of redactional stages and generic categories is a literary datum with historical implications. The textual variants between the wealth texts demonstrate conscious alteration over time, but the constancy of the theme of wealth and its presence in all functional contexts is a relatively reflexive statement which, by virtue of its *unself-reflective* character, opens a window onto the assumptions of the community that composed and used these texts. Moreover, as will be demonstrated below, the details within the wealth texts suggest rationales and contexts of meaning within which the authors and adherents of these texts were operating. They offer some evidence of a more practical nature as well, such as principles of social organization. The yield is meager and complicated enough to render elaborate historical reconstructions implausible, but it is rich enough to suggest the limits within which historical possibilities must operate.

3.3 *Rationales for the Voluntary Offering of Wealth*

The passages treating the disposition of wealth in the Rule and the material which surrounds them provide information about the rationales governing their inclusion. Three contexts or ideological frameworks for the disposal of wealth—covenant fidelity, sacrificial offering and unity in the holy spirit—emerge most prominently from the text and will govern the presentation of the fourteen passages regarding wealth in the Rule. These passages will be introduced in translation (for Hebrew transcriptions, see Appendix B).

Before turning to the specific rationales, it is useful to make one further distinction between the wealth texts. The passages fall into one of three categories: wealth as a symbol of assimilation into the community, wealth as a symbol of alienation from the community, and wealth as the administrative responsibility of a particular individual or group.³²

3.3.1 *Covenant Fidelity*

The contribution of wealth to the community is presented as a demonstration of covenant fidelity in word clusters and in literary contexts inspired by Deuteronomy. The Deuteronomic context of the pattern is most apparent in the first section of IQS, but the word clusters recur throughout the document, suggesting the possibility that a similar context of meaning was operative wherever the clusters occur.

³² Wealth as a symbol of assimilation into the community: IQS I 11-15; V 1-2; VI 16-23, 24-25; VII 6-8. Wealth as a symbol of alienation from the community: III 2-3; V 14-20; VII 22-25; VIII 21-25; IX 8-9; IX 21-24; X 17-19; XI 1-2. Wealth as the administrative purview of a particular individual or group: V 3-4; VI 2-3; IX 5-7.

3.3.1.1 *Two Initial Wealth Passages*

The two passages which most clearly demonstrate this rationale are IQS I 11-15 and IQS III 2-3.

All those voluntarily offering (themselves) to his truth will bring all their knowledge, and their strength | and their wealth into the community of God in order to refine their knowledge in the truth of God's statutes and marshal their strength in accordance with his | perfect ways and all their wealth in accordance with his just counsel. They shall not stray from any one | of all God's words concerning their ends; they shall not advance their (appointed) times nor shall they retard | any one of their feasts. They shall not veer from the precepts of his truth in order to go either to the right or to the left. (I 11-15)

This passage has no parallels in the extant textual witnesses, so its diachronic development cannot be charted. It can be said, however, that one manuscript absolutely lacked the entire section parallel to IQS I 1-IV 26 (4QS^d); Metso has on the basis of reconstruction demonstrated that a second manuscript lacked the section as well (4QS^e). The tradition represented by this section, however, is older than IQS, as attested by 4QpapS^a (150-100 B.C.E.). The passage treating wealth occurs in the generic category of an introduction, which is to say in the oath-like context of the community's "statement of purpose." Wealth in this passage is required as a token of initiation into the community.

The second passage, IQS III 2-3, is attested by 4QpapS^c III 3-4:

His knowledge and his strength and his wealth shall not enter into the council of the community because (they are?) with wicked tread (בכסאון רשע) from his plowing (מחורשי) and (there are?) defilements (תגאליים) | in his dwelling (or conversion? בשוברו).

There is no appreciable difference between the versions, apart from the fact that IQS renders the word תגאליים (defilements) with *plene* orthography and with one supralinear correction. Again, two witnesses to the earliest Rule traditions lack the entire section parallel to IQS I 1-IV 26 (4QS^{d, e}), but the section is present in one manuscript that predates IQS (4QpapS^a, 150-100 B.C.E.), and is therefore early. It occurs in the generic category of covenant initiation and renewal. Wealth in this passage functions as a symbol of alienation from the community.

There are serious textual difficulties in this brief passage which Alexander and Vermes summarize.³³ The word כסאון, translated "tread," is a *hapax legomanon* in biblical Hebrew, occurring at Isaiah 9:4 alongside its cognate verb (כי כל סאון סאון ברעש), "For all the boots of the tramping warriors" [NRSV 9:5]). Isaiah 9 shares with IQS I-IV the dualistic contrast of those in light *versus* those in darkness, and so would be a natural allusion at this point in the

³³ DJD 26, 74-7.

Rule. Moreover, Isaiah 9:1 refers to those who walk in darkness (ההלכים בחשך [NRSV 9:2]); the image of treading in wickedness is a parallel metaphor drawn also from Isaiah 9. The term “from his plowing” (מחרשו) derives from חרש, “to cut in, engrave,” but could mean “to plow” or “to devise.” The selection of plowing to translate the term here is based on a possible allusion to Hosea 10:13, where, in a metaphor for apostasy, the prophet declares that Israel has “ploughed wickedness” (חרשתם רשע; cf. Job 4:8). The Hosea passage shares with 1QS II 25–III 6 both the metaphor of ploughing wickedness and the general context of apostasy. A passage in 4QWays of Righteousness³⁴ 2 (*olim* 3) 1-10 may shed further light:³⁴

...patience [] | [] they are joining until []
 [] | [] to ad]d their tributes/measures []
 [] | [] on those stricken by judgme[n]t []
 [] | [] and their seed, for the sake of consolatio[n] []
 [] | [] which he spoke [] | []
 [] to all who pull it [] | [] and in its
 furrows he will plough (ובתלמיה יהרוש) and always []
 | [] ri]ghteous ones, thei[r...] in the heart of the k[nowledgeable ones []
 [] | [] his rebuke

Here, in the context of an exhortation to the righteous, we also have a reference to ploughing, so that we might interpret it in 1QS III as a metaphor for one’s behavior that could be applied equally to the righteous and the wicked. The noun “defilements” in 1QS III (גואלים) is a *hapax legomenon* in biblical Hebrew at Nehemiah 13:29, where it refers to the defilement of the Temple (“Remember them, O my God, because they have defiled the priesthood [זכרה] להם אלהי על גאלי הכהנה], the covenant of the priests and the Levites”). This is an appropriate allusion in 1QS III given that the larger context is the apostate who violates the covenant of God, and given that the community understood itself as an alternative temple (see §3.3.2 below). Finally, the noun rendered “in his dwelling,” following Alexander and Vermes’ reconstruction at 4QpapS^c III 4 (בשוי]בתו) could also be rendered “in his conversion” after 1QS III 3 (בשובתו). Both translations make some sense, for one’s dwelling could easily be a locus of defilement, and one’s conversion could also be corrupt if incomplete (II 25–III 1).³⁵

³⁴ T. Elgvin, “420. 4QWays of Righteousness^a,” in *Qumran Cave 4.XV: Sapiential Texts, Part 1* (ed. Elgvin et al.; DJD 20; Oxford: Clarendon, 1997) 179-80, pl. XV.

³⁵ For this problematic phrase, Charlesworth has “for in the filth of wickedness (is) his plowing, and (there is) contamination in his repentance” (*DSSHAG*, 1.13). Wernberg-Møller reads, “for his cogitation (is done) <with impious sin>, and there is contamination by his sitting” (*The Manual of Discipline*, 24). Vermes translates, “for whoever ploughs the mud of wickedness returns defiled (?)” (*DSSSE*, 64). Leaney offers “For he ploughs with evil step and defilement clings to his drawing back” (*Rule*, 137). Knibb has, “for he ploughs with wicked step, and defilement accompanies his conversion” (*Qumran Community*, 90).

The fundamental act of the voluntary donor in 1QS I 11-15 is to bring his knowledge, strength, and wealth into the community of God in order to conform these gifts more closely to God's statutes, ways, and counsels—that is, to God's covenant. Similarly, the symbols of commitment that the unworthy initiate is forbidden from introducing into the community in 1QS III 2-3 are his knowledge, strength, and wealth. Not surprisingly, this recollection to the covenant is couched in terms derived from the written covenant, particularly from Deuteronomy. This is visible in the particular offerings listed and in the larger literary context.

3.3.1.2 *Word Clusters Including Wealth and their Relation to Deut 6:5*

The three offerings of 1QS, “all their knowledge and their strength and their wealth,” (כול דעתם וכוחם והונם) are reminiscent of the cluster of commitments enjoined on Israel in Deuteronomy 6:5: “Love the Lord your God with all your heart and with all your soul and with all your strength (ואהבתך מאדך).³⁶ No single word in 1QS I 11-15 or III 2-3 matches the Deuteronomistic injunction exactly, but the Deuteronomistic command is explicitly invoked a few lines earlier in 1QS I 2 (reconstructed; cf. 4QpapS^c I 1 and 4QpapS^a 1 2). Moreover, other texts from the period recommend a conceptual correlation between the terms used in 1QS and those that occur in Deuteronomy 6:5.

Just before the first reference to wealth in 1QS I 11-15, part of Deuteronomy 6:5 is incorporated into the opening lines of the book:

<p style="text-align: right;">ספר סדר היחד לדרוש אל בכול לב ובכול נפש³⁷</p>	<p>The book of the Rule of the Community: to seek God with all the heart and with all the soul...</p>
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The words נפש לדרוש אל בכול לב ובכול נפש are drawn from Deuteronomy, though since they lack the third element of “strength” or “abundance” the source passage may be one of the shorter versions of the command found in the Deuteronomistic history (cf. Deut 10:12-13; 11:13-14; 30:6, 10; Josh 22:5). When covenant members are enjoined to “bring all their knowledge, their strength, and their wealth into the community of God” ten lines later, we hear an explicit echo of the Deuteronomistic command cited earlier (1QS I 11-12). This echo resounds all the louder in the specific phrase “and all their wealth” (וכול הונם) in I 13, which repeats the conjunction, the word “all,” and the pronominal suffix of Deuteronomy 6:5.

The 1QS trio of “knowledge, strength and wealth,” while not identical to Deuteronomy’s “heart, soul and strength,” is nevertheless related to the Deut-

³⁶ Cf. Deut 4:29; 10:12; 13:3; 30:10; *Jub* 1:15-16.

³⁷ Single-underlined portions are supplied from 4QpapS^a I 2. Double-underlined portions are supplied from 4QpapS^c I 1.

economic triad in texts from the period. The term “heart,” particularly in contexts enjoining covenant love for God and neighbor, is sometimes translated in the Septuagint as “διάνοια,” that is, thought, intention, purpose, intelligence, or understanding. For example, Leviticus 19:17-18 reads:³⁸

לא חשנא את	“You shall not hate your	οὐ μισήσεις τὸν ἀδελφόν
אחיך בלבבך	brother in your heart; you	σου τῇ διανοίᾳ σου, ἐλεγ-
הוכח תוכיח את עמיתך	shall reprove your neigh-	μῶ ἐλέγξεις τὸν πλησίον
ולא חשנא עליו חטא	bor, or you will incur guilt	σου καὶ οὐ λήμψη δι' αὐ-
לא	yourself. You shall not	τὸν ἁμαρτίαν. καὶ οὐκ
תקם ולא חטמר	take vengeance or bear a	ἐκδικαταί σου ἢ χεῖρ, καὶ
את בני	grudge against any of	οὐ μνηיאים τοῖς υἱοῖς τοῦ
עמך	your people, but you shall	λαοῦ σου καὶ ἀγαπήσεις
ואהבת לרעך	love your neighbor as	τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυ-
כמוך אני יהוה	yourself: I am the Lord.”	τόν. ἐγὼ εἰμι κύριος.

In the recapitulation of Deuteronomy 6:5 in Joshua 22:5, “heart” is again translated “mind”:

רק שמרו מאד	“Take good care to ob-	ἀλλὰ φυλάξασθε ποιεῖν
לעשות את המצוה	serve the commandment	σφόδρα τὰς ἐντολὰς καὶ
ואת התורה	and instruction that Moses	τὸν νόμον, ὃν ἐνετείλατο
אשר צוה אתכם משה עבד	the servant of the Lord	ἡμῖν ποιεῖν Μωυσῆς ὁ
יהוה	commanded you, to love	παῖς κυρίου, ἀγαπᾶν κύρι-
לאהבה את יהוה אלהיכם	the Lord your God, to	ον τὸν θεὸν ὑμῶν, πορ-
וללכת בכל דרכיו	walk in all his ways, to	εὔεσθαι πάσαις ταῖς ὁ-
ולשמר מצותיו	keep his commandments,	δοῖς αὐτοῦ, φυλάξασθαι
ולדבקה בו	and to hold fast to him,	τὰς ἐντολὰς αὐτοῦ καὶ
ולעבדו בכל	and to serve him with all	προσκεῖσθαι αὐτῷ καὶ λα-
לבבכם ובכל	your heart and with all	τρεῦειν αὐτῷ ἐξ ὅλης
נפשכם	your soul.”	τῆς διανοίας ὑμῶν καὶ
		ἐξ ὅλης τῆς ψυχῆς ὑμῶν.

This correlation of one’s heart with knowledge or comprehension is also made in New Testament citations of Deuteronomy 6:5, which are expanded beyond the triad of “heart, soul, and strength” to include “διάνοια.”³⁹ These

³⁸ This same passage is alluded to in the rules of communal discipline later in IQS (VII 8). The term “neighbor” (רעה) and the distinction between intentional (בלבבך/τῇ διανοίᾳ σου) and negligent acts are prominent throughout the penal code in IQS VI 24–VII 25, as are references to specific regulations in the Levitical Holiness Code. These correlations recommend the thesis that the author(s) of the Rule understood their radical discipline in terms of a comprehensive love of God and neighbor.

³⁹ In Mark 12:28-34, for example, Jesus cites Deuteronomy 6:5 as “ἀγαπήσεις κύριον τὸν θεόν σου ἐξ ὅλης τῆς καρδίας σου καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς ψυχῆς σου καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς διανοίας σου καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς ἰσχύος σου,” and the scribe echoes the command, dropping the reference to soul and altering the word for mind: “ἀγαπᾶν αὐτὸν ἐξ ὅλης τῆς καρδίας καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς συνέσεως καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς ἰσχύος.” In the parallel passage in Matthew, the evangelist does not mention “strength,” but does include “mind”: ἀγαπήσεις κύριον τὸν θεόν σου ἐν ὅλη τῇ καρδίᾳ σου καὶ ἐν ὅλη τῇ ψυχῇ σου καὶ ἐν ὅλη τῇ διανοίᾳ σου (Matt 22:34-40). Luke includes four of the five Markan terms, but varies the order of them:

ancient texts demonstrate that the command to love with one's whole "heart" was interpreted as equivalent or analogous to a commitment of one's knowledge to God.

The term strength in IQS I 11 (כוח) is not identical to the term used in Deuteronomy (מאד), but it is close enough in meaning to suggest a conceptual correlation. It is a term that is often clustered with the more common terms "heart/knowledge" and "soul" in recapitulations of Deuteronomy 6:5 (2 Kgs 23:25; Mark 12:30, 33 [ισχύς]; Luke 10:27), although it is not always mentioned (Deut 10:12-13; 11:13-14; 30:6, 10; Josh 22:5; Matt 22:37).

The term wealth (הון) is nowhere mentioned in biblical citations of Deuteronomy 6:5. Related terms for wealth are, however, later associated with the command to love God in general and in particular with that part of the command to commit one's strength. *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan* at Deuteronomy 6:5 replaces the term strength with "money" (cf. IQS VI 2):

<p>אמר משה נביא לעמ בית ישראל איזילו בחר פילחנא קשיטא דאבהתכון ותרחמון ית ה אלהכון בתרי יצרי לבכון ואפילו נסיב ית נפשכון ובכל ממוכון</p>	<p>Moses, the prophet, said to the people, the Israelites: follow the true worship of your fathers and love the Lord your God following your hearts' inclination even if he take your lives along with all your wealth.</p>
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The passage is interesting not only because it replaces strength with "money," but also because it alters the individual's commitment of soul and strength to a divine acceptance of the same, and employs sacrificial terminology (the divine "acceptance" of wealth) to explicate the command.⁴⁰ *Mishnah Berakot* 9:5 interprets Deuteronomy 6:5 in a manner similar to that of *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan*:

Man is bound to bless [God] for the evil even as he blesses [God] for the good, for it is written, *And thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart and with all thy soul and with all thy might. With all thy heart*—with both thine impulses, thy good impulse and thine evil impulse; *and with all thy soul*—even if he take away thy soul; *and with all thy might*—with all thy wealth (ממון). Another explanation is: *With all thy might*—for whichever measure he measures out to thee, do thou give him thanks exceedingly.⁴¹

Targum Neofiti does not expand on the biblical command at Deuteronomy 6:5 as the *Mishnah* does, but does translate the term strength with "money"

ἀγαπήσεις κύριον τὸν θεόν σου ἐξ ὅλης καρδίας σου καὶ ἐν ὅλη τῇ ψυχῇ σου καὶ ἐν ὅλη τῇ ἰσχύϊ σου καὶ ἐν ὅλη τῇ διανοίᾳ σου (Luke 10:25-28).

⁴⁰ The Aramaic text is that of M. Ginsburger, *Pseudo-Jonathan (Thargum Jonathan ben Uziel zum Pentateuch) nach Londoner Handschrift (Brit. Mus. add. 27031)* (Berlin: S. Calvary, 1903) 313. The translation is that of E. G. Clarke, *Targum Pseudo-Jonathan: Deuteronomy (Aramaic Bible 5B; Colledgeville, Minnesota: Liturgical Press, 1998)* 25.

⁴¹ H. Danby, trans., *The Mishnah* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1933) 10.

(ממוניכין); a marginal gloss חייליכין is closer to the Masoretic text).⁴² *Targum Onqelos* at Deuteronomy 6:5 replaces the term “strength” with “property, possessions, substance” (ניכס), a term suggestively similar to a common Aramaic word for sacrifice (נכיס).⁴³ Like the Targumim, the Peshitta substitutes “possessions” (ܡܫܟܝܢܐ) for the Hebrew מארךך. Finally, *Sipre Deuteronomy* §32 expounds our passage in the following midrash, attributed to Rabbi Eliezer:

“If it says ‘with all your soul’ why should it also say ‘with all your might,’ and if it says ‘with all your might’ why should it also say ‘with all your soul’? Should there be a man who values his life more than his money, for him it says: ‘with all your soul,’ and should there be a man who values his money more than his life, for him it says: ‘with all your might.’”⁴⁴

To summarize, all of the early Palestinian sources translate the term מארךך of Deuteronomy 6:5 with “wealth,” “money,” “possessions,” or their lexical equivalents.

The Lukan citation of Deuteronomy 6:5, which occurs in a confrontation that sets up the parable of the Good Samaritan, bears out this interpretive connection between loving God with all one’s strength and the disposition of one’s goods (10:25-37).⁴⁵ The Lukan passage also connects the love of God with the love of one’s neighbor (Leviticus 19:18). This same conflation occurs elsewhere in the New Testament (Mark 12:28-34;⁴⁶ Matt 22:34-40; Luke 10:25-28; Rom 13:8-10; Gal 5:14). In Matthew 19:16-30, which treats love

⁴² For the Aramaic text, see A. Díez Macho, *Neophyti 1: Targum Palestinense Ms de la Biblioteca Vaticana, V, Deuteronomio* (Seminario Filologico Cardenal Cisneros del Instituto Arias Montano, Textos y Estudios 11; Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1978) 71. For an English translation, see M. McNamara, *Targum Neofiti 1: Deuteronomy* (Aramaic Bible 5A; Collegeville, Minnesota: Liturgical Press, 1997) 50. McNamara notes the correspondence between *T. Onq.* Deut 6:5 and IQS I 11-13.

⁴³ Aramaic text, A. Berliner, *Targum Onkelos, Text, nach editio Sabioneta V. J. 1557* (Berlin: Gorzelanczyk, 1884) 203; English translation, B. Grossfeld, *The Targum Onqelos to Deuteronomy* (Aramaic Bible 9; Wilmington, Delaware: Michael Glazier, 1988) 34-5.

⁴⁴ R. Hammer, *Sifre. A Tannaitic Commentary on the Book of Deuteronomy* (YJS 24; New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1986). See also *b. Pesah.* 25a, *b. Yoma* 82a, and *b. Sanh.* 74a.

⁴⁵ The question that sets up the Lukan pericope is “What must I do to inherit eternal life,” which emphasizes the correlation between the divine and human economies. The context of the Matthean citation of the Deuteronomic command is not the disposition of the disciple’s goods, but rather the establishment of Jesus’ interpretive authority vis-à-vis the Jewish leaders. This forensic element of establishing Jesus’ authority is a feature of all the gospel treatments of Deuteronomy 6:5, partly because the evangelists wish to make it appear that Jesus is extending the law in some radical fashion unpalatable to his foes. IQS I 11-15 and II 26-III 1 make similar claims for the authority of the Rule community as interpreter of God’s statutes, times (ritual calendar), and counsel vis-à-vis the congregation of wickedness (perhaps the Temple and its authorities; see also III 6, 9-11; V 2-4, 8-10; VIII 11-12, 15-16, 21-22; IX 13, 16-20).

⁴⁶ On the Markan correlation of Deuteronomy 6:5 to wealth, and the relationship of this command to the Palestinian and Syriac tradition, see M. McNamara, *Targum and Testament. Aramaic Paraphrases of the Hebrew Bible: A Light on the New Testament* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans, 1972) 124-7.

of neighbor, that command is immediately contextualized in terms of relinquished possessions. In Galatians 5:13-14, Paul summarizes the entire law and prophets in the single command to love one's neighbor and refers to that love as a kind of slavery toward the neighbor (διὰ τῆς ἀγάπης δουλεύετε ἀλλήλοι; cf. 1QS IX 21-23). In Romans 13:8-10, love of neighbor is presented as all that one should "owe" another, after a list of monetary and honorific payments appropriately made to authorities and benefactors. In James 2:8-9, love of neighbor is enjoined as an antidote to partiality for the rich at the expense of the poor. Finally, Mark 12:28-34 (cited above) which fuses Deuteronomy 6:5 and Leviticus 19:18, does not feature the disposition of one's goods, but in its subordination of burnt offerings and sacrifice to love of God and neighbor suggests that one's finances might be redirected as a result of covenant renewal (cf. Ps 40:7-11; Mic 6:6-8⁴⁷).

Returning to the sectarian literature of Qumran, two further points may be made. First, while the term "wealth" (דָּוָן) is most often used in the Deuteronomic clusters, the term "money" (מַמְוִן) occasionally replaces it in the versions, indicating that the two terms were understood interchangeably (see בָּדָוִן 1QS VI 25 *par* בַּמְמוֹן 4QS^B 3 3 [cf. CD XIV 20]; 4QS^I 3 / 4QS^D II 7 *par* וּלְמַמְוִן 1QS VI 2). Second, the Deuteronomic command to love God entirely is formulated in a unique and significant manner in 1QH^A VII 13⁴⁸ (cf. 1QH^A VI 26):

ואהבכה בנרבה ובכול I love you [God] lavishly, with (my) whole heart
 | לב ובכול נפש ברהרתי | and with all (my) soul I have purified...

Jan de Waard argues that the Deuteronomic triad of heart, soul and strength has become here heart, soul and voluntary offering (of property),⁴⁹ although it is more likely that בִּנְרַבָּה should be understood as an adverb rather than as a noun in this sentence, given the syntax. Nevertheless, the introduction of the term for a free or voluntary act into the Deuteronomic command associates all free commitments with love of God, and, as shall be demonstrated in §3.3.2 below, one of the free offerings made by members of the *yahad* was the commitment of their wealth.

Yochanan Muffs, in his studies of the Aramaic legal formulary, has demonstrated that expressions of love and joy in legal contexts convey the

⁴⁷ These two biblical passages are significant in IQS as well; see particularly IQS VIII 1-12, which cites Mic 6:8 (line 2), subordinates actual sacrifices to the perfection of the community (Ps 40:7-9, lines 4-10), and enjoins members to reveal what is concealed from Israel (Ps 40:10-11, lines 11-12). In IQS, see also IX 3-6, 26-X 11, 14-15. See §3.3.2 below.

⁴⁸ E. L. Sukenik, *DSSHU*, col. XV + frgs. 10, 32, 34 and 42; cf. García Martínez, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition* (Leiden/New York: E. J. Brill, 1997-1998) 1.154-155. There are no parallels to this passage in the Cave 4 Hodayot manuscripts.

⁴⁹ *A Comparative Study of the Old Testament Text in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the New Testament* (STDJ 4; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1965) 63-4.

specific legal idea of free and uncoerced willingness.⁵⁰ That same meaning is reinforced in 1QH^a VI 26 and VII 13, with the juxtaposition of the verb “to love” and the adverb “freely,” just as it is conveyed in the Rule by the Deuteronomic command to love God entirely and the explication of that love as a voluntary gift (see §7.3 below).

Together, these texts demonstrate that the cluster of terms “knowledge, strength, and wealth” is to be viewed as an interpretation of Deuteronomy 6:5 and thus as a statement of fundamental covenant commitment on the part of the initiate.

3.3.1.3 *The Deuteronomic Flavor of 1QS I 1–IV 26*

The strong Deuteronomic echoes of these word clusters re-sound when the purpose of the three-fold donation is specified in 1QS I 12-13. The aim of giving one’s knowledge to the community is the refinement of that knowledge “in the truth of God’s decrees” (Deut 10:13; 11:1, 8, 13; 26:16-17; 27:1, 10; 30:8, 10; Josh 22:5). The purpose of the contribution of one’s strength to the group is that it be marshaled “in accordance with [God’s] ‘perfect paths’” (Deut 10:12; 26:17; 28:9; Josh 22:5). The goal of donating all one’s wealth is that it be managed according to God’s righteous counsel. The fact that wealth is included in the trio of donations is consistent with the Deuteronomic promise of blessing in return for covenant fidelity. The blessings God promises are concrete in Deuteronomy: they include, preeminently, the land itself, and secondarily all signs of prosperity or abundance that the land affords, such as children, crops, and increased herds and flocks.⁵¹ They are also concrete in 1QS IV 6-8:

[The] visitation of all those who walk in [the principles of the spirit] is healing (מרפה)⁵² and great peace in long life, multiplication of progeny⁵³ together with

⁵⁰ See “Joy and Love as Metaphorical Expressions of Willingness and Spontaneity in Cuneiform, Ancient Hebrew, and Related Literatures: Divine Investitures in the Midrash in the Light of Neo-Babylonian Royal Grants,” in *Christianity, Judaism and Other Greco-Roman Cults: Studies for Morton Smith at Sixty*, part 3, *Judaism before 70* (ed. J. Neusner; SJLA 12; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1975) 1-36; *idem*, *Studies in the Aramaic Legal Papyri from Elephantine* (SDIOAP 8; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1969; reprinted New York: KTAV, 1973).

⁵¹ These concrete blessings in Deuteronomy include the fruit of one’s womb (7:13), the fruit of the ground (9:26), grain, wine, oil (7:13), increase of cattle, issue of flock (7:13; 8:13), one’s health (7:15), safety from one’s enemies (7:15-16, 20-21), food to eat (8:12; 10:18), silver and gold, increase (8:13), clothing (10:18), one’s household (11:6), and one’s tents (11:6). The Deuteronomic echoes in turn suggest what the community might have understood by the term “wealth” (see §3.4.1 below).

⁵² This term is used of eschatological salvation in Jer 8:15; 14:19; Mal 3:20; cf. *1 En.* 10.7; 95.4; 96.3; *Jub* 1:29; 23:29 (Wernberg-Møller, *The Manual of Discipline*, 79).

⁵³ *1 Enoch* 10.17 also promises progeny as one of many blessings in the eschatological era; cf. Isa 49:20; 53:10.

all everlasting blessings, endless joy in everlasting life, and a crown of glory together with resplendent attire in eternal light.⁵⁴

The land and its produce are understood as God's gift in the covenant relationship, and Israel's proper response to this gift is to return some of these resources to God in the sacrificial obligation (cf. 1QS X 14-15). This demonstrates a natural affinity between two of the rationales for committing one's wealth in this community, that of covenant fidelity and that of sacrificial offering (see §3.3.2 below). The introductory passage delineating the purpose of the three-fold donation concludes with a Deuteronomic warning against turning aside to the right or the left (Deut 5:32; 17:11, 20⁵⁵), an injunction which encompasses observance of times and seasons (1QS I 8-9, 13-15) and thereby further recommends the natural affinity of covenant loyalty and ritual obligation.

Several other common Deuteronomic motifs and passages appear in this first section of the Rule. First, the term "order" (סדר⁵⁶) in title of the work carries the meaning of (battle) array or order, post or place in the array, or ordinance, prescription.⁵⁷ These are images of military and liturgical mustering, and are apropos of the assembly of Israelites in the wilderness, convened by God at Sinai and summoned to eschatological battle both beyond and within the promised land. Second, the command to gather to a new covenant is grounded in Moses' authority (1QS I 3). Third, the term "community" (יחד), while certainly not restricted to Deuteronomy, nevertheless occurs there in reference to the community gathered around Moses (Deut 33:5; cf. Exod 19:8).⁵⁸ Fourth, the phrase "perfection of the way" and its variants "perfect ones of the way" and "walking perfectly," occur frequently (1QS I 8-9, I 13; II 2; III 9-10; IV 22; Deut 10:12; 26:17; 28:9).⁵⁹ Fifth, the adherents are told to

⁵⁴ These final phrases are rooted in scriptures held to be authoritative by this community: Isa 35:10; 51:11; 61:7; *I En.* 62.15.

⁵⁵ The verb "to stray" (צעור) used in 1QS I 12 should be read as synonymous with the verb "to veer" (סור) found in 1QS I 13 and more commonly found in similar biblical contexts.

⁵⁶ The text of 1QS is damaged (ספר סדר היחד), but the term is likely on analogy with 4QpapS^a I 1. See also 1QS I 16; II 20; V 1, 23; VI 8, 22; CD VII 6, 8; X 4; XII 19, 22; XIII 7; XIV 3, 12.

⁵⁷ Wernberg-Møller, *The Manual of Discipline*, 44; Schiffman, *The Halakhah at Qumran* (SJLA 16; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1975) 60-68; and Weinfeld, *Organizational Pattern and Penal Code*, 10-13. Weinfeld notes that the original meaning of the term was "bond" or "cord," just as the term חבר derives from a word meaning "bending or joining together." The sectarians' choice of the word סדר depends, in Weinfeld's view, not on biblical Hebrew but on the Greek word τάξις.

⁵⁸ Talmon, "The Sektarian יחד—A Biblical Noun," *VT* 3 (1953) 133-40.

⁵⁹ The phrases are ubiquitous in 1QS; see also I 25; III 20; IV 6-8, 15, 18, 24; V 4, 10; VIII 1-2, 9-10, 18, 20-21, 25; IX 2, 8-9, 12, 19-21; X 21; XI 2, 10-11, 13, 17; and 1QSa I 28; 1QM XIV 7; 1QH^b IX 36. For other biblical occasions of this phrase, see also Pss 101:2; 119:1, Prov 11:20, and Mic 6:8. It is contrasted to walking in the darkness (1QS III 21; IV 11-12); in wickedness (V 10-11); in the stubbornness of one's heart (1QS I 6; II 14, 26; III 3; V 4; VII 19, 24; IX 9-10; see Deut 29:18;

do what is right "as [God] commanded through Moses and through all his servants the prophets" (1QS I 2-3; 1 Kgs 14:18; 15:29; 18:36; 2 Kgs 9:7, 36; 10:10; 14:25).⁶⁰ A sixth common Deuteronomic injunction that appears in 1QS is to "love all [God] has chosen" (1QS I 3-4; Deut 10:12; 11:13; 30:16). Seventh, the people are adjured to "observe [God's] statutes" (1QS I 7-8, 12, 13-15, 17), a regular admonition in Deuteronomy (10:13; 11:1, 8, 13; 26:16-17; 27:1, 10; 30:8, 10). Eighth, the references to a stiff-necked people who must circumcise their hearts (1QS IV 11)⁶¹ recall a common Deuteronomic and prophetic phrase (Deut 10:16; 30:6; Jer 4:4).⁶² A ninth point is that the liturgical section on the order of the covenant initiation and renewal ceremony is filled with Deuteronomic references, from the opening statement, "Thus all those entering into the rule of the community shall cross over⁶³ into the covenant before God" (1QS I 16; Deut 29:11) to the particular shape of the blessing and cursing ceremony (1QS I 18-II 18; Deut 11:26-29; 27:11-28:68)⁶⁴ and the order in which the members are to cross over (1QS II 19-23; Deut 1:9-18; Josh 22:21).⁶⁵ This is consistent with the fact that many of the motifs cited earlier occur in that section of Deuteronomy which serves as a covenant renewal ceremony itself (chapters 29-31).⁶⁶ Students of 1QS have long noted the significance of Deuteronomistic themes in the Rule. P. Wernberg-Møller in 1955 provided the first extended list of such allusions (see Table 9, "Allusions to Deuteronomistic phrases in the Rule noted by P. Wernberg-Møller").⁶⁷ Given the heavy reference to the Deuteronomists' characteristic covenant terminology throughout the Rule, it is not surprising that the covenant renewal ceremony in 1QS in particular would depend heavily on Deuteronomy.

Jer 3:17; 7:24; 9:13; 11:8; 13:10; 16:12; 18:12; 23:17), and to turning aside to walk to the right or the left (1QS I 15; III 10; Deut 5:32; 17:11, 20).

⁶⁰ Cf. 1QS VIII 15-16.

⁶¹ Cf. 1QS V 5, 26.

⁶² Cf. Lev 26:41; Jer 9:25; Ezek 44:7, 9; Rom 2:29.

⁶³ Qimron and Charlesworth contend that the "technical" terms "enter" (כָּבַח) and "cross" (עָבַר) "represent the strong social barriers constructed by the community" ("Rule of the Community," in *DSSHAG*, 1.9 n. 19). The terms may do this, but they occur here because they occur in Deuteronomy.

⁶⁴ See particularly 1QS II 13-16, an almost exact citation of Deut 29:18-19. Weinfeld notes further parallels between the covenant initiation in 1QS and both Josh 8:30-35 and Neh 9:6-38; *Organizational Pattern and Penal Code*, 8.

⁶⁵ See Exod 18:13-26; Num 11:16; 1 Sam 8:12; 1QSa I 14-15, 19-II 1. The order of passing particularly recalls the moment of conquest, when the priests/Levites bearing the ark and then all the people prepare to cross over the Jordan into the land promised by God (Josh 3:1-4:24). Some of the numbers "thousands, hundreds, fifties, tens" also appear in two New Testament accounts reminiscent of the wilderness feeding narratives: Mark 6:34-44 settles the hungry crowd in groups of hundreds and fifties, while Luke 9:10-17 arranges them in "fifties."

⁶⁶ For other covenant renewal ceremonies, see Josh 24; 2 Kgs 23; Neh 9-10.

⁶⁷ "Some Reflections on the Biblical Material in the Manual of Discipline," *ST* 9 (1955) 41 n. 1.

Table 9.

Allusions to Deuteronomistic phrases in the Rule noted by P. Wernberg-Møller

<i>IQS</i>	<i>Deuteronomistic History</i>	<i>IQS</i>	<i>Deuteronomistic History</i>
I 2	Deut 6:18; 12:28	V 5	Deut 10:16
I 3, 17	Deut 1:3; Josh 14:2; 21:8; 2 Kgs 17:23	V 11	Deut 1:3; Josh 14:2; 21:8; 2 Kgs 17:23
I 7	Deut 28:15	V 21	Deut 8:18
I 14-15	2 Sam 20:5	VI 20	2 Kgs 15:20
I 18	Deut 29:11	VI 27	Deut 28:58
I 21	1 Sam 12:7	VII 11	1 Sam 19:5
II 2	Deut 10:12; 11:22	VIII 9	Josh 24:14; Judg 9:16
II 4	Deut 27:14-15	IX 12	Deut 12:1
II 5	Deut 28:16, 19	X 2	Deut 28:12
II 11-12	Deut 29:18-20	X 13	Deut 28:6
II 19	1 Sam 1:7	XI 2-3	Deut 9:5
III 15	1 Sam 2:3		
III 21	2 Sam 3:34; 7:10		

Most commentators believe that the annual covenant renewal ceremony was the central festival for the community that followed the Rule.⁶⁸ It is likely that this great festival took place on the Festival of Pentecost or Weeks: 4QD^a 11 16-18 (*par* 4QD^c 7 ii 11-12) indicates that the congregation was to meet in the third month to curse those who turn to the right [or left from the] Torah," while the book of *Jubilees*, so heavily attested at Qumran, indicates not only that the Festival of Weeks took place in the third month, but also that it had increasingly become associated with past covenant renewals in at least one strand of Judaism.⁶⁹ The ceremony of blessing and cursing in the first

⁶⁸ See M. Weise, *Kultzeiten und kultischer Bundesschluss in der "Ordensregel" vom Toten Meer* (SPB 3; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1961); H.-W. Kuhn, *Enderwartung und gegenwärtiges Heil* (SUNT 4; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1966). The vocabulary of this section is similar to that of the final psalm of the Instructor (X 9-XI 22), which may suggest that the *Sitz im Leben* of that psalm was the annual covenant renewal ceremony.

⁶⁹ See 4QDamascus Document^a 11 16-18 (*par* 4QD^c 7 ii 11-12), which stipulates that all the inhabitants of the camps will "congregate in the third month and curse those who turn right [or left from the] Law"; and 4QCommunal Ceremony (4Q285), which uses the phrase "until the [...] week" in the context of a covenant renewal ceremony. For the Jubilees-Qumran tradition of Pentecost as the chief feast, see VanderKam, "The Festival of Weeks and the Story of Pentecost in Acts 2," (forthcoming); J. M. Baumgarten, "4QHalakah^a 5, the Law of *Hadash*, and the Pentecost Calendar," *JJS* 27 (1976) 36-46; reprinted in *Studies in Qumran Law* (SJLA 24; Leiden:

columns of IQS is most likely the same ceremony referred to in 4QD^a, e. Since this ceremony as introduced (I 11-15) and outlined (III 2-3) accords wealth a significant role, we are justified in concluding that wealth was viewed as one of the primary domains in which covenant fidelity was manifested and tested in the community that adhered to this document.

The importance of Deuteronomy for the self-understanding of the community is corroborated by textual evidence outside the Rule tradition. It is not merely the matter of the Book of Deuteronomy being one of the three most heavily-attested biblical books discovered at Qumran. There is also the fact that three of these Deuteronomy manuscripts excerpt portions of the book and exhibit a small format that suggests that they served as "special-use texts," perhaps for the covenant renewal ceremony prescribed in IQS I 1-III 12.⁷⁰ In addition, there is the evidence of twenty-three phylactery manuscripts or *tefillin*, and eight *mezuzot* manuscripts, which provide further written evidence for the significance of Deuteronomy (and Exodus) and demonstrate that this community fulfilled the commands in Deuteronomy 6:8-9.⁷¹ Finally, the physical location of the community settlement on the northwestern edge of the Dead Sea, opposite the location of Moses' final speech (Deut 29-31), invites speculation about the self-identification of this community with the first generation to enter the promised land.⁷²

E. J. Brill, 1977) 131-42; B. Noack, "The Day of Pentecost in Jubilees, Qumran, and Acts," *ASTI* 1 (1962) 73-95.

⁷⁰ 4QDeutⁱ includes Deut 5:1-6:3; 8:5-10; [10:12-11:5]; 11:6-21; Exod 12:43-13:16; Deut 32:1-9; J. A. Duncan, "37. 4QDeutⁱ," in *Qumran Cave 4.IX: Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, Kings* (ed. E. Ulrich et al.; DJD 14; Oxford: Clarendon, 1995) 75-91, pls. XX-XXIII. 4QDeutⁱ includes Deut 8:5-10; 5:1-6:1; S. White Crawford, "41. 4QDeutⁱ" (*DJD* 14) 117-28, pls. XXVIII-XXIX. 4QDeut^q contains Deut 32:37-43, 9-10 (?); E. Ulrich, "44. 4QDeut^q" (*DJD* 14) 137-42, pl. XXXI.

⁷¹ 1QPhyl (D. Barthélemy, O. P., "13. Phylactère," in *Qumrân Cave I* [ed. Barthélemy and Milik; DJD 1; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955] 72-6, pl. XIV); 4QPhyl^{a-u} (Milik, "II. Phylactères A-U [128-48]," in *Qumrân grotte 4.II* [ed. R. de Vaux, O. P. and Milik; DJD 6; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977] 38-79, pls. VII-XXV); 8QPhyl (M. Baillet, "3. Phylactère," in *DJDJ* 3, 149-57, pls. XXXII-XXXIII); 4QMez^{b-b} (Milik, "III. Mezuzot A-G [149-55]" [*DJD* 6] 80-85, pls. XXV-XXVII); 8QMez (Baillet, "4. Mezouza" [*DJDJ* 3] 158-60, pl. XXXIV). Several of these manuscripts preserve Deuteronomy 6:5 (4QPhyl^{c,h,m}, 8QPhyl, and 4QMez^{b-d}). Only one of the thirty biblical manuscripts of Deuteronomy preserves Deut 6:5 (4QDeut^l).

⁷² The physical re-location of the community to the wilderness is explicated in terms of Isa 40:3 in IQS VIII 12-16 (cf. 4QS^d VI 6-8; 4QS^e III 4-8) and in IQS IX 19-20; 4QP^s III 1; 1QM I 2-3; CD VI 4-5 on Num 21:18 (cf. CD VI 19; VII 18-19); see G. J. Brooke, "Isaiah 40:3 and the Wilderness Community," in *Paris*, 117-32. Norman Golb does not believe that the passages in IQS necessarily reflect a historical moment; "The Problem of Origin and Identification of the Dead Sea Scrolls," *PAPS* 124 (1980) 1-24.

Another biblical passage that may have played into the community's self-understanding and physical location was Ezek 47:1-12; see VanderKam, "The Judean Desert and the Community of the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Antikes Judentum und frühes Christentum. Festschrift für Hartmut Stegemann zum 65. Geburtstag* (eds. B. Kollmann, W. Reinbold, and A. Steudel; BZNW 97; Berlin/New York: de Gruyter, 1999) 159-71. On the topic, see also O. Betz, "The Eschatological Interpretation of the Sinai-Tradition in Qumran and in the New Testament," *RevQ* 6 (1967) 89-

The heavy influence of Deuteronomy on the specific language and liturgical function of IQS I 1–III 12 supports the contention that the cluster of initiatory donations, “knowledge, strength, and wealth,” should be viewed in light of Deuteronomy 6:5, and therefore as the key manifestations of complete devotion to God.

3.3.1.4 *Word Clusters Including Wealth in Other Sections of IQS*

Since IQS I–IV are viewed by some to be a later addition to the Rule, it would be of some importance to establish whether the Deuteronomic word clusters including a reference to wealth occur in other sections of the document.⁷³ Allowing for the sort of interpretive flexibility in terminology we have already seen with Deuteronomy 6:5, the similarity of these clusters to texts in IQS I 11–15 and III 2–3 and the comparable role they accord wealth as the means of assimilation and alienation from the community and as one of its criteria of judgment recommend that these clusters also should be understood in the context of covenant fidelity.

Wealth appears as one of several terms that symbolize assimilation into the community and therefore as one of the domains over which community leaders exercise authority. In IQS V 1–4, the terms wealth and Torah are combined twice and, on the second occasion, judgment is also mentioned.

They should be separated from the congregation of 1 men of unrighteousness in order to become a community in Torah and in wealth, and answer according to the sons of Zadok the priests, the guardians of the covenant, and according to the multitude of men 1 of the community,⁷⁴ those who keep hold of the covenant. According to them the measure of the lot shall go out for every affair involving Torah and wealth and judgment, in order to do truth as one and humility, 1 righteousness and judgment, and compassionate love and humble walking in all their ways.

107; D. R. Schwartz, “Temple and Desert: On Religion and State in Second Temple Period Judea,” in *Studies in the Jewish Background of Christianity* (WUNT 60; Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck] 1992) 29–43; B. W. Longenecker, “The Wilderness and Revolutionary Ferment in First-Century Palestine: A Response to D. R. Schwartz and J. Marcus,” *JSJ* 29 (1998) 322–36. See also Josephus, *War* 2.13.3 (§§258–60).

Talmon believes that the wilderness accounts served as a negative standard as well, demonstrating a time of Israel’s temptation and foundering; “The ‘Desert Motif’ in the Bible and in Qumran Literature,” in *Biblical Motifs* (ed. A. Altman; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1966) 31–63. Talmon’s point is true, but not exclusively so; it is equally the case that the wilderness period functioned as a positive ideal by virtue of its close association with the Mosaic covenant.

⁷³ Some similar clusters do not include explicit references to wealth: see particularly “insight and works in the Torah” (IQS V 21, 23–24; VI 14, 16, 18). While wealth is not included in these groups for judgment, cols. VI–VII do make clear that wealth is a symbol of assimilation (VI 17, 19–20, 22) and that its disposal is a matter of communal judgment (VI 24–25; VII 6–8, 24–25).

⁷⁴ This section represents one of the most significant differences between extant versions of the Rule. The italicized portion is extant only in IQS V 2–3, whereas in 4QS^b IX 3 and 4QS^d I 2 the only authoritative body overseeing the return in Torah and wealth is the Many (הרבים).

Two other manuscripts are extant at this point, 4QS^{b, d}, and they vary considerably from 1QS, although they are almost identical to each other (the portions of 1QS lacking in 4QS^{b, d} have been italicized above). For our immediate purposes, the only variant relative to the word clusters is that 4QS^{b, d} lack the final reference to judgment. This could indicate that judgment emerged only later as a central symbol of communal unity, but for the fact that the pair “wealth and judgment” occurs elsewhere in 4QS^d (“Only the son[s] of Aaron [will ru]ll[e] in judgment and wealth,” VII 6-9; cf. 1QS IX 7 below). The scribe of 1QS V 3 may have added judgment to conform the statement to the communal practice of casting lots,⁷⁵ to the parallel introduction in 1QS IX 7, or to the scriptural mandate (Micah 6:8 in 1QS V 3-4⁷⁶). The passage occurs in the generic category of an introduction, which is to say in the oath-like context of the community’s “statement of purpose”; on this point, it may be compared to 1QS I 11-15 and IX 5-7.

The activities of Torah obedience and judgment differ from the word clusters used in the first section of 1QS. Torah obedience is, however, linked explicitly in 1QS I 12-13 to knowledge and strength. Judgment is related to the knowledge, discipline, and counsel that are the goals of the voluntary offering in 1QS I 11-15. The similarity of these word groups to the clusters in the first section of the document, combined with the infusion of covenant-guarding and covenant-keeping language, the occurrence of this passage in the genre of an oath-like introduction, and the general repetition of material found in 1QS I 1-15, recommend that these word groups be viewed as expressions of the key symbols of covenant fidelity.

1QS IX 5-7 mentions the word cluster “judgment and wealth” in the generic context of an introduction and in order to establish the purview of the group’s leaders.

In this time the *men of | the community* shall separate themselves (as) a holy house for Aaron, to be united as a holy of holies, and a house of the Community for Israel, (for) those who are walking in perfection. | Only the sons of Aaron will rule in judgment and wealth,⁷⁷ and according to them will the lot go out for every regulation for the men of the Community.

This passage is different from earlier introductory statements in which wealth figures. The community separates itself for a holy house, rather than from the unrighteous congregation. The only authorities over judgment and wealth (Torah is not mentioned) are the sons of Aaron, rather than the Many (4QS^{b, d}

⁷⁵ Note that, in material parallel to 1QS IX 5-7, 4QS^d VII 7 mentions judgment and wealth as the responsibility of the sons of Aaron but does not make any reference to the casting of lots.

⁷⁶ Another reference to the Micah passage occurs in 4QApocryphon of Moses^{c?}? 15 1 (4Q408): “humble walking” (הַלְצַע לְכַרְתָּ); see A. Steudel, *DJD* 36, 314, pl. XXI.

⁷⁷ In Sirach 45:17, Aaron oversees the “ordinance” and the “regulation.” Wernberg-Møller sees a strong relationship and likely conscious emendation of Sirach to fit the new circumstances of this community (*The Manual of Discipline*, 134).

at 1QS V 2-3) or the sons of Zadok and the Many (1QS V 2-3). Rather than a summons to return, the passage is a statement of arrival. This is due to the future orientation of VIII 4b–IX 11,⁷⁸ but before these statements are labeled eschatological and therefore as ideological projections rather than reflections of actual practice, the parallel and more present-oriented introductions in the first two sections of 1QS must be taken into account.

One other manuscript is extant at this point. 4QS^d VII 6-9 differs from 1QS in the phrases italicized above. In summary, 4QS^d applies Temple imagery to the community less elaborately than 1QS, but shares the root metaphor. It also witnesses to the role of the sons of Aaron as the only arbiters of judgment and wealth, but lacks the reference to the explicit mechanism of their arbitration, the lot. The alterations of the tradition present in 1QS demonstrate both the manipulation of a metaphor and the addition of what appears to be a concrete statement of practice, the casting of lots, perhaps reflective of a later development in communal customs (4QS^{b, d} and 1QS V 3). 1QS also supplements the earlier tradition with language that emphasizes the community into which initiates have come.

One other passage, 1QS VI 21-23, mentions wealth in a cluster of words which each symbolize the chief tokens of assimilation into the community. This passage occurs in explicit directions for covenant initiation:

And if | the lot results in him joining the Community, they shall enter him in the Rule according to his rank among his brothers for Torah, for judgment, for purity and for mixing his wealth. And his counsel will be | for the Community, and his judgment.

Part of the final phrase, “[And] his counsel will be for the Com[munity],” is also preserved in 4QS^g 3 1. The member is registered by rank for the purpose of joining the community in its most significant communal activities, those acts which identify it as a *yahad*: discussion of the Torah, judgment, purity (food, drink and washings), and wealth. The member’s counsel, judgment, and possessions (see 1QS VI 19-20) are merged with those of the community in stages commensurate with his progress in insight and legal observance (1QS VI 16-21). At the same time, the candidate’s progress entitles him to participate in the community’s purity (food and/or washings VI 16, drink VI 20-21) and perhaps in its wealth (VI 17; but cf. 4QS^b XI 12-13, which lacks the phrase). All of these terms except for “purity” have appeared elsewhere in conjunction with wealth; we shall see that the association of purity with the

⁷⁸ The future orientation is apparent in the initial phrases that mark these sections: “When these become in Israel (בהיות אלה בִּישְׂרָאֵל) the Council of the Community” (VIII 4); “When these are established in the principles of the Community” (בהכון אלה ביסוד היחד) (VIII 10); “When these become the community in Israel” (ובהיות אלה לְיַחַד בִּישְׂרָאֵל) (VIII 12). E. F. Sutcliffe believes that cols. VIII–IX represent the oldest layer of the text, a layer that was more future-oriented than other strata reflected in the text; see “The First Fifteen Members of the Qumran Community. A Note on 1QS 8:1ff,” *JSS* 4 (1959) 134-8.

cluster of terms is more common when the alienation of a miscreant member is at issue (III 3-6; V 13-15). The verb used for “mixing” one’s wealth, ערב, is consistent with the language of purity and pollution (see §3.3.2.3 below). It is also a customary phrase for business associations.⁷⁹

Three passages invoke the cluster of terms reminiscent of Deuteronomy 6:5 in discussions of the alienated member. The first is IQS V 14-20, a passage that falls in the generic category of covenant initiation and renewal:

Regarding him, no one should become *one with him in his service or in his wealth lest he lend him* | *guilty iniquity; rather he should remain far from him in everything, for thus it is written: “From everything that is false you shall remain far.”* And regarding them no one from the men | *of the community shall respond according to them in any Torah or judgment.* And regarding him he shall not eat from any of their wealth, and he shall not drink, and he shall not take from their hand anything at all, | which is not with a price,⁸⁰ *as it is written: “Shun the man whose breath is in his nostrils, for with what is he reckoned?”* For | *all who are not reckoned in his covenant will be separated, they and all that is theirs.* The man of holiness shall not depend on any works | that are worthless, for worthless are all who do not know his covenant. And all who spurn his word he will annihilate from the world, and all their deeds are for impurity | before him, and (they are) unclean in all their wealth.⁸¹

The first word cluster to occur in this section is “service or wealth.” The word “service” appears to encompass the more common pair, “Torah and judgment” (Num 15:16), since this pair is mentioned in V 16 alongside a specification of wealth (the source of another’s food, drink, or anything he might offer, V 16-17). The explication of service as “Torah and judgment” displays once again the flexibility of terminology, just as it renders service synonymous with one’s acts in Torah and judgment. This interpretation would be consistent with an earlier reference to “the service of righteousness” (עבודת צדק) in IQS IV 9.⁸²

⁷⁹ See 4QInstruction^b 2 ii 18 and the discussion of this passage on pp. 184-6 below. See also the comparable institution for sharing wealth in the Damascus Document, the house of the association (בית החבר); 4QD^a 10 i 5-13; §2.4.3.2 above)

⁸⁰ The passage indicates that it was forbidden to take a gift or loan from an apostate; see J. M. Baumgarten, “The ‘Sons of Dawn’ in CDC 13:14-15 and the Ban on Commerce among the Esenes,” *IEJ* 33 (1983) 81.

⁸¹ Cf. IQS III 2-3, where the allusion to Hosea 10:13 (“wicked tread from his ploughing”) juxtaposes the evil garnering and disposition of wealth to images of the just sacrifice desired by God. The relation of wealth in IQS V 20 is explicated in sacrificial terms in the earlier version 4QS^d I 11-12 (see below).

⁸² It would also be consistent with references to service in general in IQS; see III 26 (“actions,” *DSSHAG*, 1.17) and IV 10 (“worship,” *DSSHAG*, 1.17). CD X 18-19 includes service in a list of weekday concerns which may not be discussed on the sabbath. The list includes terms for wealth found in IQS: “He should not pour out regarding wealth or gain (אֵל יִשְׁפֹּט עַל הַיָּוֵן) (וּבְצַע). | He should not speak about matters of work or of the service (אֵל דִּבֶּר בְּדַבְרֵי הַמְלָאכָה) (וְהַעֲבִידָה) to be carried out on the following day.” Only 4QD^e 6 v 1-4 overlaps with CD X 14-19; 4QD^e is fragmentary, but there appear to be no substantial differences between the two manuscripts (Baumgarten, *DJD* 18, 160-62, pl. XXXIII).

This passage is attested in 4QS^{b, d} in a very different form. The section italicized above is not extant in 4QS^{b, d}, although in both manuscripts space for some of the words is present, and given the content of the passage and the fact that 1QS customarily adds scriptural citations, the underlined words are most likely the ones that filled the lacuna. 4QS^{b, d} are fragmentary at the outset of the passage, but both appear to have the opening admonition against going with the man of deceit. 4QS^b, however, says merely that one is not to “go” with such a man; 1QS reads that one should not become one with him (לֹא יֵחַד), thereby employing the verb so closely identified with the community’s self-understanding. Of the opening cluster of terms, “service and wealth,” 4QS^d preserves the word service (4QS^b has the requisite space) but then appears to move directly to the specific forms of wealth one must refrain from sharing. 4QS^{b, d} both have the final justification for alienation, that one must not depend on any worthless works. 4QS^d adds a fragmentary passage not attested in any other witness, “[T]heir deeds are for impuri[ty] before him, and (they are) unclean in all their [wealth? |] peoples and oaths and bans and vows in their mouths” (I 11-12). Where 1QS reads wealth, 4QS^d probably read wealth and then definitely read at least two lines of text, including several terms for ritual commitments entailing a financial obligation.⁸³ This recommends the thesis that wealth was understood as a symbol not only of communal identity, but also and more fundamentally of covenant fidelity. Covenant fidelity had always required financial obligations in the sacrificial system; so too in the community of the renewed covenant the donation of wealth and the alienation of impure wealth demonstrate that commitment in a radical way and attract the terminology of the sacrificial enterprise (see §3.3.2 below).

Another cluster of words, “pure (food) and wealth,” occurs in a second passage on the alienation of a miscreant member, 1QS VII 24-25:

{ } *And every man who has been in the council of the Community { } for the fullness of ten years | { } Blank and his spirit turns to do treachery against the Community, and he goes out from before the | Many to walk in the stubbornness of his heart, he shall never return to the council of the Community, and the man from the men of the Commun[ity w]ho mixes | with him in his pure (food) or in his wealth whi[ch |] the Many, and his judgment shall be like his, he shall be sent a[way*

This passage has been heavily edited by scribe B, but in a manner that conforms it to a tradition earlier than 1QS and attested by 4QS^e (scribe B’s insertions and corrections have been italicized above). The combination of pure food with wealth as the prime symbols of community forbidden to the errant member is not surprising, given that purity and wealth are two manifestations

⁸³ This reading is preserved on a separate fragment (1b), but the lines above the third text line otherwise correspond well to 1QS V, warranting the placement.

of membership into which the initiate is gradually admitted elsewhere in the document (VI 16-23). The language of mixture also echoes that earlier passage.⁸⁴ Commensality, and particularly the shared meal of pure food, is a feature of communal intimacy, and is therefore a preeminent facet of communal life from which the miscreant must be alienated.⁸⁵

This statement occurs in the generic category of the rules of communal discipline. Like the clusters that symbolize communal identity in the introductory and initiatory categories, the prohibition against mixing with impure wealth serves to maintain communal boundaries.

One final word cluster reminiscent of Deuteronomy 6:5, "wealth and counsel," occurs in the context of the alienation of a miscreant member (1QS VIII 21-25). It also falls in the generic category of disciplinary rules.

All who enter the council of holiness of those walking in the perfection of the way as has been commanded, any one of them | who transgresses a word from the Torah of Moses with a haughty hand or through carelessness will be sent away from the council of the Community, | never to return; none of the men of holiness shall mix with his wealth or with his counsel on any | matter. But if he acted in oversight he should be separated⁸⁶ from the pure (food) and from the counsel and *the judgment applied to him*: | "*He cannot judge a man and no one should ask his counsel* for two whole years."

Here wealth and counsel are the forbidden domains of intercourse. The distinction between intentional and negligent acts is instructive: mixture of wealth is only forbidden in the more severe case, indicating perhaps that wealth was a clearer symbol of communal identity than counsel, purity, or judgment. This differs from the injunction in VII 24-25, which imposes the less severe penalty (wealth and pure food) to the most severe case, the intentional apostasy of a leader, and applies the same severe penalty on any member who mixes with him.

This passage corresponds to the bottom of one column, largely lost, and the top of the subsequent column in 4QS^d. The only material that is certainly lacking from this manuscript is the citation of the regulation about judgment and counsel, italicized above. The insertion of such a corroborative quotation is a regular feature of 1QS in comparison with the earlier witnesses.

⁸⁴ Saul Lieberman notes the gradual induction of the *haverim* into the purity regulations of the group, a process which culminated in the privilege of sharing pure food ("The Discipline in the So-Called Dead Sea Manual of Discipline," *JBL* 71 [1952] 201-204).

⁸⁵ See 1QH^a XIII 23-24: "Ev[en those who e]at my bread | have raised their heel against me; they have mocked me with an unjust tongue all those who had joined my council" (cf. Pss 41:10 [9]; 55:13-15). On the idiomatic reference to shared food in contexts of betrayal, see J. D. M. Derrett, "Discipline and Betrayal in Qumran," in *Intertestamental Essays in Honour of Jozef Tadeusz Milik* (ed. Z. J. Kapera; QM 6; Kraków: Enigma, 1992) 45-52.

⁸⁶ 4QS^d VII 1 has the *hif'il* form of the verb with a pronominal suffix ("he should separate himself" [וְיִבְרִיחַ]), whereas 1QS VIII 24 has the *hof'al* form of the verb (וְיִבְרַח).

To summarize, wealth occurs alongside various other terms in IQS: knowledge, strength, Torah, judgment, counsel, purity/pure food, service. In each case, the terms appear in passages concerned to establish or maintain communal boundaries, whether by assimilation of the initiate, by alienation of the errant member or outsider, or by the assertion of executive authority. The greatest variety of terms appears in the second and earliest section of the document, IQS V–VII, although the coupling with knowledge and strength in the first section, IQS I–IV, must also be very old (see 4QpapS^a). The clusters are less common in the more future-oriented third and fourth sections (IQS VIII–XI), which at any rate do not introduce new terms.

Only three of the generic categories employ the clusters of terms that include wealth: introductions, covenant initiation and renewal sections, and rules of communal discipline. The explicit clusters are absent from rules of communal organization and guidelines for the wise leader, although the concepts mentioned in the clusters are featured in other ways in the guidelines. The clusters are almost identical for the categories of introduction and initiation (knowledge, strength, Torah, and judgment are mentioned), although the sections on initiation add the terms purity, counsel, and service, perhaps because these derive from concrete initiation rituals. Purity and counsel are the only terms clustered with wealth in the rules of communal discipline.

The terms Torah, judgment and wealth symbolize assimilation to, alienation from, and executive authority within the community. When assimilation or alienation is at issue, the terms pure (food) and counsel become communal boundary markers as well.

The redactional evidence does not shed any appreciable light on the development of these clusters. They are part of the Rule tradition in its earliest form. In one case the actual word cluster was altered (IQS V 3), but this had the character of a harmonizing addition rather than a reflection of change in communal practice. All other attested variants appear not in the word clusters, but in buttressing arguments (scriptural citations, citations of earlier regulations), or in new authorities or mechanisms governing wealth and its companion symbols (see §3.4.3 below).

3.3.1.5 *Conclusions*

Wealth is mentioned in the Rule tradition in word clusters reminiscent of Deuteronomy 6:5, the central summons to covenant fidelity. It is one of several symbols of radical commitment to this particular community's interpretation of the covenant, and therefore a communal boundary marker. Though the commitment of one's wealth to this community is envisaged as radical—comprehending as it does not only one's heart, soul, and strength but also one's wealth, judgment, counsel, and Torah observance (purity/service)—it is nevertheless a commitment of which any layman was capable, and to which

the laity had been summoned repeatedly in the biblical tradition. Unlike the priesthood, no special lineage was required to attain this purity. All that was necessary was the willingness to commit one's resources and to submit to the discipline of communal authority.⁸⁷ The extension of the biblical command to share wealth was a novel claim warranted in the Rule community by their arrogation of interpretive authority. As with calendrical issues, so too with the mixture of wealth the Rule elevates the truth of its interpretation to the level of the Torah itself. The community saw itself as the Israelite people in the wilderness (VIII 12-16; IX 19-20), lacking nothing in their unity and relying on God's beneficence (Deut 2:7; 8:9) in a radical interpretation of the Sinai covenant.

3.3.2 *Sacrificial Offering*

Wealth as a demonstration of covenant fidelity had throughout the biblical period been claimed by the prophets for the sake of justice and by the priests for the sake of Israel's atonement, sanctification, and blessing. We have seen how the Rule community claimed its members' wealth as a sign of their commitment to the community and devotion to God. We now turn to another aspect of covenant fidelity which provided a rationale for the practice of contributed wealth, the sacrificial system.⁸⁸

The wealth texts in particular and the Rule tradition in general portray the community and its members in terms drawn from the sacrificial system. The most prominent elements of this portrait are the use of the terms נְדָבִים and הַמְתַּנְדְּבִים, "those who voluntarily offer," for the members, the explicit preference for covenant obedience over sacrifice, the extension of the priesthood to all members, the communal assumption of the sacrificial functions of atonement, sanctification, securing blessing, and maintaining cosmic order, and the application of architectural metaphors of the Temple to the community.

3.3.2.1 "Those Who Voluntarily Offer" (הַמְתַּנְדְּבִים)

One of the terms most commonly used to designate initiates and adherents in the Rule tradition is הַמְתַּנְדְּבִים. The root appears in the *nif'al* substantive form

⁸⁷ See 4Q469 2 2 (cf. 4Q439 1), which reads, "have they not received discipline" (הֲלֹא מוֹסֵר מוֹסֵר), followed by a reference to the godlessness or perversions of their heart; E. Larson, "469. 4QNarrative I" (*DJD* 36) 434, pl. XXX; and Weinfeld and D. Seely, "439. 4QLament by a Leader" (*DJD* 29) 335-42, pl. XXIV.

⁸⁸ On this subject, see B. Gärtner, *The Temple and the Community in Qumran and the New Testament: A Comparative Study in the Temple Symbolism of the Qumran Texts and the New Testament* (SNTSMS 1; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965) 1-46; G. Klinzing, *Die Umdeutung des Kultus in der Qumrangemeinde und im Neuen Testament* (SUNT 7; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1971); and the review of Klinzing by J. Murphy-O'Connor, "Recension. G. Klinzing. *Die Umdeutung des Kultus in der Qumrangemeinde und im Neuen Testament*," *RB* 79 (1972) 435-40.

at 1QS I 7, 11 (הגדברים), while the *hitpa^{el}* participle occurs at V 1, 6, 8, 10, 21, 22, at VI 13b, and at IX 5 (מתגדב / המתגדבים).⁸⁹ It is notable that the change in terminology corresponds to other fundamental differences between 1QS I–IV and 1QS V–IX, including other self-designations (see §3.2.2.1). All of these references occur in the generic categories of introduction and covenant initiation/renewal. The language of sacrificial offering pervades these passages. Those who voluntarily offer to join the community “bring” (ביא) the objects of their offering to the *yahad*.⁹⁰ These objects are the clusters of words discussed in the covenant fidelity section above—knowledge, strength, wealth, deeds in Torah, counsel, judgment, service, and purity—as well as acts associated with them, “to do the statutes of God” (I 7), “to turn from all evil and hold fast to all that he commanded as his will” (V 1), “to his truth and to walking in his will” (V 10), “to return together to his covenant” (V 21–22).⁹¹ The commitment thus symbolized is judged by the community, which allows the candidate to approach (קרב)⁹² or requires him to withdraw (רחק). As their way is perfected, the initiates actually become the acceptable free-will offering themselves (וחמים דרך כנרבת מנחת רצון, IX 5).

⁸⁹ The term is misspelled in 4QS^d I 1 (*par* 1QS V 1), where it appears as המתגדבים. The noun נגדב also occurs in 1QS, once at IX 5 as an image of the devotees, and again in IX 24 in an adverbial phrase modifying the delight the leader is to feel in whatever circumstances befall him, since his primary desire is for God’s will.

⁹⁰ The term is applied not only to the initiates but also to the sons of Aaron who voluntarily offer themselves “within the community to establish his covenant and to observe all his commands which he commanded to do” (V 21–22). For the use of the term הביא to describe the sacrificial offering, see Exod 35:21, 29; 36:3. Thirty-six of the forty-two occurrences of בוא in the *hif’l* form in Leviticus refer to a sacrificial offering. In two of the remaining references, 18:3 and 20:22, God is bringing Israel into the land of Canaan, in return for which Israel is instructed to obey God’s statutes and bring offerings to atone for the land. For the use of this term in 1QS, see I 7, 11, 16; II 12, 18, 25; III 2; V 7, 8, 13, 20; VI 1, 14, 15; VIII 21; IX 11; X 10, 13; XI 13. Lieberman notes that the term is used in conjunction with the *haverim*; see “The Discipline in the So-Called Dead Sea Manual of Discipline,” 202.

⁹¹ The term also occurs with no object, always as a collective appellation for the group: V 6, 8 (כול המתגדבים); cf. V 9–10.

⁹² The term often occurs in the Bible in a cultic context: Exod 12:48; 40:32 (cf. v. 33, where the text reads, “So Moses finished the work” (ויכל משה את [כל] המלאכה); Lev 9:5, 7, 8; 10:4–5; 16:1; 21:17–18; 22:23; Num 17:5 [16:40 NRSV], 28 [17:13 NRSV]; 18:3–4, 22; 2 Kgs 16:12; Ezek 44:15–16. See 1QS VI 16bis, 19bis, 22; VII 21; VIII 9, 18; IX 15; The term is also used of the divine-human encounter in general: Exod 3:5; 16:9; Deut 4:11; 5:23, 27; Josh 3:4; 7:14 (3x); I Sam 14:36; Isa 5:19 (“...let the plan of the Holy One of Israel hasten to fulfillment, that we may know it!” [ויתקרב ותבואה עצת קרש ישראל נהדעה]); 34:1; 41:1 (“[let [the peoples] approach, then let them speak; let us together draw near for judgment” [למשפט נקרבה]); 48:16; Zeph 3:2; Mal 3:5; Ps 69:19 [18 NRSV]; 119:69; Lam 3:57. See also 4QShirShabb^b 17 5, where “He established them for Himself in order to draw near [r...]” [; יסח יסדם לָ לְקַרְבָּב]; 4QShirShabb^b 8–9 2 (= 4QShirShabb^d 1 ii 19), where the holy ones are the second council (סנ / שני) of the Temple’s inner sanctum (קַלְיָרְיָב).

Lieberman observes that cognates of acceptance (קבל) and approach (קרב), which are interpreted here in a sacrificial context, are commonly used in rabbinic literature in conjunction with the *haverim* (e.g., y. *Demai* 2.3, 23a; y. *Qidd.* 4.1, 65b; m. *Mid.* 2:2; m. *Ed.* 8:3, 7); “The Discipline in the So-Called Dead Sea Manual of Discipline,” 199–200.

The substantive participle in the *nif'al* form used to describe the initiates, “those voluntarily offering (themselves)” (הנדבים), is formed from the root נדב, to incite or impel (*qal*) or to volunteer (*hitpa'el*). The *hitpa'el* form is by far the more common term in biblical parlance, used to describe voluntary military service (Judg 5:2, 9; 2 Chr 17:16), voluntary migration to Jerusalem after the exile (Neh 11:2), and the voluntary donation of free-will offerings (נדבה; Ezra 1:6; 2:68; 3:5; 1 Chr 29:5, 6, 9bis, 14, 17bis). The *qal* form occurs only in Exodus in the context of the initial contribution (הרומה) collected to construct and furnish the wilderness sanctuary. God commands the contribution from every man “whose heart impels him” (אשר ירבנו לבו; Exod 25:2). After a full description of the ideal sanctuary, the command is fulfilled in Exodus 35:20-21:

<p>ויצאו כל עדת בני ישראל מלפני משה ויבאו כל איש אשר נשאו לבו וכל אשר נרבה רוחו הביאו את תרומת יהוה למלאכת אהל מועד ולכל עבודתו ולבגדי הקודש</p>	<p>Then all the congregation of the Israelites withdrew from the presence of Moses. And they came, everyone whose heart was stirred, and everyone whose spirit was willing, and brought the Lord's offering to be used for the tent of meeting, and for all its service, and for the sacred vestments.</p>
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The Exodus account of the original contribution shares certain features with 1QS I 1-15. First, both passages mark the commitment to community with the transfer of material possessions from the donor's private reserves to a communal pool. Second, both passages depict the disposition of material goods as a voluntary act, thus highlighting the willful adherence of participants. Third, the terminology used for the community in the Exodus account, “congregation” (עדה), occurs only once in IQS (V 20) but regularly in IQSa, the first appendix to 1QS.⁹³ There, the word is used somewhat interchangeably with the appellation for the group employed in 1QS, “community” (יחד).⁹⁴ Fourth, the purpose to which the donated resources are put is connected in both documents to the construction of a wilderness sanctuary. This meaning is clear in the Exodus passage, while in 1QS it depends on the self-designation of the 1QS community as that wilderness sanctuary, an understanding attested particularly in the last two sections of 1QS. There the community regards itself as those preparing a way in the wilderness (VIII 12-16a; IX 19-20), a way which is explicated in 1QS VIII 15-16a as the study of Torah and its interpretation. The perfection of the way—that is, the adherence to Torah and its interpretation in the community—is frequently referred to

⁹³ 1QSa I 12-13, 16-17, 20bis, 23-25, 28; II 5, 7-8, 12, 16, 21; cf. CD VII 20; X 4. See Wernberg-Møller, *The Manual of Discipline*, 98 n. 74 (on עדה at 1QS V 20).

⁹⁴ See particularly 1QSa II 21: “... all the congregation of the community (עדת היחד) [shall be]ss, ea[ch man according to] his glory....”

throughout IQS as an atoning sacrifice, that which transforms the community into Israel's Temple (IQS VIII 1-11a; cf. V 1-7a).

The possibility that the term הנדבים in IQS I 7, 11 is an allusion to the wilderness sanctuary in Exodus is supported by the concurrence of vocabulary between another Exodus sanctuary passage, Exodus 36:2-3, and IQS VI 18-20 (המתנדבים are mentioned in VI 13b):

<p>ואם יצא לו הגורל לקרב לסוד היחד על פי הכהנים ורוב אנשי בריתם יקרב(ו)בנו גמ את הונו ואת מלאכתו אל יד האיש המבקר על מלאכת הרבים</p>	<p>And if the lot goes out to him to approach the council of the Community according to the priests and the multitude of the men of their covenant, they shall make his wealth and his possessions approach⁹⁵ the hand of the man (who is) the Examiner over the possessions of the Many.</p>
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Compare this to Exodus 36:2-3:

<p>ויקרא משה אל בצלאל ואל אהליאב ואל כל איש חכם לב אשר נתן יהוה חכמה בלבבו כל אשר נשאו לבו לקרבה אל המלאכה לעשת אתה ויקחו מלפני משה את כל התרומה אשר הביאו בני ישראל למלאכת עבדת הקדש לעשת אתה</p>	<p>Moses then called Bezalel and Oholiab and every skillful one to whom the Lord had given skill, everyone whose heart was stirred to come to do the work; and they received from Moses all the freewill offerings that the Israelites had brought for doing the work on the sanctuary.</p>
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Common to both the initiation passage in IQS and account of the initial construction of the sanctuary in Exodus are the terms for approaching (קרב) and for the work that is done or offered (המלאכה), as well as the concept of bringing forward one's offering (יקר[ו]ב IQS, הביאו Exodus).

The frequency of the terms המתנדבים/הנדבים and their location in the community-defining introductions and descriptions of covenant initiation indicate that the words enjoyed a certain status as a designation for community members. The broad application of the term both to the group at large and to subsidiary circles within the community suggests that voluntary commitment was a core value of the community incumbent on members at all levels and applicable to several types of activity (conversion, deeper commitment to commandments, separation from the unrighteous, unity in Torah and wealth, identity as a sanctuary/house of truth, interpretation of the commands, witnessing the commitment of new members).⁹⁶ The parallels with the accounts of the planning and construction of the Exodus wilderness sanctuary indicate that

⁹⁵ As Wernberg-Møller points out, the *hif'il* is customarily reserved for sacrifice in IQS (VIII 9), whereas the *pi'el* is used for bringing near new members (VII 21; VIII 18; IX 15). He would therefore emend to the *pi'el*. But this emendation would obscure the possibility that multiple meanings are warranted, that the author is conflating the donation of wealth with sacrificial donations; see *The Manual of Discipline*, 109 n. 61.

⁹⁶ Wernberg-Møller suggests that the use of נדב, particularly in IQS I and V, may be an allusion to the founder of the Rechabite sect, Yehonadav (Jer 35; *The Manual of Discipline*, 20). A correlation between the Rechabites and the Essenes is also made by Z. Safrai, "The Sons of Yehonadav Ben Rekhav and the Essenes," *Bar Ilan* 16-17 (1979) 37-58 [Hebrew].

the Rule adherents viewed themselves similarly as a sanctuary in the wilderness,⁹⁷ and recommend the possibility that they viewed the contribution of wealth to the community as a donation to the establishment of their own wilderness sanctuary.

One difference between the wilderness account and IQS is that volunteers contribute in one payment to the construction of the wilderness sanctuary, whereas in the Rule of the Community volunteers integrate their resources into those of the community in stages (IQS VI 13b-23; though see 4QOrd^a 1 ii 6-12 and 4QOrd^b 1-2 i, where the half-shekel is required once in one's life [§§5.2.2.2 and 6.3 below]). During the first year of this liminal period, the initiate's ongoing freedom to choose life in the community is symbolized by the reciprocally exclusive operation of his wealth and that of the community: his wealth is not even registered into the communal account until one year has passed (VI 19-20), but neither may he enjoy a share in the wealth of the Many during that year (VI 17).⁹⁸ During the second year of initiation, he gives his wealth and possessions to the Examiner and registers it into the account himself, but his wealth is not yet to be used by the community even though it is at this point that he himself begins to enjoy a share of the community's goods. It is only after the second year of dedication and after the determination of the lot that the initiate's property is fully mixed with that of the community. The steps of integrating one's wealth parallel the stages at which one enters the community's disciplines, enjoys its benefits, and contributes one's counsel and judgment to the group. This suggests that the contribution was symbolic of communal membership as well as necessary for communal functions. Furthermore, the gradual integration of resources highlights the voluntary nature of the act; an initiate could at any time withdraw from the process. Thus, the difference from the accounts of the wilderness sanctuary—namely, the several stages of contribution—serves to emphasize the similarity between the accounts, that this contribution is a voluntary offering to support an ideal sanctuary.

3.3.2.2 *Obedience Rather Than Sacrifice*

Frequently in the various sections of IQS, the sacrifices of the traditional cultic system are redefined (see especially 1QS VIII 4-10; IX 3-11, 26-X 11, 14-15). Instead of sacrifice, members bring their offerings to the common pool

⁹⁷ The application of other language of the wilderness assembly to the community (עדה [V 1, 20], "thousands, hundreds, fifties, tens" [II 21-22]) corroborates this thesis. The title of IQS, סדר, and frequent references to this term and its connotations of military and liturgical muster elsewhere in the work (I 16; II 20-21; V 1, 23; VI 8, 22) also hark back to the wilderness community.

⁹⁸ Lieberman observes that initiates in the *havurot* during the rabbinic period also underwent a kind of gradual integration: in y. *Demai* 2.3, 23a, the rabbi-initiate cannot touch the food of the *havurah* nor can his food be used by them until he has taken his oath before the group ("The Discipline in the So-Called Dead Sea Manual of Discipline," 201).

and subject their assets to communal discipline. The donation and subjection required in these acts are stylized as sacrifices, and further as more pleasing to God than the sacrifices of the Temple.⁹⁹ This group, through its “sacrificial” behavior (workers of judgment [עושי משפט] and suffering affliction [צרה מצרפ], VIII 3-4, 6, 9), becomes the mechanism that pays for iniquity (לרצה עון, Lev 26:34, 43; cf. 1QS II 26–III 1), the group chosen by God’s pleasure to atone for the earth and to repay the wicked their reward (VIII 6-7¹⁰⁰), and the people who through their sacrifice and judgment bring near or offer a sweet odor to God (VIII 9).¹⁰¹

The donation of wealth is one of the offerings a member contributes to the community and about which he accepts the community’s discipline. We have already seen that the problematic statement in 1QS III 2-3, “[his knowledge, strength and wealth are] with wicked tread from his ploughing and (there are?) defilements in his dwelling (or conversion?),” may depend on an allusion to Hosea 10:13, which in turn rejects cultic sacrifice in favor of justice (see §3.3.1.1 above). More certain is the frequent allusion to Micah 6:8 in 1QS V 1-4 and parallels, a passage which clearly states the priority of “doing right, loving goodness, and walking humbly with God” over sacrifice:

They should be separated from the congregation of 1 men of unrighteousness in order to become a community in Torah and in wealth, and answer according to *the sons of Zadok the priests, the guardians of the covenant, and to the Many men 1 of the community, those who keep hold of the covenant. According to them the measure of the lot shall go out* for every affair involving Torah and wealth *and judgment*, in order to do *truth as one* and humility, 1 righteousness and judgment, and compassionate love and humble walking in all their ways.

The reference to Micah 6:8 in this and other similar contexts (I 5; II 24; VIII 2; cf. IV 3)¹⁰² supports the literal meaning of the text, which is that unity in Torah and wealth is the new means of living in right relationship with God.

⁹⁹ The critique of sacrifices in favor of obedience, justice, love, knowledge of God, goodness and humility, is a consistent theme in prophetic and wisdom literature: 1 Sam 15:22; Isa 1:10-20; Jer 6:19-20; 7:22-24 (where cultic sacrifices are denigrated as idolatrous in the familiar 1QS phrase, *ללכת בשרירות לבו* [1QS I 6; II 14, 26; III 3; VII 19, 24; IX 9-10]); Hos 6:6; Amos 5:21-25; Mic 6:6-8; Pss 40:7-9; 50:7-23; Prov 15:8; 21:3; Qoh 4:17; Sir 32:14; 34:18–35:24. See also Matt 9:13; 12:7; Heb 10:5-8; 2 En. 45.1-3 (see §3.3.1.2 above).

¹⁰⁰ Cf. the supralinear insertion at VIII 10, which though apparently secondary here is reconstructed in 4QS^d VI 5 and is therefore very likely part of an old tradition. 4QS^c, however, representing one of the oldest versions of the Rule, lacks the phrase (II 18; cf. Alexander and Vermes, *DJD* 26, 145 note on line 1).

¹⁰¹ Several passages in the New Testament echo this reinterpretation of sacrifice: one’s body could be “a living sacrifice, holy and acceptable to God” (Rom 12:1), which among other things is linked to contributing to the needs of the holy ones and extending hospitality to strangers (Rom 12:13: *ταῖς χρείαις τῶν ἁγίων κοινωνοῦντες, τὴν φιλοξενίαν διώκοντες*). In Heb 13:15-16, the sacrifice of praise to God is “the fruit of lips that confess his name,” doing good and sharing what one has (*τῆς δὲ εὐποιίας καὶ κοινωνίας*).

¹⁰² Cf. 4QBer^a I ii 7-8 (B. Nitzan, “286. 4QBerakhot^a,” in *Qumran Cave 4.VI: Poetical and Liturgical Texts, Part 1* [ed. E. Eshel, et al.; *DJD* 11; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997] 12-17).

Furthermore, the introduction of the “sons of Zadok the priests” in 1QS (not 4QS^{b, d}), as joint authorities with the Many over Torah, wealth and judgment, reinforces the cultic flavor of the passage and indicates that wealth is part of a redefined ritual system (see 1QS IX 5-9 = 4QS^d VII 6-9, where the authorities are the sons of Aaron). Following Metso’s schema for the diachronic development of the document, it seems that 4QS^{b, d} attest to a community of laymen governed by priests, but that the later 1QS has further defined those priests in authority as the sons of Zadok, rather than simply the sons of Aaron. This trajectory is verified by the relatively early Damascus Document, which is less interested in Zadokites and yet shares many of the phrases and regulations of the Rule, and by the later 4QFlorilegium (or 4QMidrash on Eschatology [4Q174]), which acknowledges that the sons of Zadok come to the council of the community after its initial apostate members turn to the council of the wicked.¹⁰³ The fragmentary text 4QS^d I 11-12 (*par* 1QS V 20) is pertinent to this point, because, in addition to the term wealth, it has the text “peoples and oaths and bans and vows in their mouths.”

The correlation of wealth and sanctuary terminology may be suggested by a biblical allusion in 1QS V 14-15. There, the consequence of joining to the unrighteous man in his service and wealth is that the unrighteous man will cause the good man to “bear iniquity,” a phrase used in Leviticus 22:16 to denote the violation of ritual regulations (ironically, the consumption of the sacred donation by laymen).¹⁰⁴

3.3.2.3 *Extension of the Priesthood to the Laity*

Although priests and Levites are frequently singled out for particular roles in 1QS,¹⁰⁵ the more striking phenomenon is that priestly attributes of purity and separation, as well as sacerdotal activities like ablutions and sacred meals, are extended to the laymen of the community. The contribution of wealth, stylized as a sacrificial contribution when first brought into the community, becomes in the common pool a sacrosanct symbol of the *yaḥad* and attracts all of the Levitical language of purity and pollution, mixture and separation which had been the special responsibilities of the priests and Levites. Moreover, the sacrifice of commitment and obedience becomes the liturgical service preferred by God (IV 9; see §3.3.2.2 above).

¹⁰³ For a complete argument, see Bockmuehl, “Redaction and Ideology in the *Rule of the Community*,” 545-8. The designation 4QFlorilegium is used in the critical edition (J. M. Allegro, “174. Florilegium” [DJDJ 5] 53-57, pls. XIX-XX), while the suggested title 4QMidrash on Eschatology is Steudel’s (*Der Midrasch zur Eschatologie aus der Qumrangemeinde [4QMdr-Eschat^{a-b}]* [STDJ 13; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1994]; *idem*, “4QMdrEschat: ‘A Midrash on Eschatology’ [4Q174 + 4Q177],” in *Madrid*, 2.531-41).

¹⁰⁴ The only other occurrence of 𐤒𐤓 (*hif’i*) is at 2 Sam 17:13; the *qal* form is more common.

¹⁰⁵ Blessing (and cursing), I 18, 21; II 1, 11; VI 3-5; as the head or chief authorities of the people II 19; V 2, 9; VI 8, 19; VII 2-3; VIII 1.

The perfection and purity of the priesthood was required of all members of the community. We have already seen that the phrase “perfect ones of the way” (חַמִּימֵי הַדֶּרֶךְ IV 22; VIII 21) and its cognates refer to covenant fidelity manifest in part in the contribution and righteous disposition of wealth (see §3.3.1 above). The limitation of membership in the community to the ethically perfect may have functioned as one means of extending the perfection normally expected only of priests to a largely lay community.¹⁰⁶ This thesis is borne out by the numerous correspondences between the rules of communal discipline in 1QS VI 24–VII 25 and the Levitical Holiness Code, including the initial case, “lying” about wealth (see Table 10, “Correspondence of the rules of communal discipline and the Levitical Holiness Code in 1QS VI 24–VII 25” and, for a full rendering, Appendix D, “Arrangement of the Rules of Communal Discipline in 1QS VI 24–VII 25”). The correspondences of 1QS to the Levitical Holiness Code in particular and to purity language in general suggests that the 1QS community identified itself with the wilderness congregation, and particularly with the priests and Levites to whom the Levitical Holiness Code was addressed. Finally, purity is explicitly one of the symbols of membership in this community, and as such is paired with wealth (VI 16-23; cf. IX 5-7), just as the terminology of pollution is paired with wealth to establish communal boundaries (III 2-3; V 14-20; VII 24-25; IX 8-9).¹⁰⁷

The reliance on an ideal biblical code as a source for behavioral proscriptions in 1QS may appear to render the entire document suspect as an ideal, utopian prescription unrealized in the life of the community, as Davies has argued. Davies would classify 1QS, the Levitical Holiness Code, the account of Israel’s march through the wilderness, the Book of Deuteronomy, and other texts as part of a time-honored genre in Jewish literature “of utopian description, of idealistic legislation, of invented societies.”¹⁰⁸ This assertion appears unlikely in the case of the Rule, however, when one considers the evidence of the behavioral prescriptions in 1QS VI 24–VII 25. These prescriptions go beyond the Levitical code in the direction of pragmatic concerns such as rushing to private judgment in stubborn, angry, or insubordinate behavior (VI 25-27), insulting a fellow without cause (VII 4-5), acting treacherously toward a fellow in general and in particular with regard to the wealth of the community (VII 5-6 /VII 6-7), speaking foolishly or while another is speaking (VII 9-10), acting improperly at a session of the Many (sleeping, going out, VII 10-12), gesturing improperly (walking naked, spitting, allowing penis to be seen,

¹⁰⁶ See in this connection 1QSa I 28; Schiffman, “The Assembly at the End of Days,” in *The Eschatological Community of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (SBLMS 38; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989) 37-52.

¹⁰⁷ For purity or pure food, see also 1QS VI 25; VII 2-3, 16, 19-20 (scribe B has written משקה over the original reading, בַּסְּהִרֹת, which he has enclosed in parentheses and marked with correction dots).

¹⁰⁸ “Communities in the Qumran Scrolls,” 66.

Table 10.

Correspondence of the rules of communal discipline and the Levitical Holiness Code in IQS VI 24–VII 25

<i>IQS</i>	<i>Leviticus</i>	<i>Topic of Prescription</i> (<i>term shared by IQS and Leviticus</i>)
VI 24-25	19:11 [13?]	Lying (ישקר)
VI 27–VII 2	19:12	Misusing/dishonoring the divine name (שם)
VII 3-4	19:11	Lying (יכחש / יכחס)
VII 8	19:18	Bearing a grudge, taking revenge (לנוקם, ישינן)
VII 15-16	19:16	Slander (ילכ רכיל)

laughing in folly, stretching out the left hand in order to lie on it, VII 12-15), and murmuring against the foundation of the community or against one's fellow (VII 17-18). In all but a few of these cases, punishments are relatively minimal, ranging from a matter of months to a matter of days. Furthermore, in two of the prescriptions, including one of the Levitical mandates, the text has been edited to accommodate changing views of the appropriate duration of punishment, a fact that further suggests the active use of these rules (VII 7).

The pragmatic nature of the penal code attests to its likely application even if the code depends on sapiential traditions in addition to the Levitical Holiness Code. The judgments, and in particular the fact that the list begins with a judgment in the case of lying about property, are reminiscent of certain hybrid sapiential-apocalyptic texts which transformed proverbial sayings into the criteria of eschatological judgment (e.g., *Sib. Or.* 2.56-148, *I En.* 91–104).¹⁰⁹ A full argument on this point will be made in Chapter 4. At present it is sufficient to note that, in almost all of these hybrid texts as well as the penal code in the Rule, economic concerns inaugurate the judicial criteria.

Returning to the matter of the extension of priestly prerogatives to the laity, we find in the Rule that this colors the treatment of communal meals. Insofar as purity is a proper name for the food and drink of the community into which members are initiated and from which errant members are excluded, it is suggestive of and analogous to the ritual meals hosted at the sacrificial altar and enjoyed by the priestly community.¹¹⁰ Wealth appears to be

¹⁰⁹ For later examples of the same phenomenon, see Matt 5:1-12 with 25:31-46, 2 *En.* 39-66. On the hybrid texts in general, see J. J. Collins, "Wisdom, Apocalypticism, and Generic Compatibility," in *In Search of Wisdom: Essays in Memory of John G. Gammie* (ed. L. G. Perdue et al.; Louisville: John Knox, 1993) 165-85.

¹¹⁰ Schiffman points out that the communal meals were not sacrificial meals *per se* (*Sectarian Law in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Courts, Testimony, and the Penal Code* [BJS 33; Chico, California:

particularly associated with this meal: initiation into the community is marked by increased assimilation in the pure food/drink and in wealth (VI 13-23), and wealth is elsewhere explicated as the source of food and drink (V 16-17; see §3.4.1 below).

One's degree of assimilation into the community is ritualized not only through shared wealth and commensality, but also by registration of wealth after one year (VI 19-20), and by registration of order according to rank after two years (1QS VI 22). This registration may be akin to the registration of the priestly courses still reflected in 1QS VII 2 but more elaborately listed in 4QOtot at the end of the older manuscript, 4QpapS^a.¹¹¹ This registration is built on a different foundation (Torah, judgment, purity, *versus* family or economic status) but serves a similar purpose, the maintenance or mirroring of cosmic order *via* the preservation of purity and order on earth.

Whereas purity and pollution language describes the state of a person, the language of separation and mixture delineates the means necessary to achieve either state.¹¹² Thus one must separate from the unrighteous congregation in order to become pure or perfect (see any of the introductions). The voluntary act of becoming a community in wealth is explicitly linked to and predicated upon a prior voluntary act of separating from the "congregation" of the men of unrighteousness, a separation which involved a transference of allegiance on matters of legal interpretation and economic interaction (V 1-2; IX 8-9, 21-24; X 17-19; XI 1-2), and which at some point in the community's history meant a spatial separation to the wilderness as well.¹¹³ The rules of communal discipline are precisely a list of polluting acts and purifying punishments, and the communal symbol of wealth is not only the occasion for pollution (VI 24-25; VII 6-7, 22-25) but the locus of punishment and restoration as well (VI 24-25; VII 6-7).

Finally, there may be a biblical allusion in 1QS V 6 that supports the thesis of the extension of priestly identity to the entire community. In that passage, the people uniting with those who freely volunteer as a sanctuary in Aaron are

Scholars Press, 1983] 191-210). In his view, the sectarians did not radically separate from and oppose the Temple cult, but rather sought its eventual restoration. Baumgarten is perhaps closer to the mark when he observes that opposition to the Temple is evident even in the Damascus Document, and thus the communal meals should be viewed as at least provisional compensation for the cultic feasts in which the sectarians no longer participated ("Sacrifice and Worship among the Jewish Sectarrians of the Dead Sea [Qumran] Scrolls," *HTR* 46 [1953] 141-59; reprinted in *Studies in Qumran Law* [SJLA 24; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1977] 39-56).

¹¹¹ See Metzso's discussion, *Textual Development*, 48-51, 67, 107, 140-153.

¹¹² Language of separation includes separate (הבדיל), withdraw (רחק), expel (השליח). Language of mixture includes mix (ערב), touch (געע), approach (קרב), come/enter (בוא), return (שוב), become one with (יחד), join (אסף), join together/unite (חבר), be grafted to (גלוח).

¹¹³ Brooke emphasizes that the language of separation in 1QS VIII 12-15 and IX 18-20 (הגדיל and הגלח) implies a spatial separation consistent with the citation of Isaiah 40:3, and with other pervasive references to separation from the congregation of unrighteousness and walking in 1QS ("Isaiah 40:3 and the Wilderness Community," 120-25).

referred to as “those being joined to them” (הגלוים עליהם). The use of the *nif'al* form of the verb לָוה, a root which is etymologically related to the word “Levite,” is remarkable in that it is not the customary term for incorporation used in 1QS.¹¹⁴ The fact that the term is unique here and that it occurs immediately after a reference to the sanctuary of Aaron suggests a possible connection between the two. That suggestion is borne out by the biblical occurrence of the term נָלוּה in Numbers 18:2 and 4, where it is used to describe the grafting of the Levites to Aaron’s immediate descendants for service in the tent of testimony (אֹהֶל הָעֵדוּת) or the tent of meeting (אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד). In Numbers, the roles of priest and Levite are clearly demarcated, but kinship language and the language of joining are used to ground the common service that both groups render. Likewise in 1QS V, two groups are distinguished—those who freely volunteer as a sanctuary/house of truth, and those associated with them for “community, lawsuit and judgment.” In addition to thus serving in the wilderness sanctuary, those being joined onto the sanctuary of Aaron are also covered by the atoning humility of community members (V 6), a consecration which further connects them with sanctuary terminology.

The extension of priestly responsibilities and prerogatives to the community occurs alongside a changing emphasis on priestly and Levitical leadership within the group.¹¹⁵ Priests are mentioned in early stages of the document, as a necessary if minority complement to the council of twelve (1QS VIII 1), and as “sons of Aaron” who have authority alongside the laity (V 21; VIII 9; IX 7; VI 1, 24). At an apparently later stage, priests alone have authority over judgment and property (IX 7), and the sons of Zadok in particular are granted this power (V 2; cf. 1QS IX 14 הצדוק to 4QS^e III 10 הצדק). At the same time, as Robert A. Kugler has demonstrated, the prerogatives of the Levites were also expanded, suggesting that the community was composed of disaffected priests and Levites who assumed the identity of the traditionally marginalized Levitical class and extended that identity to all who joined them.

3.3.2.4 Communal Assumption of Temple Functions

The community assumes the Temple functions of securing atonement, sanctifying, blessing, and maintaining cosmic order. It considers its covenant fi-

¹¹⁴ More common are phrases and terms like “to become a Community” (להיות ליחד, V 2), “in their addition to the Community” (בהאספם ליחד, V 7; see also 1QS VI 13-14, “all those who freely volunteer from Israel to join the council of the community” [כולה מתנדב מִיִּשְׂרָאֵל לְכוֹלֵה מִשְׁרָאֵל], and VIII 19, “and this precept [shall be] for everyone who joins the community” [וְזֶה הַפְּרָט לְכֹל הַנִּכְשָׁף לְיַחַד]), “to become one” (יחד, V 14, 20; note that at V 20 the phrase is לעדת קירש).

¹¹⁵ Bockmuehl, “Redaction and Ideology in the *Rule of the Community*,” 550; R. A. Kugler, “A Note on 1QS 9:14: The Sons of Righteousness or the Sons of Zadok?” *DSD* 3 (1996) 315-20; Davies, “Zadok, Sons of,” *EDSS*, 2.1005-1007. On the status of the Levites at Qumran, see Kugler, “The Priesthood at Qumran: The Evidence of References to Levi and the Levites,” in *Provo*, 465-79.

delity to be the atoning sacrifice which sanctifies Israel and secures God's blessings on the land (1QS III 4-12; V 6; VIII 6, 10). This is clearest in the final section of the Rule, at 1QS IX 3-5:

בהיות אלה בישראל	When these exist in Israel
ככול החכונים האלה	in accordance with all these regulations
ליסוד רוח קודש לאמת	to establish the spirit of holiness for truth |
עולם	eternal,
לכפר על אשמת פשע	to atone for the fault of the transgression
ומעל חטאת	and for the guilt of sin,
ולרצון לארץ	and for the acceptance for the land
מבשר עולות	without the flesh of burnt offerings
ומחלבי זבה	and without the fats of sacrifice—
ותרומת שפתים	rather, the offering of | the lips ¹¹⁶ for
למשפט	judgment
כניחות צדק	will be like the soothing (aroma) of righteousness,
ותמים דרך	and the perfection of the way
כנדבת מנחת רצון	will be like an acceptable free-will offering...

The purpose of the existence of this community is presented with two infinitive constructs: it is to establish a spirit of holiness for eternal truth and to atone for transgression, guilt and for the acceptance of the land. More explicitly, the community is to be the people whose holiness establishes (יסוד) the foundation of sanctity for the edifice of truth within which atonement is made (cf. 1QS VIII 5-9 and §3.3.2.5 below). The text then lists the traditional intentions of the sacrificial enterprise—atonement for the fault of transgression, atonement for the guilt of sin, and procurement of divine favor for the land. The community then arrogates these functions to itself not by assuming the right to conduct the customary sacrifices but by redefining the sacrificial media. In this cult, the new offerings are judgment,¹¹⁷ righteousness, perfection of the way, and wealth (IX 5-9), which are all presented explicitly as offerings (תרומה/נדבה) or as soothing aromas rising to God. The members of this community are themselves the priests and victims of its sacrificial system, offering themselves freely to a way of life stylized as sacrificial.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁶ Notice the word-play of lips (שפתים) and judgment (משפט) as they function together to describe the pleasant odor of sacrifice. For the phrase “the offering of the lips,” 4QS^d has “the offerings and the free-will offerings of the lips” (תרומה ונדבה שפתים, VII 5). Metso argues that 4QS^d has the more original reading, and that the redactor of 1QS dropped the first reference to the free-will offering in order to avoid repetition (*Textual Development*, 87-8). The original double emphasis on the term נדבה is further evidence of its significance for the community of those who freely offer themselves (המחנרים).

¹¹⁷ The humble acceptance of communal judgment is also portrayed as an atoning sacrifice in VIII 2-4, 6-7, 9-10^{sup}. Milik and Wernberg-Møller read the preposition *ב-ז* on מבשר and מחלבי not as “without,” but as “for.” This would render the contrast between the old offerings and the new sacrifices less explicit, but would still employ the sacrificial metaphor for the deeds of the community (Wernberg-Møller, *The Manual of Discipline*, 133 n. 9).

¹¹⁸ Cf. 1QS VIII 5-9.

Wernberg-Møller has argued that the language of sacrificial atonement in 1QS depends upon Ezekiel 20:41,¹¹⁹ specifically at 1QS III 11: “he will be admitted [to the Community] by means of atonement pleasing to God” (אל ירצה בכפורי ניחוח לפני). This echoes Ezekiel 20:41: “As a pleasing odor I will accept you” (בריח ניחוח ארצה אתכם); cf. 1QS III 9-12, VIII 1-10, IX 3-11, 25-26, and XI 14-15). The Ezekiel passage parallels 1QS not only in the language of sacrificial aromas, however, but also in the connection between the contribution of goods and God’s pleasure:

<p>כי בהר קדשי בהר מרום ישראל נאם אדני יהוה שם יעבדני כל בית ישראל כלה בארץ שם ארצם ושם אדרוש את תרומתיכם ואת ראשית משאותיכם בכל קדשיכם בתיח ניחוח ארצה אתכם</p>	<p>For on my holy mountain, the mountain height of Israel, says the Lord God, there all the house of Israel, all of them, shall serve me in the land; there I will accept them, and there I will require your contributions and the choicest of your gifts, with all your sacred things. As a pleasing odor I will accept you... (Ezek 20:40-41)</p>
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In addition to the language of the pleasing aroma, the specific terminology for the sacred offerings, “contributions” (תרומה), though not “gifts” (משאה), is used in the Rule in the guidelines for the wise leader in the extended passage already introduced:

When these exist in Israel in accordance with these rules in order to establish the spirit of holiness in truth eternal, in order to atone for the guilt of iniquity and for the unfaithfulness of sin, and for approval for the earth (ולרצון לארץ), without the flesh of burnt offerings and without the fats of sacrifice—the offering of the lips (והרומה שפתיים) in compliance with the decree (למשפט) will be like the pleasant aroma of justice (כניחוח צדק) and the perfectness of behavior will be acceptable like a free-will offering (וחמים דרך כנרבת מנחה רצון). In this time the men of the Community shall separate themselves (as) a holy house for Aaron, to be united as a holy of holies, and a house of the Community for Israel, (for) those who are walking in perfection. Only the sons of Aaron will rule in judgment and in wealth, and according to them will the lot go out for every regulation for the men of the Community. And regarding the wealth of the men of holiness who are walking in perfection: they shall not mix their wealth with the wealth of the men of deceit who have not cleansed their way to separate from evil and to walk in perfection of the way. (1QS IX 3-9; cf. X 6)

It is impossible to say whether the authors of the Rule had Ezekiel 20:40-41 specifically in mind when framing their own voluntary offering as an “atonement pleasing to God” (1QS III 11-12). But it is likely that biblical passages like this informed their choice to understand the disposition of wealth in their separated and sacred community in terms of the sacrificial system.

A better case for an intentional biblical echo is found just after the atonement phrase in 1QS III 11, where the faithful adherent is promised that his

¹¹⁹ *The Manual of Discipline*, 65 n. 37.

obedience “shall be to him a covenant of an everlasting community” (והיתה לו) (לברית יחד עולמים). Again, Wernberg-Møller has recognized in this phrasing a virtual quotation of Numbers 25:13, where God commends Phinehas with the promise of a special priestly role as a reward for his zealous execution of the law:¹²⁰

<p>לכן אמר ה' נתן לו אה בריתי שלום והיתה לו ולזרעו אחריו ברית כהנת עולם תחת אשר קנא לאלהיו ויכפר על בני ישראל</p>	<p>“Therefore I [God] say, ‘I hereby grant him my covenant of peace. It shall be for him and for his descendants after him a covenant of perpetual priesthood, because he was zealous for his God, and made atonement for the Israelites.’” (Num 25:12-13)</p>
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In the Rule, the covenant of an everlasting community (יחד) is spoken of rather than the covenant of an everlasting priesthood (כהנת), but to the extent that the community assumed the atoning function of the priesthood and its role as zealous guardian of the law, community and priesthood have become synonymous (cf. ברית כהונה עולם, IQSb III 26).

As throughout IQS, sanctification is predicated on separation from the men of deceit (cf. II 25–III 12; V 10-20; VIII 13).¹²¹ In IX 3-11 that separation is regulated exclusively in terms of wealth, which is striking given that, in other sections of the document, there are additional regulations against mixing with the deceitful person in water (V 13-14; cf. III 3-6), in his service (V 14), in his utterance regarding any law or judgment (V 15), and in “everything” (V 15-20; Exod 23:7).¹²²

The introductions and covenant initiation and renewal ceremonies in the Rule, and perhaps even the final psalm of the instructor in IQS X 9–XI 22, appear to have derived from the central liturgical festival of the community, which many scholars believe was held on the festival of Shavu‘ot or Pentecost, fifty days or seven weeks after Passover.¹²³ The contribution of wealth

¹²⁰ *The Manual of Discipline*, 65-6 n. 38.

¹²¹ In 4QFlorilegium 1 i + 21 + 2 14-17, the injunction to separate is presented in this way: “Midrash of ‘Blessed [the] man who does not walk in the counsel of the wicked’ [Ps 1:1]. The interpretation of this wor[d: they are] those who turn aside from the path of [the wicked,] | as it is written in the book of Isaiah, the prophet, for [the] last days: ‘And it happened that with a strong [hand he turned me aside from walking on the path of] | this people’ [Isa 8:11]. And (this refers to) those about whom it is written in the book of Ezekiel, the prophet, that ‘[they should] no[t defile themselves any more with all] | their [i]d[o]l[s]’ [Ezek 44:10]. This (refers to) the sons of Zadok and (to) the m[e]n of [the]r council, those who see[k jus]tice eagerly, who have come after them to the council of the community” (García-Martínez and Tigchelaar, *DSSSE*, 353-5). IQS III 4-5, a passage prohibiting a defiled person from making atonement, is cited in 5Q13 4 2-3 and also appears in 4QS^b 1 1-4, which may be either a parallel text or a text citing IQS III 4-5.

¹²² These passages are to be distinguished from disciplinary codes which stipulate that members may not mix their wealth with that of an apostate leader (VII 22-25; VIII 20-27). While the admonitions have some elements in common, the objects of their attention are different: those who have never entered the community *versus* those community leaders who have betrayed it.

¹²³ The selection of this festival as the new year festival at Qumran may be related to the significance of the jubilee concept within this community.

enjoined on members at their initiation is probably related to the redemption legislation in Exodus 30:11-16, which mandates the collection of a half-shekel ransom from each adult male Israelite at the festival registration. In Exodus, the money is to be considered an offering to the Lord; and we have already seen that the contribution of funds is contextualized in IQS in the language of sacrificial offering.¹²⁴ In Exodus the redemption money is designated for the service of the wilderness sanctuary, the tent of meeting; in IQS, the community viewed itself as that sanctuary. In Exodus, the money is to be collected from males twenty years old and upward; in IQSa, this is the age of majority at which a man may “pass over into those commissioned to enter into the lot ... to the community in the holy congregation” (IQSa I 8-9).¹²⁵ The radicalization of the contribution into an alternative ritual system of shared wealth is linked to the community’s equally radical notion of maintaining its own ritual calendar (IQS I 8-9, 14-15; III 10-11, 15-17; V 8-10; VIII 1-2, 15-16; IX 13, 19, 26–X 8).¹²⁶

The language of priestly purity and pollution, separation and mixture, accrues to the full membership of the community on the basis of their radical covenant fidelity. Their commitment, stylized as a righteous sacrifice and service, justifies their arrogation of the sacerdotal functions of securing atonement, sanctification, and blessing for the land, and of maintaining the ritual calendar.

3.3.2.5 Architectural Metaphors of the Temple Applied to the Community

Architectural metaphors for the community are prominent in all but the first section. The community freely volunteers to lay a foundation (יָסַד) of truth (IQS V 5-6) and to be the house of truth and a sanctuary in Aaron built on that foundation (V 6; cf. VI 16).¹²⁷ In the third section, a similar cluster of

¹²⁴ Though in IQS it is the language of “free-will offering” (נדבה) rather than sin offering (זִמְתָּה) or atonement that appears.

¹²⁵ Cf. CD XV 5-6. The language of registration or mustering also bears connotations of holy war. See Schiffman, “The Assembly at the End of Days,” in *Eschatological Community*, 37-52.

¹²⁶ IQS and some of the earlier versions include calendrical material in the guidelines for the wise leader, IX 26b–X 8 (see 4QS^{b, d, f}). Note also that 4QS^c, which most probably lacked a section paralleling IQS I 1–IV 26, included a calendrical text after material paralleling IQS IX 21b–24; see U. Gleßner, “4QOtot” (*DJD* 21). A concern for cosmic order and its confluence with just deeds and insight is also found in IQS VIII 15-16 and IX 12-15.

¹²⁷ The term יָסַד and its root יָסַד (to establish, found, or fix) occur frequently in IQS (III 25; V 5 [= 4QS^b IX 5, *pace* Brown et al. 2 i 5; = 4QS^d I 4]; VII 17, 18; VIII 8, 10 [= 4QS^d VI 4, *pace* Brown et al. 3 i 4]; IX 3 [= 4QS^d VII 4, *pace* Brown et al. 3 i 4]); IQSa I 12; IQSb III 21. By the Second Temple period, its meaning had become somewhat interchangeable with the similar but unrelated root, סוּר, “counsel, council”; see Jastrow, ספר מלים, 961; see also H. Muszyński, *Fundament, Bild und Metapher in den Handschriften aus Qumran: Studie zur Vorgeschichte des ntl. Begriffs ΘΕΜΕΛΙΟΣ* (AnBib 61; Rome: Biblical Institute, 1975) 63-5. Some texts play with the similarity of the terms: see IQS VIII 5-10; 4QBer^a I ii 2-3, where the term “their counsels” (סוּרֵיהֶם) is followed immediately by the term “foundations” (מִסְדֵּי); Nitzan, “286. 4QBerakhot^a,” in *DJD* 11). Indeed, in contemporary translations of the scrolls, the term “foundation” is com-

Temple metaphors is applied to the council of twelve laymen and three priests: they are the eternal plant, the House of Holiness for Israel, a council/foundation of the holy of holies for Aaron, the tested wall, the costly cornerstone, with foundations¹²⁸ that will not be shaken or dislodged from their place, a most holy dwelling for Aaron, a house of perfection and truth in Israel (VIII 5-9).¹²⁹ The architectural metaphor is clearer still in VI 26, where the member who speaks against a neighbor who is registered before him is said to be letting go the סִדֵּר of his associate, a correlation which explicitly links the registered hierarchical ranks within the community to a concept of physical order and structure.¹³⁰ A similar correlation operates in VII 17, where the man who grumbles against the “foundation of the community” is to be sent away, never to return. The act of grumbling indicates that “סִדֵּר” must be understood here as the “authority” or “judgment” of the community, while the severe punishment for such an act indicates that this deed is considered one of the most egregious violations of the foundational principles of the community.

This covenant community is the new foundation for Israel, a foundation of cosmic order for the heavens and a foundation of moral order for those on earth. These architectural images support the contention that the community saw itself as the sanctuary, and therefore as the legitimate heir of the financial obligations long enjoined on Israel in its sacrificial system.

3.3.2.6 Conclusions

By the adaptation of Temple and sacrificial images to its own identity and activities, the Rule community portrayed itself as the legitimate supplicant, sacrifice, priesthood, interpretive authority, and cultic edifice of Israel, a wilderness community established to supplant the urban sanctuary. The integration of members' wealth is one modality of the new sanctuary's unity and identity and one measure of its distinction from the central sanctuary. The ideology of

monly used to translate סִדֵּר as well as סִדֵּר: 4QBer^a 1 ii 4, 6, 7 (*DJD* 11); 4Q228 1 i 6 (*DJD* 13); 1QH^a IV 13, 19; IX 22, 27; X 10; XIII 9, 26; XIV 26; XV 9; XVIII 4; XIX 16 (cf. XIX 4, 9, 12, where García Martínez and Tigchelaar translate “basis” and “community” [*DSSSE*]); 4Q180 1 9-10 (*DJDJ* 5), 4Q525 (4QBéat) 15 6. Likewise, סִדֵּר and its derivatives can refer to councils in the Qumran literature; cf. 4QShirShabb^a 2 2 = 4QShirShabb^b 14 i; 4QShirShabb^b 27 2?; 4QShirShabb^c 1 5; 4QShirShabb^d 1 ii 12.

¹²⁸ This term has been added by a second scribe in 1QS; it is lacking in the earlier 4Q5^e II 16 (reconstructed; but available space does not allow for it; see Alexander and Vermes, *DJD* 26, 141 note on line 16).

¹²⁹ P. A. Tiller understands the eternal plant metaphor to be an assertion of the community's cultic function; “The ‘Eternal Planting’ in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” *DSD* 4 (1997) 312-35.

¹³⁰ The act of registering ranks by writing them down establishes the ritually acknowledged ranks in a more stable medium and renders the foundation of hierarchical order one degree more secure; see 1QS V 23; VI 10, 22, 26; VII 2, 21; VIII 19; IX 2; cf. VI 20 and CD III 3; IX 18; XIII 12; XIV 4; XIX 35; XX 19. The image is also used in other scrolls to denote the act of military registration in preparation for the eschatological battle: 1QSa I 21; 1QM III 3; V 1.

sacrificial offering which undergirds the wealth passages is closely linked to the ideology of covenant fidelity, insofar as the sacrificial system functioned to express covenant fidelity through the donation of material gifts and to secure God's blessings of material prosperity.

3.3.3 *Communal Unity in the Holy Spirit*

A third rationale for the practice of shared property is that it helps to forge the single entity, the *yahad*, in which the holy spirit lives. In this respect, common possessions function in a manner similar to communal worship, Torah study, and meals, insofar as all of these symbolize and create the single organism oriented toward God's will:

For it is by the spirit of the true counsel of God that are atoned the paths of man, all his iniquities, so that he can look at the light of life. And it is by the holy spirit of the community (ויברוח קדושה ליחד), in its truth, that he is cleansed of all his iniquities. And by the spirit of uprightness and of humility his sin is atoned. And by the compliance of his soul with all the laws of God his flesh is cleansed by being sprinkled with cleansing waters and being made holy with the waters of repentance. (1QS III 6-9)

The community discerns and executes the spirit of God's true counsel (Isa 11:2) in its particular and stringent interpretation of Torah. The community member humbly subscribes to the precepts enforced by the community, including the contribution of his wealth, true testimony concerning it (see the first rule of the penal code), and obedience to communal judgments about it. Through this material and volitional deference to the whole group, individual identities are subsumed into a single community of holy ones where the holy spirit can reside and continually cleanse the members until the more definitive atoning act of the coming messiahs. If one exists outside this camp, one does not partake in the spirit of God.

The importance of the singleness and unity of the community is apparent at many points in the Rule. In 1QS VI 2-3, this unity is emphasized three times:

They shall obey, the small to the great, for work and for money. And together (יחד) they shall eat, | and together (יחד) they shall bless, and together (יחד) they shall give counsel.

Obedience in economic affairs according to the hierarchical chain of the community fosters singleness of purpose. Food, the most important "wealth" or "money" that the sectarians have, then immediately follows as the first matter that is shared in common.

Yet another occasion when wealth is correlated to the singleness of the community is in 1QS V 1-2, a passage attested by 4QS^b IX 2-4 and 4QS^d I 2-3:

They should be separated from the congregation of 1 men of unrighteousness in order to become a community (להיות ליחד) in Torah and in wealth...

While the witnesses diverge on the authorities who govern the formation of this community, the significant point is that all the manuscripts hold shared wealth to be a preeminent symbol of unity and all of them likewise subject that unity to some governing structure.

The emphasis upon the community appears to be secondary. As Bockmuehl notes, the manuscripts that witness to an earlier version of the Rule, 4QS^{b, d}, often use terminology for the community that is changed to יחד in 1QS. Examples of this can be found at 1QS V 1 (4QS^{b, d} אנשי החורה becomes אנשי היחד in 1QS), 1QS V 2-3 (4QS^{b, d} הרוב אנשי היחד changes to הרוב הרבים), and at V 21 (4QS^{b, d} המתנזרים becomes המתנזרים ביחד).¹³¹ These changes in emphasis indicate an escalation of sectarianism.

Another fragmentary sectarian manuscript warrants the assertion of this communal ideal. In 4QRebukes Reported by the Overseer 2 ii 5-6, Hananiah Notos is accused of disturbing the spirit of the community (רוח היחיד) by some inappropriate mixture—perhaps of his wealth with that of an apostate or outsider.¹³² Here, a penal code violation worthy of rebuke and probably related to wealth is said to disturb the single spirit of the community. Another phrase on fragment 2 i of the manuscript is of interest in this regard: between references to “the people of the [yahad]” (line 1) and the “[c]amp of the Many” (line 3), we hear a reference to “their soul” (נפשמה, line 2), as if the many implied in the plural suffix have only one soul (note the singular noun).

The correlation of fellowship and the holy spirit is not only a feature of the sectarian literature, but of several New Testament texts as well. In these texts, κοινωνία replaces יחד, but it is still a fellowship or communion in the holy spirit, as it is in the Rule (2 Cor 13:13; Phil 2:1; Acts 4:31-37; 5:1-11). Acts 5:1-11 is particularly instructive: when Ananias and Sapphira lie about property that they had contributed to the community, their act is described as a temptation of the holy spirit (vv. 3, 9), rather than as a temptation of the community, so closely are the Jerusalem community and the holy spirit associated.¹³³ In several other New Testament passages, the “community” is specifically manifested in the sharing of material resources with the “holy ones” in Jerusalem (Rom 12:13; 15:26; 2 Cor 8:3-4; 9:12-13), as if the holy ones in Rome and Achaia manifest their participation in the spirit by contributing to the needs of the Jerusalem community. That is, in early Christian

¹³¹ “Redaction and Ideology in the *Rule of the Community*,” 548-56.

¹³² E. Eshel, “477. Rebukes Reported by the Overseer,” in *Qumran Cave 4.XXVI: Cryptic Texts and Miscellanea, Part 1* (ed. S. J. Pfann et al.; DJD 36; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000) 474-83, pl. XXXII; see §5.2.2.2 below.

¹³³ Cf. also Rom 12:13 and 15:26, where the recipients of the letter are instructed to share their resources with the holy ones in Jerusalem. In 2 Cor 8:3-4 and 9:12-13, the sharing of material resources with the holy ones in Jerusalem is again referred to as κοινωνία.

circles, the Jerusalem community is understood to be the holiest of the Christian communities, or better, it must be maintained as the holiest of the communities, for there could be no need there (Acts 4:34; Deut 15:4).¹³⁴

3.4 Realities behind the Voluntary Offering of Wealth

The wealth passages examined above yield some answers to practical questions in addition to rationales for economic practices. Presuming some correlation between the literary texts and at least a concrete experience of wealth, if not the actual praxis of the community, the following questions may be posed: *what* was wealth? *how* was it shared? and was it *shared* such that it rendered members equal?

3.4.1 What Was Wealth?

Three terms are used in IQS to describe individual and communal resources: wealth (הון), mammon or money (ממון), and work or possessions (מלאכה).

The most common term for wealth in IQS is הון.¹³⁵ It is the word used both of the individual's donation (with מלאכה, VI 19, 22) and of communal wealth (VI 17; VII 6), and functions as a material symbol of individual commitment and communal identity. It shares this symbolic role with the pure food and drink, both in the covenant initiation texts (V 14-20; VI 13b-23) and in the rules of communal discipline (VI 24-25; VII 22-25), although it appears to be the more significant symbol. The fact that lying about wealth is the first case introduced for judgment in the penal code indicates its significance either as the most commonly contested point of law or as the most concrete symbol of behavioral fidelity to truth and to the community. The latter possibility is further supported by the thesis that the sectarian penal code relied on sapiential-apocalyptic texts which likewise privileged economic matters in the criteria of eschatological judgment. The high priority of wealth as a symbol of covenant fidelity is borne out by the fact that this penal code concludes as it began, by enjoining the most severe penalty against those who mix their pure food and/or wealth with a banished former leader: they are to be banished as well (IQS VIII 21-25).

¹³⁴ Dieter Georgi argues that, by the time Paul actually delivered the collection to Jerusalem, the money no longer constituted a symbol of the Gentile churches' subservience to Jewish Christianity, but rather their equality with it; see *Remembering the Poor: The History of Paul's Collection for Jerusalem* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1992; German original, 1965), especially pages 113-21.

¹³⁵ IQS I 12, 13; III 2; V 2, 3, 14, 16, 20; VIII 23; IX 7, 8 bis, 22; X 19; XI 2; IQSb III 19. Cf. also CD IV 17; VI 15, 16; VIII 5, 7; IX 22; X 18; XI 15; XII 7 bis; XIII 11; XIX 17, 19; XX 7; IQpHab VI 1; VIII 11 bis, 12; IX 5, 6; XII 10; IQH^a VI 20; XVIII 23, 29; IQMyst I i 11-12; I ii 6; 4QpNah 3-4 i 11.

The second term for wealth which occurs in 1QS is מִמּוֹן (VI 2).¹³⁶ The word does not occur in the Hebrew Bible, but does appear in the Targums and in Qumranic and rabbinic literature, where it represents accumulation, wealth, value (e.g. cattle, freight), or monetary payment such as a fine.¹³⁷ The word itself carries neither an explicitly negative or positive value. In *m. Ber.* 9:5, as we have seen, it is associated with the Deuteronomic command to give all one's strength (מִאֲדָרֶךְ) to God.¹³⁸

The third term, מְלֵאכָה, describes a work, trade, vocation, or task,¹³⁹ and is thus the term commonly used of what one must not do on the sabbath, as in CD X 14-19.¹⁴⁰ The list of activities prohibited on the sabbath in CD includes work (מְלֵאכָה), useless words, lending, and any discussion of wealth and gain (הוֹן וּבִצְע) or of work or service (הַמְלֵאכָה וְהַעֲבֹדָה). The terms for wealth (הוֹן), work (מְלֵאכָה), and service (עֲבֹדָה) are known to us from 1QS. The term "gain" (בִּצְע) is not, but it appears as a variant in other versions of the Rule, and commonly appears in other documents in conjunction with the terms for wealth and service.¹⁴¹ The context of the sabbath proscription indicates that all of these terms are to be understood as related to the work permissible during the six days of the week oriented to maintenance and increase. Though profane, this weekday work and its yield could benefit the sacred, as we saw above in the exhortation to contribute to build the wilderness sanctuary (Exod 36:2).¹⁴² The term has the extended meaning in biblical usage of the property with which one is occupied, which could include herds or flocks as well as

¹³⁶ See F. Hauck, "μαμωνάς," *TWNT* (ed. G. Kittel; Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1942) 4.390-92.

¹³⁷ Jastrow, סִפְרֵי מְלֵאכָה, 794; cf. *Tg. Gen* 37:26 ("What profit [מִמּוֹן] is it if we kill our brother and conceal his blood?"); *Tg. Exod* 21:30 ("If a ransom [כֹּפֶר; *Tg.* מִמּוֹן] is imposed on the owner, then the owner shall pay whatever is imposed for the redemption of the victim's life"). See also the New Testament occurrences, where the term does appear to have a negative meaning: *Matt* 6:24 (*par* *Luke* 16:13), "You cannot serve God and wealth" (μαμωνᾶν), and *Luke* 16:9, "Make friends for yourself by means of dishonest wealth" (τοῦ μαμωνᾶ τῆς ἀδικίας).

¹³⁸ Cf. CD XIV 20, where the word is used in the context of atonement or punishment, and 1QMyst 1 ii 5, where the context is one of negative judgment of a rich person (the term חֲשֹׁבֵינִי is mentioned in line 2).

¹³⁹ F. Brown, S. R. Driver, and C. A. Briggs, *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1951; orig. 1906) 522; cf. *Gen* 39:11; *Jon* 1:8; *Prov* 18:9; 22:29.

¹⁴⁰ See also *Exod* 20:9-10; *Lev* 23:3; *Deut* 5:13-14; *Jer* 17:22, 24; cf. parallel regulations for holy convocations in *Exod* 12:16; *Lev* 16:29; 23:28, 30-31; *Num* 29:7; *m. Šabb.* 7:1-2; *Abot R. Nat.* 11; Jastrow, סִפְרֵי מְלֵאכָה, 786.

¹⁴¹ The variant occurs in 4QS^d VIII 6; 4QS^b XVIII 6 (*pace* Alexander and Vermes, *DJD* 26, 57), and 1QS IX 22, and probably 4QS^e IV 4, have וְעַמְלָה כִּפְיָם. The variant may reflect *Exod* 18:21: "who fear God, trustworthy men who spurn ill-gotten gain" (שְׂנֵאִי בִצְע). See also 1QpHab IX 5; CD VIII 7; X 18; XI 15; XII 6-11; XIX 19; 1QH^a XVIII 30.

¹⁴² See also 1 Kgs 5:30, where it is used of the construction of the Jerusalem Temple, and the several locations where it refers to Levitical duties and priestly sacrifices (1 Chr 23:4; 26:29; 2 Chr 29:34; *Ezra* 3:8; 6:22; *Neh* 10:34; 11:22; and variations of the phrase מְלֵאכָה לְעֹבְדֵי ה' in *Exod* 35:24; 36:1, 3, 5; *Lev* 23:7, 8, 21, 25, 35-36; *Num* 28:18, 25-26; 29:1, 12, 35; 1 Chr 9:13, 19; 23:24; 28:13, 20; 2 Chr 24:12). It can also refer to religious duties in general as well as to political duties (*Exod* 35:21; 36:4; 38:24; 1 Chr 6:34; 26:30).

the things done or made.¹⁴³ This last meaning in particular seems to fit the context of IQS VI, for in lines 19-20 we hear that the wealth and possessions of the initiate approach the hand of the man who is the Examiner over the possessions of the Many, and that the initiate registers his donation into the account. The fact of the donation, the title of the overseer, and the necessity of registration all indicate that מלאכה has an objective referent. It refers to things rather than abstract "work," although these things may be the produce of one's labors. The term "reckoning" or "account" (חשבון) which is used in VI 20 occurs only here in IQS, although the cognate verbal form "to reckon" (חשב) commonly occurs in contexts of judging the deviant (III 1, 4; V 11, 17-18 [dependent on Isa 2:22]; XI 21).

The operative rationales of covenant fidelity and sacrificial offering suggest that the concrete referents for wealth encompassed all the blessings of and offerings from one's increase and prosperity. Of all these blessings and sacrificial offerings, food and drink are the most closely associated objects (see especially V 14-20). The injunctions against eating from unrighteous men's wealth (הון), against drinking (from it), and against taking anything at all from their hands, specify the term wealth as material property such as agricultural produce, livestock and other food sources, and handiwork. The emphasis on food and drink indicates either that procuring food was the most common occasion of economic intercourse with outsiders or that commensality was for the covenanters the most significant sphere to be protected against pollution. This is borne out by the fact that wealth and the pure food/drink are such closely associated symbols of communal identity and of separation from outsiders or transgressors.¹⁴⁴ It is of interest to note that, according to Josephus, the Essenes took oaths which prevented them from eating non-secular food (*War* 2.8.8 [§143]), and this might lie behind Pliny's comment that the Essenes avoid human society and enjoy only the company of palm trees (*Nat. Hist.* 5.17.4 [§73]).

The fact that "wealth" includes preeminently one's produce rather than one's immovable assets requires a reconceptualization of the contribution of wealth to the community. The contribution made upon initiation is not only a one-time donation of property, but also and more importantly a one-time commitment of everything that one might acquire and produce. The ongoing nature of the production of goods and services accounts for the need to continually manage, oversee, and judge matters related to property. The com-

¹⁴³ Exod 22:7, 10; possessions of herds and flocks Gen 33:14; 1 Sam 15:9; 2 Chr 17:13; things done or made by God (in creation Gen 2:2-3; in judgment Jer 50:25; Ps 73:28) or by men (in leather Lev 13:48, 51; in the field 1 Chr 27:26; in building Prov 24:27; Neh 4:5; of the potter Jer 18:3; of seamen Ps 107:23). Thus also מלאכה refers to workmanship in general.

¹⁴⁴ It is interesting in IQS V 16-17 that exchange was allowed with outsiders as long as money changed hands; the absence of monetary exchange symbolized a degree of mutual obligation and influence that could only be permitted to committed members of the community.

mitment made upon entry is thus not only a contribution of physical assets but also of productive capacity, which would naturally require an annual renewal of commitment tied to the agricultural cycle.

3.4.2 *How Was Wealth Shared?*

The voluntary offering of wealth entitled the initiate to make certain claims on the communal resources (VI 17, 22) and to retain a claim on his own property (1QS V 16-17; VI 19-20, 24-25). These rights are clearest in the detailed treatment of initiation in VI 13b-23, where the incremental contribution of wealth and the gradually increasing, reciprocal claims of community and individual upon the newly donated resources are symbols of the individual's own assimilation into the community.

While the second section of 1QS mentions an officer with specific responsibility over communal wealth, the Examiner over the possessions of the Many (המבקר על מלאכת הרבים), it also appears that each member bore a responsibility to manage individual and communal assets well (1QS VI 24-25; VII 6-8). The fact that an individual member *could* act negligently with the wealth of the community (VII 6-7) indicates that members enjoyed roles related to the management of communal assets; this may simply mean that their individual work and productivity was understood as community property, so that they were to exercise it not only in their self-interest but with the ideology and regulations of the community in mind. It also indicates that individual members had some capacity to make restitution for loss of communal property, which may mean that they retained some of their own property or that their work could generate the income necessary to compensate for a loss.

The member was protected from the arbitrary exercise of judgment on matters of wealth by the communal nature of the judgment¹⁴⁵ and by the practice of casting lots, although in the case of lots this appears to be a later addition to the Rule tradition and therefore perhaps reflective of a temporary situation.¹⁴⁶ Both the priests and the Many are responsible to discern the spirits and deeds of community members (V 20-25), a process which unlike II 20-23 may result in the elevation or demotion of adherents.

That the sharing of wealth was a feature of communal life is borne out by the stipulation in 1QS V 16-17 that no exchange of food, drink or goods could occur with outsiders without the exchange of money (cf. CD XIII 15).

¹⁴⁵ The communally exercised judgment and the lawsuit referred to in 1QS V 6 may concern, among other things, matters of wealth. The connection is not explicit in V 6, but judgment is associated with wealth and its exercise in other sections of the document (e.g. VI 24-25; VII 6-8).

¹⁴⁶ See 1QS V 1-4 and the variants in the earlier versions, 4QS^b IX 2-4 and 4QS^d I 2-3; and 1QS IX 7 and the variant in 4QS^d VII 7.

In summary, the individual exercises volition in the initial donation of wealth, the avoidance of economic intercourse with the unrighteous, and the management of individual and communal assets. Otherwise he is subject to the disciplinary regulations of the Rule and to the disciplines, judgments and lawsuits of the Many and of particular authorities. The groups and individuals named as authorities over wealth vary in the versions and therefore probably changed over the course of the history of the community.

3.4.3 What Was “Common” to Those Who Shared Property?

The contribution of knowledge, strength and wealth did not place all members of the community on an equal footing. Rather, a strict hierarchy obtained in the ranks of the order.¹⁴⁷ In IQS II 19-25, just after the injunction to repeat the covenant renewal ceremony annually, the order of crossing over into the covenant is outlined. Priests are to cross over “first” into the order, the Levites “after this,” and “thirdly” all the people are to cross into the order in thousands, hundreds, fifties, and tens. IQS expands on the biblical description of ranks by delineating the purpose of the order: it is so that every man in Israel will know his standing place in the community of God for the eternal council, a position from which he cannot rise or fall (II 22-23).¹⁴⁸ The violation of rank visible in the insolent rejection of communal discipline is a concern throughout the document (e.g., III 9-11; V 2-3).

A general principle regarding authority on matters of wealth is adduced in IQS VI 2-3, “They shall obey, the small to the great, for work and for money” (4QS^d II 6-7 and 4QSⁱ line 3 do not vary).¹⁴⁹ The only other time this principle of authority is invoked is in V 23, where it is applied more generically to any affair. In VI 2-3, the general principle of obedience is applied to the specific areas of work and money, which suggests that work and money provided the most frequent, visible, and perhaps contentious occasions to work out the principle of obedience in practice.

¹⁴⁷ N. Jastram, “Hierarchy at Qumran,” in *Cambridge*, 349-76.

¹⁴⁸ It is interesting that a later section of IQS allows for alterations of rank and then justifies the propriety of mutual admonishment with the same reasons given here to guard *against* alterations of rank (V 23-25). On the language of this passage, see Mic 6:8; IQS I 5; II 24; (cf. IV 3); V 3-4; VIII 2. See also 4QBer^a I ii 7-8 (and Nitzan’s note, *DJD* 11, 15-16); 4QD^b 8 4; 4QBéat 14 ii 20; 4Q381 46 2; 4Q511 52, 54-55, 57-59 1; 1QH^a XIX 28; XX 14, which resemble Exod 34:6-7 and parallels (רוב חסד). For a discussion of this combination of phrases as a feature of the scrolls, see Licht, *The Rule Scroll*, 32.

¹⁴⁹ IQS reads למלאכה ולמנון, while the fragmentary manuscripts 4QS^d, i read ולהון ולמנון (4QS^d II 7 וּלְהוֹן; 4QSⁱ line 3 וּלְהוֹן). For 4QS^d, Metso reads וּלְמָנוֹן (*Textual Development*, 42), but the spot of ink to the left of the upper cross-stroke of *lamed* is high and close to the *lamed* and dips down sharply. These characteristics render it more similar to *he* than to *mem* (למנון, IQS). Cf. in this same column למלאכה (the prior word) and להשמע, line 3.

While the concern for rank is evident at every redactional stage, the identification of specific authorities changes. In particular, the manuscripts attesting to an earlier form of the tradition indicate that “the Many” had authority over matters of judgment and wealth, while IQS adds to the Many “the sons of Zadok, the priests” (V 1-4; cf. 4QS^b IX 2-4; 4QS^d I 2-3).¹⁵⁰ The evidence of IQS IX 7 is unclear, for in isolating the “sons of Aaron” as authorities over judgment and wealth, the text may be referring generally to the sacralized community rather than particularly to priests (4QS^d VII 6-9 reads with IQS, though it lacks the reference to lots). Unfortunately, there are no versions extant at VI 19-20, where the Examiner over the possessions of the Many is mentioned.¹⁵¹

The proximity of the principle of obedience to manifestations of communal unity (eating, blessing, taking counsel, VI 2-3) suggests that hierarchical order was viewed not as a divisive element but rather precisely as an aspect and means of unity. From the earlier passage in V 23-24, it is clear that the basis for determining one’s stature in the community—that is, whether one was “great” or “small”—was the annual judgment of one’s insight and behavior, communally determined. Thus the communal judgment and annual registration of status determined ranks that in turn dictated the status of community members, and adherence to this registered hierarchy of obedience in its turn became the basis for the communal judgment of the individual’s behavior the next year. Elevation or advancement as an individual in this community depended upon humility before a social order that was communally determined. Hierarchical order provided an incentive for the individual to advance, but it did so by subjugating that incentive to respect for the community’s authority to adjudicate rank.¹⁵²

While ascribed ranks such as priest and Levite are presumably static, ranks attributed to one’s progress in deeds and insight are fluid (V 23-25; cf. II 20-23). But whether fixed or fluctuating, rank itself was certainly an integral feature of the community landscape, providing order not only to the institution’s operations and its annual ritual of registration but to the title of the document

¹⁵⁰ This is somewhat at odds with the rules of communal discipline in the following column, which specify that the judgments are “according to the Many”; that is, no sons of Zadok are mentioned. In addition to the sons of Zadok and the Many, the specific authorities mentioned in the second section of IQS are the priests (VI 19; VII 2; cf. VI 3-5, 8), the Examiner over the Many (VI 12), the Overseer at the head of the Many (VI 14), the elders (VI 8), and the Many (VI 15-19, 21). A. I. Baumgarten believes that the references to the Zadokite priests represent a later consolidation of interpretive and executive authority in their hands; see “The Zadokite Priests at Qumran: A Reconsideration,” *DSD* 4 (1997) 137-56.

¹⁵¹ CD XIV 12-17 mentions that an additional responsibility of the מְבַקֵּר is to administer the community’s monthly offerings for the needy and aged.

¹⁵² This is the force of the prescriptions against taking the law into one’s own hand (VI 25-26), disregarding the rank of one’s betters (VI 26), dishonoring authority (VI 27-VII 2), and murmuring against or dealing treacherously with the foundation(s) or principles of the community (VII 17-21).

itself. This pervasive concern for hierarchy can exist alongside the language of commonality because the community regarded itself not as a radically new egalitarian society, but rather as an alternative to the Jerusalem hierarchy more reflective of the cosmic order in part by virtue of its members' mutual commitment to a more radical interpretation of the Torah.

In this society rank still exists, but it is not based on wealth. Shared goods do not render members equal, but neither are goods any longer a basis of distinction between members. Rather, rank is based on one's covenant fidelity, symbolized in part by the commitment to share goods, and rank is assessed by the entire community that participates in that commitment.

3.5 *Conclusions*

The voluntary offering of property in the Rule of the Community provides an occasion to explore the ideologies and practices of the community or communities that produced and adhered to these texts. With the recent publication of all the manuscript witnesses, we are in a better position to evaluate the diachronic development of the rationales and realities behind the textual tradition.

Passages mentioning wealth are present at every redactional stage and in every generic category of material in the document. Moreover, we have seen that the rationales of covenant fidelity and sacrificial offering are consistent features of the tradition, again in all redactional stages and generic categories. A third rationale, the need for unity in holiness or in the holy spirit, is also present at all stages but is particularly emphasized in later redactional stages. The realities—what the wealth was, how it was shared, and the authority structures governing its disposal—demonstrated more variation in the versions and in the various sections of the document. This variation can be explained by the changing practices of the community to which the Rule texts were conformed, practices which in turn changed in response to socio-historical circumstances.

As a result of this exercise, we are in a position to generate some criteria by which the historicity of a given practice may be discussed. The consistency of the mention of the contribution of wealth across time is an important criterion. It is particularly significant that passages on wealth are not only retained in the later manuscript witnesses, but also that they are developed in the direction of greater usefulness. They are bolstered with references to scriptural citations or communal regulations (V 14-20; VIII 24-25), they are clarified with additional detail (V 14-20; VI 17), and they are conformed to concrete practices (V 1-4; VII 6-8, 22-25; IX 7). The direction of these emendations suggests that the texts were indeed used in a community, or rather in communities, for the variation between and ongoing viability of the versions

suggests that there were communities other than the one at Qumran that used the Rule as a guide.

Distinctions should also be made between the historical value of various genres. Rather than viewing the entire document as utopian or ideological, some genres should be recognized as more the projections of communal intention (introductions, guidelines for the wise leader), and others as more reflective of actual practice (covenant initiation and renewal, rules of communal organization and discipline). The fact that wealth is featured in all the generic categories, and particularly in the ones more reflective of communal practices, supports the historicity of the voluntary offering of property at Qumran.

The Rule shares with the Damascus Document an intense interest in wealth. But whereas in the Damascus Document the emphasis is on socio-economic critique, in the Rule priority is given to the alternative ideal community where a different economy obtains. This alternative vision is constructed on the basis of biblical ideals, but also takes the form of a very real economic institution, the Jerusalem Temple. The Rule creates a community organized around a renewed covenant. This new covenant, in turn, reorients the agricultural-sacrificial enterprise away from the urban sanctuary and toward the wilderness congregation committed more radically than others to the statutes of Deuteronomy.

CHAPTER FOUR

WEALTH IN INSTRUCTION

4.1 *Introduction*

Discussions of wealth in the Qumran sectarian literature rest on prior legal, prophetic and wisdom traditions regarding property. Thus far legal and prophetic materials have been found to lie at the root of economic ideologies and practices in the sectarian constitutional literature. But it is also clear that the term “wealth” (הוֹן) itself derives from sapiential strata of the Hebrew Bible, and that discernment regarding one’s goods was consistently linked in the Damascus Document and the Rule of the Community to knowledge and insight, the proverbial goals of the sage and his disciples.

The Qumran caves have yielded a wealth of wisdom material against which we may test the sapiential roots of sectarian economic ideology and practice. The most significant and extensive of these works is the Instruction (*olim* Sapiential Work A), recently published by John Strugnell, Daniel J. Harrington, and Torleif Elgvin.¹ Instruction is a collection of wisdom sayings directed both to the sage or maven and to his disciple. It is prefaced by an eschatological introduction which sets the cosmological framework for the subsequent prosaic economic advice. While the bulk of the work lacks sectarian ideology and vocabulary and is therefore probably pre-sectarian, the cosmological prologue and frequent exhortations to ground inquiry in eschatological meditation may explain why the work was so popular at Qumran. That popularity itself—apparent in the number of copies and the late dates of their execution—manifests the ongoing interest of the sectarian community in this text and reveals the likely variety of scribal schools in the late Second Temple period. As John Collins has observed, we must now imagine that before and beyond Qumran there were scribal schools integrating apocalyptic wisdom material (mantic wisdom, special revelations) with the more traditional categories of Jewish wisdom (wisdom sayings, theological wisdom, nature wisdom).² Passages on wealth in Instruction derive from both the apocalyptic

¹ J. Strugnell, D. J. Harrington, S. J., and T. Elgvin, with J. A. Fitzmyer, S. J., eds., *Qumran Cave 4.XXIV: Sapiential Texts, Part 2, 4QInstruction (Mūsār Lē Mēvin): 4Q415 ff.* (DJD 34; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999). The designations for 4QInstruction^a and 4QInstruction^d have been reversed, so that they now refer to 4Q415 and 4Q418, respectively.

² See in particular J. J. Collins, “Wisdom, Apocalypticism, and Generic Compatibility,” in *In Search of Wisdom: Essays in Memory of John G. Gammie* (ed. L. G. Perdue et al.; Louisville: John Knox, 1993) 165-85; *idem*, “Wisdom Reconsidered, in Light of the Scrolls,” *DSD* 4 (1997)

and the mundane strands and thus evidence the fusion possible during this period.

4.2 Textual Evidence

Instruction is represented by eight partial copies, one from Cave 1 (1QInstruction, 1Q26)³ and seven from Cave 4 (4QInstruction^{a-e} [4Q415–4Q418], 4QInstruction^{f?} [4Q418a], and 4QInstruction^g [4Q423]).⁴ It is thus one of the most heavily attested texts found at Qumran, after the biblical books of Deuteronomy, Isaiah and Psalms, the parabiblical books of *Enoch* and *Jubilees*, and certain sectarian works (Rule, Damascus Document, War Scroll, Hodayot, Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice). In addition, two or perhaps three other works are similar enough to Instruction to warrant their discussion in its context: 4QSapiential-Didactic Work A (4Q412), 4QInstruction-like Composition A (4Q419), and 4QInstruction-like Composition B (4Q424).⁵

The inscription dates for the eight chief manuscripts encompass a surprisingly brief period. The earliest manuscripts, 4Q416 and 4Q418, are inscribed in a transitional formal style from the late Hasmonean to early Herodian periods (60–20 B.C.E.); three manuscripts, 4Q415, 4Q417, and 4Q418c, are written in the formal Herodian style (37–1? B.C.E.); 1Q26 is executed in an early- to mid-Herodian hand (30 B.C.E.–20 C.E.); and 4Q423 is penned in a mid- to late-Herodian script (15–70 C.E.). Thus we have positive evidence that the work was popular at the end of Period Ib and throughout Period II at Qumran, and the mid- to late-Hasmonean date of the related work 4Q419 suggests that related material was known and copied earlier still.

265-81; P. Wernberg-Møller, *The Manual of Discipline* (STDJ 1; Leiden/Grand Rapids: E. J. Brill/ William B. Eerdmans, 1957) 16-17; Harrington, *Wisdom Texts From Qumran* (LDSS; London: Routledge, 1996); *idem*, "Ten Reasons Why the Qumran Wisdom Texts are Important," *DSD* 4 (1997) 245-54; J. C. VanderKam, "The Prophetic-Sapiential Origins of Apocalyptic Thought," in *A Word in Season: Essays in Honour of William McKane* (ed. J. D. Martin and P. R. Davies; JSOTSup 42; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1986) 163-76; *idem*, "Mantic Wisdom in the Dead Sea Scrolls," *DSD* 4 (1997) 336-53.

³ Originally published by J. T. Milik as "26. Un apocryphe," in *Qumrân Cave I* (ed. D. Barthélemy, O. P. and Milik; DJD 1; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955) 101-102, pl. XX; re-edition published by Strugnell and Harrington as "26. 1QInstruction" (*DJD* 34) 535-9.

⁴ Elgvin edited 4QInstruction^g (4Q423); Strugnell and Harrington edited the other manuscripts of the document. See also É. Puech and A. Steudel, "Un nouveau fragment de manuscrit 4QInstruction (XQ7 = 4Q417 ou 418)," *RevQ* 19 (2000) 623-7.

⁵ Steudel, "412. 4QSapiential-Didactic Work A," in *Qumran Cave 4.XV: Sapiential Texts, Part I* (ed. Elgvin et al.; DJD 20; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997) 163-8, pl. XIV. S. Tanzer, "419. 4QInstruction-like Composition A" and "424. 4QInstruction-like Composition B" (*olim* 4QSapiential Work C), in *Qumran Cave 4.XXVI: Miscellaneous Texts from Qumran and Other Sites* (ed. S. J. Pfann et al.; DJD 36; Oxford: Clarendon, 2000) 320-32, pl. XXII and 333-46, pl. XXIII. Additions to 4Q419 were published by E. J. C. Tigchelaar, "More Identifications of Scraps and Overlaps," *RevQ* 19 (1999) 64-5.

The popularity of the text at Qumran is curious for several other reasons. Apart from the cosmological prologue and certain peculiar expressions that might have appealed to an apocalyptic sect (“secret” [אִישׁ], “the mystery that is to come” [רִי נְהִיָּה]), the document lacks some of the characteristic sectarian vocabulary and in many respects reflects a *Sitz im Leben* more mainstream than sectarian. Specifically, language common in the sectarian literature—terms for purity (טְהוּרָה, טְהוּרָה, נְדָה), the holy (קֹדֶשׁ), epithets for the community (קָהָל, עֵדָה, רִבִּים, יַחַד), terminology of law and righteousness (מִצְוָה, הִרְוּהָ), מצוה, צדקה/צדיק)—are either lacking or rare.⁶ Moreover, not only does the text presume marriage, but the maven at one point even addresses his advice to a woman or wife (4Q415 2 ii 1-9), a phenomenon highly unusual in wisdom literature. There is advice about the disposition of one’s daughter in marriage, about the proper honor due one’s parents, about farming and craftsmanship and behavior to one’s benefactors and inferiors—that is, standard *topoi* in sapiential literature but inconsistent with the old consensus of a celibate community and closed economy at Qumran.

At the same time, there are interesting differences between this work and other sapiential works: Instruction will forbid as well as caution against the practice of standing surety for others; it will reinforce traditional teachings on the family but with greater emphasis on the pressures of material deprivation and with less overt misogyny than a work like ben Sira; it will evidence a greater sense of determinism in its theology of creation.⁷ The term “poor” (עֲנִי/עֲנִיָּה), so frequently found in the general wisdom tradition, occurs only sparsely in Instruction,⁸ while a common term for riches or wealth, עֶשֶׂר, is absent from the remains of Instruction and found only once in the sapiential composition 4Q412 (4 1).⁹ At the same time, the work employs other economic terms well-represented in certain sapiential texts but infrequent in the sectarian corpus, such as “poor” (דָּל),¹⁰ “needy” (אֲבִיּוֹן),¹¹ “poverty” (רֵישׁ)

⁶ See Strugnell and Harrington, “General Introduction,” *DJD* 34, 22-33.

⁷ Harrington, “Wisdom at Qumran,” in *The Community of the Renewed Covenant: The Notre Dame Symposium on the Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. E. Ulrich and VanderKam; CJA 10; Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1994) 146-51.

⁸ Job 24:4, 9, 14; 29:12; 34:28; 36:6, 15; Prov 3:34; 14:21; 15:15, 33; 16:19 (Q); 18:12; 22:4, 22; 30:14; 31:9, 20; Qoh 6:8; Sir 13:20, 22, 24 (all citations are taken from the NRSV); 4QInstruction^c 2 i 14 *par* 4QInstruction^c 22 3. According to the ratio developed by Strugnell and Harrington, the frequency of the term in Instruction is comparable to that in 1-11Q (2:30, not 0:47 as they propose; see “General Introduction,” *DJD* 34, 25).

⁹ Steudel observes that the paleography of this fragment differs from the three others of this sapiential work, suggesting that it may belong to another text (*DJD* 20, 163, pl. XIV).

¹⁰ Job 5:16; 20:10, 19; 31:16; 34:19, 28; Prov 10:15; 14:31; 19:4, 17; 21:13; 22:9, 16, 22bis; 28:3, 8, 11, 15; 29:7, 14; Sir 11:1; 13:19, 21-23; 4QInstruction^d 126 ii 7 (but only six times in 1-11Q).

¹¹ Job 5:15; 24:4, 14; 29:16; 30:25; 31:19; Prov 14:31; 30:14; 31:9, 20; Sir 13:20; 4QInstruction^a 6 2; 4QInstruction^b 2 iii 8 (*par* 4QInstruction^d 9 6) and 12; 4QInstruction^c 2 i 17; 4QInstruction^d 168 37; 249 3 (*versus* 28 occurrences in 1-11Q, thus relatively frequent in Instruction).

רש),¹² and lack (מחסור).¹³ Moreover, the term אִוֶּמֶת is unique to Instruction, resulting in the proposal of several translations, including “financial resources.” Finally, the fact that wealth is contextualized as a problem of divine order and human response rather than as the result of human exploitation sets this work somewhat at odds with the sectarian literature.¹⁴ Both the text’s affinities with non-sectarian wisdom and its divergences from it render Instruction a significant document for the discussion of wealth at Qumran.

The passages concerning wealth in Instruction may be grouped into three categories. The first includes references to wealth in the peculiar cosmological or eschatological framework of Instruction, a category which includes the metaphorical employment of economic terminology to characterize divine grace, the human lot, and eventual judgment. A second category is more characteristic of the genres of wisdom sayings and wisdom instruction, namely explicit advice to the poor disciple or to the poor maven himself about economics and finance. The third category is instruction concerning the source and proper disposition of agricultural produce, a category which blends the first two.

The presentation of each passage below will follow the convention established by the editors of Instruction, which is to discuss the most extensively preserved exemplar by its manuscript, fragment and line number and to introduce variants in the versions as necessary. Thus the first version listed for any passage below is where one will find the full *apparatus criticus* in DJD 34. The translations, adapted from those of the editors, represent composite texts based on all versions, a practice permissible given the absence of major variants.

4.3 *Wealth in Cosmic and Eschatological Context*

Compared to the typical form of wisdom sayings, Instruction differs in its cosmic and eschatological opening, which provides a theological framework for the sayings and echoes motifs found in sectarian works.¹⁵ In this opening section, the later sayings on matters of wealth are first grounded in the orga-

¹² Prov 6:11; 10:15; 13:8, 18, 23; 14:20; 17:15; 18:23; 19:1, 7, 22; 22:2, 7; 24:34; 28:3, 6, 19, 27; 29:13; 30:8; 31:7; Qoh 4:14; 5:7; 4QInstruction^a 6 3; 4QInstruction^b 2 i 4; 2 ii 20; 2 iii 6bis, 11, 15, 20 (*par* 4QInstruction^d 9 4-5, 11, 17); 4QInstruction^d 9 13; 148 ii 4?; 177 5; 249 3 (but only five times in 1-11Q).

¹³ Prov 6:11; 11:24; 14:23; 21:5, 17; 22:16; 24:34; 28:27; Sir 40:26; 4QInstruction^a 9 9; 4QInstruction^b 1 6; 2 ii 1, 20 (*par* 4QInstruction^c 2 ii + 23 3, 25); 2 iii 2; 4QInstruction^c 2 i 17, 19, 21, 24 (*par* 4QInstruction^d 7b 7); 4QInstruction^d 14 1; 16 3; 81 + 81a 18; 87 6; 88 5; 97 2; 107 3; 122 i 7; 126 ii 13bis; 127 1; 159 ii 5; 240 3; 4QInstruction^e 12 1 (against only two uses in 1-11Q).

¹⁴ Elgvin, “Wisdom, Revelation and Eschatology in an Early Essene Writing,” SBLSP 34 (1995) 444.

¹⁵ Harrington, *Wisdom Texts from Qumran*, 41.

nization of nature and thus on theological claims. The most extensively preserved portions of this cosmological preface are in 4QInstruction^c, ^d, while 4QInstruction^b, ^e also preserve material from it. In addition to the preface, these themes are interspersed throughout the work.

4QInstruction^c 1 i is a long hortatory preface to the entire work (*olim* 2 i; *par* 4QInstruction^d 43 1-14, 44 15; 45 i 13-14; 4QInstruction^e 11 1-5). The author encourages the sage to study the beginnings and the endings, the deeds of old and the mystery yet to come, in order to be able to recognize the true nature of every act (lines 1-8). Insight is possible because God's wisdom governs nature, and that wisdom or God's secrets have been revealed at least partially by God ("He expounded for their understanding every deed," line 10). This revelation of God's wisdom and the destiny of humans is chiefly contained in a heavenly book of memorial which God gave together with a spiritual people to man/Enosh as his inheritance (lines 15-16; cf. Mal 3:16).¹⁶ While there is no material economic reference in this fragment, the exposition about God's wisdom and revelation clearly grounds the subsequent paraenetic material on economics and finance.¹⁷ The sage is promised that meditation on the mystery to come will reveal the difference between the great and the small in this world (lines 18-20), will guide the sage in his ethical behavior (line 23), and will reveal both the lot of individuals in this world and their punishments and rewards in the world to come (lines 18-19, 24-25). Furthermore, economic issues are implicated in all of these matters elsewhere in the text. The future promise is here presented in terms of the economic metaphors of recompense and reward (פעלה, שלום), and these are appropriate subjects for study (lines 14, 26), while the individual's present behavior is referred to as one's "inheritance" (line 24).¹⁸

¹⁶ On the debate whether אנוש refers to the antediluvian son of Seth, or to Adam, or to mankind in general, see Strugnell and Harrington, *DJD* 34, 164-5 note on line 16; A. Lange, *Weisheit und Prädestination: Weisheitliche Urordnung und Prädestination im den Textfunden von Qumran* (STDJ 18; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1995) 86-92; Collins, *Jewish Wisdom in the Hellenistic Age* (OTL; Louisville: Westminster/John Knox, 1997) 121-5; *idem*, "In the Likeness of the Holy Ones: The Creation of Humankind in a Wisdom Text from Qumran," in *Provo*, 610-12.

¹⁷ In addition to Elgvin, "Wisdom, Revelation and Eschatology," see his "Early Essene Eschatology: Judgment and Salvation according to *Sapiential Work A*," in *Current Research and Technological Developments on the Dead Sea Scrolls: Conference on the Texts from the Judean Desert, Jerusalem, 30 April 1995* (ed. D. W. Parry and S. D. Ricks; STDJ 20; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1996) 126-65; *idem*, "The Mystery to Come: Early Essene Theology of Revelation," in *Qumran between the Old and New Testaments* (ed. F. H. Cryer and T. L. Thompson; JSOTSup 290/CIS 6; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998) 113-50; Harrington, "The *Raz Nihyeh* in a Qumran Wisdom Text (1Q26, 4Q415-418, 4Q423)," *RevQ* 17 (1996) 549-53; *idem*, *Wisdom Texts from Qumran*, 40-59.

¹⁸ See also פעלהכח, line 14; Strugnell and Harrington, *DJD* 34, 161-2 note on lines 13-14 (e)-(f); "your reward consisting in the pleasures of..." (ופעלהכח בחפצו); 4QInstruction^d 107 4); "their reward" (פעולתמזן); 4QInstruction^d 108 2); "...the sick [their] reward" (תוליים פעולה); 4QIn-

One passage about wealth in the introductory section is actually a reference to its lack. In a passage attested by 4QInstruction^b 1 1-7 and 4QInstruction^d 1 1-4, the author asserts that beings (angelic? human?) rule by dominion according to their host, and that “for kingdom and kingdom, for province and province (?), for each man and each man [... (they exercise dominion?)] according to the poverty of their host” (לפי מחסור צבאם). As Strugnell and Harrington note, it is unlikely that the angelic host is meant here, for one would presume them to be perfect. Therefore, they suggest that those with the deficient host or company are the earthly rulers in their proper domains whose power is circumscribed. The passage continues by promising an eschatological judgment against the wicked, and if these are the same people who ruled by the poverty of their host, we must understand poverty here in its metaphorical sense, as a lack of righteousness and fidelity.

4QInstruction^d 55 preserves part of a cosmological section, although until a material reconstruction of the document can be established it is unknown precisely where this material fell in the original manuscript. In this passage, God is said to have distributed [something] to those who (are to?) inherit the truth (הוא פלג לנחלי אמת), line 6).¹⁹ The metaphor of inheritance for an individual’s portion of insight is continued in line 10 (“According to their knowledge they will receive honor, one man more than his neighbor, and according to each one’s understanding will his glory be increased”), while the objective reference in line 12 is unclear (“Will they not inherit an eternal possession?”).²⁰ Thus economic metaphors govern the discussion of God’s provision of both past and future blessing.

Later in the work, in the midst of prosaic advice about receiving loans, the author exhorts the maven in the reverse situation to be generous in his loans to others in need. This advice against shutting his own hand and preventing food from being sent forth is warranted by divine behavior (4QInstruction^b 2 i 22–2 ii 4, *par* 4QInstruction^c 2 ii 2-5, 4QInstruction^d 7 12; 8 1-3; 4QInstruction^e 8 ii 7):

... ask for your food,²¹ for He has unloosed His mercies towards every man...so

struction^d 130 2; is sickness here a reward/recompense for sin?); 4QInstruction^e 5 3 (rulers will be judged; God knows the reward of their deeds).

¹⁹ References to inheriting the truth occur also in 4QInstruction^b 4 3; 4QInstruction^d 88 8; IQS IV 19, 24; 4QPp^s IV 12 (Ps 37:34); 4Q413 1 2; cf. נמולי אמוכה at 1Q36 15 3.

²⁰ The last phrase, אוחזת פולם יחלל, includes a reference to an eternal possession, which in other contexts referred to the land of Canaan (Gen 17:8; 48:4), the Levitical cities (Lev 25:34), and to God’s elect (1QS XI 7).

²¹ See the similar phrase in 4QInstruction^c 1 i 9, where the context is not theological (4Q417). In 4QInstruction^d 127 5-6, God is said to have “performed all the desires of (His) secret, and He has meted them out in [His] fidelity [...] | [...] For with righteous balances (במאזני צדק) he has weighed out all their measurement....” For the phrase “righteous balances,” see Lev 19:36; Ezek 45:10; Job 31:6; Prov 16:11 (cf. Instruction of Amenemope 18.2, 23).

as to fill up all the deficiencies of His secrets (מחסורי אוֹטוּ) and to give food to all that lives; and there is no one who will die of hunger. But if He shuts His hand (יִקְפֹּץ יָדוֹ), then there will be gathered in (to Sheol) the spirit of all flesh. Do not [...], and in his poverty you will not make the poor stumble because of it. Nor because of his shame will you hide your face, nor at his folly (hide it) from you captive.

The claim is that God is the source of all mercy and beneficence, here understood to be food. The similar work, 4QInstruction-like Composition A 8 ii 5-8, echoes these themes:

And from his treasury He will restore [...] | (His) produce to all the times of eternity [...] | If He closes His hand, then the spirit of all [flesh] will be gathered in [...] | [t]o their earth they will return.²³

God's treasury yields produce, and from that supply source there is a promise that God will restore the (now-impooverished?) elect to all the times of eternity.²⁴ But if God chooses to close that storehouse, the only thing that will be harvested is starved humanity. Just as famine and death result when God "shuts his hand" (a euphemism for withholding rain or crops), so death ensues when humans withhold food from one another. And just as God releases mercies and gives agricultural produce, so the maven is encouraged to open his hand to others (cf. Sir 3:30-4:10). This theological assertion and the use of it to warrant charitable behavior has precedent in Deuteronomy 15:7-8 (cf. also Ps 104:27-30):

If one of your kinsmen in any community is in need (אֶבְיֹן) in the land which the Lord, your God, is giving you, you shall not harden your heart nor close your hand (תִּקְפֹּץ אֶת יָדְךָ) to him in his need. Instead, you shall open your hand to him and freely lend him enough to meet his need.

Note that in Deuteronomy it is God's provision of the land which warrants a similar provision for the needy, just as in Instruction divine behavior provides the model for those fashioned in the divine image.²⁵ Thus as the writer hopes God will not shut his hand, so too the maven is not to hide his face from the poor man or cause him to stumble by aggravating his shame.²⁶ The preceding

²² 4QInstruction^b 2 ii 1 מִן־מַחְסְרֵי אוֹטוּן; 4QInstruction^c 2 ii + 23 3 מַחְסְרֵי אוֹטוּן (read מחסורי אוֹטוּן); 4QInstruction^d 7 14 חֲסְרֵי כֹל; see Strugnell and Harrington, *DJD* 34, 94 note on line 1.

²³ While 4QInstruction-like Composition A is otherwise small and fragmentary, the occurrence of this phrase only here and in 4QInstruction provides critical evidence for the relationship of these documents. For the return of all flesh to dust, see Ps 146:4; Job 34:15; Sir 40:11; 1QH^a XX 31, XXII top 7, bottom 11, and XXIII bottom 4-5.

²⁴ This phrase finds an exact parallel in 4QInstruction^c 2 i 7; similar phrases occur in IQS IV 16, 25-26; 1QM I 8-9; 4QApocalypse of Weeks? (4Q247) 7 ii 6.

²⁵ Cf. Prov 14:21, 31; 17:5; 19:17; 22:9; 28:27; Sir 4:31; 7:11; 11:4-6; 18:14-20; 22:25; *Sib. Or.* 2.80; 2 *En.* 44.1-5; 52.1-2.

²⁶ Another fragmentary reference to tripping up or stumbling occurs in 4QInstruction^d 168 2, while the extant words on the line below refer to the "[ye]arning of the po[sor]" (תִּשְׁקָת אֶבְיֹן). Advice against mocking the poor is a common teaching in sapiential literature within and beyond

lines indicate that hiding one's face or aggravating the poor man's shame are euphemisms for providing food, while the subsequent lines about loans and surety suggest that financial relief may be envisioned as well (see §4.4.1 below). Perhaps we are also to understand the failure to pay a man's wages as an example of making the poor stumble (4QInstruction^d 146 2, "[you shall n]ot extort the w[ages of a laborer]"²⁷). Other possibilities referred to frequently in the sapiential tradition are the failure to pay a laborer or a poor man quickly²⁸ and disregard for widows and orphans.²⁹ It may be also that it is the failure to extend charity that leads to the admonition elsewhere in Instruction that "He will withdraw His hand from your poverty," a phrase that also relies on Deuteronomy 15:7.³⁰

A more curious phrase in the passage is the reason given for divine beneficence: it is to "fill up the deficiencies of his secrets." The term "deficiencies, poverty, lack" (מחסור) is unusually common in Instruction, while it is almost completely lacking from other Qumran texts. The word אַסֵּא, translated "secrets" above, is also little-known and therefore obscure. If it derives from the biblical adverb לֵאט, "gently, slowly, humbly," it may refer to humble resources or to something quiet or secret, and thus to private affairs such as one's business (as in 4QInstruction^b 2 ii 12, just after the exhortation above).³¹ In the present context, God's secrets or affairs seem to be anything which God has not yet revealed, such as the reasons for human need. In the absence of divine explanation or redress, the maven may meet the need and thus fill the deficiency of God's revelation, in that there is no longer a divine secret about the cause of need when that need is met. Note that it is not God's mercies or creation itself which are labeled deficient, but rather God's secrets, which by definition humans lack. If the secrecy rather than the mere privacy of God's "business" is conveyed by the term אַסֵּא, then the weight of explana-

the Jewish tradition; see Prov 14:31; 21:13; 22:22-23 (Instruction of Amenemope 4.4); Sir 4:1-6 (cf. Exod 22:20-23 [21-24 NRSV]); *Sib. Or.* 2.62-63 (= Ps.-Phoc. 10-11); 2.91-92; 2 *En.* 44.2; 52.5-6; Amenemope 2; Homer, *Odyssey* 17.483-7: "Antinoös, you did badly to hit the unhappy vagabond: a curse on you, if he turns out to be some god from heaven. For the gods do take on all sorts of transformations, appearing as strangers from elsewhere, and thus they range at large through the cities, watching to see which men keep the laws, and which are violent" (R. Lattimore, trans., *Homer: The Odyssey of Homer* [New York: Harper & Row, 1965] 265). For divine beneficence as a warrant for charity, see Prov 22:2; 29:13. Generally, the warrant for charity is more self-interested; for example, the sage is promised a reward for his kind act (Prov 11:24; 19:17; 28:27), or he may one day find himself in similar straits (Prov 21:13; 22:9; 29:7, 14; cf. Ptahhotep maxim 30 [M. Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, 3 vols. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976-1980) 1.71]).

²⁷ Lev 19:13; Deut 24:14-15; Jer 22:13; Mal 3:5; Prov 3:27; Tob 4:15; Sir 34:23-27; *Sib. Or.* 2.74 (= Ps.-Phoc. 19).

²⁸ Prov 3:28; Sir 34:23-27; *Sib. Or.* 2.78-90 (= Ps.-Phoc. 22-30); 2 *En.* 42.8-9.

²⁹ Job 22:9; 24:3; 29:13; 31:16-22; Prov 15:25; *Sib. Or.* 2.76; 2 *En.* 50.6; 51.1-5; 63.1-4.

³⁰ 4QInstruction^c 2 i 24; 4QInstruction^d 88 5. For the critique of the stinginess of the rich, see also Sir 31:9-11.

³¹ Strugnell and Harrington, "General Introduction" (*DJD* 34) 31-2.

tion for the present lack lies not in acts of divine deprivation but rather in the nature of divine revelation. Thus the author thus deftly avoids attributing deficiency directly to God.

In another context, the author again makes allusion to Deuteronomy in an admonition that most likely has to do with material wealth (4QInstruction^d 184 1-4):

[...He spo]ke through Moses... [] | [] h]ow He uncovered
your ear about the mystery that is to come in the day of [] | []
[] lest...]... to you, and lest (when) you eat and are satisfied, and ... []
[] | [] is it so as to dwell...

The combination of the verbs “eat and be satisfied” (אכל ושבע) is common in the books attributed to Moses, usually appearing in contexts warning the Israelites against forgetting God when they are materially well-off.³² One occurrence in Deuteronomy is most like the present passage, in that it falls in a “lest” (פן) clause:

Take care that you do not forget the Lord your God, by failing to keep his commandments, his ordinances, and his statutes, which I am commanding you today, lest when you have eaten and are satisfied and have built fine houses and live in them, and when your herds and flocks have multiplied, and your silver and gold is multiplied, and all that you have is multiplied, you exalt yourself (ורם לבבך), forgetting the Lord your God, who brought you out of the land of Egypt.... (Deut 8:11-14)

While the fragment from Instruction is incomplete, the reference to Moses and the close verbal parallels to Deuteronomy 8:12 suggest that the passage dealt with material prosperity or its lack in the context of the present and eschatological covenant between the sage and God.³³

Many of the themes introduced above are reiterated in 4QInstruction^d 126 ii. Here, God is again portrayed as the bestower (of secrets?) in an image drawn from the practice of commerce (lines 3-4):

[For] with a true ^ṣephah and a right weight God has meted out all... [...] He has spread them out, in truth has He established them, and by those that delight in them are they studi[ed...].

Strugnell and Harrington note that the metaphorical use of the terms ^ṣephah and shekel is disproportionate in Instruction compared with other 1-11Q texts: ^ṣephah occurs three times in Instruction and only two times in other

³² Lev 26:26; Deut 6:11; 8:10; 11:15; 14:29; 26:12; 31:20; Jub 1:8-9. The phrase occurs elsewhere in Qumran literature: 1Q22 II 4; 4QJub^a II 3; 4Q370 I i 1; 4Q504 1-2 iv 14. See also 4QInstruction^d 81 19. Similar sentiments are expressed in Prov 30:7-9, Sir 11:23-28; *I En.* 94.8; 98.11-12; 101.5; *Sib. Or.* 2.141-142 (= Ps.-Phoc. 69).

³³ The motif of the final judgment of the wicked is likely borrowed from *1 Enoch*, especially the Book of the Watchers and the Epistle of Enoch; see G. W. E. Nickelsburg, “The Epistle of Enoch and the Qumran Literature,” *JJS* 33 (1982) 333-48.

Qumran texts, while *shekel* occurs seven times in Instruction and only nine times in all other Qumran material.³⁴ This is especially interesting because the occurrences in Instruction with enough surrounding context suggest only a metaphorical use of this terminology, in contrast to the frequent references to actual weights in the marketplace and measures in the field in the wisdom literature.³⁵ As in the cosmological introduction, God's initial distribution (of created things? of human spirits? of angelic spirits?) justifies his role as eschatological judge, "to repay (להשיב) vengeance to the masters of iniquity, and punishment (פקודה) with re[compense...]" (line 6).³⁶ Once again, the language of commercial exchange is employed metaphorically to describe the payments God will make for services rendered; note that even the choice of the term "punishment, visitation" (פקודה) can have economic overtones ("deposit"), as if God were returning the deposit of iniquity in kind. This judgment will reverse the current state of affairs, in that the door will be shut on the wicked, but the head(s) of the poor will be raised up (line 7).³⁷ The fact that the wicked are contrasted not to the righteous (the natural antonym) but to the poor may be governed by the dominant economic symbolism, but it is also possible that the dominant economic symbolism is governed by the nature of the crimes being judged. The subsequent musing of the redeemed on the might, abundance, glory and faithfulness of God (lines 9-10) only makes sense if God has restored the fortunes of those currently not experiencing these divine attributes. This impression is confirmed in the concluding lines of the fragment (lines 13-15), which suggest what the maven himself should do in the absence of a divine or human remedy:

...and if His power does not attain as far as your poverty, and (if)/then the poverty of His/your secret [...] | [...]his mouth, and let Him not set them apart from His pleasure; for God will ... [...] | [...] your resources (return) to being abundant, and you[r] cattle will increase....

The passage presumes that someone's power is insufficient to prevent the sage's poverty, although whether the pronominal suffix refers to God or a human benefactor is unclear. The phrase literally reads, "if his hand does not

³⁴ *DJD* 34, 353 note on line 3; cf. אִישׁוֹת צָדִיק in Lev 19:36, Ezek 45:10. Another very fragmentary reference to שקל occurs in 4QInstruction^d 171 1.

³⁵ E.g., Job 24:2-4; Prov 11:1; 15:25; 16:11; 20:10, 23; 23:10 (cf. Lev 19:35-36); *J En.* 99.12; *Sib. Or.* 2.66-67 (= Ps.-Phoc. 14-15). The wisdom tradition also uses these terms metaphorically; e.g., Job 31:6 (scales, מִאֲזוּנִים, Prov 22:28 (landmark, גְּבוּל).

³⁶ Thus the imagery of weighing people as an image of the final judgment as well as the initial distribution: 4QInstruction^d 172 2.

³⁷ A similar motif occurs in 4QInstruction^d 138 2-4: "...portion in the inheritance of a father (חֶבֶל בְּהֵלֵחַ אֲבִי), and to [...] | [...]lift up] your [he]ad from languishing, and in the luxurie[s] (יִכְלַל הַפְּעִיכָה) of [...] | [...] will not turn your astray, and in all your pleasures (בְּעֵרְנֵי)...."

reach your lack” (וְאִם לֹא תִשָּׁי יְדוֹ לְמַחְסוֹרְכָה).³⁸ The lack of human or divine intervention is somehow connected to the lack or deficiency of either God’s secret or the sage’s secret; the fragment breaks after אֲשֶׁן (or אֲשֶׁן־כְּהָה). The sage is then counseled against letting this separate him from God, and is promised in phrasing reminiscent of Job 1:10 that his material resources will eventually be restored.

Many of the terms derived from economics and commerce that are employed metaphorically to refer to the divine economy in the citations above occur in fragmentary contexts as well. The most prominent of these metaphors is the term “inheritance” (נַחֲלָה). For example, in 4QInstruction^a 2 i + 1 ii 5-6, we hear: “[F]or your seed will not depart from the inheritance of [...] And you will rejoice in the fruit....” The central portion of the column is lacking, and therefore the context is difficult to reconstruct, but nearby references to the measure of one’s deeds and to walking perfectly are reminiscent of sectarian concerns and suggest that “inheritance” is being understood either literally as one’s progeny or symbolically as one’s portion in the present or eschatological Israel.³⁹ The term “inheritance” can also refer metaphorically to all that God has given the sage in the present, as in 4QInstruction^b 3 2: “For from Him comes the inheritance of all that lives, and by His power the visitation....”⁴⁰ This inheritance can include material benefits as well as the more abstract gifts of truth (4QInstruction^b 4 3), holiness (4QInstruction^d 234 1), or life itself (4QInstruction^d 88 8).⁴¹ In fact these multiple meanings are layered in 4QInstruction^d 172 5-13. In this passage, the maven is instructed that something is distributed or someone judged “[acc]ording to the magnitude of a man’s inheritance in the tru[th].” The passage then continues with an extended adaptation of the case of sheep that have grazed in another man’s field (Exod 22:4), but that literal legal matter appears not to be at issue. Rather, the shepherd’s obligation to remunerate the owner of the field grazed by his sheep is some kind of metaphor for the maven; for example, he must also recompense others with whom his disciples study. Thus both inheritance and property rights are employed metaphorically by our author.⁴² Instruction also

³⁸ The first part of the phrase also occurs in 4QD^b 7 5 *par* 4QD^f 3 2 and Leviticus *passim* (e.g., 5:11; 25:26, 28). Note that a scribe has emended the reading חֲסִיג (not חֲסִיג, but a phonetic equivalent of חֲסִיג to חֲסִיג).

³⁹ Other fragmentary references to inheritance occur in 4QInstruction^a 15 1; 4QInstruction^d 169 + 170 1; 185 2, 4 (in proximity to a line that refers to “those who go down [to the sea (merchants?)]”); 201 1 (in proximity to a reference to the mystery to come and something shut upon all the sons of iniquity). See also 4QD^b 9 iv 9 *par* CD XIII 12; 1QS IV 24; 4QpPs^a IV 12 (37:34); 1QH^a VI 19.

⁴⁰ The previous line is fragmentary, but also refers to inheritance in a context clearly governed by economic imagery: “your recompense, and in your inheritance” (שְׁלֹמְכָה וּבְנַחֲלָתְךָ).

⁴¹ A fragmentary reference to inheritance for which the context cannot be reconstructed occurs at 4QInstruction^d 162 3 (“[will] increase his inheritance”).

⁴² 4QInstruction^d 173 2, 5 also refer to pasturage and may derive from the vicinity of frg. 172.

speaks of the “inheritance of Adam” (4QInstruction^d 251 1).⁴³ The related work, 4QSapiential-Didactic Work A, employs the *hif'il* of the root נחל in what Steudel judges to be a hymnic or prayer text (4 1-4):

my wealth	he will give as a possession (עשרי נחיל) []
| [	according to] His will He created []
| [	] I cry and [my] voi[ce]
| [	] my [wor]ds and those who know	

The context is largely lost, and the handwriting suggests that the fragment does not belong to the same manuscript as the three Instruction-like pieces that precede it. Wealth appears to be framed in the cosmological assertion that it is a divine gift ever at God’s disposal, even to human disadvantage. The term for wealth, עשר, is common in the larger wisdom tradition but is nowhere represented in Instruction.

Several other metaphors are drawn from the world of commerce to describe cosmological or eschatological principles. The first is the image of scales, used to weigh out a person’s “portion” and to assess them in the final judgment. In addition to the more extended reference cited above (4QInstruction^d 126 ii 3-4), the terminology of scales and weights occurs in fragmentary contexts.⁴⁴ Yet another term is a reference to some kind of material increase in 4QInstruction^d 211 3 (עבורר חמה; their pregnancy? their produce?); whatever the increase, it appears to be the subject of judgment in the following line (“[will pe]rish iniquity, for the end will come”). A third root related to this motif of judgment is פקד, which can refer both to the human act of appointing another as trustee, to God’s appointment of one’s responsibilities in life, or to the judgment itself.⁴⁵ The term treasury or storehouse (אוצר) is employed to describe the place from which God provides material benefits such as rain or crops (4QInstruction-like Composition A 8 ii 5); another fragmentary reference may refer either to the divine or human stores (4QInstruction^d 237 3).⁴⁶

⁴³ Cf. 4QpPs^a III 1-2 (4Q171).

⁴⁴ 4QInstruction^d 207 4; 4QInstruction^e 15 3-4, possibly parallel to 4QInstruction^a 11 1-3; 4QInstruction^a 6 5; 9 11; 11 9; cf. Isa 40:12; Job 28:25; 31:6; see §4.4.3 below. On the concern for false weights and measures in the wisdom tradition, see Prov 11:1; 16:11; 20:10, 23; and n. 35 above.

⁴⁵ Responsibilities in life: 4QInstruction^b 5 1-2; 4QInstruction^d 123 ii 7; 173 6; 209 2. Judgment itself: 4QInstruction-like Composition A 8 ii 4; see also the heaping up of language of retribution in IQH^a I 17: “visitation of their retribution” (פקודת שלימם); and IQS III 14: “visitation of their punishments” (פקודת גועיהם).

⁴⁶ D. J. A. Clines has suggested that, in some cases, the problematic term אוצר may mean “storehouse” (*Dictionary of Classical Hebrew*, 2 vols. [Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993] 1.150), but as Strugnell and Harrington note, this appears unlikely in Instruction given phrases like “the wisdom of his אוצר” (הכמת אוצר; 4QInstruction^b 2 ii 12; *DJD* 34, 31-2).

4.4 *Advice to the Poor Man and the Poor Maven*

The sayings treat a variety of practical matters, almost all of which are related to wealth. The advice is at times directed to the poor student, at times to the poor maven himself, and covers a standard range of wisdom *topoi*: proper behavior within the socio-economic hierarchy, living within one's means, and familial responsibilities.

4.4.1 *The Socio-economic Hierarchy*

While the initial advice counsels against acts which might decrease one's economic independence, the next section of Instruction explores the behavior appropriate at various points in the socio-economic hierarchy. This section begins with relationships to nobles, continues with the proper behavior of an independent man, and then treats various degrees of subservience to a master, advising how best to negotiate (rather than how best to avoid) such estates.

The first passage concerns the proper relationship to another group, either nobles or perhaps sorcerers, and is preserved most extensively in 4QInstruction^c 2 i 1-6 (*olim* 1 i; *par* 4QInstruction^b 2 i 1):

And according to his spirit speak against him, lest he [...] Without reproaching the noble (הַכֹּשֵׁר), forgive him, and he who is bound up (bewitched?) [...] Moreover you will not confound his spirit, for in silence you have spoken [...] And make haste to recount a rebuke towards him, but do not overlook your own sins. For [...] He indeed will declare righteous like you; for He is a prince among princes. And with forgiveness He will work; for how unique is He among every creature so as not to...

The identification of the other relies on a tenuous translation of the term הַכֹּשֵׁר (the successful or advantaged one?), though in the context the figure could be a sorcerer as well. In either case, the sage is in the presence of someone who has a distinct advantage over him, and he is thus counseled to forgive him without reproach and to recall his own sins so as to maintain his humility. A further incentive is offered in the advice that God will declare a man righteous as that man himself declares righteous (cf. Matt 6:12). In a final phrase God or some angelic exemplar is declared unique among every creature for his forgiveness (מִה הוּא הַיָּחִיד בְּכֹל מַעֲשֵׂה לְבַלְחֵי; possibly "What is He, the Unique One, among every creature?"). This latter reference could be to God, although to define God as one among many creatures would be unusual.

The next portion of Instruction turns to the sage himself and, in particular, to the kinds of associations he should make. The passage is most extensive in 4QInstruction^c 2 i 7-12 (*par* 4QInstruction^b 2 i 2-6).

Blank Also, do not count a man of iniquity as a helper, and moreover let there be no enemy among your acquaintances, so that the wickedness of his deeds to-

gether with his punishment may not harm you. But know in what way you may walk with him [...] let it not *Blank* be removed from your heart, and not for yourself alone shall you increase your appetite when you are in poverty, for what is more insignificant than a poor man (שׁר)? And do not rejoice in your mourning, lest you have trouble in your life.⁴⁷ Gaze upon the mystery that is to come, and comprehend the birth-times of salvation. And know who is to inherit glory and toil.⁴⁸ Has not rejoicing been appointed for the contrite of spirit and for those among them who mourn, eternal joy?

The sage is counseled against associating with evil men, who will only compound his troubles. Presumably they represent the dangerous desire to increase one's appetite when one is in poverty, and that inclination is to be avoided, although this portion of the passage is too fragmentary to comprehend with any confidence. The sage is advised neither to overreach himself nor to rejoice in his reduced state, but rather to accept it provisionally and to locate his yearning in the mystery of the coming salvation, when the heirs of glory and toil respectively will be reversed. In the future time, those who are now contrite in spirit or even mournful will rejoice.⁴⁹

The passage immediately above is paralleled somewhat in 4QInstruction-like Composition B 1 4-13, which likewise counsels the sage about the sorts of people with whom he should not do business:⁵⁰

Blank With a dissembler do not have a portion (עם ועלם אל חקק חוק), *Blank* and with one who strays do not | go into the furnace, for like lead so will he be melted and will not resist the fire. *Blank* [...] | Into the hand of one who is stupid do not entrust a secret, for he will not keep private your affairs; and do not entrust a message [...] | to a dullard for he will not help all your affairs along. *Blank* A man who is always complaining about his luck, do not expect from him] | to receive money when you are in need. *Blank* A man who is devious of lips do not tr[ust...] | a judgment in your favor; surely he will be devious in his speech; after the truth he will not run [...] | by the fruit of his lips. *Blank* A man who is of evil eye do not put in a position of authority over your we[alth...] | will he mete out your surplus to your satisfaction, but [...] for those who have more than enough [...] | and in the time of harvesting he will be found a hypocrite. *Blank* One short of tem[per do not...] | the simple for certainly will he destroy them.⁵¹ *Blank*

⁴⁷ 4QInstruction^c 2 i 10 בְּחִיכָה; 4QInstruction^b 2 i 5 בְּחִיכָה.

⁴⁸ This sentence is similar to one in 4QInstruction^d 77 2-4 par 4QInstruction^b 7 1-3: "...mystery that is to come, and grasp the nature of man, and gaze on the prosperity (כִּוְשָׁר)... and the punishment of his activity; and then you will discern the judgment on mankind, and the weighing [...] to the outpouring of his lips and according to his spirit, and grasp the mystery that is to come, according to the weight (שִׁקְל) of the times and the proportion of (בְּדִרָה)...". This passage shares the theme that gazing on the mystery to come yields knowledge of the future judgment, which here is imagined not as an inheritance but as the weighing and measuring out of commodities on a scale.

⁴⁹ Cf. Matt 5:3-4 par Luke 6:20-21, 23.

⁵⁰ Tanzer, *DJD* 36, 333-46, pl. XXIII; see Sir 13; 37:11.

⁵¹ For this last phrase, Tanzer reconstructs, "One short of tem[per do not put in a position of authority to judge] the simple" (*DJD* 36, 340 note on lines 12-13). There is a fragmentary refer-

The counsel against associating with dissemblers resembles advice in Psalm 26:4.⁵² The reference to taking a portion with him can also mean “taking up a lawsuit” (4QInstruction^d 228 3). The image of a business association or lawsuit as lead melted in a furnace is known from other sapiential and Qumran texts (Sir 2:5; 4Q525 23 4; CD XX 3). More important perhaps is the employment of the difficult term “secret” (סֵּתֶר), so well-known in Instruction and so little-known outside it. Here the context certainly implies a business matter that should remain private (“do not entrust a secret” to a stupid man [אִישׁ חֲסִיד; אֵל הַפְּקָד]; “he will not keep private your affairs” [כִּי לֹא יַצְנִיעַ מִלְּאֲחֵרֶךָ]). The others with whom one should not associate are the man who complains about his luck and will therefore presumably be stingy when asked for help, the devious who will not render judgment in the sage’s favor, and the greedy man who cannot be trusted as steward of one’s wealth.⁵³ In this last reference, the term wealth is reconstructed (בְּהוֹנֵךְ). If the reconstruction is correct, it further confirms that wealth was understood to be one’s produce or livestock, given that terms of gathering (עֵת קִבְצִי) and surplus (שְׂאֵר) follow in close proximity. Even if the “gathering” is of taxes, these were frequently paid in kind. It is possible, however, that these terms refer to money. Whatever the precise meaning, the sense reconstructed by Tanzer is that the greedy man will give more to those who already have enough and will not be generous to the poor.

Returning to Instruction, the text turns from business associates to proper behavior in litigation (4QInstruction^c 2 i 12-17 *par* 4QInstruction^b 2 i 7-8; 4QInstruction^d 7a 1-2; 4QInstruction^e 22 1-5):

Be an advocate on behalf of your own interests and let not your soul be contaminated by every perversity⁵⁴ of yours. Pronounce your judgments like a righteous⁵⁵ ruler. Do not take [...] and do not overlook your own sins. Be like a humble man when you contend for a judgment⁵⁶ in favor of him, but you shall not take vengeance from your enemies. And then God will be seen, and His anger will abate, and He will overlook your sins. For before⁵⁷ His anger none

ence in the same work to another person who should not be put in authority: “[the poor], do not set him in authority” (אֲבִיֹּתִים; 2 5) but it is impossible to determine whether it is the poverty of the individual or the individual’s attitude toward the poor that makes him ineligible (see Tanzer, *DJD* 36, 342 note on lines 4-5).

⁵² The term dissembler or hypocrite (נִעְלָם) occurs frequently in the *Hodayot* (IQH^a XI 28; XIII 13; XV 34; IQ35 1 8). See G. Brin, “Studies in 4Q424 Fragments 1–2,” *RevQ* 18 (1997) 26-7.

⁵³ That “man with the evil eye” (אִישׁ רַע עֵינַי) can mean greedy is suggested by Prov 23:6; 28:22; 4Q451 1 4, 7. Proverbs 23:6, “Do not eat the bread of the greedy man, do not desire his delicacies,” is thought to depend upon the twelfth-century B.C.E. Instruction of Amenemope 14.5 (cf. Instruction of Amenemope 11.1-2): “Do not covet a poor person’s goods, nor hunger for their bread” (H. C. Washington, *Wealth and Poverty in the Instruction of Amenemope and the Hebrew Proverbs* [SBLDS 142; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1994] 144).

⁵⁴ 4QInstruction^c 2 i 13 נַעֲוִוְרִיָּה, emended.

⁵⁵ 4QInstruction^c 2 i 13 צַדִּיק; 4QInstruction^e 22 2 צַדִּיק, emended.

⁵⁶ 4QInstruction^c 2 i 14 מִשְׁפָּטָי; 4QInstruction^e 22 4 בְּמִשְׁפָּטָי or בְּמִשְׁפָּטָי.

⁵⁷ 4QInstruction^c 2 i 15 לִפְנֵי, emended; 4QInstruction^e 22 4 לִפְנֵי.

will stand, and who will be declared righteous⁵⁸ when He gives judgment? And without forgiveness how can [any] poor man (אֲבִיּוֹן) [stand before Him]?

The general counsel is for humble assertiveness, just judgments, and moderation in victory.⁵⁹ The litigant is not to seek vengeance in his claim, and in this God is seen. Because the litigant has acted mercifully, so God's own anger against the litigant will abate (cf. Matt 18:21-35). The vengeance could be a punishment or a monetary settlement, but whatever its referent, the divine economy is implicated in human action. The concluding association of alienation from God with poverty may be governed by the choice of terms for the poor man—אֲבִיּוֹן rather than עָרֵב.⁶⁰ This kind of poverty, like physical deformity, evidences a deficiency which is associated with greater distance from God.⁶¹ Deficiencies such as this ground the social and familial hierarchies presumed in the text and thus warrant the exercise of authority. But in this passage, a further claim is made that the deficiency of poverty completely alienates the poor man from God, a situation which can only be remedied by divine forgiveness (we need not understand "forgiveness of sin" here, but rather forgiveness of a debt).

A similar presumption of the alienation of the poor as such from God and the complementary concept that the rich enjoy greater proximity to God is implied in the story of the rich young man in the synoptic gospels (Mark 10:24-26; Matt 19:25; Luke 18:26). As J. David Pleins notes, this presumption is typical in sapiential literature:

According to the wise, the way one overcomes society's inequities is through reliance on the generosity of the rich, who will in turn benefit from their giving. This view is very different from prophetic and biblical legal thought, where assistance to the poor is done to fulfill covenant obligations or to extend God's dominion of justice.⁶²

Thus the capacity to give alms makes the rich closer to God.⁶³ They can be the agents of their own redemption by redeeming the poor, while the poor are often portrayed only as the agents of their own downfall. The sapiential tradition does not speak with one voice on this issue, however. Even ben Sira,

⁵⁸ 4QInstruction^c 2 i 16 קָרָב; 4QInstruction^d 7a 2 קָרָב.

⁵⁹ Just judgments: *Sib. Or.* 2.61 (= Ps.-Phoc. 9); 2 *En.* 42.7. Not seeking vengeance: *Sib. Or.* 2.146-147 (= Ps.-Phoc. 77-78); 2 *En.* 50.4-5.

⁶⁰ So Strugnell and Harrington, *DJD* 34, 186 note on line 17.

⁶¹ Is this not the same reason why the deformed, blind, lame, and physically mutilated are forbidden from entering the sanctuary during the festivals? See A. Shemesh, "The Holy Angels are in Their Council': The Exclusion of Deformed Persons from Holy Places in Qumranic and Rabbinic Literature," *DSD* 4 (1997) 179-206.

⁶² *The Social Visions of the Hebrew Bible: A Theological Introduction* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2001) 472-3.

⁶³ See Instruction of Amenemope, maxim 26.13-14: "More beloved of god is the honoring of the poor than is the worship of the wealth" (Washington, *Wealth and Poverty in the Instruction of Amenemope*, 107).

who is more congenial towards the rich than 4QInstruction, is nevertheless skeptical that ethical individuals can be found in their number:

Who is he [who is rich and blameless] that we may praise him?
 For he has done wonders among his people.
 Who has been tested by [gold] and found perfect?
 Let it be for him a ground for boasting.
 Who has had the power to transgress and did not transgress,
 and to do evil and did not do it?
 His property will be established,
 and the assembly will proclaim his acts of charity. (Sir 31:9-11)⁶⁴

While ben Sira is skeptical of the existence of the righteous rich, he nevertheless offers them the traditional rewards for their behavior: secure assets and public recognition. In 4QInstruction^c 2 i 12-17 and parallels, attention is not on the rich, but rather on the poor and their inability to stand before God. The text may also be read to suggest that all individuals are poor or lack when compared to God.

The next passage in Instruction presumes the declining fortunes of the sage (4QInstruction^c 2 i 17-21 *par* 4QInstruction^d 64?, 66?, 199? 7b 4).

And you, if you lack food in your poverty, then your surpluses bring (in together/into the community/into your associate's possession).⁶⁵ If you leave them over, carry it to its desired haven [Ps 107:30], and take your share from him/it, and do not (take) any more. *Blank* And if you lack, your lack is not without wealth, for [God's] treasury does not lack [...] According to His command will everything come into being, and that which He gives you for food eat it and do not eat any more, lest by gluttony you shorten *Blank* your life. *Blank*

This passage suggests a more sectarian setting, or at least corresponds to the sectarian pooling of resources. The sage encourages the poor person who lacks food to bring whatever surpluses he does have to some common reserve, to take enough to meet his own requirements, and to trust that God will provide because, unlike human stores, the divine treasury never lacks. This last phrase is problematic in Hebrew: וְאִם הַחֶסֶד לֹא מִבְּלִי הוּן מִחֶסֶד רַכָּה. I have translated, "And if you lack, your lack is not without wealth (for [God's] treasury does not lack)."⁶⁶ Here again some anxiety about God's ability to pro-

⁶⁴ Cf. Matt 19:16-30 and parallels.

⁶⁵ On the basis of a similar phrase, הָבֵא בְיָחֵד, in 4QInstruction^d 199 1, Tigchelaar believes that frgs. 199 + 64 + 66 should be understood to reflect the passage quoted above ("הָבֵא בְיָחֵד in 4QInstruction [4Q418 64+199+66 *par* 4Q417 1 i 17-19] and the Height of the Columns of 4Q418," *RevQ* 18 [1998] 589-93). Strugnell and Harrington dispute his conclusion on material and orthographic grounds, finding in particular that frg. 199 should not be joined to the other fragments, leaving too little shared content to assert a parallel (*DJD* 34, 420-21). The phrase also occurs in IQS I 11-12.

⁶⁶ Strugnell and Harrington read, "And if thou art in poverty, for what thou lackest, *borrow* (*sic*) without having any money, For [*thy/His*] treasure house [*God*] will not make (to be empty lacking in anything)." This reading requires several supplements to the text and a tenuous translation of מִבְּלִי as "borrow."

vide is disclosed, an anxiety that makes sense given the cosmological opening of Instruction and its assertion of divine beneficence. The strategy for defending God's beneficence is the human pooling of resources.⁶⁷ This remedy is not understood to be a perpetual institution, as it will be in the Damascus Document and the Rule, but rather as an extraordinary solution to a temporary problem.⁶⁸ To preserve the common pool in these dire circumstances (famine? impoverishment?), the sage is counseled to exhibit moderation rather than gluttony. While the counsel of moderation is typical of sapiential works, the advice to pool resources is not. Consider, for example, the advice of ben Sira:

My child, do not live the life of a beggar; it is better to die than to beg. When one looks to the table of another, one's way of life cannot be considered a life. (40:28-29)

The dependence on another's table is a fate worse than death in Sirach, whereas in Instruction it is yet another eventuality to be anticipated and negotiated properly if it occurs. The contrast between the two works suggests that the audience of Instruction could and did experience greater material deprivation than the sage audience of Sirach.

The sayings next turn to other common remedies in times of privation, namely loans, surety, and selling oneself for the sake of money. The first passage deals with loans taken out on one's own behalf and how to behave if delinquent (4QInstruction^c 2 i 21-27 *par* 4QInstruction^b 2 i 16-20; 4QInstruction^d 7b 5-12 + 26 2 + 27 1).

If you borrow men's wealth for your poverty, let there be no sleep for you day or night, and no rest for your soul, until you have restored your loan to your creditor. Do not lie to him, lest you should bear guilt.⁶⁹ Moreover, because of reproach to/from your creditor [...] And you will not any more trust his neighbor. Then against your poverty he will close⁷⁰ his hand. Your strength [...] And like him borrow, and know your reward. And if a flogging befalls you, and it hasten [...] do not conceal pain from the man flogging you, lest he uncover your reproach [...] a ruler over him, and then he will not smite him with a rod...

The sage is advised to repay loans expeditiously, to refrain from lying to his

⁶⁷ In the fragmentary 4QInstruction^d 97 2, the sage is advised to take what he lacks not from a common pool but from "his hand" (בְּיָדוֹ) (מִן־הַסְּכֵרִיבָה קִחַ מִיָּדוֹ). The previous line reads, "[with]out oppressing," while the third line reads "it will not be found. Let it not return." While these lines reinforce the impression of an economic context, they nevertheless provide too little information to reconstruct that context with confidence.

⁶⁸ Strugnell and Harrington, following the allusion to the nautical imagery of Psalm 107:30, understand the pooling of resources to be on a smaller scale, as between a man and his merchant partner, *DJD* 34, 186-7 note on line 18.

⁶⁹ 4QInstruction^c 2 i 23 תִּשָּׁב; 4QInstruction^d 7b 6 אִשָּׁא.

⁷⁰ 4QInstruction^c 2 i 24 יִקְפֹּץ; 4QInstruction^d 7b 7 יִקְפֹּץ.

creditor, and to select a creditor who knows him.⁷¹ Failure on these counts may lead the creditor to distrust others and to close his hand, which will prevent the recourse that others might seek for debt. The flogging appears to be punishment for failure to repay on time or for lying; documentary evidence demonstrates that another penalty employed for failure to repay was heavy interest.⁷²

After an interlude that grounds the obligation to loan wealth or food to one's neighbor in the beneficent provision of God (see 4QInstruction^b 2 ii 22–2 ii 3 and parallels, §4.3 above), the advice about receiving loans continues (4QInstruction^b 2 ii 4–7, *par* 4QInstruction^c 2 ii 5–10, 4QInstruction^d 8 3–7):

As much as a man's creditor has lent him in wealth,⁷³ hastily pay it back, and you will be on an equal footing with him. If the purse containing your treasures you have entrusted to your creditor, on account of your friends you have given away all your life with it. Hasten and give what is his, and take back your purse, and in your speech do not act feeble-spirited. For no wealth exchange⁷⁴ (?) your holy⁷⁵ spirit, for there is no price equal in value to it.⁷⁶

Given the prior counsel about providing loans as a way of filling up the deficiencies of God's secrets, this passage advises against taking out loans or standing surety so as to avoid states of lack or deficiency altogether.⁷⁷ Loans taken out from others are discouraged because they create a relationship of deficiency or inequality relative to another that can become injurious if and when interest accrues (cf. Sir 8:12). This inequality leads to speech which is inappropriately deferential, in that it is due to a temporary state introduced by the debtor rather than a true distinction between the creditor and debtor due to natural status or predetermined lot. Thus the disciple is encouraged to pay back the loan quickly, before significant interest accumulates. This first reference to a loan need not refer to a cash payment, as Strugnell and Harrington imply in their translation choice ("As much as a man's creditor has lent him

⁷¹ Compare the advice to repay loans to Prov 6:1–5, Sir 29:2 and the Ahiqar saying 43 (l. 130): "Do not take a heavy loan from an evil man. And if you take a loan, give your soul no peace until [you have re]pa[id it]. See also Ahiqar 111: "I have carried sand and hauled salt, but there is nothing more burdensome than [de]b[t]" (J. M. Lindenberger, *The Aramaic Proverbs of Ahiqar* [JHNES; Baltimore, Maryland: John Hopkins University Press, 1983] 19–20, 98). See also Prov 17:18; 20:16; 22:26–27; 27:13; Sir 8:12–13; 29:1–20.

⁷² See Instruction of Amenemope 21.1–8: "Do not confound a person in the law court, In order to brush aside one who is right. Do not incline to the well-dressed person, And rebuff the one in rags. Do not accept the gift of a powerful, And deprive the weak for their sake. Ma'at is a great gift of the god... It saves the poor from their blows" (Washington, *Wealth and Poverty in the Instruction of Amenemope*, 104–105); cf. James 2:1–13.

⁷³ 4QInstruction^b 2 ii 4 ברוין; כמה; 4QInstruction^d 8 3 ברוין.

⁷⁴ 4QInstruction^b 2 ii 6 תמר; 4QInstruction^d 8 11 תאמר.

⁷⁵ 4QInstruction^b 2 ii 6 קידשכה, emended; 4QInstruction^c 2 ii 9 קידשכה; 4QInstruction^d 8 6 קדושה.

⁷⁶ This final phrase is paralleled in 4QInstruction^c 10 2.

⁷⁷ This thesis is borne out by the admonitions to provide for all one's own requirements so as to avoid the need for loans in 4QInstruction^d 88 1.

in money”). In fact, the subsequent statement about entrusting a purse, which certainly implies cash collateral, suggests that “wealth” should be understood more generally in the first sentence as the loan of any assets. Providing surety or collateral for friends’ loans is strongly discouraged in this passage, while it is forbidden when the beneficiary is a hypocrite⁷⁸ and is entirely prohibited in other parts of the document⁷⁹ and in the Damascus Document (4QD^b 4 8-11; §2.4.1.1 above).⁸⁰ The prohibition of standing surety for another depends upon the equation made in this section between the deposit of one’s purse with a creditor and the giving away of one’s whole life (כל חייה). This attitude toward surety is more prohibitive than one finds in Sirach, where standing surety for one’s neighbor is the duty of a good person (29:14) but should never be expended or received in excess of one’s means (8:13; 29:15-20).⁸¹ Finally, the pupil is encouraged to avoid selling his spirit, perhaps by entering the unequal relationship that accompanies debt or, more literally, by falling into debt slavery itself. In any case, here again the man is admonished not to exchange his spirit for any wealth (כל הון), whether loans in kind or cash.

The next section of Instruction treats a situation in which the disciple or maven has entered into the service of another man (4QInstruction^b 2 ii 7-15, *par* 4QInstruction^c 2 ii 10-19, 4QInstruction^d 8 7-14, 21 2; 4QInstruction^e 1-2):⁸²

[...] no man will turn you away; Seek his presence with favor⁸³ and according to his language speak to him, and then you will attain your wish. Do not make your oath to him ineffectual, and the statutes laid down for you do not abandon, but with your mysteries guard your soul. If he entrusts you with his service, let there be no rest for your soul or sleep for your eyes until you have performed his commands (all of them?), but do no more. And it is possible to act hu[m]bly... and do not leave anything undone (or do not do too much?) for him. Wealth of taxes (הון בלו) not [...] him, lest he say, “He has despoiled me, and fallen is [...] Lift up your] eyes and see how great is the enviousness of man and deceitful the heart more than all [...] If with his favor you undertake his service, and the wisdom of his secrets⁸⁴ you [...] And ... you counsel him, then you will be-

⁷⁸ This prohibition occurs in the related work 4QInstruction-like Composition B 2 3: “[One who is a hypo]cite, do not give surety for him among the poor.”

⁷⁹ 4QInstruction^a 8 2, corrected to הערב אלו.

⁸⁰ A fragmentary reference to surety in 4QInstruction^d 87 7 unfortunately lacks adequate context for reconstruction, although there the issue is standing surety for a stranger (זר; cf. Prov 20:16; 27:13). There is a similar admonition in 4QInstruction^b 2 iii 5-8 against taking a deposit or loan from a stranger. In 4QInstruction^d 88 3, the author advises “take care for yourself lest you pledge,” but then the text breaks off. See also the Akkadian Instruction of Suruppak, obv. 12-13: “Do not be a security... Then you [will be] a security...” (W. G. Lambert, *Babylonian Wisdom Literature* [Oxford: Clarendon, 1960] 95).

⁸¹ Harrington, “Two Early Jewish Approaches to Wisdom: Sirach and Qumran Sapiential Work A,” *JSP* 16 (1997) 29-30; *idem*, “Wisdom at Qumran,” 146-7.

⁸² Cf. 4QInstruction^c 1 i 21-24.

⁸³ 4QInstruction^b 2 ii 7 and 4QInstruction^c 2 ii 10 וְרָצוֹן; 4QInstruction^d 8 7 בְּרָצוֹן.

⁸⁴ 4QInstruction^b 2 ii 12 אִישׁוֹ; 4QInstruction^d 8 13 אִישׁוֹ.

come a first-born son for him, and he will show mercy to you as a man does to his only child, [...] for you are his servant, his elect one. But do not win others' confidence lest you become hated, or [...] keep watch from your oppression/distress (אל תשקוד ממדהבכה); but become to him like a wise servant.

If a man finds himself in a relationship of service or servitude, he is counseled to speak appropriately to his master so as to achieve his ends, to fulfill everything he says he will do, and to follow his master's rules, but throughout this to guard his own soul with his mysteries. Strugnell and Harrington offer several ways of understanding the mysteries in this context: they may be the maven's religious rites or instructions, or alternatively they may be eschatological events.⁸⁵ In any case, the mysteries appear to serve as a kind of prophylactic against the loss of the wise servant's soul. The next section of the advice counsels what to do if the master entrusts (יפקוד) the servant with a particular job: he is to do the work expeditiously and with integrity, particularly in the case of taxes. The reference to taxes is fragmentary; Strugnell and Harrington read בלו rather than בלי, and identify it as an administrative loanword known from Egyptian Aramaic, biblical Aramaic, and perhaps biblical Hebrew that refers to tribute or tax payments.⁸⁶ The saying seems to imply that the servant might be tempted to skim money from the master's payment in kind or coin, or to overcharge his master's dependents to the master's discredit. This section, like the first, closes with an exhortation to meditate, this time on the enviousness of man rather than on the mysteries. In the final section, a scenario is imagined in which the servant has performed so well that the master entrusts his secret affairs to him and treats him like a first-born son.⁸⁷ This situation has its own inherent dangers, including the temptation to win others' confidence in addition to the master's, which provokes hatred, and the potential for the servant to disregard his own oppression given his new son-like status.

There are several difficulties in the Hebrew of these cautionary statements. The first admonition may be read "do not cause others to trust you lest you be hated" or "do not trust in what you hate" (אל תבטח למה תשנא), since it is not clear whether the first verb is *gal* or *hifil* and what precise role למה plays. The second admonition is translated "do not keep watch from your oppression/distress" (אל תשקוד ממדהבכה). As Strugnell and Harrington note, the verb "to watch, show concern for" (שקד) is usually understood as a positive command, and thus it is difficult to make sense of the negative particle. In addition, the preposition מן never follows this verb either in the Bible or in other occurrences in Instruction. Thus the editors read "stay on the watch

⁸⁵ *DJD* 34, 99 note on line 10.

⁸⁶ *DJD* 34, 101 note on line 10.

⁸⁷ See Prov 17:2; 27:18. For the adaptation of this type of advice for the "master," see §2.3.3 above.

for” (תשקיר) or emend to read “deal falsely with (תשקיר) your oppressive tax-gatherer.” It would be difficult to make sense, however, of the pronominal suffix on מַדְהִבְכָּה if the term means “tax-gatherer” rather than simply “oppression, distress.” The latter interpretation is further supported by the occurrence of the term in parallelism with “oppressor” (נָגַשׁ) in CD XIII 9 and in Isa 14:4⁸⁸ (though cf. 1QIsa^a מַדְהִבָּה [σ'θ'ט'צ'ס'ס]). Therefore, though it presents an inelegant *lectio difficilior*, the translation “do not keep watch from your oppression/distress” is to be preferred, with the meaning, “do not ignore your own reduced state as you rise in your master’s eyes/as you attend to your master’s business.”⁸⁹ The general meaning of the section would then be a kind of merism, cautioning the man against using his position either to seek out others’ secret affairs or alternately to forget his own.

After the disciple is instructed about how to obey a master, he is told how to behave toward his inferiors (4QInstruction^b 2 ii 15-16 *par* 4QInstruction^c 2 ii 20-21, 4QInstruction^c 19 2-4):

Moreover do not abase your soul before one who is not equal to you, and then you will become for him as a father.... One who does not have your strength do not smite lest you make him (her) stumble, and you increase your own shame greatly.

The reference to the strength and status of the individuals would include their relative economic position, given that the general context is economic advice and that the target behavior is to act as a father providing for one’s children.⁹⁰ Moreover, the saying is similar to an earlier proverb that opens both a subcollection in Proverbs and the Instruction of Amenemope, on which the Hebrew collection is based: “Do not rob the poor because they are poor, or crush the afflicted at the gate; for the Lord pleads their cause and despoils of life those who despoil them” (Prov 22:22-23).⁹¹ The forensic contexts of the passages in Proverbs and Amenemope offer one possible context for the saying in Instruction.

A parenthetical comment should be made at this point about the concern for poverty in certain sapiential and sapiential-apocalyptic texts. The small collection of sayings in Proverbs 22:17–24:22 begins, as does the Instruction of Amenemope on which it is based, with a command against robbing the

⁸⁸ Note that Instruction uses the same term for one’s oppressors just after the present passage, נַגְשִׁיכָה (4QInstruction^b 2 ii 17).

⁸⁹ The term occurs also in 4QInstruction^c 16 3-4: “[to]il of those who oppress you (עַמְלָה) [מַדְהִבְכָּה] [...] when he comes to.” The oppression may be the exaction of taxes, as Strugnell and Harrington propose on the basis of Symmachus’ and Theodotion’s φορολογία at Isa 14:4.

⁹⁰ Note also that the noun strength (here כֹּחַ) is associated with one’s economic assets in the interpretive tradition of Deuteronomy 6:5; see §3.3.1.2 above.

⁹¹ The maxim in the Instruction of Amenemope begins, “Beware of robbing the poor person” (4.4). See also the Ptahhotep maxim 74-77: “If you encounter an opponent in court, a poor man, not your equal, do not abuse him, because he is weak” (see Washington, *Wealth and Poverty in the Instruction of Amenemope*, 186-7).

poor. The text of Instruction is too fragmentary to determine whether the same theme opens the section of prosaic advice after the cosmological-eschatological introduction. However, such an arrangement would have precedent and analogies in precisely those texts which blend sapiential and apocalyptic material. Collins has highlighted three such works: the insertion of sentences of Pseudo-Phocylides in the second *Sibilline Oracle* (2.56-148), and the employment of sapiential material in two final testaments of Enoch (*1 Enoch* 91-104 and *2 Enoch* 39-66).⁹² To these we might add the first and fifth of the teaching discourses in Matthew's gospel, the Sermon on the Mount (Matt 5-7 *par* Luke 6:20-49) and the apocalyptic discourse (Matt 24-25), which by virtue of structural correlation should be understood as a conceptual unit encompassing Jesus' teaching. Collins remarks that the function of the inserted sapiential material is to provide the criteria for the apocalyptic judgment. What is striking about all of these examples is that the moral exhortations in all but one begin with the poor, and in the single exception, *2 Enoch*, the poor follow immediately upon the command to worship God that opens and closes the exhortation. Thus *Sibilline Oracle* 2.56 begins with the advice, "Do not gain wealth unjustly, but live from legitimate things." *1 Enoch* 94.6 cautions, "Woe to those who build oppression and injustice!," and then continues with an extensive critique of the wealthy.⁹³ *2 Enoch* 42.7-9 blesses those who care for the poor:

Happy is he who carries out righteous judgment, not for the sake of payment, but for justice, not expecting anything whatever as a result; and the result will be that judgment without favoritism will follow for him. Happy is he who clothes the naked with his garment, and to the hungry gives his bread! Happy is he who judges righteous judgment for orphan and widow, and who helps anyone who has been treated unjustly!⁹⁴

The obvious parallels with Matthew, both the macarism form with Matthew 5:1-12 (*par* Luke 6:20-23) and the criteria themselves with the judgment scene in Matthew 25:31-46, illustrate the point that the criteria for judgment in the apocalyptic age begin with economic concerns.⁹⁵ The eschaton will either reverse the current economic order or it will reward those who sought to invert that order in this world. The fusion of sapiential and apocalyptic

⁹² "Wisdom, Apocalypticism, and Generic Compatibility," 174-9.

⁹³ G. W. E. Nickelsburg, "Revisiting the Rich and the Poor in *1 Enoch* 92-105 and the Gospel according to Luke," *SBLSP* 37 (1998) 2.579-605.

⁹⁴ F. I. Anderson, "2 (Slavonic Apocalypse of) Enoch," *OTP*, 1.168-9; the translations of *Sib. Or.* 2.56 and *1 Enoch* 94.6 are those of Collins and E. Isaac respectively, *OTP*, 1.346 and 1.75. The sentences of Pseudo-Phocylides that have been incorporated into *Sib. Or.* 2.56-148 are sentences 5-79; see the translation by P. W. van der Horst in *OTP*, 2.574-7. Note that the first two moral admonitions in the source document, Ps.-Phoc. 3-4, have been dropped so that the criteria can begin with the treatment of the poor.

⁹⁵ Nickelsburg makes a similar case for correlations between *1 Enoch* 92-105 and Luke's gospel in general, but particularly 6:20-23; see "Revisiting the Rich and the Poor."

world-views and the prominence of economic exhortations in them likely lies behind the priority given to the prohibition against lying about property that inaugurates the penal codes of both the Damascus Document and the Rule of the Community.⁹⁶ These are, after all, the statutes that govern the final days, “the exact interpretation[s] of the regulations by which they shall be ruled until there arises the messiah of Aaron and Israel” (CD XIV 18); they are intended to anticipate the final judgment.

Returning to Instruction, one final piece of advice about servitude is offered in 4QInstruction^b 2 ii 17-18 (*par* 4QInstruction^c 2 ii 22-23). This passage presumes a state of affairs even more dire:

Do not sell your soul for wealth. It is good for you to become a servant in the spirit, and to serve your oppressors freely. But for no price sell your glory, or pledge in surety wealth (that is, your) inheritance lest it dispossess also your body.

This passage resumes a theme first introduced a few lines earlier, that one is not to sell one’s life or soul even if in debt or slavery (אל תמכור נפשכה and בהון ובמחיר אל תמכור כבודכה; lines 5-6). The context here, however, seems to be debts deeper than those mentioned in lines 5-6: there are directions about how to serve one’s oppressors, and there is an admonishment against pledging one’s wealth and thus one’s inheritance as collateral (אל תערב הון⁹⁷ בנחלתה). The circumstance of one’s wealth being limited to one’s inheritance presumes that one has no other moveable wealth such as purse or property to proffer as collateral. It is unclear what personal asset or attribute one’s “glory” was, but the pledge of one’s inheritance as collateral would in an agricultural society most likely be land or its value in cash.

All of the passages about servitude accept it as a strong possibility in a person’s life and seem to assume that it might be a temporary state, an unfortunate reduction in one’s standard of living out of which one might nevertheless work or from which one might be redeemed. Even in the condition of servitude, the disciple appears to have some assets.

There are frequent references in Instruction to the poverty of the maven himself, such as in 4QInstruction^a 6 1-6:

[] council of me[ⁿ] Y[o]u are poor, but
king[s]] your poverty in your coun[sel]
[] By the mystery of what is to come test these things. And []
[] from the house of []. And by weigh[t]
[] coun]cil of men...

⁹⁶ CD XIV 20-21 (*par* 4QD^a 10 i 14 and 4QD^d 11 i 4-5); 1QS VI 24–VII 27.

⁹⁷ 4QInstruction^b 2 ii 18 reads הערבהי בנחלתכה, while 4QInstruction^c 2 ii 23 reads הערב הון בנחלתכה. It seems clear that the scribe of 4QInstruction^b simply erred in not copying the *nun*. Note that the phrase used for the proper and improper mingling of resources in the Rule of the Community is ערב הון (1QS VI 22; VII 26-27; VIII 23; IX 8).

“You are poor” (אַהֲרָה אֲבִיּוֹן) is a common type of construction, occurring seven times in Instruction and customarily followed by a reference to social superiors, such as kings (מַלְכִּים) or princes (נְרִיבִים).⁹⁸ The consistent contrast in such passages to individuals with greater social capital suggests that a real economic statement is being made here about the maven’s social location.⁹⁹ The subsequent depiction of the maven’s responsibility to judge, employing as it does the commercial metaphor of weighing commodities, depends on the earlier economic reference to the maven’s status.¹⁰⁰

The customary behavior of the maven toward pleasure-seekers is discussed in 4QInstruction^d 127 4: “[Those who se]jek after pleasure you have oppressed because of their conduct” (אִסְרִישׁ חֶקֶץ הוֹנִיחָהּ בְּהַלִּיכָמָה). It is not clear how the maven has oppressed (נִהַר) those who seek pleasure. The broken context immediately before this phrase refers to one’s soul fainting from lack of all good until death overtakes it, and something else occurring to ensure burial so that the corpse may not be torn by animals. Since both the dying person and the maven are referred to in the second person singular, we may presume an affinity of some kind between these individuals which would render the pleasure-seekers at least opponents of the maven if not complicit in his deprivation and death.¹⁰¹

A few other fragmentary references deal with advice about financial arrangements. One of the more interesting of these is preserved in 4QInstruction^d 176 1-3:

...your (fem.?) ..., the land [] | [] a]ll those who dwell in it, but those who mourn for righteousness [] | [O yo]u who has understanding of the calamities of oppression (?), do not...

⁹⁸ The term for the maven’s poverty can vary: in addition to אֲבִיּוֹן (4QInstruction^d 9 13), the maven can be described as רָשׁ (4QInstruction^b 2 ii 20; 2 iii 2, 20; 4QInstruction^d 177 5), or the terms can be combined as in 4QInstruction^d 249 [olim 254] 3: poor is he and ne[edy]” (רָשׁ הוּאִי); because the reference is in the third person, it may not be addressed to the maven). 4QInstruction^d 148 ii 4: “Blank A man of poverty are you” (אִישׁ רָיוֹ אַהֲרָה); Strugnell and Harrington offer that the transcription may rather be “A man of contention (רִיב) you are”; *DJD* 34, 375-6 note on col. ii, line 4. There are other fragmentary references to social superiors: kings (4QInstruction^e 7 3: “you are intelligent [or you are needy? (אֲהֲרָה)], but kings...”); nobles (4QInstruction^d 149 2).

⁹⁹ Thus Collins, *Jewish Wisdom*, 18 and Harrington, *Wisdom Texts from Qumran*, 45. Tigchelaar reads the statements as conditionals, “If you are poor,” but this seems less likely given the larger context of Instruction (“The Addressees of 4QInstruction,” in *Sapiential, Liturgical and Poetical Texts from Qumran: Proceedings of the Third Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies, Oslo 1998, Published in Memory of Maurice Baillet* [ed. D. K. Falk, F. García Martínez and E. M. Schuller; STDJ 35; Leiden, 2000] 62-75).

¹⁰⁰ This image is also found in 4QInstruction^d 87 12.

¹⁰¹ Pleasure is not always evaluated negatively, and certainly many of the occurrences are too fragmentary to judge (4QInstruction^d 128 + 129 3). Should the problematic phrase, “you shall/she will give up sexual inter[course]” (תַּעֲזוֹב שִׁכְבַּת זָרַע) in 4QInstruction^d 183a + b 2 be understood in this context (Strugnell and Harrington, *DJD* 34, 407-408)?

There is almost too little here to derive any sense from the passage. The interesting feature of the text is the possible reference in line 3 to the “calamities of oppression(?)” (בהווה מרהבה). The term translated “oppression” occurs only in Isaiah 14:4 מ (but cf. 1QIsa^a מרהבה) and in the Qumran literature (4QInstruction^b 2 ii 14 and parallels; CD XIII 9; 1QH^a XI 25; XX 18). The term at Isaiah 14:4 is translated “taskmaster” in the Septuagint (ἐπισπουδαστής; מרהיב*?), while Symmachus and Theodotion offer “tribute, collection of taxes” (φορολογία). Some kind of oppression is certainly imagined, possibly a kind of tax assessment on the produce of the land, as Strugnell and Harrington read.

In a list of virtuous types of men otherwise unparalleled in the Instruction material, there are several references to behaviors regarding wealth in the related work, 4QInstruction-like Composition B 3 9-11:

A man of generosit[y perfo]rms charity for the poor [...] | [...] he takes care of all who lack property; the sons of righteousness [...] | [...] in all wealth....

The man of generosity (or compassion? איש רחב/מנים) performs charity for the poor (יצדקה לאבייתנים) | [יעשה]ה; cf. Prov 28:25).¹⁰² He or our next man of virtue is anxious or cares for (ראג ל-) all those who lack wealth (לכסרין חסרי הון); cf. Sir 31:23-24; 50:4). The following reference may be a qualification of those who lack property, or the beginning of the next exemplar of virtue; in either case, the topic remains wealth. It is clear from this last sequence of virtues that the disposition of one’s wealth was one way to demonstrate one’s zeal.¹⁰³ It remains to be mentioned that there are solitary references to the terminology of wealth and poverty in the more fragmentary remnants of Instruction.¹⁰⁴

4.4.2 Living within One’s Means

Just after the advice counseling a poor man who falls deeper into debt, Instruction cautions against living beyond one’s means (4QInstruction^b 2 ii 18–2 iii 8 *par* 4QInstruction^c 2 ii 24-26, 4QInstruction^d 9 2-6):

¹⁰² On the image of the man of generosity or compassion and the importance of doing righteousness or charity, see 1QS V 3-4; VIII 2; 4QWays of Righteousness^a 1a ii-b 5-8; 4QWays of Righteousness^b 1 ii 13, 16-17 (Elgvin [DJD 20] 173-202, pls. XV–XVI); 4QTobit^c ar 1 1; 4QTobit^c 2 6, 8 (Fitzmyer, *Qumran Cave 4.XIV: Parabiblical Texts, Part 2* [ed. Elgvin, et al.; DJD 19; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995] 1-76, pls. I–X); Sir 3:14; 12:3; 16:14; 40:17, 24.

¹⁰³ Brin, “Wisdom Issues in Qumran: The Types and Status of the Figures in 4Q424 and the Phrases of Rationale in the Document,” *DSD* 4 (1997) 297-311.

¹⁰⁴ Lack (מחסריכה): 4QInstruction^d 14 1; 16 3; 87 6; 159 ii 5. “Do not stretch forth your hand” (to acquire something? אגל הנשלה ידך): 4QInstruction^d 33 3. Undertaking of your hand (משלוח ידכה): 4QInstruction^d 87 13; 89 1-2. Purse (כיס): 4QInstruction^d 35 4. “[Do n]ot clothe yourself” (אל תלבש): 4QInstruction^d 105 1. All wealth (כיל הון): 4QInstruction^d 123 i 3. “[Hu-]man wealth” (לדון אן נשחם?): 4QInstruction^d 180 3. “Your due portion” (וכחוקכה): 4QInstruction^d 123 i 4.

Do not sate yourself with bread *Blank* when there is no clothing, and do not drink wine when there is no food. Do not seek after delicacies when you *Blank* lack (חסר) even bread. Do not esteem yourself highly for your lack (אל תכבד במחסורכה); you are a pauper (ארהה ריש)! *Blank* lest you bring into contempt your own life. Moreover do not treat with dishonor the vessel of your bosom.... And remember that you are poor [...] And what you need you will not find, and in your treachery you will [...].

If a deposit/loan has been deposited with you,¹⁰⁵ do not reach forth your hand for it lest you (or it) be scorched, and your body be burnt in its fire. Just as you have taken it, even so restore it, and joy to you if you are exempt from (any obligation arising from) it. And moreover from any man whom you have not known take no wealth (אל תקח הון), lest it increase your poverty (על פן ויסיף על) (ריישיכה). And if he put the responsibility of it on your head¹⁰⁶ until death, take charge of it, but let not your spirit be corrupted by it. And then you will sleep in faithfulness, and at your death your memory will flower forever, and your prosperity will inherit joy. *Blank*

In an exhortation to the golden mean, the disciple is encouraged to avoid excess in one area if deficient in another more primary need. The base of the hierarchy of needs is occupied by clothing and bread, above which are sating oneself with bread, drinking wine, and consuming delicacies.¹⁰⁷ The advice then shifts to the proper way to honor oneself and one's vessel or wife. One is not to honor oneself simply for one's poverty, for that is an unavoidable and regrettable fact more worthy of contempt than of honor. The subsequent prohibition against dishonoring one's vessel then presumably has an economic referent as well. As Strugnell and Harrington note, the term "dishonor" (תקל) is the same one used in the command against dishonoring one's father in Deuteronomy 27:16 (cf. Deut 5:16¹⁰⁸), so the prohibition here seems to apply to a broader range of activity than mere sexual dishonor (adultery?).¹⁰⁹ In the context of living within one's means, dishonoring one's wife might mean depleting her dowry, which functioned as her chief asset if divorced or widowed. This suggestion is borne out by the subsequent advice against taking from goods which one holds in deposit. Legally, the dowry functioned as a deposit, from which the husband enjoyed the right of usufruct but only while married to his wife.¹¹⁰ As with his wife's dowry, so with all deposits a

¹⁰⁵ 4QInstruction^b 2 iii 3 פִּקְדָּה; 4QInstruction^d 9 2 פִּקְדָּה.

¹⁰⁶ 4QInstruction^b 2 iii 6 בְּרִישׁוֹכָה, emended; 4QInstruction^d 9 5 בְּרִישׁוֹכָה.

¹⁰⁷ See Prov 21:17; Sir 18:30–19:3; 29:21–23; *Sib. Or.* 2.57 (= Ps.-Phoc. 6); cf. Sir 13:1–13. Sirach 29:21–23 adds water and a house "to insure privacy" to the list of basic needs.

¹⁰⁸ Indeed, in 4QInstruction^b 2 iv 2–6, Deut 5:16 is extended from one's parents to one's wife.

¹⁰⁹ The term תקל also occurs on a fragment of 4QInstruction^c 2 4.

¹¹⁰ Some of our best evidence for the commercial aspects of the marriage arrangement comes from the recently published marriage and divorce contracts in the Babatha archive and the archive of Salome Komaiße; see for example, P. Yadin 37 = XHev/Se 65 in N. Lewis et al., eds., *DBKP*, 130–33, pl. 40 and H. M. Cotton and A. Yardeni, *Aramaic, Hebrew and Greek Documentary Texts from Nahal Hever and Other Sites, with an Appendix Containing Alleged Qumran Texts (The Seiyâl Collection II)* (DJD 27; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997) 224–37, pl. XLI. For a complete discussion of the documentary texts, see Chapter 7 below.

man is to act with integrity.¹¹¹ Exceeding one's means is described as "displacing the boundary" (לְסִיעַ גְּבוּל), a phrase commonly used for transgression in biblical and therefore also sectarian literature.¹¹² Here, the transgression is specifically a violation of economic boundaries.

Limited means and poverty are not praised in and of themselves. A reversal of fortune is welcomed, but with it come words of caution (4QInstruction^b 2 iii 8-12 *par* 4QInstruction^d 9 6-12):

You are needy (אֲבִיּוֹן אַחַד). Do not desire something beyond your share/inheritance, and do not be confused by it, lest you "displace your boundary." But if (men) restore you¹¹³ to glory, walk in it, and by the mystery that is to come study its origins.¹¹⁴ And then you will know what is allotted to it and in righteousness you will walk. For¹¹⁵ God will cause His countenance to shine upon all your ways. To Him who glorifies you¹¹⁶ give honor, and praise His name continually. For out of poverty He has lifted up your head (מֵרֵאשׁ הֵרִים רֵאשׁוֹכָה), and with the nobles He has made you to be seated, and over a glorious inheritance He has placed you in authority. Seek out His good will continually.¹¹⁷

All economic improvement is ultimately God's doing; therefore, one is not to seek after it or to become arrogant in his good fortune.¹¹⁸ He is to dwell in glory but not on it, for his attention is to be directed to the God who glorifies and to the mystery that is to come. In this context of economic improvement, the wise man is reminded that it is God who bestows economic favors in this life.¹¹⁹ The phrase that is used of divine beneficence, "God will cause His countenance to shine upon all your ways," is a formula well-known from Babylonian land grants, where it functioned as a description of the king's support and defense of the grant.¹²⁰ The fact that the man will find the birth

¹¹¹ *Sib. Or.* 2.65 (= Ps.-Phoc. 13).

¹¹² Deut 24:17; Hos 5:10; Job 24:2; Prov 22:28; 23:10 (cf. Instruction of Amenemope 7.12-19; 8.9-10); *I En.* 99.12; *Sib. Or.* 2.66-67 (= Ps.-Phoc. 14-15); CD I 16; V 20; XIX 16; XX 25; cf. 1QS X 11, 25 and 1QH^a X 8; XI 24 (גְּבוּל רֵשְׁעָה). This usage appears largely metaphorical in Instruction and the sectarian literature, in contrast to its clear meaning biblical and extra-biblical literature; see Washington, *Wealth and Poverty in the Instruction of Amenemope*, 94-6.

¹¹³ 4QInstruction^b 2 iii 9 וְיִשְׂכַּחְךָ | וְאִם; 4QInstruction^d 9 7-8 וְאִם יוֹשִׁיבֶכָה. B. G. Wright III suggests that the singular verb in 4QInstruction^b may indicate that God restores the maven rather than men, in a paper entitled, "The Categories of Rich and Poor in the Qumran Sapiential Literature," recently delivered at the Sixth International Symposium of the Orion Institute, Jerusalem, 21 May 2001. Dr. Wright kindly forwarded a copy of the paper to me in advance of its publication in the Orion Symposium volume.

¹¹⁴ 4QInstruction^b 2 iii 9 מְלִכְיָהּ; 4QInstruction^d 9 8 מְלִכְיָהּ.

¹¹⁵ 4QInstruction^b 2 iii 10 כִּי; 4QInstruction^d 9 9 בְּיָהּ.

¹¹⁶ 4QInstruction^b 2 iii 10 לְמַכְבְּרִיכָה; 4QInstruction^d 9 9 אֶלְמַכְבְּרִיכָה (9 10 {לְמַכְבְּרִיכָה}); see the similar motif in XQ7 2 as reconstructed by Puech and Steudel, "Un nouveau fragment," 623-7.

¹¹⁷ See 4QInstruction^c 1 i 7-12.

¹¹⁸ Prov 23:4-5 (cf. Instruction of Amenemope 9.10-10.15); Qoh 5:9-19; *I En.* 94.8; 101.5; *Sib. Or.* 2.57, 109-118, 125-126, 132-134 (= Ps.-Phoc. 6, 42-47, 53-54, 60-62).

¹¹⁹ Note the play on words in the Hebrew phrase above, out of poverty (מֵרֵאשׁ) he has lifted your head (רֵאשׁוֹכָה).

¹²⁰ For a complete discussion, see §7.3 below.

or origins of his windfall by contemplating the “mystery to come” supports the thesis that this future eschatological mystery includes just such a reversal of fortune for God’s elect.¹²¹ This may also explain why there is no critique of sudden riches *per se* in Instruction, in contrast to Proverbs 13:11 (LXX) and 20:21 (cf. 28:20, 22).

While the student and maven are counseled to live within their means, they are not to use this as an excuse to avoid study. Contemplation of “the mystery that is to come” provides consolation for the poor student, revealing to him both what is truly worthwhile and the future redemption promised for those of pure heart (4QInstruction^b 2 iii 12-15 *par* 4QInstruction^d 9 13-16):

You are needy (אִבְיָוִן). Do not say, “I am poor (רָשׁ אֲנִי), and I will not study knowledge.” Bring your shoulder under all instruction and with all [...] purify your heart and with abundance of understanding (purify) your thoughts. Study the mystery that is to come, and understand all the ways of truth, and all the roots of iniquity you shall contemplate. And then you will know what is bitter for a man and what is sweet for a fellow.¹²²

Knowledge is more important than one’s material circumstances, evidenced by that fact that all are exhorted to study, as well as by the suggestion that the criterion for determining what is bitter and sweet in life is not material poverty itself, but rather the ways of truth and the roots of iniquity revealed through study of the eschatological mystery.¹²³ Moreover, study yields knowledge about the future redemption itself: “And you, O understanding one, study (or, inherit) your reward, remembering the requital for it comes. Engraved is the ordinance, and ordained is all the punishment” (4QInstruction^c 1 i 13-14 + 4QInstruction^d 43 11).

4.4.3 *Familial Responsibilities*

After the many sayings concerning loans and surety and proper behavior within the socio-economic hierarchy, the focus shifts to financial obligations in the family. The advice ranges over several kin relationships, from one’s parents to one’s wife and children.

The man is first advised to honor his father and mother (4QInstruction^b 2 iii 15-19 *par* 4QInstruction^d 9 17-18, 10 1-2):

¹²¹ This assertion is further supported in a similar passage in 4QInstruction^c 1 i 10-12 that has already been discussed: “And do not rejoice in your mourning lest you have trouble in your life. Gaze upon the mystery | that is to be/come, and understand the birth-time of salvation, and know who is to inherit glory and trouble. Has not rejoicing been appointed for the contrite of spirit | and for those among them who mourn eternal joy?” (cf. Matt 5:3-6).

¹²² The phrase was popular in Stoic philosophy; cf. Musonius Rufus, “A benefactor must know what is good for a man and what is bad” (frg. 8.60.6-10).

¹²³ The ways of truth (דַּרְכֵי אֱמֶת) are mentioned in the sectarian literature; see IQS IV 2, 17; CD III 15. The “roots of iniquity” is, however, an unfamiliar phrase in biblical or sectarian literature.

Honor your father in your poverty, and your mother in your low estate.¹²⁴ For as God¹²⁵ is to a man, so is his own father; and as the Lord is to a person, so is his mother; for they are the womb that was pregnant with you; and just as He has set them in authority over you and fashioned (you) according to the Spirit, so serve them, and as they have uncovered your ear to the mystery that is to come, honor them for the sake of your own honor. And with reverence venerate their persons, for the sake of your life and of the length of your days. *Blank*

This instruction is consistent with the biblical command (Exod 20:12; Deut 5:16¹²⁶), but unlike the scriptural statute adds the qualifying phrases “in your poverty” (ברישכה) and “in your low estate” (במצעדיכה). In fact, these additions are somewhat at odds with at least the Deuteronomic formulation of the biblical command, which promises that the consequence of honoring one’s parents will be “that you may have long life and prosperity” (לך שטב לך). Instruction preserves the promise of long life, but does not mention the promise of prosperity and asserts that, in the absence of prosperity, the command must nevertheless be followed. The reasons given for honoring one’s parents do not include an explicit reference to the Torah, but rather rely on the parents’ place in the natural hierarchy, their role in bearing the child (see Prov 23:22-25), and their role in teaching the mystery that is to come. This is a clear indication that one locus for instruction in this document is the family, a phenomenon Claudia Camp has observed of post-exilic Jewish wisdom in general.¹²⁷

The man is then advised about the more complicated financial relationship with his wife. He is instructed to honor his commitment to her by supporting her children, particularly if he wed her as a poor man and presumably knew that maintenance would be a struggle (4QInstruction^b 2 iii 19–2 iv 1 *par* 4QInstruction^d 9 17-18 + 10 1-2, 5):

And if you are poor as we[re...] just as [...] without statute, *Blank* you have taken a wife in your poverty, take her offspring in your lowly estate.¹²⁸ But take care lest you be distracted from the mystery that is to come while you keep company together. Walk together with the helpmeet of your flesh, according to the statute of God that a man should leave his father and his mother and should cleave to his wife, so that they should become one flesh.

¹²⁴ 4QInstruction^b 2 iii 16 במצעדיכה; 4QInstruction^d 9 17 במצעדיכה.

¹²⁵ 4QInstruction^b 2 iii 16 כאב; 4QInstruction^d 9 17 כאל.

¹²⁶ This command was important in the sapiential tradition; see Prov 19:26; 20:20; 23:22-25; 28:24; 30:11, 17; Sir 3:1-16; 7:27-28; *Sib. Or.* 2.60 (= Ps.-Phoc. 8).

¹²⁷ *Wisdom and the Feminine in the Book of Proverbs* (Bible and Literature 11; Sheffield/Decatur, Georgia: JSOT Press/Almond, 1985) 251-2.

¹²⁸ Note that the same terms—poverty and lowly estate—were also used of the command to honor one’s father and mother, respectively. There may be an implicit hierarchy of some kind here, in that “poverty” is used of the more powerful figure of the relevant pair (father in the first passage, wife in the second), while “lowly estate” is used of the weaker figure (mother and children, respectively).

The reference to “her offspring” need not imply that the offspring are not his. Marriage contracts from this time period typically stipulate before any children are born that the husband will undertake to feed and clothe both his wife and “her children to come” in accordance with (local) custom, on peril of all his possessions.¹²⁹

In return for his responsibilities for maintenance, the husband has certain rights in relation to his wife, chief among them being that his authority supersedes that of her parents (4QInstruction^b 2 iv 2-6 *par* 4QInstruction^d 10 5-8):

He has set you¹³⁰ in authority over her, and she shall obey your voice and ... Her father he has not set in authority over her; from her mother He has separated her, but towards you shall be her desire, and she shall become for you one flesh. Your daughter He will separate to another man and your sons But you shall be made into a unity (לִיחָד) with the wife of your bosom, for she is flesh of your nakedness, and whoever, apart from you, tries to rule over her has “displaced the boundary marker of his life.”

The husband’s authority is here grounded in the biblical command, which offsets the variety of means through which parents could exercise ongoing authority over their married daughter. The Babatha and Salome Komaïse archives indicate that the parents had two chief economic means of maintaining ties with their daughter, namely the dowry and deeds of gift. The dowry was a kind of deposit the parents made into the groom’s account for the duration of the marriage, over which he exercised only the right of usufruct and not the right of ownership; thus the dowry would revert to the wife upon his death or their divorce. The dowry was thus the parent’s means of providing for their daughter beyond the husband’s resources. In addition, parents could circumvent the laws of succession and deed property to their daughters as gifts. Property gifted in this way belonged entirely to the woman, although the husband would usually act as transactional guardian (see Chapter 7 for a more complete discussion). The relative abilities of parents and husband to provide for the wife and the question of the husband’s skill in administering his wife’s assets clarify one reason why Instruction would emphasize the husband’s authority vis-à-vis that of his in-laws, an authority it warrants by the peculiar unity of husband and wife as one flesh.¹³¹ And just as his authority over his wife must be granted, so too must he relinquish his authority over his own daughters and sons when the time comes for them to marry. The sole authority of the husband over his wife is reinforced with reference to a com-

¹²⁹ See, for example, XHev/Se 65 a + b inner text, lines 9-11; Cotton, *DJD* 27, 231-5.

¹³⁰ 4QInstruction^b 2 iv 2 אוֹרְחָהּ; 4QInstruction^d 10 5 אוֹרְחָהּ.

¹³¹ The use of the verb “to be formed into a unity with” (לִיחָד) need not be read as a sectarian insertion, but as a simple *nif'al* infinitive; cf. IQS I 8; III 7; V 20; IX 6; IQH^a XIX 11. Strugnell and Harrington suggest further that the phrase, “flesh of you nakedness” (שָׂרָר עַל־וְרֵחָה) may have the connotation that the wife is the husband’s sexual property ([*DJD* 34] 128 note on line 5).

mon biblical phrase about displacing the boundary marker that is applied to other transgressions in Instruction (4QInstruction^b 2 iii 8-9; cf. 4Q424 3 9).¹³²

The husband's direct authority over his own wife is even more clearly presented as an economic or financial issue in 4QInstruction^b 2 iv 6-13 (*par* 4QInstruction^d 10 8-10). Here, it is the wife's capacity to vow common property to the husband's or family's detriment that is at issue:

Over her spirit He has set you in authority, so that she should walk in your good pleasure. And let her not make numerous vows and votive offerings; turn her spirit to your good pleasure. And every oath binding on her, that she would vow a vow, you will annul it by the mere utterance of your mouth, and at your good pleasure restrain her from performing the rash utterance of (her?) lips. Forgive (it) her [...] for your own sake. Let her not increase [your poverty? ...] your glory, in your inheritance [...] in your inheritance, lest [...] the wife of your bosom, and shame...

The nature of the vows and oaths may include sexual abstinence, but with the reference to votive offerings it certainly includes financial commitments for religious purposes. The husband has the right to annul all vows, with no distinctions made between vows he has overheard and allowed and vows he has overheard and disallowed (cf. CD XVI 10-12; Num 30:7-17). It is interesting that legal material has been interposed in this sapiential context, but this also explains the transformation of the biblical material; the emphasis is less on the types of vows and the circumstances of their annulment than on the assertion of the husband's dominion over his wife. Frequent references to the husband's good pleasure indicate that his pleasure is the governing determinant for all votive and charitable expenditures.

Instruction bases the authority of the husband on the nature of women, a foundation which is itself grounded in an interpretation of Genesis 3:16. In 4QInstruction^a 9 9, the woman's "deficiency" or "poverty" (מחסור) is spoken of, and although half of the column is missing, it appears from the context that this reference corresponds to others in the passage that warrant the husband's dominion over his wife ("A foolish people you will not treat as equal to a leader," line 5; "make her spirit to rule over her," line 8). The definition of the woman as "lacking" renders especially grating any situation in which she may have more power than her husband, a fact demonstrated by the disdain for the dominant wife in the admittedly misogynist Book of Sirach.¹³³

The advice to the maven extends to his provision for the marriage of his daughter. In 4QInstruction^a 11 (*par* 4QInstruction^d 167 and 4QInstruction^e 15 [?]), he is instructed that her chief value should be the quality of her spirit

¹³² Deut 19:14; 27:17; Hos 5:16; Prov 22:28 (cf. Instruction of Amenemope 7.12); 23:10; CD V 20; XIX 16; 4QD^a 1.4. See Brin, "Studies in 4Q424, Fragment 3," VT 46 (1996) 293.

¹³³ Sir 9:2; 25:15b-26:9; 33:19-24.

rather than the beauty of her appearance, and that in any case he should disclose all her blemishes to the groom so as to prevent him from stumbling:

...her measure in all [] in them, For like scales of righteousness [] they will not be [] For this (pan) will rise up, and that one will sink down which are not (measured out) by ^וephah and ^וephah, by ^וomer and ^וomer.¹³⁴ Blank [] which are not together [] And their spirit to the beauty of its appearance [] understanding ones, for according to the spirits will they be measured out []. You have measured out their spirit in public (?). All her blemishes recount to him, and make him understand her bodily defects.¹³⁵ And it shall be when he stubs his foot in the darkness,¹³⁶ then she would be for him like a stumbling block in front of him [] and God will [] send forth His blow, and His anger will burn against [] with a weight their spirit will be meted out in [] he shall not stumble against it. And if he stub against []. If she be divided (?) when she is pregnant for you, Take the offspring of her [] her walking consider very diligently. If male or female [] her foundations you will not find. By these things test her...

While the advice recognizes that the daughter's chief value resides in her spirit rather than in her physical attributes, it is precisely these attributes rather than the woman's spiritual blemishes which are the subject of the pre-nuptial disclosure and thus the commodities being "weighed" (cf. 4QD^f 3 7-9 and parallels¹³⁷). The Damascus Document warrants the revelation on the basis of two biblical commands, the law against commercial fraud relating to the jubilee year (Lev 25:14) and the command against misleading the blind (Deut 27:18), while the language of Instruction is more suggestive of Leviticus 19:13-14:

You shall not defraud your neighbor; you shall not steal; and you shall not keep for yourself the wages of a laborer until morning. You shall not revile the deaf or put a stumbling block before the blind; you shall fear your God: I am the Lord.

The implication in Instruction is that fraud in the marriage transaction both makes the groom stumble and renders him blind in the first place. The advice then appears to shift to the maven's own wife, who is to be tested in the context of pregnancy. This instruction is reminiscent of Josephus' peculiar comment that the Essenes test their fiancées for three years to be certain that they can produce children (*War* 2.8.13 [§§160-161]), although the context in the pre-sectarian Instruction suggests a test after the marriage has been consummated.

¹³⁴ 4QInstruction^e 15 3-4 has אִיפֶה וְ עוֹמֵר in reverse order.

¹³⁵ 4QInstruction^d 167 6-7: "Make him understand her bodily defects, and all her blemishes recount to him" (reversed from 4QInstruction^d 11 6).

¹³⁶ 4QInstruction^a 11 7 בְּאִשְׁלֵי; 4QInstruction^d 167 7 בְּאִשְׁלֵי.

¹³⁷ See §2.4.3.1 above.

The advice about marriage clearly presumes that marriage is customary for the audience of the document.¹³⁸ Moreover, other sections of Instruction address the woman directly (4QInstruction^a 2 ii 1-9), something quite unusual in Jewish wisdom literature. These facts make it unlikely that Instruction was composed in the Qumran community; rather, the cultural matrix is more likely a larger sectarian movement, if not Jewish society as a whole.¹³⁹

Some fragmentary references in Instruction likely bear on wealth in a familial setting, but so little of the surrounding material is preserved that it is impossible to reconstruct the context. 4QInstruction^d 101 ii 4-5 refers to the presumed generosity of one's kin: "he will [not] be sparing of his wealth (הונו); be [...] his kin. He shall not do harm to his own kin." Strugnell and Harrington suggest that such harm could include illegal degrees of marriage (as in Num 5:12, 27), but it seems more likely given the reference to wealth in line 4 that the harm would be of an economic nature. 4QInstruction^d 52 + 53 2 makes reference to "her vow" (נדרה).

4.4.4 Comparison of the Advice to the Biblical Wisdom Tradition

Biblical wisdom texts preserve competing attitudes towards poverty and wealth which have recently been reviewed by J. David Pleins.¹⁴⁰ One perspective attributed most often to Proverbs and Sirach but influenced also by Deuteronomistic theodicy is that poverty is due to some failing of the poor themselves. The rhetorical impact of this equation is that the poor have been stylized as so many negative goads to teach the disciple what happens when wisdom is ignored—a strategy that has been labeled the "act-consequence relation" by Klaus Koch.¹⁴¹ Neither Proverbs nor Sirach can be reduced to this single point of view, however; both integrate commands from the law and prophets to encourage justice and charity (Prov 1-9; 30-31; Sir 3:30-4:10; 7:10b, 32-36).¹⁴² Yet another perspective is provided by the Book of Job,

¹³⁸ See also 4QInstruction^d 178 and §2.4.3.1 above.

¹³⁹ The Damascus Document includes laws about marriage, and enjoins covenanters to respect the mothers as well as fathers of the community (4QD^c 11 i 13-15).

¹⁴⁰ *The Social Visions of the Hebrew Bible*, 452-513.

¹⁴¹ "Is There a Doctrine of Retribution in the Old Testament?" trans. T. H. Trapp, in *Theodicy in the Old Testament* (ed. J. Crenshaw; IRT 4; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1983) 57-87; originally published as "Gibt es ein Vergeltungsdogma im Alten Testament?" *ZTK* 52 (1955) 1-42. On the subject of the positive regard for wealth in the sapiential tradition, see B. V. Malchow, "Social Justice in the Wisdom Literature," *BTB* 12 (1982) 121.

¹⁴² Wright and Camp have recently argued that ben Sira's interest in the law is in part self-motivated, in that fear of both the Lord and his commands distinguishes the scribe/sage from both the rich and the poor and privileges them, in their own minds at least, in a society otherwise governed by economic values. See "'Who Has Been Tested by Gold and Found Perfect?' Ben Sira's Discourse of Riches and Poverty," *Hen* 23 (2001) 1-24. I am grateful to Dr. Wright for forwarding an advance copy of this article. An earlier form of this study was presented by

which critiques standard sapiential and prophetic explanations for wealth and poverty through Job's self-defense. Job is not being punished for sloth or economic exploitation of the poor, just as his restoration is due neither to his own industriousness nor to his own righteousness.¹⁴³ Rather, human misfortune sometimes just occurs, whether through the agency of the adversary or at least with divine awareness. Qohelet lies somewhere near Job, except that its view of the vanity of human categories and explanations leads to a distrust of human wisdom rather than to a doxology on divine knowledge.

In terms of form, 4Q415 ff. is a wisdom instruction more like Sirach, parts of Proverbs and Qohelet than it is like Job, but its content is more complicated. It preserves traditional sapiential *topoi* on matters of wealth, and like Proverbs and Sirach discusses strategies for managing various economic misfortunes,¹⁴⁴ although never in the form of the simple proverb.¹⁴⁵ Like Proverbs in its post-exilic complexity and like Sirach in its defense against hellenization, Instruction merges wisdom with particular Torah commands, a fact which should be considered alongside the apparent lack of legal terminology (תורה, משפט, חוק, מצוה) when reconstructing the *Sitz im Leben* of the document.¹⁴⁶ But Instruction also fuses these typical sapiential topics with a cosmological prologue and with language of divine secrets and eschatological mysteries similar to the combination of theology and wisdom one finds in Sirach and Job.¹⁴⁷

The absence of covenant and covenant-breaking language from certain sapiential texts and parallels between Proverbs and Egyptian sapiential literature believed to have originated in elite scribal schools have led several scholars to posit that Jewish wisdom was also generated in elite circles tied to

Wright as "The Discourse of Riches and Poverty in the Book of Ben Sira," SBLSP 37 (1998) 2.559-78.

¹⁴³ Pleins argues that the Book of Job offers economic solidarity with the poor as the locus of insight for Job, and offers economic exploitation as an explanation for wealth and poverty (see especially Job 20:15-23; 21:7-13; 22:5-11; 24:1-4). But while economic exploitation may explain the poverty of many, it does not explain the poverty of Job, and so the book forces us to occupy an uncomfortable space where misfortune has no adequate explanation.

¹⁴⁴ For the emphasis on this topic in Proverbs, see R. N. Whybray, *Wealth and Poverty in the Book of Proverbs* (JSOTSup 99; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1990) 23-31.

¹⁴⁵ See Harrington, "Two Early Jewish Approaches to Wisdom," 28-9.

¹⁴⁶ Strugnell does not discuss reference to biblical laws, but only reference to legal terms, see "General Introduction," *DJD* 34, 27 and "The Sapiential Work 4Q415ff and Pre-Qumranic Works from Qumran: Lexical Considerations," in *Provo*, 602.

¹⁴⁷ In Job, creation and Job's life-span provide the temporal horizon against which Job should weigh life. Proverbs 8 also views creation as the horizon for proper behavior. Sirach shares these horizons, although there is also a single reference to the day and the appointed time (36:7; cf. 7:36; 38:20). Instruction includes both creation and the human life-span, but adds a much more pronounced apocalyptic orientation in its frequent reference to "the mystery to come"; see Harrington, "Ten Reasons," 250.

the political establishment.¹⁴⁸ However, there have been dissenting voices. Harold C. Washington, for example, has traced the varying attitudes toward wealth and poverty in the Egyptian wisdom literature to the fluctuating socio-economic circumstances at the time these works were composed. He argues that several explanations for wealth and poverty are offered in the Egyptian wisdom literature, ranging from the claim of divine blessing or curse to the arbitrary whim of the gods. The claim of divine blessing likely functioned to support propertied interests and to maintain the *status quo*, while the assertion of divine arbitrariness or active sympathy for the poor redefines divine order and justice in more troubled socio-economic circumstances. Washington sees similar forces at work in Proverbs 22:17–24:22, where a pre-exilic core borrowed from Egyptian wisdom is modified to reflect new socio-economic circumstances after the exile. Benjamin G. Wright III and Claudia V. Camp have discussed the complexities of Sirach, noting that the author is solicitous of the rich but also wary of them.¹⁴⁹ The socio-economic position of the wise is made the more precarious because they are the privileged custodians of a biblical tradition that explicitly critiques their employers and benefactors. Thus the Book of Sirach dances between critique and the more ambivalent wisdom treatments of wealth as its author seeks to create a socio-economic space that privileges and protects his scribal class.

Instruction incorporates teachings comparable to those of its sapiential forbears. Here too are the explanations of wealth as divine blessing or whim. But in addition to these customary teachings, Instruction offers counsel on situations in which the sage has clearly become poor himself. This advice is more explicit, more extensive, and more pervasive than in other wisdom texts.¹⁵⁰ This suggests a *Sitz im Leben* in which one's fortunes may change at any moment, which does not correspond to a situation of economic stability, to a comfortably elite audience, or to ben Sira's negotiation of relations with the elite.¹⁵¹ It also may explain why there is less explicit advocacy for charity and mercy toward the poor in Instruction; the addressee is more likely to share their estate than to be their benefactor. This would be consistent with an observation offered by Wright, that there are a number of terms used for the poor and poverty in Instruction (מחסור, ריש, אביין, דל), but only one word is used to describe wealth (הון). Moreover, there is a new explanation for poverty as for riches. No longer are these circumstances due to human

¹⁴⁸ Whybray disagrees, arguing instead that the authors more likely fall somewhere between the wealthiest and poorest members of their society; *Wealth and Poverty in the Book of Proverbs*, 45-59.

¹⁴⁹ "Who Has Been Tested by Gold and Found Perfect?" 1-24.

¹⁵⁰ Elgvin, "Wisdom, Revelation and Eschatology," 444. Wright independently reached the same conclusion in "The Categories of Rich and Poor in the Qumran Sapiential Literature."

¹⁵¹ On ben Sira's social position, see Wright and Camp, "Who Has Been Tested by Gold and Found Perfect?"

choice, divine design at creation (Sirach's doctrine of pairs), divine whim or divine abdication. Rather, Instruction suggests that meaning is to be sought in the ends of things rather than in their causes, that is, in the elusive "mystery that is to come." This resolution both critiques the current circumstance and defers the remedy, thus carving out a niche for the disciple to act wisely and with hope when faced with a difficult situation.

This theological perspective suggests that wealth was not comfortably controlled by the authors of Instruction, nor could they predict with any certainty whether it would be theirs. What endures of the act-consequence relation in Instruction is that wealth is associated with blessing for certain behavior; what changes is that the blessing is largely deferred to the eschatological future. In the meantime, the maven must exercise wisdom even if, according to the tradition he inherits, he is reduced to the circumstances of the poor fool.

4.5 *The Source and Disposition of Agricultural Wealth*

Some portions of Instruction resume the theme of divine beneficence as in the cosmological introduction, but from the vantage point of the human return on that divine investment through agricultural production, craftsmanship, and other skills. Torleif Elgvin, who edited the manuscript with the most extensive portions of this section (4QInstruction^E), believes that it contained advice on the life of a farmer and comprised the second portion of Instruction, after the main portion containing cosmological and commercial counsel.¹⁵²

The advice to the farmer begins with its own discrete cosmological introduction, namely a reflection on the story of the garden of Eden as a metaphor for the situation of the wise farmer. The passage is addressed to the sage in the second person, at first as if he were Adam before the sin ("He set you in charge of it to till it and guard it," 1 + 2 i 2), then as if he were Adam under the curse ("thorns and thistles will it sprout forth for you, and its strength it will not yield to you" 1 + 2 i 3), and finally as if he were part of the "planting" that knows the difference between good and evil (lines 7-9):

...all your secrets | [] in all your business, for everything it causes
to sprout [forth for you] always not to | [] and in a planting [...]
them [...rejecting] the evil and knowing the good, | [] be]tween
his way and the way of | [] and bread...

A distinctive term in the passage is the reference to the dominion given man by God, "he set you in charge" (הַמְשִׁילֶכָה). This term is used elsewhere in Instruction to describe various hierarchical relationships, such as parent over child, husband over wife, supervisor over others, steward over money, and

¹⁵² "The Reconstruction of Sapiential Work A," *RevQ* 16 (1993-1995) 559-80.

steward of the divine inheritance.¹⁵³ Another distinctive word, “secret” (סֵתֵר), is used in the context of both productive work and knowledge. Thus Elgvin translates “all your resources” rather than “all your secrets.”¹⁵⁴ This translation would make sense even in the construct phrase “in the wisdom of his secrets/resources” used elsewhere in Instruction (בְּדַכְמַת סֵתֵרָא, 4QInstruction^b 2 ii 12), if we understand good management of resources to be the mark of wisdom. The words translated “in all your business” (בְּכֹל חַפְצֵיכֶּהָ) can mean “in all your desires,” but in the context of productive assets one’s desires could be a good harvest and therefore one’s “business” (in support, see Isa 58:13; CD X 18-21¹⁵⁵). The easy productivity of the garden of Eden is the goal of the farmer, and this can be assured if he remains part of the “planting” of those who can discern good from evil. The phrase “eternal planting” is applied to the sectarian community in several of its works,¹⁵⁶ although it is unclear whether or to what degree the terminology is sectarian in this particular passage. What is clear is that knowledge is not itself implicated in evil, but pre-exists it, in that every fruit produced in the garden and every tree which is good are said to be “pleasing to give knowledge” (line 1). Since all of the trees in the garden give knowledge, Adam can possess knowledge before his sinful act. Alternatively, as Collins has argued, there may have been two Adams in the tradition lying behind this text, the Adam created in the likeness of the holy ones (Gen 1:1-2:3; cf. Sir 17:7; 49:14-16), and the Adam subject to human inclination who in the end fails to distinguish good from evil (Gen 2:4-5:5; cf. Sir 15:4).¹⁵⁷ The people who reject evil are thus a reiteration of

¹⁵³ Parent over child: 4QInstruction^b 2 iii 17. Husband over wife: 4QInstruction^b 2 iv 2, 6, 7. Supervisor over others: 4QInstruction-like Composition B 3 2. Control over money: 4QInstruction-like Composition B 1 10. Steward of the divine inheritance: 4QInstruction^b 2 iii 12; 4QInstruction^d 81 3, 9, 15. The term is also used outside of Instruction to refer to the Genesis story: 1QS III 17-18; 4Q301 3 6; 4Q381 1 7-8; 4QParaGenExod (4Q422; see Elgvin, “The Genesis Section of 4Q422 [4QParaGenExod],” *DSD* 1 [1994] 180-96); 4Q504 8 6. See also Ps 8:7; Dan 11:39; Sir 17:2; and *Jub* 2:14.

¹⁵⁴ See *DJD* 34, 510, note on line 5.

¹⁵⁵ Moshe Weinfeld has argued that the terminology for “desires” overlaps with “business” or “material needs”; see “Initiation of Political Friendship in Ebla and Its Later Developments,” in *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft von Ebla* (Heidelberger Studien zum Alten Orient 2; Heidelberg: Heidelberger Orientverlag, 1988) 345-8. Other passages in Instruction in which עֵפֶר refers to business include 4QInstruction^b 2 ii 6-8 (*par* 4QInstruction^c 2 ii 8-10); 4QInstruction^c 2 i 12; and 4QInstruction^d 107 4; 126 ii 12, 14; 138 4.

¹⁵⁶ CD I 7; 1QS XI 8; 1QH^a XIV 15; XVI 5-6, 9, 20, 21; 1QapGen XIV 13-14. For earlier references, see Isa 60:21; 61:3; Ezek 34:29 (cf. LXX); *1 En.* 84.6; 93.5, 10; *Jub* 1:16; 36:6; Pss Sol 14:1-5. On the garden of Eden in the sectarian literature, see CD III 20; 1QS IV 23; 1QH^a XIV 16; Elgvin, “Wisdom, Revelation and Eschatology,” 440-63; P. A. Tiller, “The ‘Eternal Planting’ in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” *DSD* 4 (1997) 312-35; *idem*, “Eternal Planting,” *EDSS*, 1.272; R. Gordis, “The Knowledge of Good and Evil in the Old Testament and the Qumran Scrolls,” *JBL* 76 (1957) 123-38.

¹⁵⁷ Philo, *Alleg. Interp.* 31; *QG* 1.8; *Creation* 134-135; Collins, “In the Likeness of the Holy Ones,” in *Provo*, 615-18.

that first Adam, or at least of the early Adam to whom all trees were given for knowledge, and thus they can be replanted in the sinless garden of wisdom.

After the cosmological preface grounding advice to the farmer in the exegesis of an altered Genesis 1–3, several fragments attest to the more prosaic counsel given the farmer. 4QInstruction⁸ 3 1-5 (*par* 1QInstruction 2 2-4) indicates that his work and its productivity are to be understood by meditating on the mystery to come:

[...your st]rength will be s[pent] in va[*n*] by the mystery] that is to come. Thus you shall walk, and all your crops [will multiply as a po]rtion of land. On His word every [womb will bear you shall come before your God wit]h the firstborn of your womb¹⁵⁸ and the firstborn of all [your cattle] [you shall come before you]r [God] and say: "I consecrate everyone [who opens the womb...."]

The passage integrates several biblical phrases and commands, including the warning that the farmer's strength will be spent in vain if he does not obey the commandments (cf. Lev 26:20) and the statute that the first-born be consecrated to God.¹⁵⁹ The correlation of fidelity to productive wives and crops is of biblical origin (e.g., Deut 28; Prov 3:9-10), with only the reference to "the mystery that is to come" added as a somewhat novel feature. The final consecration formula is, like the bulk of the passage, most likely pre-sectarian, but it is well-known in the literature of the *yahad* (e.g., CD XVI 16-17).¹⁶⁰

The next major portion of this section is preserved in 1QInstruction 1 and 4QInstruction⁸ 4. It concerns the proper humility of the farmer, who risks crop failure if he allows his wife to praise him more than God for his success:

...in the mystery that is to co[me]]...[] your crops [] when He opened your ear to the mystery that is to come [] to you. Take care lest she honor you more than Him and [] and you be cursed in all your crops and put to shame in all your deeds, in [] your lawsuit. And by His power He commissioned judgment ... and said to him, "I am your portion and your inheritance among the sons of Adam." ... I will magnify you in the presence of all and all...

The theme of avoiding arrogance and remembering the divine source of all wealth is biblical, though in Deuteronomy 8:7-20 and Sirach 5:1-3 it is the farmer's own arrogance rather than his wife's complicity that is mentioned. Once again, contemplation in the mystery that is to come is seen as the counterweight that keeps the farmer grounded. The mystery may also play some role in the actual productivity of the earth, such that if the farmer studies the $\text{הַמִּסְתֵּר הַזֶּה}$, he is likely to be successful. The attention to the mystery is warranted

¹⁵⁸ See 4QInstruction⁸ 3a 3; 4QInstruction^a 9 2.

¹⁵⁹ Exod 13:12-15; Num 3:12-13, 40-51; Deut 15:19-20; 28:11; Prov 3:9-10.

¹⁶⁰ See also Steudel, "The Houses of Prostration CD XI, 21–XII, 1—Duplicates of the Temple," *RevQ* 16 (1993) 49-68.

because the farmer is part of an elect group to whom the promise to Aaron and Levi has been transferred; in Numbers 18:20 and Deuteronomy 10:9, the descendants of Aaron and Levi were promised that God would be their portion, since they were not to receive an allocation of land. Nevertheless, the promise of fertile fields is somewhat surprising given the debasement of the act-consequence relation in the work. In 4QInstruction^g, the promise is transferred to the elect, who now claim God as their portion and inherit the legacy of Adam.¹⁶¹ That legacy, as we have seen, is not the curses but the original blessing of Adam, a blessing that included all earthly pleasures symbolized by the many pleasing trees of knowledge in the Garden of Eden (cf. Qoh 5:17-19; 9:9). The theme that God is the portion of the elect is explicitly connected to another term ubiquitous in Instruction and in the sectarian literature, inheritance (נחלה).

A more extensive passage that also expands the promise of a priestly portion to include the elect is found in 4QInstruction^d 81 + 81a (*par* 4QInstruction^g 8 1-4). In fact, it is not only the promise of a portion that is applied to the group but several other priestly prerogatives as well: God has separated them from fleshly spirits so that they might be separated from everything that God hates; God is named as their portion and inheritance; God has set them in authority over his inheritance (God's? mankind's?); they consecrate themselves to Him; God has appointed them as a Holy of Holies over all the earth (lines 1-5); and they glorify the holy ones, judge others, and sing (lines 11-12). Their special status as the chosen heirs attracts the metaphor of the first-born son: "He has appointed you for Himself as a first-born among [...] s[aying, 'I will bless you] | and My bounty to you I will give" (lines 5-6).¹⁶² God has made all people inherit his proper inheritance (line 3), but this priestly group will receive God's bounty directly in the form of sacrificial offerings ("[D]o not my good things belong to you?" line 6). In their capacity as recipients of the sacrificial offerings, the author proclaims that God has placed this group in authority over His treasure, and has entrusted them with the true measure¹⁶³

¹⁶¹ For those who claim God as their portion, see Pss 16:5-11; 73:23-28.

¹⁶² The elect sage is called the first-born son (of God?) in 1QInstruction 3 2; in 4QInstruction^b 2 ii 13, the servant-sage is advised to ingratiate himself with his master so that he will be like a first-born son (בן בכור) for him, "and he will show pity to you as a man does to his only child." See Sir 4:10: "Be like a father to orphans, and as a husband to widows, then God will call you a son, show mercy and rescue you from the pit," and *Jub* 1:24-25: "And their soul will cleave to me and to all my commandments, and they will fulfil my commandments, and I shall be a father to them, and they will be sons unto me; and they will all be called 'sons of the living God' and every angel...shall know that these are my sons and that I am their father in justice and righteousness, and that I love them." Cf. 1QS IV 5-6; 1QH^a IV 32-33; VII 29-30; IX 35-36; XI 9, 11; 4QapocJoseph^b I 16; 4Q460 5 6 (cf. Ps 22:1; Mark 15:34); and 4Q475 7. For a list of other pseudepigraphic and Qumran texts that correlate sonship with election, see Elgvin, "Renewed Earth and Renewed People: 4Q475," in *Provo*, 586-8 with notes 16-18.

¹⁶³ In comparison with Jewish and international sapiential texts of the time, Instruction is curiously silent about the problem of inaccurate weights and measures, a typical economic respon-

(of weights and measures of produce? of man? line 9). Moreover, these priestly figures are given the charge to turn away divine anger from the men of God's good pleasure, perhaps through intercessory, sacerdotal, or administrative tasks such as redistributing income (line 10). The passage then continues in lines 15-20:

And as for you, O understanding one, if over the manual artisans He has set you in charge, and (over) the knowledge of [...] secret for all those who walk the earth (הוֹלְכֵי אָדָם¹⁶⁴), and from there shall you seek (תִּפְקֹד) for your food, [...] increase in understanding greatly, and from each of your teachers get ever more instruction and from [...] bring forth your pittance for those who seek pleasure. And then you will establish ... Your mouth you shall fill, and you shall be sated with abundance of good things,¹⁶⁵ and by your manual craftsmanship [your treasures will be filled], for God has distributed the inheritance among every living being, but all those wise in thought we (?) have made insightful...

The various occupations of the maven are enumerated: he may be a supervisor of craftsmen (בַּחֲכָמָה יָדִים; see Sir 9:17),¹⁶⁶ or he may have special wisdom regarding (God's) secrets (if חֲכָמָה אֲוִטוֹ may be understood in terms of חֲכָמָה אֲוִטוֹ as in 4QInstruction^b 2 ii 12). Whatever his special skill or responsibility, it is from this that he receives his food, although it must be admitted that the use of the root פָּקַד (normally "to entrust, to deposit") is odd here in the context of receiving one's livelihood. The phrase, to "bring forth your pittance of lack for those who seek pleasure" (הוֹצֵא מִחֲסוּרְכָה לְכוֹל דּוֹרְשֵׁי חֶפֶץ) is obscure; it is unclear both how a lack could supply anything, and whether "those who seek pleasure" are being evaluated positively for seeking God's pleasure (Sir 32:14) or negatively for seeking their own.¹⁶⁷ The next phrase is clearer: the skill and knowledge of the sage for his manual craft supply his needs, apparently supplementing the inheritance of God's bounty due him by virtue of his priestly status with the added benefit of wisdom. The passage is interesting for its application of priestly terminology to its addressee,¹⁶⁸ as well as for its

sibility of scribes and a prime venue for the acquisition of unjust gain; see Prov 11:1; 16:11; 20:10-23; 22:28; 23:10-11; Sir 42:4; as well as Lev 19:35; Deut 25:13-16; Ezek 45:10; Hos 12:8; Amos 8:5; Mic 6:10-11. See also Washington, *Wealth and Poverty in the Instruction of Amenemope*, 86-96.

¹⁶⁴ The phrase could mean those "who go the way of the earth," i.e., who die; cf. Qoh 12:5; Josh 23:14.

¹⁶⁵ Cf. 4QInstruction^d 184 3.

¹⁶⁶ Given the more customary sapiential assertion of the maven's superiority to artisans, the phrase may be translated "superior to craftsmen" (Strugnell and Harrington, *DJD* 34, 309 note on line 15). But see Prov 22:29: "Do you see one who is skillful in his work? He will stand before kings" (cf. Instruction of Amenemope 27.16-17).

¹⁶⁷ See 4QInstruction^d 127 4, where the maven appears customarily to "oppress" those who seek pleasure.

¹⁶⁸ Other references to manual craftsmanship and to priest in Instruction occur in the more fragmentary 4QInstruction^d 137 2-5: "...manual [sk]ill let Him increase for you[...], righteousness in your wages (בְּמִשְׁכָּרְחָכָה), for to your labor (עֲבוּדְחָכָה) [...] | [...]and the length of your days will be exceedingly many, and ...[...]| [...]...your reward (פְּעֻלַּחְכָה) by day...";

positive regard for manual craftsmanship, unusual in early sapiential contexts but more prominent in the post-exilic period when the role of the sage was diffused across a wider spectrum of the lay population.¹⁶⁹ Moreover, it would appear that the priest-sages supplement their usual “inheritance” of the fruits of the earth with the fruits of their inheritance of practical wisdom.

While some of the addressees are artisans, the chief addressee of this portion of Instruction is a farmer. In 4QInstruction^g 5 5-9, that farmer is counseled to apply his special wisdom to his work:

[If you are a f]armer, observe the appointed times of the summer, gather your crops in their time, and the season | [of harvest in its appointed time. M]editate on all your crops; in your labor give attentio[n to the knowledge of] good and evil, | [the m]an of understanding with the man of folly, [] Thus, a man of | [understanding] every [] he will say [in the abun]dance of his knowledge [] | [he w]ill be in all his [w]ay...

The phrase “appointed times” is elsewhere used in the sectarian literature to refer to the particular festival calendar of the *yahad* (CD III 14; VI 18; 1QS I 15; X 5-8). Here, however, the reference is to the appropriate time for the harvest, although the distinction may be academic since the agricultural seasons were linked to the festival calendar. In an apparent allusion to Noah, the addressee is called “a man of the earth” (אִישׁ אֶרֶץ), that is, a farmer (Gen 9:20).¹⁷⁰ The correspondence between our addressee and Noah goes beyond their shared agricultural occupation however, since Noah is portrayed elsewhere in Instruction as one who knows what is to come,¹⁷¹ just as in 4QInstruction^g 5 1-2 God opened the sage-farmer’s ear to the mystery that is to come. This reference to Noah rather than to Adam or Cain neatly avoids an association between the sage-farmer and the cursed farmers, and rather links him to the one ancient farmer who had knowledge of the future, as he himself does. This strategy is like the prefatory exegesis of Genesis 1–3, in that it creates a biblical utopian space or figure in which or with whom the elect of the present evil age may associate themselves and see their future restoration prefigured.

In 4QInstruction^d 103 ii (*par* 4QInstruction^e 4 1-4), the sage-farmer is instructed how to conduct his business with discernment. He is to bring that which is consecrated of his produce into his baskets and barns. He is not to

4QInstruction^d 139 2; 148 ii 5, 7 (“knowledge of your work” עבודתכם), “knowledge, and in all the scribal craft [ספירות] of men...”). The related text, 4QInstruction-like Composition A 1 1-12, seems to be referring to actual rather than newly designated priests: “by the hand of His priests, for they are the faithful ones of the coven[ant of God...” (line 3); “He chose the seed of Aaron to make [them] st[and...] His [w]ays and to bring near a soothing [offering...]” (lines 5-6).

¹⁶⁹ Though see the second century B.C.E. Sirach 38:24–39:11, which clearly places the scribe over the manual artisan. On the diffusion of wisdom in the post-exilic period, see Washington, *Wealth and Poverty in the Instruction of Amenemope*, 167-70, 202.

¹⁷⁰ The phrase also occurs in frg. 5a (*olim* frg. 26) 2.

¹⁷¹ 4QInstruction^b 1 2 *par* 4QInstruction^d 201 1.

mix his merchandise (ב)מסחורכה אל תערוב¹⁷² with that of his associate (line 6), a blending which is likened to various kinds of improper mixtures prohibited in Deuteronomy (lines 7-9).¹⁷³ The passage breaks off at line 9 with a seeming reference to the limited nature of one's goods:

[More]over your wealth (הונכה) together with your cattle, [when the days of] your life [come to an end], they (also) will come to an end together...

An interesting feature of this passage is that one's wealth appears to be exclusive of livestock, and therefore may refer only to one's agricultural produce, immovable property, and other material assets. The statement seems to indicate that one's goods and cattle are buried with one when one dies, but while this is attested in Egyptian practice, it is only symbolized by select grave goods in Hasmonean- and Herodian-era Judean tombs; the absence of grave goods of any kind in the sectarian-era tombs at Qumran suggests that material goods were conceived somewhat differently at Qumran than in 4QInstruction^d 103 ii (see §6.5 below). On the other hand, this saying may simply reflect a typical proverb on the ephemeral nature of material goods comparable to our own phrase, "you can't take it with you."¹⁷⁴

Several fragmentary passages refer to agricultural wealth, although the context is difficult to establish. In 4QInstruction^c 19 4-5, the sage is exhorted to follow every commandment and thus to walk in righteousness with his neighbor, and this is somehow related to the following phrase "mete out her food, [and] she will spare her produce." The feminine suffixes may depend on the earlier reference to a bee in line 3, or the bee itself may be a metaphor for one's wife who has responsibility for the management of the household (cf. the image of the ant in Prov 6:8, also feminine, and the image of the ideal wife in Prov 31:15). Fragment 29 i 6 in the same document mentions a tithe (מעשר). A small fragment of 4QInstruction^g refers to statutes, a lack (מחסור), an inheritance, the stretching forth of one's hand, and the phrase, "in the da[y]s of your h[arv]esting" (בימי ה[א]בוא[ת]כה; 12 1-3). Other terms related to agricultural wealth that appear without a context are "your field" (שרכה),¹⁷⁵ "you shall support the toil" (or "the produce of agriculture nourishes" היגיע [תכלכל]),¹⁷⁶ "and in all their produce" (ובכל צאצאיהם),¹⁷⁷ "[fa]ther in all

¹⁷² "Merchandise" (מסחור) is perhaps an error for or pun on "lack" (מחסור). Both words are used in close proximity in 4QInstruction^d 107 3-4. The term "merchandise" also occurs in 4QInstruction^d 122 i 5, 7 in a context which is otherwise difficult to reconstruct.

¹⁷³ The same biblical stipulation that is invoked to warrant this separation, Deut 22:10, is also used in the Damascus Document of the impropriety of giving one's daughter to one who is not prepared for her (4QD^f 3 1-10 par 4QD^d 9 1-3).

¹⁷⁴ For ancient equivalents, see Prov 11:7; 23:4-5; 27:23-24; Sir 5:8; 10:9-18; 11:18-19; 19:2-3; 31:1-7.

¹⁷⁵ 4QInstruction^d 19 4.

¹⁷⁶ 4QInstruction^d 46 2; cf. 1QS III 17.

¹⁷⁷ 4QInstruction^d 47 4.

...[...] in return for wages” (אָגַר בְּכֹל חֶלֶף מִשְׂכֹּר),¹⁷⁸ “offspring, produce” (צִמְצִימָא),¹⁷⁹ wealth (הוֹן),¹⁸⁰ and the promise “you will multiply” (חַרְבָּהּ).¹⁸¹ There is also a reference to a father’s mercy in 4QInstruction^ε 7 3 that is reminiscent of the description of the Examiner in CD XIII 9-10.

In summary, the advice to the farmer in Instruction presumes regular production of and commerce in agricultural goods, and so points to an audience participating in an open if somewhat redefined economy. At the same time, references to priest-farmers, the extension of priestly prerogatives to lay people, and the exhortation to farm within the framework of special wisdom consciously sets these farmers apart from others and so points to an identifiable, if not yet sectarian, community.¹⁸²

4.6 Conclusions

Instruction provides evidence of what are for the most part typical sapiential *topoi* relating to wealth. These include proper behavior within the socio-economic hierarchy, no matter what one’s fluctuating position, as well as standard advice on commercial transactions such as loans, surety, and marriage arrangements and on other matters relating to agricultural production. But Instruction manifests interesting anomalies when compared against the earlier sapiential traditions. First, both the work as a whole and the agricultural section are prefaced by meditations on the order of nature which contextualize the paraenetic material that follows. The cosmological introduction to the entire work sets the otherwise typical wisdom sayings in an eschatological-theological framework that presents God as the ultimate benefactor or master whom humans serve. Obedience to the divine commands affords the elect a privileged position in relation to God and guarantees them productive crops, although at other points in the document it seems that the divine secrets include the reasons why the elect are not always protected. The preface to the agricultural section takes a slightly different tack, in that it grounds the special status of the wise farmer in a peculiar exegesis of Genesis 1–3 that correlates the special knowledge of the elect not with Adam’s sin but with the pris-

¹⁷⁸ 4QInstruction^d 252 (*olim* 261) 1-2. The root אָגַר is uncommon in the Bible, and in the Qumran literature occurs only in 4QBéat 15 1, 4QInstruction^b 2 i 17 and here.

¹⁷⁹ 4QInstruction^d 264 1.

¹⁸⁰ 4QInstruction^ε 6 5, just after a reference that God is a righteous judge; see also 4QInstruction^ε 22 (*olim* frg. 23) 2: “shrewdness and riches” (עֲרִמָה וְהוֹן).

¹⁸¹ 4QInstruction^ε 13 1.

¹⁸² On the *Sitze im Leben* of these documents and their relation to the Qumran sectarians, see Elgvin, “Wisdom, Revelation and Eschatology,” 443-4; *idem*, “Admonition Texts from Qumran Cave 4,” in *Methods of Investigation of the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Khirbet Qumran Site: Present Realities and Future Prospects* (ed. M. O. Wise, N. Golb, Collins, and D. G. Pardee; ANYAS 722; New York: The New York Academy of Sciences, 1994) 137-52.

tine and productive garden in Genesis 2. The second anomaly is the integration of legal and eschatological material in a wisdom work, which is consistent with post-exilic developments in wisdom literature but also reflects a greater variety of scribal schools than heretofore imagined.¹⁸³ The popularity of Instruction at Qumran may help to explain how biblical terms like “wealth” (הון), known only from the wisdom corpus, became integrated with reflections on law and end-time ethics in the sectarian constitutional literature. A third anomaly is the coexistence in this work of prosaic advice derived from universal human experience with appeals to a special revelation as the ultimate tool for discernment. It is a well-known feature of sapiential literature that it rarely appeals even to accepted revelation (e.g., Torah, though see Sirach, Pss 1; 19; 119; Prov 1–9), let alone eschatological mysteries arguably of more recent vintage. As Collins argues, this feature points toward a sectarian milieu for Instruction,¹⁸⁴ although not yet the sect so clearly defined by the vocabulary of the *yahad*.

The appeal to special revelation is most clear in the repeated encouragement to reflect on the “mystery that is to come,” an eschatological meditation which provides an antidote to the frustrations of economic (and other) injustices in this world. The frequent references to divine “secrets” may also function as a way of explaining how the present world order can be at odds with the omnipotent master’s plan, although this term occurs in such fragmentary contexts that it is at present impossible to determine its meaning with confidence. The phrase, “the deficiencies of His secrets,” however, suggests that divine provision for human need was not always adequate or understood. In these cases, the maven was not to revel in his poverty as if this were the goal, for poverty as such is negatively evaluated and alienates a person from both others and God. Rather, the goal is restoration or redemption, and so the virtuous man is counseled to offer charity, the maven is advised not to shame the poor, all disciples are encouraged to avoid the slippery slope of debt, and a slave is counseled about how to behave so that his status can be more like that of a son than that of a slave. While redemption can be realized occasionally through human channels, the sages of Instruction await a complete judgment in the future, when God will weigh individuals on divine scales and redeem all whose worth is established. The depiction of this event is, however, shrouded in mystery; there is nothing like the detailed condemnation of the rich and description of their overturn that one finds relished, for example, by the authors of *1 Enoch* 94.6–104.13 and Luke 16:19–31.

¹⁸³ For the “canonical” status of the Writings in the Second Temple period, see also the Prologue of Sirach; 2 Macc 2:13; 4QMMT C 10; 11QPsalms^a XXVII 11 (“[David] composed [the songs] all through the spirit of prophecy which had been given to him from before the Most High”); Luke 24:44.

¹⁸⁴ “Wisdom Reconsidered, in Light of the Scrolls,” 276–80.

While Instruction utilizes the lexicon of economic terms employed in the sapiential tradition (מחסור, רש/ר'ש, אביון, רל, הון), its decided preference is for terms relating to lack and poverty. There are few sayings preserved on the dangers of wealth or the evils of unjust gain, a phenomenon all the more striking for its comparative prominence in the Damascus Document and the Rule of the Community.¹⁸⁵ Furthermore, certain issues and motifs regarding wealth that one might expect to find in Instruction are not present, such as the critique of sudden wealth, the proper behavior of a benefactor, advice against covetousness, and explicit advocacy for widows and orphans. At the same time, traditional sayings are altered to apply specifically to poverty.¹⁸⁶ Thus the command to honor one's father, mother and wife are specifically incumbent upon the poor man despite his low estate, priests are to pursue wisdom through the lowly manual crafts to which they are reduced, and the farmer's ideal is the easy productivity of the original garden versus the hard toil and meager yield of his actual farm. Certain remedy lies only in the future, although meditation on the mystery to come provides temporary relief. As in traditional wisdom literature, wealth is still respected, but it is no longer expected; individuals are exhorted to persevere on the path of wisdom even in reduced circumstances; and the cause of wealth is no longer human merit but rather mysterious divine dispensation. There is no polemic against oppressors as in the sectarian literature, but neither is there blame for poverty, insofar as the explanation for both abundance and want is "the mystery that is to come." Charity is encouraged, but so is the humility proper for one low in the socio-economic hierarchy. The advice reads as so many strategies for embracing wisdom in the absence of material benefit, a theological conundrum quite at odds with the easy theodicy of the act-consequence relation.

Elgvin has argued that the eschatological elements of Instruction are similar to both the *Enoch* corpus and to sectarian literature, and that on balance affinities with the latter are more pronounced.¹⁸⁷ In terms of language elsewhere characteristic of the sectarian community, Strugnell has reached a different conclusion: Instruction does not employ typical sectarian vocabulary, though much of its sapiential terminology is utilized in the sectarian literature. The treatment of wealth in Instruction does not shed a great deal of light on the question of its genetic relationship to the sectarian literature. Instruction lies close to traditional sapiential treatments of economic issues, although its emphasis on poverty, its designation of its audience as the "planting" that

¹⁸⁵ Cf. Prov 1:19; 10:2; 11:28; 13:28; 15:27; 18:11, 26; 20:17, 21; 23:4-5, 23-27; 28:11, 16 (Q), 22; 29:3; Sir 5:1-3, 8; *Sib. Or.* 2.56, 70-72, 100-102 (= Ps.-Phoc. 5, 35, 37-38), *I En.* 94.6-11; 96.4-8; 97.8; 98.3; 99.13, 15; 100.6; 102.9; 103.5-6, 9-15; 104.3.

¹⁸⁶ Collins, "Wisdom Reconsidered, in *Light of the Scrolls*," 272.

¹⁸⁷ "Wisdom, Revelation and Eschatology," 440-63.

knows the difference between good and evil, and its many references to the mystery to come all point in the direction of later sectarian literature.

A conclusion that can be drawn with greater confidence is that the work was popular at Qumran, and therefore its distinctiveness from sectarian theology and practice is perhaps in greater need of explanation. On the matter of wealth, Instruction presumes that the sages may be employed in a variety of occupations and economic strata, but especially as farmers; that they may move between these; and that they will be married and will therefore have to negotiate the financial network of obligations to wives, in-laws, children and kin. This world-view implies a relatively open economic and social organization somewhat at odds with the consensus view that the Qumran community was composed of celibate males exercising a closed economy. Two options are available to reconcile the evidence: one is to locate Instruction in a pre-sectarian context, the other is to reimagine the social and economic structure of the Qumran community as less centralized and somewhat more engaged in the surrounding world. Both options appear likely, given the absence of specifically sectarian vocabulary and yet acknowledging the popularity of the work at Qumran.

One feature of Instruction certainly corresponds to the sectarian treatment of wealth and distinguishes this work from other sapiential traditions. The text presumes an audience that regularly finds itself in difficult economic circumstances to which the pooling of resources, charity and in the last resort loans appear to be the only avenues of recourse. In these circumstances, the sages have one additional resource that sets them apart from others, namely the special knowledge of the elect which allows them the consolation of insight into the mystery to come.

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CHAPTER FIVE

WEALTH IN OTHER LITERATURE FROM QUMRAN

5.1 *Introduction*

In the study thus far, certain terms and practices associated with economics and commerce have been discovered in the core constitutional literature and in the sapiential work "Instruction." These elements have been analyzed in order to reconstitute not only the material referents but also the underlying rationales that contributed to and governed the altered economic outlook of the sectarian community. These rationales are articulated out of the scriptural tradition and toward an eschatological ideal, but they are also determined to some extent by socio-economic circumstances which impelled the community to separate from the larger society.

It is important now to broaden the scope to include the other literature discovered at Qumran. It will be of interest to determine whether the terms, practices and rationales adduced thus far are consistently represented in these other works, and to discern whether there are any significant differences between sectarian and non-sectarian texts in their treatment of economic matters.

5.2 *Wealth in the Sectarian Literary Texts*

In the fifty years since the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls in eleven caves near Wadi Qumran, the scholarly consensus has been that these eight hundred plus manuscripts were part of a sectarian library associated with the community that congregated in the nearby compound. As the scrolls have been published, it has become clear that not all the documents are sectarian, and this has raised questions about the association of the documents with the practices and ideology of a particular group (see §6.8 below).

Carol A. Newsom has developed several criteria by which to distinguish sectarian literature from non-sectarian.¹ She charts which documents were found in multiple copies, with particular attention to those found in more than one cave. She then analyzes these documents to determine whether their con-

¹ "'Sectually Explicit' Literature from Qumran," in *The Hebrew Bible and its Interpreters* (ed. W. H. Propp, B. Halpern, and D. N. Freedman; BJS 1; Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 1990) 167-87.

tent, idiom and style are similar to those of the Rule of the Community. The results of her analysis are charted in Table 11 for those documents which refer to wealth. The texts she examines have been subdivided further into generic categories, following for the most part the distinctions employed by Florentino García Martínez in his translation of the non-biblical Qumran literature.²

Table 11.
Differentiation of sectarian and non-sectarian Qumran documents based on criteria developed by C. Newsom

<i>Generic Category</i>	<i>Sectarian</i>	<i>Likely Sectarian</i>	<i>Non-Sectarian</i>
Rules	Rule of the Community Damascus Document		
Halakhic Texts	Tohorot		
Eschatological Texts	MMT		
Exegetical Texts	Pesharim		Temple Scroll
Parabiblical Texts			Enoch Jubilees
Poetic and Liturgical Texts	Hodayot Berakhot	Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice	Words of the Luminaries Festival Prayers
Sapiential Texts	Words of the Sage to the Sons of Dawn		Calendrical documents

Armin Lange has independently developed criteria which offer more specificity for Newsom's criteria of content and idiom.³ Lange expects that a sectarian or Qumranic document will utilize particular divine epithets (e.g., אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל, אֱלֹהִים, אֲדֹנָי, אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל), will exhibit a radical interpretation of the law such as we have seen with the treatment of wealth, will emphasize the community and its particular eschatological and dualistic views, and will critique the Temple.

In the present study, Newsom's distinctions will provide the basis for the differentiation of sectarian from non-sectarian works.⁴ Her criteria of stylistic

² *DSST*. The translations in this chapter are based on the critical editions, if available, and otherwise on García Martínez and E. J. C. Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition* (Leiden/New York: E. J. Brill, 1997–1998).

³ *Weisheit und Prädestination: Weisheitliche Ordnung und Prädestination im den Texten von Qumran* (STDJ 18; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1995).

⁴ Devorah Dimant has also addressed the issue of the distinguishing characteristics of sectarian literature in "Qumran Sectarian Literature," in *Jewish Writings of the Second Temple Period:*

and idiomatic similarity will allow us to treat many other works as sectarian and non-sectarian in addition to those few that appear in multiple copies. To anticipate the conclusions somewhat, one would assume that the sectarian works would have more to say about the subject of wealth than the non-sectarian works (with the possible exception of the sapiential texts), if, as we have demonstrated, wealth was one of the distinctive boundary markers of the community. Moreover, we would expect not only a quantitative affinity but also some contextual similarities between the issues, terminology, and rationales associated with wealth in the Damascus Document and the Rule of the Community and those that appear in the sectarian literature. In both the sectarian and non-sectarian portions of this chapter, the documents which mention wealth will be presented in the generic categories employed in Table 11.

5.2.1 *Miscellaneous Rules*

The first generic group of texts is the rule genre, a category affiliated with the Damascus Document and the Rule of the Community.⁵ Included in this group are documents appended to the Rule, namely the Rule of the Congregation (1QSa) and the Rule of Blessings (1QSb). The content of these appendices are more closely affiliated with eschatological literature and liturgical texts respectively, but are treated as part of the rule literature here because an ancient scribe considered them related. These addenda, particularly 1QSa, refer extensively to the disposition of wealth. Three additional rules, 4QMiscellaneous Rules, 4QLots, and 5QRule, will also be discussed.

The Rule of the Congregation or *Serek ha'Edah* was originally thought to have survived in only one manuscript, the Rule of the Community.⁶ Stephen Pfann has since published nine manuscripts written in Cryptic A script which he believes to be copies of the Rule of the Congregation, 4QSE^{a-i} (4Q249 a-i).⁷ These manuscripts, in Pfann's judgment, predate 1QSa (100–75 B.C.E.) by as much as one hundred years. Comparison against 1QSa reveals clear evidence of revision, particularly in the rules for the proper age of initiation.

Apocrypha, Pseudepigrapha, Qumran Sectarian Writings, Philo, Josephus (ed. M. E. Stone; CRINT 2.2; Assen/Philadelphia: Van Gorcum/Fortress, 1984) 483-550. It is her belief that the language itself can be a criterion, insofar as the sectarian texts are all written in Hebrew rather than Aramaic.

⁵ For a recent and comprehensive discussion of the genre, see S. Metso, "Constitutional Rules at Qumran," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Reassessment*, vol. 1 (ed. P. W. Flint and J. C. VanderKam; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1998) 186-210.

⁶ J. T. Milik, "28. Annexes à la Règle de la Communauté," and D. Barthélemy, "28a. Règle de la Congrégation (1QSa)," in *Qumrân Cave 1* (ed. Barthélemy and Milik; DJD 1; Oxford: Clarendon, 1955) 107-118, pls. XXII-XXIV.

⁷ *Qumran Cave 4.XXVI: Cryptic Texts and Miscellanea. Part 1* (ed. S. J. Pfann et al.; DJD 36; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000) 515-74, pls. XXXV-XXXVII.

1QSa (1Q28a) discusses the “rule of the congregation of Israel in the final days.” This may refer to a future gathering of the righteous or to the present community which understood itself to be living in the final days.⁸ The matter discussed in this passage which bears most on the present study is the division of responsibility by age.

At age twenty, one is “enrolled to enter the lot amongst his family to be united with (ליחד)⁹ the holy congregation” (I 8-9). This is a biblically-based injunction corresponding to the age at which a young man was enrolled in the census of Israel and obliged to pay the half-shekel ransom for his person and participate in military service (Exod 30:11-16; Num 1:1-3; 26:2-51). While 1QSa has no explicit reference to the half-shekel contribution, the age distinction is consistent with other passages that do associate wealth with that age.¹⁰ Of interest is the fact that two cryptic texts paralleling this passage are significantly shorter; 4QSE^d 1 4-5 lacks any material on the appropriate age of marriage, while in both 4QSE^d and 4QSE^e 1 i-2 4-6 the wife’s responsibility to testify is not mentioned. Pfann suggests that these cryptic texts were early recensions of the Rule because certain supralinear insertions in them are incorporated into the regular text of the 1QSa manuscript. If this is true, it may be explained if marriage was discouraged in the period when 4QSE^{d, e} were executed, or if women’s responsibility within the sect increased over time.

The responsibilities associated with ages twenty-five and thirty are also based on the Book of Numbers and may be related to wealth. At age twenty-five, the young man enters “to take his place among the foundations of the holy | congregation to perform the service of the congregation” (I 12-13); this corresponds to the age stipulated in Num 8:23-26 for the Levites’ service in the tent of meeting (עבודת אהל מועד). This Levitically-styled service in 1QSa may be related to the “service of the association” (עבודת החבר) in CD XIV 12-17, a passage which refers specifically to the redistribution of financial resources. Interestingly, the requirements of the twenty-five year old man are lacking from the parallel 4QSE^d 1 5-6, though they are present in 4QSE^e 1 i-2 7. In another passage in the Book of Numbers, thirty is the age at which Levitical service in the tent of meeting begins (Num 4); this appears to be reflected in 1QSa I 13-14, where the young man is allowed to arbitrate disputes and judgments after the age of thirty (*par* 4QSE^e 1 2-5; 4QSE^d 1 6). This type of “service” is frequently associated with wealth in the Damascus Document and in the Rule of the Community. The final stage is “when the years of a man increase,” at which point “they shall assign him a task in the service of

⁸ Annette Steudel understands references to the “final days” in the latter manner; see “הימים” אחרית in the Texts from Qumran,” *RevQ* 16 (1993-1994) 225-46.

⁹ The term is inserted supralinearly in 4QSE^e.

¹⁰ CD IX 23-X 1. CD XIV 8-9 indicates that twenty is also the youngest age at which one may become an Examiner over possessions.

the congregation matching his strength" (1QSa I 19). The service of the congregation is elsewhere understood to be related to the production and distribution of goods, and this is consistent with an understanding of "strength" as the productive capacity of a person which one owes to God, that is, the covenant fidelity rationale based on Deuteronomy 6:5 (see CD IX 11; XII 10; cf. 1QS I 11-12; III 2; CD XIII 11-12). Thus, while money is not explicitly mentioned at these stages in the Rule of the Congregation, the parallels with the Damascus Document and the Rule suggest a gradation of responsibility that is related but not limited to matters concerning wealth: at age twenty, one contributed; at age twenty-five, one helped "serve" or redistribute; at age thirty, one could help judge matters related to wealth; and at an advanced age, one's responsibilities to contribute and serve are pared down based on what one is able to produce.

In addition to the passages on age-related responsibilities in 1QSa, there are three other brief references that may bear on matters of wealth. First, there is the curious comment, "Depending on whether (he had) much or a little, one will be more or less honored than his fellow" (I 18); this may be a reference to one's material prosperity, or it may simply refer to one's inheritance in the lot of light.¹¹ Second, the "table of the community" refers to resources the community shares whenever ten or more are present (II 14-22).¹² This shared meal proleptically realizes the sacred eschatological banquet in the presence of the messiah, and perhaps serves as an alternative to the sacrificial meals in the Jerusalem Temple. Third, the sons of Zadok, who elsewhere in 1QS have authority over matters of wealth, are also envisioned as the leaders of the present and future community (I 2, 24; II 3).¹³

The rights and responsibilities of these sons of Zadok and of the prince of the congregation provide the most significant points of correlation to wealth in the other appendix to the Rule, 1QSB (1Q28b).¹⁴ In this collection of blessings, the sons of Zadok are to be blessed by the provision of ritual food: "As inheritance may he give you the first fruits of [all de]lights" (III 28; see also IV 3). The attribution of heavenly status to these leaders further authorizes them to render judgments about wealth, judgments they are particularly suited to make because this wealth is their chief source of income.¹⁵ Another author-

¹¹ The passage is not extant in any of the cryptic manuscripts, but is reconstructed on the basis of space in 4QSE^c 1 6.

¹² Par 4QSE^f 2 1-2; 3 1-2; 4QSE^g 3 3-4; 4QSE^h 2 1-3; 4QSEⁱ? 1 1-5.

¹³ I 2 and I 24 are not extant but are reconstructed on the basis of space in 4QSE^g 1-2 1-4 and 4QSE^c I ii 1-3, respectively.

¹⁴ Milik, "28. Annexes à la Règle de la Communauté" and "28b. Recueil des Bénédiction (1QSB)" (DJD 1) 107, 118-30, pls. XXV-XXIX; G. J. Brooke, "1Q28b. 1QSerekh ha-Yahad b (fragment)," in *Qumran Cave 4.XIX: Serekh ha Yahad and Two Related Texts* (DJD 26; Oxford: Clarendon, 1998) 227-33, pl. XXIV.

¹⁵ The fragmentary reference in III 19 to "all the wealth of the world" should perhaps be understood in this context.

ity in the community, the prince of the congregation, is also blessed in a manner suggestive of economic concerns. In a passage that invokes the messianic prophesy of Isaiah 11, the duties of this prince are enumerated (V 21-23):

And he will renew the covenant of the [Com]munity for him, to establish the kingdom of his people for eve[r, to judge the poor with justice,] † to reproach the [hu]mble of the earth with upri[gh]tness, † to walk in perfection before him on all his paths of [...] † to establish his covenant as holy [during] the anguish of those seeking [it.]¹⁶

These duties include a special concern for the plight of the poor in litigation, the proper correction of the humble of the earth (עָגוּרֵי אָרֶץ), and the firm maintenance of covenant regulations even while those seeking it are in anguish.¹⁷ The correction of the humble is consistent with the concern to discipline all community members on matters related to wealth, even when this means that the punishment is a reduction in food. Obedience to such disciplines was one measure of perfection in the Damascus Document and the Rule. But the connection between the covenant and wealth goes beyond discipline to the nature of the covenant itself. The walking in perfection which establishes the covenant (להקים בריתו) as holy is supposed to result in material blessing, at least in the Deuteronomistic theology which this passage echoes:

<p>ואמרת בלבבך כחי ועצמי ידי עשה לי את החיל הזה: וזכרת את יהוה אלהיך כי הוא הנתן לך כח לעשות חיל למען הקים את בריתו אשר נשבע לאבתך כיום הזה</p>	<p>Do not say to yourself, “My power and the might of my own hand have gotten me this wealth.” But remember the Lord your God, for it is he who gives you power to get wealth, so that he may confirm his covenant that he swore to your ancestors, as he is doing today. (Deut 8:17-18)</p>
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In this biblical passage, the confirmation of the covenant is wealth or material prosperity, and the Israelites are cautioned not to praise themselves for this blessing but to praise God. In the Rule of Blessings, the covenant is established or confirmed, but its adherents are suffering anguish rather than enjoying prosperity. It is precisely this discrepancy between the biblical promise and the experience of the community—in a word, the problem of theodicy—that provokes the new eschatological interpretation of the divine promise. The reference to “the anguish of those seeking [the covenant]” (בְּצָר לְדוֹרְשָׁיו) is thus most likely material anguish or reduced circumstances. It is reminiscent of those passages in both the Damascus Document and the Rule that require the Examiner carefully to scrutinize and to alleviate the novice’s financial obligations. Alternatively, the anguish could refer to the deprivation members experienced as a result of breaking commercial associations and fi-

¹⁶ The IQSb edition is supplemented at this point by the fragment published by Brooke in *DJD* 26.

¹⁷ The passage also appears to adapt a prophetic text alluded to often in the constitutional literature, namely Micah 6:8.

financial support networks with outsiders. The problem of theodicy in an unjust economy is also treated in Instruction; but whereas in Instruction it is resolved by meditating on eschatological redemption, the sectarian rules resolve it by creating economic institutions to redeem.

A third rule text, 4QMiscellaneous Rules (4Q265), combines the traditions found in the Damascus Document and the Rule.¹⁸ The primary points relating to wealth in this text are the use of bread rations as punishments for penal code violations (frg. 1 i),¹⁹ a gradual initiation into the council of the community which involves scrutiny by the Many and by the Examiner of the Many (frg. 1 ii 3-9), and the association of the community council with a pleasing fragrance and an atoning sacrifice (frg. 2 ii 7-10). This last metaphor demonstrates that the community understood itself as an alternative to the Temple. Furthermore, it suggests that the economy of the sacrificial system was understood to be operative within the community. These three points are consistent with the discussions of wealth in Chapters 2 and 3 above. Frg. 2 i 1-ii 6 discusses sabbath regulations, but there is nothing in it to recall the extensive discussion of work that one finds in the Damascus Document tradition.

A fourth rule text is 4QFour Lots (4Q279; *olim* 4QTohorot D).²⁰ The editors consider the text to have enough eschatological content to warrant designating the document a Messianic Rule. The critical fragment 5 speaks of the inscription of members in varying degrees, with priests/sons of Aaron receiving the first lot (line 4) and the fourth lot going to proselytes (line 6). The phrase used in fragment 5 for the casting of lots, *צא הגורל*, occurs elsewhere in biblical literature in the context of assigning land, property and priestly duties, and occurs in the sectarian rule literature in the context of discerning the law (1QS V 3), admitting new members (1QS VI 16-19), and assigning offices within the community (1QSa I 16-17; CD XIII 3-4). The related phrase "the lot shall fall" (*הפיל גורל*), is used of the eschatological judgment, in which each person receives reward or punishment (1QS IV 25-26; 1QM I 12-15). As Alexander and Vermes observe in their extensive note to fragment 5 line 4, the relationship of lots to eschatological rewards is based on the relationship of lots to the original distribution of the land in Joshua 18-19. The Exodus-Sinai-Conquest tradition once again is shown to be a source for the terminol-

¹⁸ *Olim* 4QSerek Damascus Rule; J. M. Baumgarten, "265. 4QMiscellaneous Rules," in *Qumran Cave 4.XXV: Halakhic Texts* (ed. Baumgarten et al.; DJD 35; Oxford: Clarendon, 1999) 57-78, pls. V-VIII. See also Baumgarten's earlier discussions of the text: "The Cave 4 Versions of the Qumran Penal Code," *JJS* 43 (1992) 268-76; "Scripture and Law in 4Q265," in *Orion* 1, 25-33; *idem*, "Purification after Childbirth and the Sacred Garden in 4Q265 and Jubilees," in *Paris*, 503-513.

¹⁹ Penalties for three crimes merit punishment of a (decreasing) number of days and half one's bread; the crimes are lacking except in one case, where it is something about "his fellow who is registered before him" (1 i 7).

²⁰ P. Alexander and G. Vermes, "279. 4QFour Lots" (*DJD* 26) 217-23, pl. XXIII. See especially the extensive note to frg. 5 line 4 on pp. 222-3.

ogy associated with the eschatological era and thus a source for the conceptual categories and practical procedures of the sectarian community.²¹

The final rule text to mention wealth is 5QRule (5Q13).²² It refers to treasures in the context of the praise of creation (frg. 1 1-12), which suggests the perspective that the produce of the earth is God's gift and should be returned to God in some type of sacrificial act. It may depend upon the correlation of creation, cosmology and eschatology one finds in Instruction. There is also a reference to standing before the Examiner and being declared unclean (frg. 4 1) which, while not treating wealth *per se*, nevertheless supports the portrait of the Examiner as the inquiring agent of the community. In addition, frg. 5 1 mentions a reward of some kind.

The rule texts are consistent with the evidence on wealth found in the Damascus Document and the Rule. They point to the same agents, the same regulations, and the same rationales, covenant fidelity and redefined wilderness sanctuary, as do the core constitutional documents.

5.2.2 Halakhic Literature

The special categorization of certain texts as "halakhic" is somewhat problematic. Many of the other categories of texts, such as rules, exegetical literature like the Temple Scroll and parabiblical literature like *Jubilees*, include legal material and thus defy neat attempts at classification. Some of the fragmentary laws may well belong to these larger and generically more complex documents. A second difficulty the term poses is its association with rabbinic discourse, which renders it somewhat anachronistic when applied to the earlier Qumran texts.

The chief texts in this category which discusses the matter of wealth are 4QMMT and 4QRebukes Reported by the Overseer. Smaller texts that mention wealth include Ordinances, Halakhah, and Tohorot.

5.2.2.1 MMT

Miqsat Ma'ase ha-Torah survives in six manuscripts from Cave 4 (4Q394–4Q399)²³ and possibly one cryptic manuscript from the same cave (4Q313).²⁴

²¹ The editors direct the reader to a similar employment of the Exodus-Sinai-Conquest tradition in Hebrews 3–4 and to W. D. Davies' discussion of that passage in *The Gospel and the Land* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974) 121.

²² Milik, "13. Une règle de la secte," in *Les "petites grottes" de Qumrân: Exploration de la falaise, Les grottes 2Q, 3Q, 5Q, 6Q, 7Q à 10Q, Le rouleau de cuivre* (ed. M. Baillet, Milik and R. de Vaux; DJDJ 3, 3a; Oxford: Clarendon, 1962) 181-3, pls. XXXIX–XL.

²³ E. Qimron and J. Strugnell, *Qumran Cave 4.V: Miqsat Ma'ase ha-Torah* (DJD 10; Oxford: Clarendon, 1994).

²⁴ Pfann, "313. 4QcryptA *Miqsat Ma'ase ha-Torah*?" (DJD 36) 697-9, pl. XLIV. Pfann dates this manuscript to 75–25 B.C.E.

The separate manuscripts range in paleographic date from 75 B.C.E.–50 C.E., with 4QMMT^b being the earliest manuscript and 4QMMT^{c, d, f} representing the latest. The original document must predate the first century B.C.E., since one must allow time for the manuscript to have circulated, gained authoritative status, and been copied. The editors have presented both the separate manuscripts and a composite text and translation. In the composite text, the letters “A,” “B,” and “C” are used to refer to the extant portions of the document (calendar, laws, and epilogue, respectively). References below will be to the composite text.

The editors of the six major manuscripts, Elisha Qimron and John Strugnell, have classified the contents of the document by dividing it into four sections: an opening formula (now completely lost); an exposition of a 364-day calendar; a section of polemically-formulated laws dealing with the cult and purity concerns; and an historical and hortatory epilogue which explains the separation of the sect and encourages the addressee to adopt its views.

The conciliatory tone of this exhortation led the earliest editors to the conclusion that the document is early, sectarian and polemical, but that it was composed before the full separation of the *yahad*.²⁵ Steven D. Fraade reads the irenic tone differently. He believes it to be the result not of an early stage of extramural debate but rather of the intramural and catechetical nature of the document.²⁶ This would explain the fact that the text was copied into the first century C.E., not as an historical relic but as a viable pedagogical instrument.

In this document, there are no specific references to the vocabulary of wealth found in the Damascus Document or the Rule (הוֹן, בַּצַּע, בְּלִאֲכָה). However, references to sacrifices and food do appear frequently in a cultic context. Moreover, the concern for purity in these matters is articulated in language which is used for wealth in the sectarian constitutions.

MMT encourages the recipient to avoid “the plans of evil and the counsel of Belial” (C 29). While the counsel of Belial is not explained, we might be tempted to wonder whether the author of MMT has the three nets of Belial in mind (CD IV 12-19), that is, defilement of the temple, sexual impropriety and wealth. In fact, the first two are clearly mentioned in MMT. Defilement of the sanctuary is the concern behind the exclusion of deformed people from the sanctuary and many of the other matters in MMT B. Sexual impropriety and its impact on participation in Temple rituals is discussed in several laws (B 40-49, 75-76; B 80–C 7), while sexual impropriety alone accounts for other legislation (note the shared use of the term “fornication” [זנות] in MMT B 9, 72, 85; C 5 and the Damascus Document).²⁷ Wealth appears also to be an is-

²⁵ Strugnell, *DJD* 10, 112-13, 121.

²⁶ “To Whom It May Concern: 4QMMT and Its Addressee(s),” *RevQ* 19 (2000) 507-526.

²⁷ Lev 7:15; 21:7, 13-16. For a discussion of fornication (זנות) in 4QMMT, see J. I. Kampen, “4QMMT and New Testament Studies,” in *Reading 4QMMT: New Perspectives on Qumran Law*

sue in regulations about *terumah* and other offerings. Note that, as with sexual impropriety, it is not general commercial law which is at issue but rather that particular commerce related to the cult. This is consistent with the observation in CD IV 12-19 that Belial's nets are intertwined.

The particular matters of cultic commerce introduced are the preservation of the offering's purity (B 3-9), the distribution of fourth-year fruits to the priests (B 62-63; see 4Q313 frg. 2 1-2; 4QD^e 2 ii 5-6; 4Q251 3 8); and the lengthy legislation about who is entitled to eat the sacred food (B 49-72; blind and deaf may, but lepers [with exceptions] and dogs may not; tithed fruit and livestock belong only to the priests).²⁸

In addition to legislation about cultic commerce, certain terms which will be used in the Damascus Document and the Rule for the prohibition of economic intercourse are used to describe the judgments of the author(s) (C 7-9):

[And you know that] we have separated ourselves from the multitude of the people (פרשנו מרוב העם) [and from all their impurity] | and from being mixed (ומלכודים) with these matters and from participating with [them] (ולא להערב) in these things. And you [know that no] treachery or deceit or evil can be found in our hand...

The separation from the multitude, the choice to avoid mixing and participating,²⁹ and the concern to avoid deceit were applied specifically to property in the Damascus Document and the Rule. In this context, however, the reference is cultic; there is nothing to suggest concern for profane commerce.

A further parallel with language related to wealth in the Damascus Document and the Rule is the exhortation to covenant fidelity couched in Deuteronomistic terms (C 12-16; cf. Deut 30:1-3):

And it is written | "and it shall come to pass, when | all these things [be]fall you," at the end of days, the blessings | and the curses, ["then you will take] it to hea[rt] and you will return unto Him with all your heart | and with all your soul," at the end [of time...]

In this passage, the reference to Deuteronomy 30 requires only that one return with "all one's heart and soul," whereas in the Damascus Document and the Rule the return includes one's strength and wealth in apparent dependence

and History (ed. Kampen and M. J. Bernstein; SBLSymS 2; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996) 135-8.

²⁸ A distinction is made in 4QMMT and 11QT^a XLVII 10-18 between the pure food of Israel, which may be consumed anywhere (טהרה), and the pure food of the sanctuary, which was brought to the Temple and kept in ritual purity (טהרה המקדש). On the unrestricted pure food, see 4QTohorot A 1 i 1-2; 2 ii 3 (4Q274).

²⁹ The root בוא, "to enter," is used elsewhere for entry into the congregation (באים בקהל, B 39-40), just as it is used in the Damascus Document and the Rule for entry into the community (באים היחד 1QS I 7, 16; II 12, 18, 25; V 7, 8, 13, 20; VI 14-15; VIII 21; X 10; CD II 2; III 10; IV 7; [V 1; VI 9,] 11, 12, 19; VIII 1, 21; XV 5, 16-17; IX 2-3; XII 6, 11; XIII 13-14), for the messiah's arrival (1QS IX 11; CD VII 19), and in the *hif'il* for the conveyance of wealth into the community (1QS I 11; III 2; CD XIII 14-15). See also §3.3.2.4 above.

upon the formulation in Deuteronomy 6:5. This is just one of several echoes of Deuteronomy in the letter (compare B 1 to Deut 1:1 and C 31-32 to Deut 6:24-25; 34:12).

One difference between 4QMMT and our central texts is that the wilderness sanctuary (tent of meeting, *אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד*) has been correlated to the Jerusalem Temple in the earlier 4QMMT, while the wilderness camp is Jerusalem and the settlements in Israel lie "outside the camp" (B 27-35 [par 4Q313 frg. 1 1], 59-62). In contrast, the Damascus Document and the Rule identify the wilderness camp or sanctuary with the community, whether at Qumran or in the camps, a congregation that has separated from the Temple.³⁰

If 4QMMT is an intramural catechism, as Fraade contends, it is interesting that the teachings it would inculcate in novices or would-be members do not include sectarian economic practices outside the cultic system, although this may be due to the state of preservation of the manuscripts. Alternatively, if Strugnell and others are correct in viewing the document as an early extramural polemic, then the absence of any regulation of profane commerce may simply reflect an earlier stage in the evolution of the sect characterized by a lesser degree of separation from society.

5.2.2.2 *4QRebukes Reported by the Overseer*

Specific reproaches against named individuals are preserved in 4QRebukes Reported by the Overseer (4Q477).³¹ This document was probably read publicly. As the editor Esther Eshel notes, the command to rebuke one's neighbor derives from Leviticus 19:17, just before the command in the following verse to love one's neighbor as oneself.³² The command is reiterated in the sectarian constitutional literature (CD IX 2-4; IQS V 24-VI 1). The simple rebuke by a neighbor could be a private affair between the two parties, but if the offense was a capital crime, it had to be brought to the attention of the Overseer or Examiner (*מִבְּקֵר*; CD IX 16-20) who would then register those transgressions (4QD^a 11 14-16). In fact, the failure to rebuke one's neighbor was punishable (IQS VII 8-9). Moreover, the rebuke of one who refuses to

³⁰ See Qimron, *DJD* 10, 142-3. For references to the "camps" of the holy ones of Israel and purity concerns, see 4Q274 1 i 6; 2 i 6 (both correlated to the defiling potential of "wealth" [food, clothes]). For "the camps of the Many," see 4Q477 1 i 3.

³¹ *Olim 4QRebukes of the Overseer; 4QDecreases*; E. Eshel, "477. Rebukes Reported by the Overseer" (*DJD* 36) 474-83, pl. XXXII. See also E. Eshel, "4Q477: The Rebukes by the Overseer," *JJS* 45 (1994) 111-22; C. Hempel, "Who Rebukes in 4Q477?" *RevQ* 16 (1995) 655-6; S. A. Reed, "Genre, Setting and Title of 4Q477," *JJS* 47 (1996) 147-8; B. Nitzan, "The Laws of Reproof in 4QBerakhot (4Q286-290) in Light of their Parallels in the Damascus Covenant and Other Texts from Qumran," in *Cambridge*, 149-65; L. H. Schiffman, *Sectarian Law in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Courts, Testimony, and the Penal Code* (BJS 33; Chico, California: Scholars Press, 1983) 89-109.

³² Cf. Sir 19:13-17[-19^{mss}]; *T. Gad* 6:1-5; Matt 18:15-17; 1 Cor 5:1-13; Gal 6:1-2; 1 Tim 5:19-22.

enter the covenant was a standard part of the annual covenant renewal ceremony (1QS II 19–III 12, especially II 25-26 *par* 5Q13 4 1). Since the laws of the community stipulate that wealth was scrutinized and controlled, we would expect individuals to be rebuked for violations regarding property.

While this manuscript is fragmentary, there are four reproofs that may be associated with wealth. First, a certain Yoḥanan is rebuked for his short temper (הוֹיָה קִצְר אַפִּים) and for his haughty spirit (רוּחַ פִּאֲרָה; 2 ii 3-5). While the particular perjorative term “haughty” is not used in the sectarian constitutional literature, other phrases for arrogance are, and these associate arrogance with wealth. In CD IV 17, the second net of Belial is arrogance (הִיָּן), and while most commentators emend to wealth (הוֹן), arrogance and wealth are paired throughout the exposition of the third net that follows (CD V 11–VI 21; see §2.3.2 above). Again, in CD VIII 5-9 (*par* XIX 17-21) and X 3, those who “let loose the haughty hand” are aligned with those who strive mightily for wealth and vicious gain. In 1QS XI 1-2, the haughty of spirit (רַמֵּי רוּחַ) are grouped with those who complain, bend the law, point the finger, speak evil and are keen on riches (הוֹן). Thus it is possible that Yoḥanan’s haughty spirit is manifest in economic transactions.

A second rebuke, this time against Ḥananiah Notos, also may concern wealth; we hear that he disturbed the spirit of the *yahad* (רוּחַ אֶת רוּחַ) [להעֲכִיר אֶת רוּחַ] through some kind of mixture (לַעֲרֹב), a term used for the commingling of property as well as other purity transgressions (2 ii 5-6).³³ The commingling of property was tightly controlled in the sectarian rules,³⁴ and while the particular verb is not used in the wealth passages of CD, a similar act of “agreeing with” (i.e., forming partnerships with) men on matters of wealth and service is restricted.³⁵ Moreover, the Damascus Document institutions “the abundance of the camp” (CD IX 11) and the “service of the association” (CD XIV 12-19 and parallels) presume that such mixture of property occurred. We should also understand that all of the verbs of separation from outsiders, so ubiquitous in the constitutional literature, function as antonyms to this kind of mixture.

A third rebuke against an individual whose name has been lost reproves him for loving his close kinsman and (therefore) not rebuking him (2 ii 7-8; אַהֲבָה אֶת שִׁיר בְּשִׁיר³⁶). The relative’s sin is not preserved, but the fact that the unnamed member’s sin is one of loving close kin could signal that the

³³ For the use of עֲרֹב in contexts of business associations or commercial exchange, see CD XI 4-5; 1QS VI 17, 21-22; VII 24-25; VIII 21-25; IX 8-9; 4QInstruction^d 103 ii 6; cf. 4QInstruction^a 8 2; 4QInstruction^b 2 ii 18 (*par* 4QInstruction^c 2 ii + 23 23); 4QInstruction^d 87 7; 88 3.

³⁴ 1QS VI 17, 22; VII 24-25; VIII 23; IX 8; 4QOrdinances^b 10 ii 2 (4Q513).

³⁵ CD XX 7, אֵל יֵאוּחַ; 4QD^a 11 14-16.

³⁶ J. M. Baumgarten reads שָׂדֵךְ, thus the phrase, “he loves his fleshly nature.” This too could have an economic referent if it implies economic decisions to consume more than the community thought appropriate.

member's love is expressed economically to begin with or that his hesitancy to rebuke is complicated by economic obligations.³⁷ For example, the sectarian may be tempted to support his kin financially when the proper response would be rebuke, or to refrain from rebuke in order to preserve his own economic advantages within the kinship network. Unfortunately, the text is too fragmentary to determine whether these interpretations apply.

The final rebuke may concern wealth as well. Ḥananiah son of Šimʿon is accused of "choosing the fair [neck]," a phrase based on Hosea 10:11 and found also in CD I 18-19. Eshel points out that the phrase is an idiom for "choosing the good life."³⁸ In CD, it is one of many easy paths of legal interpretation and juridical decision that fall short of the community's standard of perfection, a standard that included economic behavior.

In addition to the specific rebukes preserved in all their niggling detail, the epithet used for Ḥananiah is intriguing. It appears to be a transliterated Greek term, either νότος (inhabitant of the South) or νόθος (bastard). As Eshel notes, the use of Greek demonstrates that the community was not completely averse to Hellenistic culture despite their general avoidance of Gentiles and their opposition to the Hasmoneans. The use of epithets or patronyms is also evidence of the limited number of given names in use and perhaps the close-knit nature of the *yahad*. Finally, if Ḥananiah's epithet was indeed "bastard," it may correspond to Josephus' remark that the Essenes raised other men's children (*War* 2.8.2 [§120]). It is less surprising that such a person would be a member of the community, as Eshel thinks,³⁹ than that his new community of neighborly love would retain such a perjorative epithet.

5.2.2.3 Ordinances and Halakhot

Several other, smaller halakhic texts are represented in the Qumran library. Those that mention wealth include 4QOrdinances^{a, b}, 4QHalakhah A, 4QTohorot A, 4QCommunal Ceremony and 4QPolemical Text.

Three copies of a document designated "Ordinances" were found in Cave 4. Two of these, 4QOrdinances^a (4Q159) and 4QOrdinances^b (4Q513), mention commercial matters.⁴⁰ Chief among these is a reiteration of the legislation regarding the "money of the census" in Exodus 30:11-16 (4QOrd^a 1 ii 6-

³⁷ For illicit exchanges of goods or economic fraud, see 4QD^f 3 1-10; CD XIII 9-19 + 4QD^a 9 iii 1-10. See also Josephus, *War* 2.8.6 (§134).

³⁸ *DJD* 36, 481 note on lines 9-10.

³⁹ *DJD* 36, 482.

⁴⁰ 4QOrdinances^a (4Q159): J. M. Allegro, "159. Ordinances," in *Qumrân Cave 4.I (4Q158-4Q186)* (DJDJ 5; Oxford: Clarendon, 1968) 6-9, pl. II. For all of the following references to Allegro's editions, see Strugnell, "Notes en Marge du volume V des 'Discoveries in the Judaean Desert of Jordan,'" *RevQ* 7 (1969-1971) 163-276. A revised edition is being prepared by M. J. Bernstein and Brooke, with J. Høgenhavn (*Qumran Cave 4.I: 4Q158-186*, rev. ed. [DJD 5a]).

4QOrdinances^b (4Q513): Baillet, "Ordonnances (ii)," in *Qumrân grotte 4.III (4Q482-4Q520)* (ed. Baillet; DJD 7; Oxford: Clarendon, 1982) 287-95, pls. LXXII-LXXIII.

12; 4QOrd^b 1–2 i): the half-shekel amount is stipulated, its purpose for the “redemption” of the person once in his life is mentioned, the relative denominations of coins are explained, total figures for the collections are anticipated based on 600,000 enrolled, and the shekel of the Temple is designated as the standard. Another passage, this time preserved in 4QOrdinances^b 1–2 ii alone, associates food, pure food, and fornication in a manner reminiscent of the interconnected snares of Belial in CD IV 12-19:

...to let them touch the pure [ho]ly food, for [they are] unclean [] | ladies of sons of foreigners and all fornication which [] | he cho[se] for himself, to feed them with all the share of [] | and for [an]gelic food (?), and to atone {in them} /with them/ on I[srael]’s behalf [] | the fornication of their food, he bears the sin because he has defiled [] | they [] guilt, because they defiled ...

The text is so fragmentary that the context and meaning cannot be reconstructed. Nevertheless, the juxtaposition of references to sacred food (טהרת (הקין|רש)), unclean people, some beneficent feeding (“he cho[se] for himself, to feed them with all the share of...and for [an]gelic food [מלאכי]”), fornication, and particularly the unique construct phrase “the fornication of their food” (הזנות מאכליהם) suggest that these matters are connected in some conceptual way. We have seen above that the asset most frequently associated with wealth is one’s food; thus it appears that we have here a matter of food related to wealth, fornication, and the defilement of the sacred. We can easily imagine on the basis of CD IV 12-19 how wealth, fornication and holy food could be intertwined (see §2.3.2 above). In addition to these longer passages, there is also legislation about gleaning (4QOrd^a 1 ii 1-5) and some obscure procedures for the judgment of a Jew who has had to sell himself into servitude to a foreign family (4QOrd^a 2–4 1-3).

4QHalakah A (4Q251) discusses several commercial matters: torts involving monetary compensation for the loss of employment and the cost of medical treatment (1 1-2); the requirement to defer consumption of grain, wine and oil until a priest has waved first-fruits (2 2-6); stipulations about tithes of animals and the fourth-year-fruits tithes mentioned in other sectarian documents (3 1–4 2), and some stipulation for an owner who has no one to redeem him (5 5).⁴¹ In addition, there is a fragmentary judgment, “Any fraud used to commit fraud | [...] to eat, for it is an abomination” (5 3-4). This law may be related to laws against over-dedicating property to prevent the claims of the hungry;⁴² in any case, it appears to correlate an economic act

⁴¹ E. Larson, M. R. Lehmann, and Schiffman, “251. 4QHalakha A” (*DJD* 35) 25-52, pls. III-IV. See also J. M. Baumgarten, “4QHalakah” 5, the Law of *Ḥadash*, and the Pentecontad Calendar,” *JJS* 27 (1976) 36-46; reprinted in *Studies in Qumran Law* (SJLA 24; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1977) 131-42. Cf. CD XIV 12-19 and parallels.

⁴² CD XVI 13-20 *par* 4QD^f 4 ii 12-16 with 4QD^a 8 ii 1-7 *par* 4QD^e 6 iii 13-15.

with the purity language typical of the cult. Unlike 4QMMT and 4QOrdinances, this legislation is exclusively for the conduct of “secular” commerce (compensation for loss, redemption).

4QTohorot A (4Q274) mentions the defiling potential of food and clothing, once again illustrating the integration of religious classifications and economic matters (1 i 1-3, 5-6; 2 i 2-5, 7).⁴³ Furthermore, it frequently uses the language of “inside” and “outside” the camp (1 i 6; 2 i 6; cf. 4QMMT and the Damascus Document). There are also two fragmentary references of interest, one to a regulation for a man with insufficient means and one that refers to strength (מורד, read מארד) in the context of a reference to the season of the year.⁴⁴

The editors of 4QCommunal Ceremony (4Q275) consider it to be the remains of a rule which described the order of service for the annual festival for the renewal of the covenant.⁴⁵ Of interest in this regard is the directive that, before “[they shall pos]sess their inheritance”—namely celebrate the covenant renewal on Shavu‘ot or Pentecost, they shall enter a period of special discipline “until the [...] week” (והתיסרו עד השבוע, 2 1-2). The editors propose the reconstruction, “the seventh week,” since there were seven weeks from Pesaḥ to Shavu‘ot.⁴⁶ The sectarians are referred to in frg. 2 3 as “[me]n of truth and haters of violent gain” (אנשי אמת ושונאי בצע), indicating that economic choices are central to the identification of the sectarians in the language of the Damascus Document.⁴⁷ In addition, inheritance language is frequently used in a metaphorical sense for one’s participation in the community (1 2; 2 2) or for the inheritance of the community of God (3 5). In the latter passage, there is language reminiscent of the penal code judgments against

⁴³ *Olim 4QPurification Rules A*. J. M. Baumgarten, “274. Tohorot A” (*DJD* 35) 99-110, pl. VIII; *idem*, “The Laws about Fluxes in 4QTohora^a (4Q274),” in *Time to Prepare the Way in the Wilderness: Papers on the Qumran Scrolls by Fellows of the Institute of Advanced Studies in the Hebrew University, Jerusalem 1989-1990* (ed. Dimant and Schiffman; STDJ 16; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1995) 1-8; *idem*, “Scripture and Law in 4Q265,” in *Biblical Perspectives*, 25-33.

⁴⁴ 2 i 6-7: “And if in the camp there is a man whose means do not suffice (איש אשר לוא) (השניה ידו), [...] | [...] the clothing which it has not touched; only that he should not touch it, /to wit,/ his food. 3 ii 8-9: “If the [...] touches it [...] | on the field, with all its might (מורד?) with regard to the season [of the year].”

⁴⁵ *Olim 4QTohorot B*^a. P. S. Alexander and G. Vermes, “275. 4QCommunal Ceremony” (*DJD* 26) 209-216, pl. XXII; discussion of genre 210-11.

⁴⁶ The argument that the annual covenant renewal ceremony occurred on Shavu‘ot is based on the association of that festival with covenants in the *Jubilees* tradition and, more importantly, with the stipulation in 4QDamascus Document^a 11 16-18 that the inhabitants of the camps gather in the third month to curse those who have turned away from the law (*par* 4QD^c 7 ii 11-12). See VanderKam, “The Festival of Weeks and the Story of Pentecost in Acts 2” (forthcoming); J. M. Baumgarten, “4QHalakah^a 5, the Law of *Ḥadash*, and the Pentecontad Calendar,” *JJS* 27 (1976) 36-46; reprinted in *Studies in Qumran Law* (SJLA 24; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1977) 131-42; B. Noack, “The Day of Pentecost in Jubilees, Qumran, and Acts,” *ASTI* 1 (1962) 73-95.

⁴⁷ Cf. 11QT^a LVII 8-9.

those who have shared their property with outsiders (the Examiner's act of curse,⁴⁸ disavowal from inheritance, destructive visitation⁴⁹).

A dispute with outsiders is preserved in the next document, 4QPolemical Text (4Q471a, *olim* 4Q471 [War Scroll] frg. 6).⁵⁰ The author accuses his enemies of violating the covenant yet considering themselves to be God's faithful warriors: "[You] said, 'We shall fight his battles because he redeemed us'" (כִּי־אֵלֹהִים, 1 3). The author further charges, "You seek righteous judgment and service, [but] you are arrogant" (תִּתְנַשְׂאוּ, 1 5-6). The editors consider these opponents to have been Hasmoneans. Whoever the historical referent, the text makes clear that this group labeled their success an act of divine redemption, and used that claim to warrant their authority. This polemical charge helps to explain why the problem of theodicy might be so acute in Instruction and the sectarian literature; it is because the opponents are framing their victory in terms of divine sanction. The correlation of the economic metaphor of redemption and military success is also known from coins and literature of the Bar Kokhba Revolt (see §7.4 below). The judgment of arrogance recalls the correlation of arrogance (הִקִּי) and wealth (הֵקִי) in CD IV 17.

5.2.2.4 Conclusions

The sectarian halakhic material was found to be consistent with the language of the Damascus Document and the Rule. Several of the documents demonstrate a particular interest in commercial laws related to cultic matters (*terumah*, distribution of sacred food, census money), while a few scattered laws appear to deal with "secular" commerce (fraud, compensation for loss, redemption). In addition, sectarian law is presumed in 4QRebukes Reported by the Overseer; individuals would not be singled out for being arrogant, vain and unwise in their business and family relationships unless they had committed themselves to a group that scrutinized these actions by an agreed-upon standard. Incidental details in the halakhic texts echo motifs from the core documents—separation from transgressors, fidelity to the Deuteronomic covenant, inheritance language, Belial. One new phrase is the "fornication of food," which links two of Belial's nets more explicitly than the Damascus Document does. Furthermore, 4QPolemical Text indicates the root of the

⁴⁸ The curse is pronounced by the Levites in 1QS II 4-9; cf. 4QS^b II 12–III 3; 4QS^c II 1-6; 5Q 11 i 1-5.

⁴⁹ Cf. 4QD^a 11 14-16: "(Thereupon) the one being expelled shall go away. And the one who eats from their wealth, or who inquires about his welfare of the one being expelled, or who agrees with him, I shall have his action inscribed by the Examiner permanently, and his judgment will be complete."

⁵⁰ E. Eshel and Kister, "471a. 4QPolemical Text" (*DJD* 36) 446-9, pl. XXXI. See also the earlier publications related to this fragment: E. Eshel and H. Eshel, "4Q471 Fragment 1 and *Ma'amadot* in the War Scroll," in *Madrid*, 2.611-20 and pl. 23 on p. 681; E. Eshel and Kister, "A Polemical Qumran Fragment," *JJS* 43 (1992) 277-81.

problem of theodicy that permeates the wealth texts—that the community's opponents practiced arrogance but claimed that their success manifested divine blessing. The documents also demonstrate that religious and economic laws, while not identical, were nevertheless thoroughly intertwined.

5.2.3 Literature with Eschatological Content

While many of the scrolls, particularly the sectarian ones, have eschatological motifs and sections, this category of literature is reserved for those documents which are almost exclusively about the approaching end. Two of these texts mention wealth: in the War Scroll, wealth is an attribute of Belial and his cohort, while God is on the side of the poor; in the Description of the New Jerusalem, the distribution of bread to the priests is mentioned. Other eschatological texts mention Belial in contexts reminiscent of CD IV 12-19.

5.2.3.1 The War Scroll and Related Texts

Caves 1 and 4 at Qumran yielded seven manuscripts of the War Scroll.⁵¹ In addition, five other manuscripts from Caves 4 and 11 appear to be related.⁵² Some parts of the document are apparently derived from pre-Maccabean and Maccabean sources, while the material in columns XV–XIX on the final war between the sons of light and the sons of darkness and the additional material found in 4Q285 and 11Q14 appear to be more sectarian.⁵³

The most significant matter related to wealth in the War Scroll is the association of Belial with an empire, with wealth and with arrogance (XIV 9-

⁵¹ IQM (with 1Q33): E. L. Sukenik, *DSSHU*, 1-19, pls. 16-34, 47; and Milik, "La guerre des fils de lumière contre les fils de ténèbres" (IQM)" (*DJD* 1) 135-6, pl. XXXI. 4Q491-4Q496: Baillet, "II. La Guerre des Fils de Lumière contre les Fils de Ténèbres" (*DJD* 7) 12-72, pls. V-VIII, X, XII, XIV, XVI, XVIII, XXIV, and XXVI.

⁵² 4Q285: P. S. Alexander and G. Vermes, "285. 4QSefer ha-Milhamah" (*DJD* 36) 228-46, pls. XII-XIII; Vermes, "The Oxford Forum for Qumran Research Seminar of the Rule of War from Cave 4 (4Q285)," *JJS* 43 (1992) 85-90. 4Q471: E. Eshel and H. Eshel, "471. 4QWar Scroll-like Text B" (*DJD* 36) 439-45, pl. XXX. 4Q497: Baillet, "497. Texte ayant quelque rapport avec la Règle de la Guerre (?)" (*DJD* 7) 69-72, pl. XXVI. 4Q529: Puech, "529. Paroles de Michel ar," in *Qumran Cave 4.XXII: Textes araméens, première partie: 4Q529-549* (*DJD* 31; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2001) 1-8, pl. I (I have been unable to consult the edition). 11Q14: García Martínez, Tigchelaar, and A. S. van der Woude, "14. 11QSefer ha-Milhamah," in *Qumran Cave 11.II: 11Q2-18, 11Q20-31* (*DJD* 23; Oxford: Clarendon, 1998) 243-51, pl. XXVIII. See also W. J. Lyons, "Clarifications Concerning 4Q285 and 11Q14 Arising from Discoveries in the Judean Desert 23," *DSD* 6 (1999) 37-43.

⁵³ J. J. Collins, "The Mythology of Holy War in Daniel and the Qumran War Scroll: A Point of Transition in Jewish Apocalyptic," *VT* 25 (1975) 596-612; *idem*, "Dualism and Eschatology in IQM. A Reply to P. R. Davies," *VT* 29 (1979) 212-16. Davies would date the document rather late (IQM, *the War Scroll from Qumran: Its Structure and History* [BibOr 32; Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1977]); P. W. Skehan argues that paleographical considerations preclude a date late in the first century B.C.E. ("Review, Philip R. Davies, *IQM, the War Scroll from Qumran: Its Structure and History* [BibOr 32; Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1977]," *CBQ* 40 [1978] 602-603).

11).⁵⁴ A corollary to this association is that the sons of light identify themselves as “the poor.” The relationship of Belial to wealth and to his poor victims is perhaps clearest in XIII 10-14:

You I made Belial for the pit, angel of enmity; in dark[ness] is his [dom]ain, his counsel is to bring about wickedness and guilt. All the spirits I of his lot are angels of destruction, they walk in the laws of darkness; towards it goes their only [de]sire. We, instead, in the lot of your truth, rejoice in I your mighty hand, we exult in your salvation, we revel in [your] aid [and in] your peace. Who is like you in strength, God of Israel, I whose mighty hand is with the poor?

The association of Belial with the pit (שחת) and the correlation of God with beneficent strength (כוח) and might (גבור) are suggestive of economic referents. The metaphor of the final war allows the image of spoils to function as an antidote for present deprivation; this too suggests that the present deprivation is economic:

We will [treat] kings with contempt, with jeers I and mockery the heroes, for the Lord is holy and the King of glory is with us the nation of his holy ones are [our] he[roes, and] the army of his angels is enlisted with us; I the war hero is in our congregation; the army of his spirits is with our steps. Our horsemen are [like] clouds and fogs of dew that cover the earth, I like torrential rain that sheds justice on all its sprouts. Get up, Hero, take your prisoners, Man of Glory, I collect your spoil, Performer of Valiance! ... Fill your land with glory and your inheritance with blessing: may herds of flocks in your fields, /silver,/ gold, and precious stones I in your palaces! ... Open I your gate[s] continuously so that the wealth of the nations can be brought to you! (XII 7-10, 12-14)⁵⁵

The hoped-for restoration of fortune includes plenty of food during the year of remission or release: we hear that the chiefs of divisions with their enlisted men (פקידים) will conduct sacrifice for God’s approval “to atone for all his congregation and in order to satisfy themselves (להרשן) in perpetuity before him I at the table of glory,” and that they will make these arrangements in the sabbatical years (II 5-9). Furthermore, the day of calamity is envisioned as a time of eternal redemption for those who are poor now (I 12; XIV 4-5).

Why would these images of food and spoils be repeated so often? Are they merely metaphors for the undetermined oppression the community perceives itself to experience at the hands of an unnamed foe? Or are they suggested to the author by the very nature of the oppression that the community actually experiences? In support of this last possibility, it is interesting that the spears and swords of God’s army bear images of ears of wheat (V 8-12); it is with these that the battalions will “fell the dead by the judgment of God and ... humiliate the enemy line I by God’s might (גבורת אל), to pay the reward

⁵⁴ For references to the community’s enemies as the army or lot of Belial, see I 1, 5, 13, 15; IV 1-2; X 8; XIII 1-2, 4; XV 2-3; XVIII 1, 3.

⁵⁵ X 1-2, 12; XIX 1-6; see also XI 13.

of their evil (לשלם גמול רעחם) towards every people of futility" (VI 5-6). Perhaps the weapons bear these images because the seizure of grain through taxes and levies was one mode of oppression exercised by the "army of Belial." The motif of recompense for evil further supports the sense that unjust distribution of food feeds the hope for revenge.

Another interesting feature of the War Scroll is that the ages for various roles in the war are equivalent to those found elsewhere in the Damascus Document and the Rule for participation in the responsibilities of the community. We hear of supervisors (40-50 years old [VIII 1]; three from among the Levites [VIII 14]); and of those aged 25-30 who are responsible to "despoil the fallen and [to] pillage the loot (שלל) and [to] cleanse the earth and [to] protect the weapons | and [to] prepare the supplies" (VII 2-3); these are the same age-divisions given in other documents for certain responsibilities related to wealth (see the discussion of IQSa in §5.2.1 above). This demonstrates that the imagery of the eschatological battle depends at least upon the accounts of the wilderness encampments and organizations in Exodus-Numbers (VIII 6-7), if not on the community's own identification as that ideal wilderness community. The author even envisions the final victory as that of "the exiled sons of light (who will) return from the desert of the peoples to camp in the desert of Jerusalem" (I 3).

The governing military metaphor in the War Scroll is new, but the elements associated with the final battle are the same as those discovered in the other documents: the group is currently impoverished to someone else's benefit; the group will be redeemed at the expense of their oppressors; all are registered in heaven; and God, along with the Prince of the Congregation or Branch of David, is the (economic) agent of this community's redemption.⁵⁶

Practical concerns related to wealth and food that emerge in the War Scroll also appear in 4Q285 8 4-12 (*par* 11Q14 1 ii 7-15). This passage builds on the blessings promised in Deuteronomy 11:13-15 and Numbers 6:24-25, but transfers these past promises to the period of future eschatological victory:⁵⁷

[May] the Mo[st High] God [bless] you. [May he cause his face to shine upon you and may he open] | [for you his] good [treasury whi]ch is in heaven [Deut 28:12] to [bring down upon your land showers of blessing,] | [dew and] rain the ea[rly ra]in and the late ra[fin] in its time [Ezek 34:26], and to give [you the fruit of the produce of grain] | [wine and o]il in plenty [Joel 2:18-27]. And [may]

⁵⁶ The two titles are used of one person whose role is to try to convict the king of the Kittim at the conclusion of battle and to dispose of the corpses of the Kittim (4Q285 frg. 7; Alexander and Vermes, *DJD* 36, 238-41). See also Isa 11:1-5 + 4QpIsa^a 8-10 11-24 [4Q161]; 2 *Bar.* 40.1-2. For the Prince of the Congregation as eschatological commander, see IQM V 1; CD VII 20; IQSb V 20.

⁵⁷ On this victory, see W. J. Lyons, "Possessing the Land: The Qumran Sect and the Eschatological Victory," *DSD* 3 (1996) 130-51. See also 4QWords of Michael ar (4Q529), where the text refers to silver and gold (line 15; Puech, *DJD* 31, 1-8, pl. I); unfortunately, the fragment is poorly preserved.

the land [produce for you delightful fruits. And may you eat] | [and may you] [grow fat.] And may there be no-one miscarrying [in your] | [and, nor [sickness (Exod 23:25-26).] May [blight and mildew] | not be seen in produ[ce (Deut 28:22). May there be n]o affliction, [or stumbling in your congregation, for wild beasts have ceased] | from the land. And may there be no pestil[ence in yo]ur [land.] For God is wi[th you and the angels of his holiness are standing in your congregation, and the name] | of his holiness has been proclaimed ov[er you...] for a [com]munity.

The victory over the Kittim will be followed by a period of peace, a palingenesis that restores the victorious to a life of Edenic ease. Heaven will become the treasury that pours forth riches of rain and dew, the land will thereby yield its own riches, and because of a now adequate diet people will grow fat and avoid miscarriage, illness and affliction. The term “treasure” is of course an economic metaphor, but the blessings yielded by the treasure are very real commodities upon which the people depended in order to survive. The health of the land and of individuals’ bodies will be matched by the health of the social body, the congregation itself, with the promise that there will be no stumbling in the community that has remained faithful to the covenant.

The victory over the Kittim and the return to idyllic existence which most likely closed the War Scroll included one other reference to wealth.⁵⁸ In 4Q285 10 3, the familiar pair “wealth and vicious gain” (הַרְוֵן וְרִבְצֵט) appears in a context which suggests the final despoiling of the slain⁵⁹ or perhaps simply the principles of the community reaffirmed in victory.⁶⁰ The context, while broken, seems to confirm that only those who have forsaken wealth and vicious gain are fit to be part of the congregation, and later refers to their membership as a “return” following a repentance from sin. We may presume that wealth provides an occasion of sin from which the member is to turn.

Another manuscript, 4QWar Scroll-like Text B (4Q471), is so similar to the War Scroll that the editors believe it to be an early recension of the document.⁶¹ Both documents mention the Temple service, the selection of soldiers, and the war fought by the divisions. The differences between the documents, and the reason why they bear mention in this study, lie in the description of the daily Temple service. The earlier 4Q471 frg. 1 mentions only that twenty six courses (מַשְׁבְּרוֹת) of twelve chief priests and twelve Levites will attend, while the later 1QM col. II adds a high priest and his deputy as well as “the chiefs of the tribes and the fathers of the congregation” (line 3). Davies believed the addition of the high priest, who otherwise has no role in the War Scroll, suggests that 1QM is a later recension.⁶² Esther Eshel and Hanan

⁵⁸ Milik, Alexander and Vermes believed that 4Q285 represents the end of the War Scroll.

⁵⁹ Nitzan, “Benedictions and Instructions for the Eschatological Community (11QBer; 4Q285),” *RevQ* 16 (1993) 83.

⁶⁰ Alexander and Vermes, *DJD* 36, 246.

⁶¹ Eshel and Eshel, “471. 4QWar Scroll-like Text B” (*DJD* 36) 444.

⁶² *1QM: The War Scroll from Qumran*, 27.

Eshel note that 4Q471 can only accommodate the courses of priests and not the additional lay chiefs and fathers, thus indicating that 1QM added not only a high priest but also the laymen to a simpler tradition.

Of greater interest for the present study is the comparison the Eshels make between these texts and rabbinic literature. They believe that the service of Levites, chiefs of tribes, elders and laymen described in 1QM II 3-6 and 4Q471 is paralleled by a description of the *ma'amadot* in the Mishnah, where the incorporation of laymen is due to a dispute about how the daily Temple service was to be financed. The inclusion of representative laymen and the financing of the *tamid* or daily sacrifice from the public treasury both function in the rabbinic view to solve the problem of how a man can be present for all sacrifices conducted in his name. Since the daily sacrifice was performed on behalf of all Israel, and since all Israel could not physically be present at the Temple every day, the representative laymen and the public financing of the sacrifice allowed the entire community a symbolic presence. The Sadducees, in contrast, thought the *tamid* should be financed by private individuals.⁶³ In the Eshels' view, 1QM II reflects a later development that advocated lay involvement in the *tamid* and lay financing of it through the half-shekel donation to the Temple.

A challenge to this conclusion may be posed from 4QOrdinances^a 1 ii 6-7 (4Q159), which indicates that the sectarians only paid the Temple tax once in their lifetime and not every year as the Temple authorities stipulated. They thus seem to have been opposed to the great burden of an annual tax, rather than eager to embrace it to promote lay involvement. This difficulty is resolved if we consider the *ma'amadot* of 1QM to refer not to the Jerusalem Temple ritual, as it did for the rabbis, but to the activity of the sectarian community. The discovery of a hoard of 561 coins in Period Ib Locus 120 at Qumran, in denominations identical to those used for the Temple tax, indicate that this community collected the levy, perhaps for itself (see §6.3 below; cf. CD XIV 16). This possibility is supported by the community's arrogation of other Temple prerogatives such as atonement and sacrifice. As we have seen, authority over matters of wealth was variously given to the Many, to priestly leaders, and to designated agents of the community in the Rule, suggesting shifts that correspond to the shift between priestly and lay leadership in 4Q471 and 1QM. Thus, if the *ma'amadot* were expanded to include lay leaders at a point in the sect's history, it developed in opposition to rather than in support of the Jerusalem Temple, and perhaps also in response to political pressures internal to the community.

⁶³ On the representative participation of the laity, see *m. Ta'an.* 4:2; *y. Ta'an.* 4:2; *y. Pesahim* 4.1 p. 30:2. On the financing of the *tamid*, see *b. Menahot* 65a and the Scholion to the beginning of *Megillat Ta'anit*; *Sipre Num.* 42; *Sipre Zutta* Num 28:2.

A final passage from 4QWar Scroll-like Text B speaks of the opposing army as “[sl]aves of darkness” (עַבְדֵי הַחֹשֶׁךְ), substituting an economic metaphor for the more customary “sons of darkness.”⁶⁴ The editors believe this text bears a resemblance to 4QBerakhot^a 7a ii (4Q286), because in both texts the sons or slaves of darkness violate God’s statutes, are part of the lot of guiltiness or darkness, and are punished.⁶⁵

The War Scroll manuscripts and related texts reinforce the thesis that real economic deprivation and rival theodicies that justified economic oppression and religious persecution lie behind the sectarian economic critique and practice. This community maintains the belief in divine justice, but because it is afflicted in the present must postpone its redemption to an eschatological reversal in the future. 4Q471 attests to diachronic developments of the authority structure in the authorial community similar to the Rule. On analogy to the Temple, lay leadership of the community may have been related to the amount of resources necessary for the maintenance of the community.

5.2.3.2 Other Eschatological Texts

Three other eschatological texts mention matters that may relate to wealth. The Aramaic composition, “New Jerusalem,” is attested by six manuscripts from five Qumran caves.⁶⁶ It refers frequently to a sacrificial meal in the future restored city and to the division of bread among priests (11Q18 frgs. 1–17 only), and imagines the city to be adorned with precious and costly materials.

Belial is associated with his customary traps and schemes in 4QFlorilegium 1–3 i 7-9 (4Q174) and in 4QTestimonia 23-25 (4Q175).⁶⁷ Testimonia further associates Belial with violence: “And now an accursed /man/, one of Belial | will arise to be a [fo]wler’s tr[ap] for his people and ruin for all his neighbors. And | [...] will arise [to b]e the two instruments of violence.” The association of Belial with snares and violence is similar to the assertion in CD that one of Belial’s nets is wealth acquired by violence. 4QFlorilegium

⁶⁴ While the power of darkness over people is mentioned frequently in the New Testament, the metaphor of enslavement to darkness is only used in reference to the fallen angels of Genesis 6:1-4/1 En. 14; see Jude 6, 13; 2 Pet 2:4; Mark 5:1-20 par Matt 8:28-34 par Luke 8:26-39.

⁶⁵ Nitzan, “286. 4QBerakhot^a,” in *Qumran Cave 4.VI: Poetical and Liturgical Texts, Part 1* (ed. E. Eshel et al.; DJD 11; Oxford: Clarendon, 1997) 7-48, pls. I-IV.

⁶⁶ 1Q32: Milik, “Description de la Jérusalem Nouvelle (?)” (*DJD* 1) 134-5, pl. XXXI. 2Q24: Baillet, “Description de la Jérusalem Nouvelle” (*DJDJ* 3) 84-9, pl. XVI. 4Q554-555: J. Starcky, “Jérusalem et les manuscrits de la mer Morte,” *Le Monde de la Bible* 1 (1977) 38-40. 5Q15: Milik, “15. Description de la Jérusalem Nouvelle” (*DJDJ* 3) 184-93, pls. XL-XLI. 11Q18: García Martínez, Tigchelaar, and van der Woude, “18. 11QNew Jerusalem ar” (*DJD* 23) 305-55, pls. XXXV-XL, LIII.

⁶⁷ Allegro, “174. Florilegium” and “175. Testimonia” (*DJDJ* 5) 53-60, pls. XIX-XXI. See also G. J. Brooke, *Exegesis at Qumran: 4QFlorilegium in Its Jewish Context* (JSOTSup 29; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1985), and D. Dimant, “4QFlorilegium and the Idea of the Community as Temple,” in *Hellenica et Judaica: Hommage à Valentin Nikiprowetzky* (ed. A. Caquot, M. Hadas-Lebel and J. Riaud; Leuven: Peeters, 1986) 165-89.

also shares with the constitutional literature the teaching that, until the Temple is restored in the future, the disciplines of the community serve as alternative sacrifices because the community is the effective Temple of Israel (1 i + 21 + 2 1-7):

["Not] [will] an enemy [strike him any]more" [Ps 89:23], ["nor will] a son of iniquity [afflict] him [aga]in as in the past. From the day on which | [I appointed judges over my] people, Israel" [2 Sam 7:10]. This (refers to) the house which [he will establish] for [him] in the last days, as is written in the book of | [Moses: "The temple of] YHWH your hands will est[a]blish. YHWH shall reign for ever and ever" [Exod 15:17-18]. This (refers to) the house into which shall not enter | [...for]ever either an Ammonite, or a Moabite, or a bastard, or a foreigner, or a proselyte, never, because his holy ones are there. | "Y[HW]H [shall reign] for ever." He will appear over it for ever; foreigners shall not again lay it waste as they laid waste, in the past, | the tem[ple of I]srael on account of their sins. And he commanded to build for himself a temple of man, to offer him in it, | before him, the works of thanksgiving.

The eschatological Temple will no longer be the edifice in Jerusalem, but rather a "temple of man" in which the person will bring as his offerings the works of thanksgiving (מעשי תודה). These may be contributions of crops, livestock, or money, or obedience to the judgments of the community in these matters. This revised system of contribution and thanksgiving is further suggested in the following passage, when this new temple community is envisioned as an enclave protected from the rapaciousness of the sons of Belial:

And as for what he said to David: "I [shall obtain] for you [rest] from all your enemies" [2 Sam 7:11]: (it refers to this,) that he will obtain for them rest from a[ll] | the sons of Belial, those who make them fall, to destroy th[em on account of] their [sins,] when they come with the plan of [B]el[i]al to make the s[ons of] | lig[ht] fall, and to plot against them wicked plans so th[at] they [are] trapped by Belial because of their gui[l]ty error. *Blank* (1 i + 21 + 2 7-10)

The language of the traps set for the sons of light by their enemies corresponds to the language of snares in the Damascus Document. In CD IV, the nets of Belial are fornication, arrogance/wealth, and the defilement of the Temple, so it is well within the range of expected meanings for the traps in Florilegium to include economic snares. The interpretation of 2 Samuel 7:11 indicates that the establishment of the new sanctuary (i.e., the community) provided rest for the sons of light, which would be consistent with the thesis that the community provided material relief to its members, both by both aid at entry (CD XIII 9-10; §2.3.3 above) and through its efforts to share goods.

The work titled 4QCatena^a (4Q177) has been classified as an exegetical work, but Annette Steudel has argued that it should be viewed as part of 4QFlorilegium and therefore classified as an eschatological midrash.⁶⁸ In I 1-

⁶⁸ Allegro, "177. Catena (A)" (*DJDJ* 5) 67-74, pls. XXIV-XXV; A. Steudel, *Der Midrasch zur Eschatologie aus der Qumrangemeinde (4QMidrEschat^{a-b})* (STDJ 13; Leiden: E. J. Brill,

9, we hear of braggarts who attack the men of the community during an ordeal which appears to be a famine; they are characterized in terms of Isaiah 32:7 as those who hatch plots to destroy the poor with cunning words. The enemies of the community are characterized as the men of Belial (II 4; III 8, 10; IV 9-16; V 5, 10), and from the power of Belial the angel of truth will rescue all the sons of light (IV 12).⁶⁹ The reference to “cunning words” that destroy the poor is suggestive of a forensic context, but the abuse of the court system could be an extension of economic oppression.

Another text which García Martínez classifies as eschatological is 4QMen of the People Who Err (4Q306).⁷⁰ This text is interesting because it refers to the earliest adherents of the covenant as those who “sought the Torah and the co[m]mandment... with all their heart[?] and with all their soul, they were as gropers of (the) w[ay]” (מגששים ד'רך; 1 11-12). The allusion to Deuteronomy 6:5 is consistent with the Rule in particular, while the phrase “gropers of the way” is found in CD I 9 (cf. Isa 59:10; *Jub* 23:20). This eschatological manuscript differs from the Rule in that there is no reference to seeking Torah “with all one’s strength (wealth).” This may be an acknowledgment that the full commitment of property to the community was a later development characteristic not of the gropers of the way but of the perfect of the way, and therefore that obedience regarding wealth was one among several symbols of perfection. It is also possible that the author is simply quoting one of the Deuteronomic formulations that lacked the reference to strength (Deut 10:12-13; 11:13-14; 30:6, 10; Josh 22:5).

A final eschatological text, 4QEschatological Work B (4Q472), refers to a royal or heavenly court in the eschatological age.⁷¹ Renewed Israel will bring “gold and pure gold from jars of [...] all [Ophir]-gold” to God, and they are contrasted to some who “did not eagerly seek God’s presence” (frg. 2). The phrase “did not eagerly seek” (ולוא שָׁחַרְוּ פָּנָיו) comes up in 4QInstruction^b in the context of proper behavior to one’s creditor (“with favor seek his presence,” ברצין שחרו פניו, 2 ii 7). This suggests that the phrase was commonly used in relationships of unequal partners with an eye to some material advantage (see Prov 7:15). The donation of gold to God in our present passage is a kind of sacrifice of the final age that demonstrates the zeal of the elect. It is more elaborate than but nevertheless parallel to the more modest donation of goods made by the initiate in the Rule.

1994); see also her earlier “4QMidrEschat: ‘A Midrash on Eschatology’ (4Q174 + 4Q177),” in *Madrid*, 2.531-41.

⁶⁹ 4QCommentary on Genesis B 4 2 also mentions Belial; Brooke, “253. Commentary on Genesis B,” in *Qumran Cave 4.XVII: Parabiblical Texts, Part 3* (ed. Brooke et al.; DJD 22; Oxford: Clarendon, 1996) 209-12, pl. XIV.

⁷⁰ Lim, “306. 4QMen of the People Who Err” (DJD 36) 249-54, pl. XIV.

⁷¹ T. Elgvin, “472. 4QEschatological Work B” (DJD 36) 450-55, pl. XXXI.

5.2.3.3 *Conclusions*

The eschatological literature depicts the eventual reversal of fortune through the imagery of a final war against Belial, the rebuilding of Jerusalem, and a new Temple. The language of wealth in these documents—spoils, jeweled streets, spears and swords with ears of grain—are metaphors drawn from the prevailing imagery of each document. Nevertheless, the choice of these particular metaphors suggests that the nature of the present oppression is in part economic. The associates of Belial deprive the people particularly of food, so that the eschatological reversal includes a fully-laden table and a Temple in which God no longer eats. Economic oppressions imposed by political and religious institutions dictate the choice of these utopian images. The authors behind these documents are not educated Greek rhetors deftly integrating a variety of metaphors from all areas of life to the delight of their audience. They may develop different metaphors in their various texts, but all of them point to a present context of deprivation and a future ideal of abundance.

5.2.4 *Exegetical Literature*

5.2.4.1 *Pesharim*

The treatment of wealth in the *pesharim* is quite close to that of the Damascus Document. There is the association of arrogance and wickedness with wealth, the self-identification of the community as the poor and meek, the assertion that God will bless these poor ones by feeding them, and even the reference to the covenanters as “those who volunteer to join.” The arrogance of the community’s enemies appears to involve the deprivation of food as well as some other types of economic oppression. These acts of violence are in some texts associated with the Kittim, while in the Peshar of Habakkuk they are attributed to the Wicked Priest.

The Peshar of Habakkuk mentions wealth more extensively than any of the other exegetical works (1QpHab).⁷² The first hint of this overriding concern comes in the context of a commentary on Hab 1:12b-13a, which is interpreted to mean that “God will place the judgment over all the peoples; and by their reproof | all the evildoers of his people will be pronounced guilty, (by the reproof) of those who kept his commandments | in their hardship” (V 4-6). The hardship could be of many kinds, but in the interpretation that follows it is clearly economic. From Habakkuk’s reference to an enemy hauling men away in the net (Hab 1:15), the interpreter renders the enemy the Kittim who use nets to garner “their wealth with all their loot (הונם עם כול שללם) | like fish of the sea” (VI 1-2). The author then repeats Habakkuk 1:16a, “This is

⁷² M. Burrows, *DSSMM*, pls. LV-LXI; F. M. Cross, D. N. Freedman, J. A. Sanders, eds., *Trever*, 150-163.

why he offers sacrifices to his net | and burns incense to his trawl,” and then interprets this to mean that the Kittim offer sacrifices to their weapons and standards (VI 2-5). Thus the nets used to gather wealth are specifically the weapons of the Kittim, but the image of fishing nets may apply more broadly to all of the means used to gather wealth, including the standard practices of imperial commerce (e.g., taxes, tribute, grain levies, import and export duties). The impact of this commerce on local populations is then explained: those whose portion is fat and their food rich (Hab 1:16b) are those who through their commerce “distribute their yoke and | their burden, which is their food, among all the peoples, year after year, ravaging many countries” (VI 5-8). The Kittim impose some kind of economic burden on their subjects, or channel the “fat” of various countries to their own tables through beneficial commercial arrangements.

The Kittim are not the only ones vilified for impoverishing the people, however. The most detailed indictment is reserved for the Wicked Priest (VIII 3-17):

“Surely wealth (הון) will corrupt the boaster, and not | will he last, he who widens his throat like the abyss, and he, like death can not be satisfied. | All the peoples ally against him, all the nations come together against him. | Are they not all going to chant verses against him, explaining riddles at his expense? | They shall say: Ah, one who amasses the wealth of others (הוי המרבה)! How long will he load himself | with debts (עבטט)?” [Hab 2:5-6]. *Blank* Its interpretation concerns the Wicked Priest, who | was called loyal at the start of his office. However, when he ruled | over Israel his heart became proud, he deserted God and betrayed the laws for the sake of | riches (הון). And he robbed and hoarded wealth (הון) from the violent men who had rebelled against God. | And he seized public money (הון עמים ליקה), incurring additional serious sin. | And he performed re[pu]l[sive] acts of every type of defiling impurity. “Will not suddenly | your cre[di]tors get up, and those who shake you wake up? You will be their prey. | Since you pillaged many peoples all the rest of the nations will pillage you” [Hab 2:7-8]. | *Blank* The in[ter]pretation of the word] concerns the Priest who rebelled | [...] the precepts of [God...]

This lengthy passage shares much in common with the Damascus Document. Both texts refer to the misappropriation of public money; both present covenant fidelity and the pursuit of riches as inimical categories; both associate wealth with arrogance; and both connect the abuse of wealth with sexual impropriety and defilement. The defilement in this passage is not explicitly related to things sacred, except that the defiler is a priest. The reference to wealth in 1QpHab is somewhat determined by the economic issues in the Book of Habakkuk, but all of the features just listed occur not in the Habakkuk citations but in the particular interpretations of the community. One aspect of these interpretations is different from the Damascus Document: a “Wicked Priest” is singled out as the abuser of wealth *par excellence*. We hear more about this priest in 1QpHab IX 2-16:

And what | it says: “Since you pillaged many peoples all the | rest of the nations will pillage you” [Hab 2:8a]. *Blank* Its interpretation concerns the last priests of Jerusalem, | who will accumulate riches and loot (הון וּבָצַע) from plundering the nations. | However, in the last days their riches and their loot (הוֹנִים עִם שְׁלָלִים) will be given into the hands | of the army of the Kittim. *Blank* For they are “the rest of the nations” [Hab 2:8a]. | “For the human blood (spilt) and the violence (done) to the country, the city and all /who dwell/ in it” [Hab 2:8b]. *Blank* | Its interpretation concerns the [Wi]cked Priest, for the wickedness against the Teacher of | Righteousness and the members of his council, God delivered him into the hands of his enemies to disgrace him | with a punishment, to destroy him with bitterness of soul for having acted wickedly | against his elect. “Woe to anyone putting ill-gotten gains (הַבְּרִיצָה בְּצַע רָע) in his house, placing | his perch high up to escape the power of evil! You have planned things that will bring disgrace | to your house, destroying many nations and sinning against your [so]ul. For | the sto[ne] will shout from the wall, the wooden beam will an[swer]...” (Hab 2:9-11)] | [The interpretation of the wor]d concerns the pr[iest] who...”

The source of the author’s animosity becomes clearer in this passage: it is not just that the Wicked Priest has seized public wealth; he has attacked the community’s own leader, the Teacher of Righteousness. The references to loot, wealth by violence and ill-gotten gain are again reminiscent of the Damascus Document, although the *peshet* provides an additional detail, that the Wicked Priest has accumulated his wealth by “plundering the nations.” The reference is not explicit, but may have involved the invigoration of the Temple tax in the diaspora facilitated and encouraged by the Romans for their own political and economic ends. Jacob Liver has observed that the first evidence for the collection of the Temple tax in Second Temple times occurs in the late Hasmonean period—that is, just as the Romans were arriving in Judea and before their ultimate conquest of Palestine.⁷³ This is generally the period during which the Peshet of Habakkuk is thought to have been written.

While the enemies of the community are depicted as wealthy profiteers, the community behind the Teacher of Righteousness identifies with and is sympathetic towards the oppressed and impoverished victims (XI 17–XII 10):

“[For the violation of Lebanon will cover you, and the destruction of animals] | will appall you owing to the human blood and the violence (done to) the country, the city and all who dwell there” [Hab 2:17]. | The interpretation of the word concerns the Wicked Priest, to pay him the | reward for what he did to the poor (לְשֵׁלֶם לּוֹ אֵה נִמְלֵוּ אִשֶׁר נִמְלַע עַל אֲבִיּוֹנִים). Because Lebanon is | the Council of the Community and the animals are the simple folk (פְּהֵאִי) of Judah, those who observe | the Law. God will sentence him to destruction, *Blank* | exactly as he intended to destroy the poor (אֲבִיּוֹנִים). And as for what he says: “Owing to the blood | of the city and the violence (done to) the country” [Hab 2:17]. Its interpretation: the city is Jerusalem | in which the /Wicked/ Priest performed

⁷³ “The Half-Shekel Offering in Biblical and Post-Biblical Literature,” *HTR* 56 (1963) 173-98.

repulsive acts and defiled | the sanctuary of God. The violence (done to) the country are the cities of Judah which | he plundered of the possessions of the poor (גזל דרוֹן אֲבוֹיָנִים).

The equation of God's future vengeance and the Wicked Priest's current oppression could not be more explicit. Moreover, the actions of the Wicked Priest are associated with Temple defilement and violence, a correlation also made in the Damascus Document. Here the focus of the oppression is not international but domestic; the Wicked Priest is accused of plundering the possessions of the poor particularly in the cities of Judah. The form of this oppression is not specified, but might have included the aggressive collection of the Temple tax, additional taxes levied for the Temple, or particular regulations for festivals or sacrificial offerings.

The other *pesharim* reflect many of the same issues and interests. The community refers to itself as the "meek of the [earth]" (עֲנוּי אֶרֶץ) in 4QIsaiah Peshera^a 8–10 1-9 (4Q161 col. III).⁷⁴ They are reduced to that state because of the rogues who hatch plots to destroy the hungry and thirsty (Isa 32:5-7; 4QpIsa^c 26 1-3 [4Q163]; see 4QpIsa^e 6 2-7 [4Q165]).⁷⁵ In their current state of deprivation, they long for the day when God will reverse their fortunes and provide them with the bread they need and the water for which they thirst (4QpIsa^c 23 ii 3-19), when God will free them and provide justice (4QpIsa^c 8–10 11-14; 18–19 1-6).⁷⁶

In 4QIsaiah Peshera^b (4Q162) 1 ii 4-10, nobles who will die of hunger and those who rejected divine law (Isa 5:13-14, 24-25) have become the congregation of the arrogant men in Jerusalem.⁷⁷ When Isaiah 30:1-5 is quoted in 4QIsaiah Peshera^c 21 9-12 (4Q163), it is hard not to hear the references to transgressors in economic terms, even if the original context was military or diplomatic:⁷⁸

[Woe to the rebellious sons—oracle of] YHWH—who make pla[n]s without counting] | [on me, who sign deals,] but without my spirit, to a[dd sin] | [to sin; who proceed to go do]wn to Egypt [without conferring with me, to seek protection] | [in the refuge of the Pharaoh and shel]ter in the shadow of Eg[yp]t!]

Earlier in the same text, Isaiah's critique of those who do not forgive their brothers and who consume the flesh of their neighbors could easily have an economic referent; unfortunately, the interpretation is lacking (Isa 9:17-20; 4QpIsa^c 4–6 i 14-19). The punishment promised to the transgressors in

⁷⁴ Allegro, "161. Commentary on Isaiah (A)" (*DJDJ* 5) 11-15, pls. IV–V.

⁷⁵ Allegro, "163. Commentary on Isaiah (C)" and "165. Commentary on Isaiah (E)" (*DJDJ* 5) 17-27, pl. V, 28-30, pl. IX respectively.

⁷⁶ Cf. 4QpIsa^e 5 3-6 (4Q165), though the reference is fragmentary (Allegro, "165. Commentary on Isaiah [E]." [*DJDJ* 5] 28-30, pl. IX).

⁷⁷ Allegro, "162. Commentary on Isaiah (B)" (*DJDJ* 5) 15-17, pl. VI.

⁷⁸ Allegro, "163. Commentary on Isaiah (C)" (*DJDJ* 5) 17-27, pls. VII–VIII.

4QHosea Pesher^a II 8-14 (4Q166), derived from Hosea 2:11-12, begins with the image from Hosea that God will retrieve wheat, wine, wool and flax so as to expose and humiliate his people, and applies this to some group within Jewish society who will likewise be punished by material deprivation and humiliated in the eyes of foreign nations on whom they relied. Because the punishment is material deprivation, and because of the reference to the group's reliance on other nations, the nature of the group's dependence appears to be economic.⁷⁹ The alliance of Hasmonean leaders with other nations is also apparent in the Pesher of Nahum (4Q169).⁸⁰ Here, the sea and rivers, Bashan and Carmel, and the lions that tear apart prey (Nah 1:4; 2:12-13) become the Kittim, Demetrius king of Yavan, and apparently a Hasmonean king who has crucified the "simple folk" of Ephraim (1-2 1-9; 3-4 i 1-8). While the author is sympathetic with the crucified simple folk, they are also referred to as people who sought easy interpretations and are therefore charged with "reprehensible arrogance" later in the document (3-4 iii 3-8). Nevertheless, it is the "lions" who are criticized the most, not only for crucifying but also for accumulating wealth (וְהַיְוֹן וְהַיְבֵרֶת), presumably from the same simple people of Ephraim (3-4 i 8-12). The spoils mentioned in Nahum frequently become the actual corpses of the victims (3-4 i 1-8; 3-4 ii 1-6).

A passage from 4QIsaiah Pesher^d is more reminiscent of the Description of the New Jerusalem than of the other *pesharim* (4Q164).⁸¹ The sapphire foundations of the holy city (Isa 54:11) are interpreted to be the act of founding the council of the community, the priests and the people, the assembly of their elect (1 1-3). The rubies on battlements (Isa 54:12) become the twelve chiefs of the priests who illuminate with the judgment of the Urim and the Thummim (1 3-6). The gates of glittering stones in Isaiah 54:12 become the chiefs of the tribes of Israel in the last days (according to?) their lots and functions (1 6-8). These references imagine the leaders of the community to be themselves, the wealth envisioned for the future, whereas some other texts interpret the eschatological bounty to be a well-laden table and a stable supply of food.

There is one reference in the *pesharim* to the voluntary offering of those faithful to the covenant. In 1QMicah Pesher 8-10 5-9 (1Q14), the high places of Judah in Micah 1:5-6 are interpreted to refer to the Teacher of Righteousness who teaches "a[1] those volunteering to join the chosen of | [God, observing the law] in the council of the Community, those who will be saved from the day of | [judgment...]."⁸² The phrase "all those volunteering to join"

⁷⁹ Cf. II 1-6, where Hos 2:10 is apparently being applied to those who have grown fat and forgotten the God of justice. Allegro, "166. Commentary on Hosea (A)" (*DJDJ* 5) 31-2, pl. X.

⁸⁰ Allegro, "169. Commentary on Nahum" (*DJDJ* 5) 37-42, pls. XII-XIV.

⁸¹ Allegro, "164. Commentary on Isaiah (D)" (*DJDJ* 5) 27-8, pl. IX.

⁸² Milik, "14. Commentaire de Miché" (*DJD* 1) 77-80, pl. XV.

(כּוֹלֵל הַמַּחֲנֻדָּבִים לִוְסָף) is used frequently in the Rule of the Community. There, it refers in part to the free-will offering of one's wealth to the community. That association is not explicit in the Micah *peshet*, but the commentary demonstrates that the epithet had become something of a technical designation for the community's members.

4QZephaniah Peshet 1–2 1-4 (4Q170) has a fragmentary reference to Zephaniah 1:12-13 and thus to the plundering of someone's wealth (חיל).⁸³ Unfortunately, the text lacks the full citation and breaks off just at the point where the interpretation would begin.

1QPsalms Peshet 3–4 2-5 (1Q16) cites Psalm 68:13 regarding a female who “shares out the loot,” but the context and interpretation are lacking. Fragment 9 1-4 quotes Psalm 68:30-31 regarding the “beast of the reedbed” who brings ingots of silver to the Temple and interprets this to refer to the Kittim, although it is unclear whether this is a positive or a perjorative interpretation.⁸⁴

4QPsalms Peshet^a (4Q171) castigates the leaders of Israel for deceiving the people, but develops this interpretation alongside explicit references to the congregation of the poor who suffer for their covenant fidelity.⁸⁵ Psalm 37:6-7, which counsels against being annoyed by one who is affluent and who hatches plots, is interpreted to apply to the arrogant who follow the Man of Lies rather than the Interpreter of Knowledge and his congregation of the poor (עַרְבָה הָאֲבִיּוֹנִים⁸⁶) who are ready to do the will of God (I 20-27; II 9-12; III 8-13; IV 13-15). Arrogance (הִדָּן) is associated with wealth (הוֹן) in the “nets of Belial” exposition of CD IV–VI, and the treatment in the Psalms Peshet is similar (II 9-12):

“And the poor shall possess the land and enjoy peace in plenty” [Ps 37:11]. Its interpretation concerns | the congregation of the poor who will tough out the period of distress and will be rescued from all the snares of | Belial. Afterwards, all who shall possess the land will enjoy and grow fat with everything enjoy[able to] | the flesh.

The phrase used here for the nets of Belial is פַּחַי בְּלִיעַל, which, though it differs from the precise phrase in CD IV 15 (מַצּוּדוֹת בְּלִיעַל), utilizes the very synonym for nets used in the Isaiah passage cited by the author of the Damascus Document as biblical warrant for his exposition. The promise of growing fat in the future helps us to understand that the nature of the present distress is a deprivation of food, which in turn is associated with the harassment of the community's leaders (II 13-20), who are referred to as the “poor and humble” (עֲנִי וְאֲבִיּוֹן, Ps 37:14). They are encouraged through the advice

⁸³ Allegro, “170. Commentary on Zephaniah” (*DJDJ* 5) 42, pl. XIV.

⁸⁴ Milik, “16. Commentaire de Psaumes” (*DJD* 1) 81-2, pl. XV.

⁸⁵ Allegro, “171. Commentary on Psalms (A)” (*DJDJ* 5) 42-50, pls. XIV–XVII.

⁸⁶ Reconstructed on the basis of II 10 and III 10; cf. IV 11, also reconstructed.

of Psalm 37:16, “Better is the little for the just man than the wealth (יְהוֹרֵם⁸⁷) of many wicked,” interpreted to apply to all who follow the law at some personal cost (II 22-24). The association of the consequent distress with famine is clear later in the *pesher* (III 2-13):

“And in the days of famine they shall be re[plete]; but the wicked | shall perish” [Ps 37:19-20]. Its interpretation: he will keep them alive during the famine of the time of [dis]tress, but many | will perish because of famine and plague: all who did not leave [from there] with | the congregation of his chosen ones. / “Whoever loves YHWH will be like precious lambs” [Ps 37:20]. [Its] interpretation [concerns...]/ who will be chiefs and princes over [the whole congregation, like shepherds] | of ewes in among their flocks. *Blank* “Like smoke they all vanish” [Ps 37:20]. [Its] interpretation concerns the wi[ck]ed princes who oppress his holy people, | who will perish like smoke which disapp[ears in the win]d. “The wicked borrows but does not pay back, | while the just man is sympathetic and gives. For those who are blessed [by him shall pos]sess the land, but those who are cursed by him [shall be c]ut off” [Ps 37:21-22]. | Its interpretation concerns the congregation of the poor [to whom is] the inheritance of the whole ...[...] | They will inherit the high mountain of Isra[el and] delight [in his] holy [mou]ntain. “But those who are [curs]ed by him | will be cut off.” These are the ruthless ones of the co[venant, the wi]cked men of Israel who will be cut off and exterminated | forever.

The initial description of famine and distress indicates that those who “left” with the congregation of the chosen ones survived, while those who did not join them perished. This may indicate that the self-imposed exile and congregation of the chosen ones was an effective strategy to combat hunger and persecution, most likely because it involved the pooling of resources. The motivation for this strategy is the sympathy (יָחַד) of the righteous man (Ps 37:21), which becomes an attribute of the entire congregation of the poor who will inherit the land, but especially of the Teacher of Righteousness. In a commentary on Psalm 37:23-29 just after the passage above, we hear that he is the one who daily has compassion and makes loans, whose offspring are blessed, who does not desert the just man or allow his children to beg for bread (III 14–IV 3). He is thus the figure who enables the poor of his time to rejoice in their true inheritance, an inheritance which will be restored to them in full at the future eschatological redemption (see also IV 10-12). The characterization of the Teacher is reminiscent of the role of the Examiner in the Damascus Document and the Rule, to alleviate the financial burdens of initiates.

5.2.4.2 *Other Exegetical Texts*

Two other exegetical texts develop some of the same themes and motifs re-

⁸⁷ A rare word for abundance or wealth; see Isa 60:5; Qoh 5:9 [5:10 NRSV].

lated to wealth as do the *pesharim*. The first is 4QTanhumim (4Q176) 8–11 1-10, where eschatological reversal is realized by God the redeemer (גואל, Isa 52:1-3; 54:4-10).⁸⁸ The second is 4QHistorical Work 1 ii 1-7 (4Q183), which discusses the future redemption of those who remain faithful to the covenant.⁸⁹

...their enemies. And they defiled their temple [...] | of them, and they raised for wars, one man [against the other....] | in his covenant, God saved and set free [...] | favor, and gave them one heart to wal[k ...] | any wicked wealth. And they went away from the pat[h of ...] | those with misguided spirit, and with the language of truth [...] | and they expiated their iniquities through [their] sufferings.

In this passage, covenant fidelity is inimical to the pursuit of wicked wealth (הון רשעה), which in turn is associated with vengeance against one's brothers and defilement of the Temple. These are two of the three intertwining nets of Belial in CD IV–VI. As in the Damascus Document, present sufferings are endowed with an atoning effect. The text also mentions that God gave the adherents of his covenant “one heart to wal[k]” (לב אחד ללב[ות]), a reference consistent with the function imputed to shared property above, that it helped to create a unity or *yahad* in the holy spirit for the pursuit of covenant fidelity.

5.2.4.3 Conclusions

The *pesharim* and other sectarian exegetical texts identify the oppressors of the community as the Kittim (perhaps the same group as the sea-faring merchants in some of the texts) and the Wicked Priest. The nature of their oppression echoes terminology associated with the abuse of wealth in the Damascus Document in particular: they shed blood and profit by violence, their gain is wicked, and they deprive others of food. In contrast, the community names itself the poor, the volunteers who endure the hardship of the present in the hopes of an eschatological reversal of fortune in the future.

5.2.5 Parabiblical Literature

The parabiblical literature predates the sectarian works and thus lacks their distinctive terminology. Therefore, it is classified in this study as non-sectarian and will be treated in §5.3.3 below.

5.2.6 Poetic and Liturgical Texts

The sectarian poetical and liturgical texts include the Hodayat or Hymns,

⁸⁸ Allegro, “176. Tanhûmîm” (*DJDJ* 5) 60-67, pls. XXII–XXIII.

⁸⁹ Allegro, “183” (*DJDJ* 5) 81-2, pl. XXVI.

blessings, curses, the Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice, and a variety of other smaller manuscripts. The treatment of wealth in these texts is similar to the Damascus Document and the Rule: the wealth of outsiders is contrasted unfavorably to the community's knowledge of the law; the distress of the present is in part economic; the effect of that distress on the victims is purifying even while the impoverishment itself is criticized; God is portrayed as the protector of the poor; the leader of the community consequently assumes that same role; and ultimately all of the members of the community are exhorted to help the poor in contrast to their oppressive enemies and in conformity to the nature of God.

5.2.6.1 *Hodayot and Hymns*

All of these features are present in the extensive collection of Hodayot or thanksgiving hymns that survives from Caves 1 and 4.⁹⁰ The disposition of wealth is one of the key criteria for distinguishing the faithful cohort from the devilish assembly. The contrast between the two groups in 1QHodayot^a XVIII 22-30, 33-35 pits the wealth of outsiders against the knowledge of community members.⁹¹

Because you have fashioned the sp[irit of your servant and in accordance with your [wi]ll you have established me. You have not placed | my support in robbery (בצע), nor in wealth (הון) [...] my [hea]rt, nor have you placed the inclination of the flesh as my refuge.⁹² | The strength of heroes lies in the abundance of luxuries (רוב ערניים), [...] the abund]ance grain, wine, oil; | they take pride in their belongings and possessions, [...] like a ve]rdant [tree] at the streams of water to produce foliage | and increase leaves, for in... [...]the sons of] Adam, and that all shall grow fat from the earth. | But to the sons of your truth you have given intelligence, [...] everlasting; and to the extent of their knowledge they are honored, | the one more than the other. And so for the son of [your] maid-[servant...] you have increased his legacy | in the knowledge of your truth,⁹³ and according to his insight and ... [...] The soul of your servant loathes wealth | and robbery (בצע), and in the affluence of luxuries (רוב ערניים) he does

⁹⁰ In all, two manuscripts from Cave 1 (1QHodayot^{a-b}) and six from Cave 4 (4QHodayot^{a-f}) have been discovered. For 1QH^{a-b}, see Sukenik, *DSSHU*; Milik, "35. Recueil de cantiques d'action de grâces" (*DJD* 1) 136-7; É. Puech, "Un hymne essénien en partie retrouvé et les Béatitudes," *RevQ* 13 (1988) 59-88, pl. III; *idem*, "Quelques aspects de la Restauration du Rouleau des Hymnes (1QH)," *JJS* 39 (1988) 38-55; *idem*, "Restauration d'un texte hymnique à partir de trois manuscrits fragmentaires: 1QH^a XV 37-XVI 4 (VII 34-VIII 3), 1Q35 (H^b) 1, 9-14, 4Q428 (H^b) 7," *RevQ* 16 (1995) 543-58. For 4QH^{a-f} and three Hodayot-like texts, see E. Schuller, "E. Hodayot," in *Qumran Cave 4.XX: Poetical and Liturgical Texts, Part 2* (ed. M. Broshi et al.; *DJD* 29; Oxford: Clarendon, 1999) 69-254, pls. IV-XVI, XXVIII, foldout pls. I-III. The three Hodayot-like texts are 4Q433, 4Q433a, and 4Q440.

⁹¹ Sukenik, *DSSHU*, col. X.

⁹² Is this a reference to the disavowal of marriage and the alternate provision of refuge outside the usual kinship networks?

⁹³ See 1QH^a VII 25-26, where the hymnist states, "But I, I know that | no wealth (הון) can compare to your truth" (Sukenik, *DSSHU*, col. XV + frgs. 10, 32, 34, 42).

not.... || I was appalled to hear your verdict against the powerful heroes, | your trial against the host of your holy ones.

The sons of God's truth who adhere to the covenant are praised for their intelligence and contrasted to the "heroes" (גבורי) of this world whose power derives from commercial assets and benefactions. The hymnist claims that the wealth of these heroes is associated with robbery or violent gain (בצע) and pleasure or luxury (עדן). Moreover, the social system of rank based on economic power is explicitly contrasted to the system for ranking members in this community, where honor is determined not by possessions but by the extent of one's covenant knowledge. In fact, the covenanter explicitly repudiates the choices of the rich, namely wealth and robbery. The emphasis on insight and knowledge is reminiscent of the language of the constitutional literature, where the initiate is enjoined to contribute his "knowledge, energy and riches" upon entry into the community (see §3.3.1 and §3.4.3 above).

The community may well be making a virtue of necessity by privileging its knowledge over the wealth of outsiders. There is ample evidence elsewhere in the Hodayot that the economic circumstances of the community are somewhat precarious, as in XI 25-27 (*par* 4QH^f 4 ii 1-2):⁹⁴

The soul of a poor person (אביון) lives amongst great turmoil, and the calamities of hardship are with my footsteps. | When all the traps of the pit open, all the snares of wickedness are spread and the nets of the scoundrels are upon the surface of the sea. | When all the arrows of the pit fly without return and are shot without hope.

The opening proverb mentions that the poor person, with whom the hymnist identifies, is subject to the "calamities of hardship" (הוֹרַת מַדְרֵהבָּה), a phrase which also occurs at 4QInstruction^d 176 3 (cf. Isaiah 14:4 זַז [1QIsa^a מַדְרֵהבָּה], 4QInstruction^b 2 ii 14 and parallels; CD XIII 9; 1QH^a XX 18, and §4.4.1 above). Poverty and hardship or oppression are associated with the traps of the pit (פחית שחת), further recommending that the pit is at least a euphemism if not an actual location for economic transactions. In fact, the formulation "traps of the pit" is reminiscent of the interpretation of Isaiah 24:17, "panic, pit and snare" (פחד ופחת ופחית) that introduces the exposition of the nets of Belial in CD IV 12-19 (§2.3.2 above). Mention of the "nets of the scoundrels... upon the surface of the sea" recalls the charge of commercial rapaciousness lodged against the Kittim in the *pesharim*. A different sort of economic oppression is alluded to in XII 8-10, when the speaker laments his eviction from his land and the degradation of his rank to that of a broken jug.⁹⁵

The community members represent such misfortunes as purifying punishments, through which God restores their humility and strengthens their hearts

⁹⁴ Sukenik, *DSSHU*, col. III + frg. 25.

⁹⁵ Sukenik, *DSSHU*, col. IV + frg. 43. 1H^a III *top* 2 also refers to the oppressed (עֲשֻׁקִים).

(IV 21-22).⁹⁶ In addition, the present punishments help them to be alert for God's salvation (VI 2-6):⁹⁷

[Fortunate,] the men of truth, those chosen by jus[tice, those probing the] mind, those searching for wisdom, those chosen by jus[tice, those probing] | the mind, those searching for wisdom, those bui[lding... those who l]ove compassion, the poor in spirit, those refined | by poverty and purified in the crucible [... those who keep the]ir nerve until the time of your judgments, | those alert for your salvation. You [...] and you have strengthened your precepts [through their hands] to make | judgment on the world, to give as an inheritance all [...] holy for everlasting generations.

Here the poor in spirit (עניי רוח) are the poor (cf. Matt 5:3 *par* Luke 6:20), those presently enduring poverty and maintaining fidelity to God despite economic hardship. Their resolve is presented as something which strengthens the laws against which others will be judged and which assures that they will receive an inheritance in contrast to others in the coming age. In 1QH^a VII 19-20, those deprived in the present are again promised eternal salvation and endless peace without want (אין מחסור).⁹⁸ Elsewhere in the hymns, God's act of redemption appears to have already occurred, and the hymnist praises God for restoring his fortunes (X 31-36):⁹⁹

You have freed me from the zeal of the mediators of deceit, | from the congregation of the seekers of flattering things. You have freed the life of the poor person which they thought to finish off by pouring out his blood | because he was at your service. But they did [not kn]ow that my steps come from you. They have put me as a mockery | and a reproof in the mouth of all who search deceit. *Blank* 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 and exchange a firm purpose for follies....

The hymnist clearly identifies here with the poor (עניי, אביון) and needy (רש), just as we have seen in the constitutional literature and, for that matter, in the pre-sectarian Instruction. He identifies his circumstances as both due to and mocked by his oppressors, and acknowledges the temptation to desert God as a result. 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 his oppressors. This correlation was also apparent in Instruction as well as in other sectarian texts.

⁹⁶ Sukenik, *DSSHU*, col. XVII + frg. 14.

⁹⁷ Sukenik, *DSSHU*, col. XIV + frgs. 15b ii, 18, 22, 44, 19; see also Puech, "Un hymne es-sénien."

⁹⁸ Sukenik, *DSSHU*, col. XV + frgs. 10, 32, 34, 42. The term "lack, want" (מחסור) is prominent in Instruction; see Chapter 4.

⁹⁹ Sukenik, *DSSHU*, col. II.

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 hardship may evoke. The poor depend upon others for their needs, and this alerts the hymnist to be aware of God's mercy and compassion. God is gentle with the poor (III *top* 3, על אביתים),¹⁰⁰ and this is often explicitly contrasted to the attitude of humans in this world. In the end of time, God will destroy deceit and injustice (עולה, רמיה), XX 16; XXI *bottom* 15).¹⁰¹ 4QHodayot^a (4Q427) 7 ii 7-11 depicts the future eschatological reversal most clearly (*par* 1QH^a XXVI *bottom* 1-5, 4QH^e [4Q431] 1 6-9).¹⁰²

[Pro]claim and say: *Blank* Great is the God [who works wonders,] | for he brings down the arrogant spirit without even a remnant; and he raises the poor from the dust [...] | and up to the clouds he extols him in stature and together with the gods in the congregation of the community; and cures [him...] | wrath for eternal destruction. *Blank* Those who fall to earth he lifts up with no price, [perpetual] po[wer] | is in their steps and eternal enjoyment in their dwellings, everlasting glory, unceasing [...]

Here those of arrogant spirit (גבורות רוח)¹⁰³ are to be brought low, just as here and elsewhere those poor in spirit will be raised (see 1QH^a VI 3). Here the poor (אביון) who have fallen to earth are lifted without price (אין מחיר; cf. Isa 55:1; John 7:37). New in this context is the association of restored status with a cure in the end time. This motif of God's healing, sometimes through the agency of Raphael (11QPsAp^a IV 2-3, below), corresponds to references to the oppressed community as the wounded in Instruction and in other wisdom texts (§5.2.7, especially 4QMessianic Apocalypse ? 2 ii 1-13, §5.2.7.4).

The beneficence and justice of God is not only contrasted to the behavior of the wicked on earth; it is also to be emulated by the leader of the community. As in 1QS IX 17-19, so too in 1QH^a VI 17-22 the leader declares that he will avoid bribery when rendering judgment:¹⁰⁴

[But] I, I know, thanks to the abundance of your goodness, and I have enjoined my soul with an oath not to sin against you | [and n]ot to do anything which is evil in your eyes. In this way I was brought near in the community of all the men of my counsel. According to | his [int]elligence I bring him near, I love him in proportion to the abundance of his inheritance. I do not lift my face to evil, or consider a bri[be]. | I do n[ot] exchange your truth for wealth, or for a bribe all your judgments. Quite the reverse, to the deg[ree...] | [I lov]e him,

¹⁰⁰ Sukenik, *DSSHU*, frg. 16.

¹⁰¹ XX 16 = Sukenik, *DSSHU*, XII + frg. 60; XXI 15 = Sukenik, *DSSHU*, frg. 3.

¹⁰² Schuller, "A Hymn from a Cave 4 *Hodayot* Manuscript: 4Q427 7 I+II," *JBL* 112 (1993) 605-28; for 1QH^a, see Sukenik, *DSSHU*, 7 ii.

¹⁰³ 4QH^e 1 7 reads " [arrogant of] haughtiness" (גבורות רוח), but this is more awkward and likely a scribal error; 1QH^a XXVI *bottom* 2 reads רוח with 4QH^a 7 ii 8.

¹⁰⁴ Sukenik, *DSSHU*, col. XIV + frgs. 15b ii, 18, 22, 44, 19; see also Puech, "Un hymne es-sénien."

and to the extent that you place him far off, I hate him. *Blank* I will not admit into the council th[ose who are not inclu]ded | [in] your [coven]ant. *Blank*

The abuse of wealth in the judicial system provides the negative impetus or context for the leader's promise.¹⁰⁵ It expands our sense of what was meant by "violent gain" in the Damascus Document. Not only is violent gain to be understood as aggressive commercial acts; it is also the graft (שׁוּחָד) that takes place in the courts to secure profit at the just person's expense, something that was also clear in Instruction. The hymnist pledges that he seeks truth above wealth (הוֹן), and, in an ironic turn of phrase, employs the construction "the abundance of his inheritance" (רִיב נַחֲלָתוֹ) to refer not to material wealth but rather to insight and knowledge.

The priority of the relationship to God over material wealth is echoed by the hymnist (4QH^a 7 i + 9 11-13¹⁰⁶):

[...and] cannot be compared [to] my [glo]ry, f[o]r I, with the gods is [my] position | [and my glory is with the sons of the kin]g. I will not crown myself [with pure gold], and gold <from Ophir> they will not | [place on me...] will not be considered for me.

In this passage the hymnist associates himself with the human and divine courts, but dissociates himself from the luxurious trappings associated with the royal house and the Temple, namely gold. Yet in one of the Self-Glorification Hymns which parallels this passage, gold is not disavowed but rather embraced: "[...incomparable, f]or among the gods is [my] posi[tion, and] my glory is with the sons of the king. To me (belongs) [pure] gold, and to me, the gold of Ophir" (4QSelf-Glorification Hymn^b 1 11).¹⁰⁷ In general, such claims are usually deferred in the sectarian literature to the end times.

It is not just the leader who is responsible to forswear wealth and support the poor, but also all members of the community. Thus in the Hodayot there are several clear exhortations to support the poor. In 1QH^a IX 36, just men are urged, "finish with injustice! And all of you, of perfect way (תְּמִימֵי דָרֶךְ), strengthen [the hand of] the poor (עֲנִי)!"¹⁰⁸ Later in the manuscript, the herald of God's goodness (that is, any member of the community?) is "to proclaim to the poor (עֲנִיִּים) the abundance of your compassion (לְרִיב רַחֲמֵיכֶה) | ...[... from the spring [... the bro]ken of spirit (רִוּחַ), and the mourning to everlasting joy" (1QH^a XXIII top 14-15).¹⁰⁹ The behavior of the community

¹⁰⁵ See also 1QH^a VII 26-29, where the fact that God does not accept bribes from the wicked warrants a similar disposition on the part of the leader.

¹⁰⁶ *Par* 1QH^a XXVI top 7-9 (= Sukenik, *DSSHU*, frgs. 56 ii, 46 ii, 55 ii) and 4QSelf-Glorification Hymn^a 1-3 7-9 (E. Eshel, "471b. 4QSelf-Glorification Hymn [=4QH^c frg. 1?]" [*DJD* 29] 421-32, pl. XXVIII).

¹⁰⁷ 4Q491c, *olim* 4Q491, 4QWar Scroll (i) frgs. 11-12; Baillet, "491. La Règle de la Guerre (i)" (*DJD* 7) 26-30, pl. VI.

¹⁰⁸ Sukenik, *DSSHU*, col. I.

¹⁰⁹ Sukenik, *DSSHU*, col. XVIII 1-16 + frg. 57 i + 1 ii.

parallels the beneficent action of God in saving the leader and his poor followers (1QH^a XIII 9-22 *par* 4QH^c I ii 1-5 [4Q429]):¹¹⁰

You closed the mouth of the lion cubs, whose | teeth are like a sword, whose fangs are like a sharpened spear. Vipers' venom is all their scheming to snatch away. They lay in wait, but did not | open their mouths against me. For you, my God, hid me from the sons of Adam, concealed your law in [me, un]til the moment of | revealing your salvation to me. For in the distress of my soul you did not desert me, you heard my call in the bitterness of my soul, | you paid attention to the outcry of my pain in my complaint and saved {my} the soul of the poor man (עני) in the lair of lions, who sharpen their tongue like swords. | And you, my God, you closed {their tongue} their teeth so they would not rip up {my} the soul of the poor and wretched (עני ורש); their tongue has been drawn in | like a sword into the scabbard, so that it would not [dest]roy the soul of your servant. And to show your greatness /through me/ before the sons of Adam, you did wonders | with the poor (אביין), you placed him [like g]old in the cruci[ble], to be worked by fire, and like purified silver in the furnace of the smiths to be refined seven times. | The wicked of the nations hustle me with their trials, and the whole day they crush my soul. *Blank* | But you, my God, have changed {my soul} the storm to a calm and have freed the soul of the poor (אביין) like [...] prey from the power of | lions. *Blank* | {I give you thanks} /Blessed are you, Lord, because you did not desert the orphan (יתום) nor have you slighted the wretch (רש). For your might [is unfathom]able and your glory | measureless. Wonderful heroes are your attendants, and with the humble ones (עוניים) in the mud before [your] feet; [...] with those apprehensive | of justice, to raise from desolation the community of all [...] the poor of kindness (חסד).

The hymnist has chosen an interesting metaphor for the purgative oppression that the poor endure. They are purified like silver in the furnace of the smiths, an image of a luxurious commodity that perhaps points to the economic nature of the oppression. This assertion is supported by the lengthy metaphor that precedes the image of smelting in lines 9-15: the oppressors are like vipers or lion cubs devouring their prey with the venom of scheming, teeth like spears, and tongues like swords. These images point to military, judicial and economic attacks against the poor. The association of God's "glory" and "might" with the care of the orphan and the wretch confirms our earlier suspicion that these terms of praise reflect precisely the material support God provides to the weak. The term "heroes" (גבורי) is used elsewhere of those mighty humans who are accorded honor in society but who destroy the weak; here, the assertion that God has his own heroes in attendance alters the benefaction system and subsumes it ultimately to God's priorities. One of God's priorities is a true system of justice in which bribery plays no part. Thus the hymnist later exclaims, "No one matches your strength (כוח), nothing equals your glory, there is no price on your might" (ולגבורתכה אין מחיר; XVIII 10).¹¹¹

¹¹⁰ Sukenik, *DSSHU*, col. V + frg. 29.

¹¹¹ Sukenik, *DSSHU*, col. X.

In addition to these well-developed topics, certain terms and phrases in the Hodayot echo motifs found in the Damascus Document and the Rule. First, there are the references to the pit. In 1QH^a XI 12-16 the hymnist embarks on an extended contrast between the birth of a wonderful counselor and the birth of a serpent.¹¹² In this context, the son of counsel survives the “breakers of death” (שברֵי מוֹת) as he is born through the woman’s labor, while the son of the serpent passes through the “breakers of the pit” (שברֵי שַׁחַת) in a birth that leads to terror and chaos. The chaos, imagined as a storm at sea, overwhelms everything and forcing open Sheol and Abaddon. The “arrows of the pit” (חֲצֵי שַׁחַת) make their voices heard as they descend to Sheol, and the “doors of the pit” (דַּלְתֵי שַׁחַת) are bolted, locking them in eternally. As the passage continues in 1QH^a XI 25-27 (*par* 4QH^f 4 ii 1-2, cf. lines 2-6), it is clear that these sons of the serpent and the pit where they are confined are associated with the nets of Belial (see p. 244). More customary is the association of the pit with vicious men who take advantage of the hymnist’s fidelity to the covenant (perhaps the observance of different festivals?) to “ambush” his soul (1QH^a X 20-22).¹¹³ In addition to the pit, there are references to the Deuteronomic command to love God with one’s whole heart and soul (1QH^a VI 26-27; VII 14). Of particular interest is the passage in 1QH^a VI 26-27, which proclaims, “I love you liberally, and with my whole heart” (אֶהֱבֶכָה נְדָבָה וּבְכוֹל לֵב).¹¹⁴ The root נָדַב is frequently used in the sectarian constitutional literature for the voluntary offering of the covenanters and a technical designation for the community itself (מְהַנְדָּבִים, נְדָבִים). The case was made in Chapter 3 that shared property is to be understood in the context of the voluntary offering and in terms of the Deuteronomic command. Here in Hodayot we find the terminology of both rationales merged. This same phrasing is employed a little further on in 1QH^a VII 13-15:¹¹⁵

I love you lavishly, with (my) whole heart and with all (my) soul (וְאֶהֱבֶכָה וּבְכוֹל לֵב וּבְכוֹל נַפְשִׁי) I have purified [...] | [I have] imp[osed on myself not] to turn aside from all that you have commanded. I join the Many (וְאֶחָד קָהָה) [...] | [...] so as not] | to desert all your precepts.

Here the hymnist not only alludes to the voluntary offering and the Deuteronomic command, but links these to the act of joining the Many who are faith-

¹¹² Sukenik, *DSSHU*, col. III + frg. 25; *par* 4QH^f 4 i 1-7.

¹¹³ Sukenik, *DSSHU*, col. II. See 1QH^a XIII 5-7, where God is praised for not abandoning the hymnist’s soul to the plottings of his desire, and for saving his life from the pit; see also XI 12, 14-22; XVI 29; frg. 45 2.

¹¹⁴ Sukenik, *DSSHU*, col. XIV + frgs. 15b ii, 18, 22, 44, 19; see also Puech, “Un hymne es-sénien.”

¹¹⁵ Sukenik, *DSSHU*, col. XV + frgs. 10, 32, 34, 42.

ful to the covenant. The covenanters are called the “volunteers” in 1QH^a XXII *middle* 2.¹¹⁶

The Hodayot, like the sectarian constitutional literature, envision an eschatological inversion of the present social order. In the future, those who are presently being oppressed and deprived will no longer experience want and may even experience prosperity. That vision of the future, stimulated by present circumstances, motivates and warrants a particular ethical standard in the present. The community that anticipates the eschatological reversal is to live as if it had already happened in their midst. By caring for their poor, they abide with the divinities in a small corner of the world where God’s justice reigns.

Another hymnic text, XQText^b 3 5, mentions wealth and riches (הון ועושר) which a person gains through the conquest of enemies and vanquishing of kingdoms (XQ5a, *par* 11QHymns^b frg. 2 [11Q16]).¹¹⁷ Talmon believes the author has culled references to David from 2 Samuel 24:23, 1 Chronicles 28:4 and 2 Samuel 6:21. The reference to the king’s wealth may be based on passages praising the wealth of David (1 Chr 29:2) or Solomon (1 Kgs 10:27; cf. 3:11), and indicate one reason why a restoration of wealth might be associated with the return of a Davidic messiah.

5.2.6.2 Blessings and Curses

The manuscripts of blessings and curses include 1QRule of the Blessings (1Q28b = 1QSb; see §5.2.1 above), the 4QBerakhot manuscripts, and the Bar^eki Napshi (Bless the Lord, my Soul) texts. 4QBerakhot^a 7 ii 1-8 (4Q286) curses Belial for his guilty service, and while the cultic context elsewhere in the document (cf. 5 6-7) suggests that Belial’s guilty service may be cultic, the frequent references to the pit suggest an economic component to this cultic critique.¹¹⁸ Moreover, the eternal punishment for the transgressors fits the “crime”; the sons of Belial will be cast into an everlasting pit with the angel of the pit and the spirit of destruction.¹¹⁹

The Bar^ekhi Nafshi manuscripts share with the Hodayot the praise of God’s care for the poor and, more significantly, the clear reference to com-

¹¹⁶ Sukenik, *DSSHU*, frg. 47. See also 1QLiturgical Text ? 11 (1Q31); Milik, “30-31. Textes liturgiques (?)” (*DJD* 1) 133, pl. XXX.

¹¹⁷ The fragment of unknown Qumran provenance is published by Talmon in *DJD* 36, 487-9, pl. XXXII. The 11QHymns manuscript to which Talmon believes this fragment belongs was published by García Martínez, Tigchelaar and van der Woude in *DJD* 23, 257-8, pl. XXIX.

¹¹⁸ Nitzan, “286. 4QBerakhot^a” (*DJD* 11) 7-48, pls. I-IV.

¹¹⁹ This text bears some resemblance to 4QWar Scroll-like Text B (4Q471); both mention sons or slaves of darkness who are identified because they violate God’s statutes, and both speak of punishment, though on this point 4Q471 is fragmentary. See §5.2.3.1 above.

munity members as the poor people whom God has redeemed. 4QBar^ekhi Nafshi^a 1 i 1-6 is representative (4Q434, *par* 4QBN^d 1 1-2).¹²⁰

Bless, my soul, the Lord for all his marvels, for ever. And blessed be his name, because he has saved the soul of the poor (נפש אביון). And I the needy (עני) he has not despised and he has not forgotten the hardship of the oppressed (דל). He has opened his eyes upon the oppressed (דל) and has heard the cry of the orphans (יתומים) and has paid attention to I their {cry} call. In the abundance of his mercy (רחמי) he has favored the needy (עניים) and has opened their eyes so that they see his paths, and their ear[s] so that they hear I his teaching. He has circumcised the foreskin of their hearts and has saved them because of his grace and has set their feet firm on the path. In their m[a]ny hardships he did not forsake them, I and did not deliver them into the hands of violent men, nor did he judge them with the wicked; his anger was not enkindled against them, nor did he destroy them I in his wrath....

One has the impression that the needy are the very people who have entered the community. God has not only met their material needs, but has also "opened their eyes so that they see his paths" and has set their feet firmly on those paths. Metaphors of material abundance for the spiritual assets of community life reinforce the suggestion that the material needs of the community have been met. God has held "their spirits to the *measure* (מדה), established their words on the *scales* (משקל) and (tuned) their uprightness like flutes" (1 i 10; emphasis mine). Explicit references to redemption and consolation support the sense that some real change of status has occurred: "[from the] man he saved them" (4QBN^a 1 i 7-8); "he will atone and the great in goodness will console them. Good is the [...] to eat I its fruit and goodness" (2 4-5). 4QBar^ekhi Nafshi^c 1 1-5 preserves a similar prayer (4Q436):¹²¹

...knowledge to strengthen the downcast heart and to triumph in it over the spirit, to console those oppressed (דלים) in the epoch of their anguish, to lift the hands of the fallen ones, I to make receptacles of knowledge, to give knowledge to the wise. And the upright will increase insight to understand I your deeds which you did in the years of old, in the years of generation after generation, eternal knowledge which I [yo]u [have set] in front of me. You have preserved your law before me, and your covenant has been confirmed for me, and you have strengthened upon my heart I [...] to walk in your paths.

Knowledge of God's deeds and law is the antidote to the oppression the people have experienced. On the surface, it may seem strange that knowledge would be considered a remedy for material need. Yet if we recall the association of knowledge with the contribution of wealth and the disciplines of

¹²⁰ M. Weinfeld and D. Seely, "434. 4QBarkhi Nafshi^a" (*DJD* 29) 267-86, pls. XVII-XIX. The editors include what was formerly designated "4QGrace after Meals" (4Q434a) as frg. 2 of 4QBarkhi Nafshi^a. For an earlier publication of 4Q434a, see Weinfeld, "Grace after Meals at the Mourners' House in a Text from Qumran," *Tarbiz* 41 (1992) 15-23 [Hebrew]; English version, *JBL* 111 (1992) 427-40.

¹²¹ Weinfeld and Seely, "436. 4QBarkhi Nafshi^c" (*DJD* 29) 295-306, pl. XXI.

communal sharing in the Rule tradition, and if we further recall that this knowledge is considered fidelity to the true and renewed covenant, we can imagine more easily how knowledge about the particular ethical system of this community could relieve material deprivation.

5.2.6.3 *Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice*

Six copies of the Songs of the Sabbath sacrifice were retrieved from Cave 4, while one was discovered in Cave 11. References to wealth are minimal in these documents, apart from fragmentary and perhaps metaphorical allusions to one's inheritance in the context of cultic offerings and covenant fidelity.¹²² There is concern that future deprivation, perhaps a famine, will tempt some of the people to stray from the covenant, and there is a reference to the promised consolation of God's compassion.¹²³ Another text mentions that the holy ones are "honored in all the camps of the gods" and that the gods are themselves distributed in camps.¹²⁴ This last reference is reminiscent of the Hodayot, which imagined the community to dwell with the divinities whenever they acted with compassion toward their fellows (§5.2.6.1 above). It is also reminiscent of the Damascus Document in its reference to the camps, and to the Rule in its sense that this community is itself a sanctuary for the divine.

5.2.6.4 *11QApocryphal Psalms (11Q11)*

Included among the poetic and liturgical texts from Qumran is a psalm of exorcism, 11QApocryphal Psalms (11Q11).¹²⁵ Toward the end of that psalm, reference is made to "the volunteers of [...]" (נרבי) whom Raphael heals (V 3). We have seen references to healing in connection with God's eschatological redemption of the poor.¹²⁶ In this text, poverty and wealth are not at issue but rather physical illness. The text is significant for our topic chiefly because it corroborates the association of healing with redemption and employs the term "volunteers" for the members of the community, as did the Rule of

¹²² 4QSongs of the Sabbath Sacrifice^a 1 i 13 (4Q400); C. A. Newsom, "400. Shiroi 'Olat HaShabbat^a" (*DJD* 11) 173-96, pl. XVI.

¹²³ 4QSongs of the Sabbath Sacrifice^f 23 i 10-12 (4Q405); Newsom, "405. Shiroi 'Olat HaShabbat^f" (*DJD* 11) 307-93, pls. XXII-XXX.

¹²⁴ For the first reference, see 4QSongs of the Sabbath Sacrifice^b 14 i 8 (4Q401); Newsom, "401. Shiroi 'Olat HaShabbat^b" (*DJD* 11) 197-219, pls. XVII-XVIII. For the second reference, see 4QSongs of the Sabbath Sacrifice^f 20 ii-22 13 (4Q405).

¹²⁵ *Olim* 11QApocryphal Psalms^a; García Martínez, Tigchelaar, and van der Woude, "11. 11QApocryphal Psalms" (*DJD* 23) 181-205, pls. XXII-XXV, LIII. For earlier publications, see J. P. M. van der Ploeg, "Un petit rouleau de psaumes apocryphes (11QPsAp^a)," in *Tradition und Glaube* (1971) 128-39, pls. II-VII; Puech, "Les deux derniers psaumes davidiques du rituel d'exorcisme 11QPsAp^a IV, 4-V, 14," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Forty Years of Research* (ed. Dimant and U. Rappaport; STDJ 10; Jerusalem/Leiden: Magnes Press and Yad Ishak Ben-Zvi/E. J. Brill, 1992) 64-89.

¹²⁶ 4QH^a 7 ii 7-11 *par* 4QH^c 1 i 1-9; §5.2.6.1. See also 4QMessianic Apocalypse ? 2 ii 1-13, §5.2.7.4 below.

the Community. The sectarian psalm quotes Psalm 91 in the context of an exorcism likely recited as part of the cure.

There are some fragmentary manuscripts that mention offerings or sacrifices. XQOffering Ar (XQ6) preserves the reading, “for offering off[erings]” (לקורבא קון), while 4QpapCrypt A Text Concerning Cultic Service (4Q250) mentions ministers who shall not “go out” on lines 4-5.¹²⁷

5.2.6.5 Conclusions

The poetic and liturgical texts link the enemies of the community to “heroes,” presumably the powerful benefactors in society whose wealth is attributed to robbery and associated with vain pleasure. These texts redefine the social system of benefaction by praising God as the ultimate benefactor who now bestows knowledge but will bestow material blessing on his poor ones in the future eschatological restoration. God has his own heroes who help him in this task, and the community members abide with those heroes to the degree that they prize knowledge above material status and to the extent that they care for justice and the needs of the poor.

5.2.7 Sapiential Literature

The wealth of wisdom material discovered at Qumran comprises several different categories of sapiential literature. The more traditional genres of Jewish wisdom, namely wisdom sayings, theological wisdom, and nature wisdom, are represented, but in addition the more apocalyptic traditions of mantic wisdom and wisdom through special revelation are also found.¹²⁸ In the presentation which follows, these five categories of wisdom texts will be used to organize and present the material on wealth. The traditional sapiential categories of wisdom sayings and nature wisdom will be presented first (no examples of the special category of theological wisdom were found to contain passages on wealth), while the apocalyptic wisdom categories of mantic wisdom and special revelation will conclude the section.

5.2.7.1 Wisdom Sayings

The largest body of wisdom sayings found at Qumran is Instruction, a well-represented document discussed in Chapter 4. In this work the wisdom sayings are largely gathered into the form of an instruction, and are introduced at the outset with a kind of theological wisdom that combines a description of

¹²⁷ XQ6: A. Lemaire, “XQOffering ar” (*DJD* 36) 490-91, pl. XXXII. 4Q250: Pfann, “250. 4Qpap CryptA Concerning Cultic Service A” (*DJD* 36) 678-9, pl. XLVI.

¹²⁸ For these categories, see Collins, “Wisdom, Apocalypticism, and Generic Compatibility,” in *In Search of Wisdom: Essays in Memory of John G. Gammie* (ed. L. G. Perdue et al.; Louisville: John Knox, 1993) 165-85.

the Creator's attributes with the special revelation of the mystery to come. This work shows signs of a pre-sectarian core with likely sectarian interpolations. In addition to this piece, two other works likely authored by the sectarians exemplify the genre of wisdom sayings.

The first of these works is 4QWays of Righteousness, represented at Qumran by two manuscripts (4Q420, 4Q421).¹²⁹ This work has verbal and conceptual affinities with both the Rule of the Community and with Instruction. Thus we hear of the "[we]alth of the wicked" (הַיְוֵהוּ רְשָׁעִים).¹³⁰ A more extended passage about the annual mustering is found in 4QWays of Righteousness^b 1a i 2, "[he shall bring all] his [wi]sdom and knowledge and understanding and good things [into the Community]," a phrase familiar from the initiation vocabulary of the Rule.¹³¹ As in Instruction, there are several references to scales, weights and measures and, while the context is fragmentary, we may presume on analogy that these have become metaphors for the divine judgment of human action.¹³²

4QWays of Righteousness^b (4Q421) frgs. 2, 8, 11 and 13 have been reconstructed by Eibert J. C. Tigchelaar on the basis of 4QS^J 1-2 to read as follows:¹³³

One should not plan [aloud] or speak about all matters of work or about wealth or [gain] on the day of sa[bbat]h. And one should not sp[eak a w]ord except to [speak words of holiness.]

Tigchelaar reconstructs the manuscript according to a manuscript of the Rule of the Community; the sabbath ruling is also consistent with pronouncements in the Damascus Document (see §2.4.2.2 above). If he is correct that this portion is more like a rule, it would require us to consider this passage under the

¹²⁹ Elgvin, "420. 4QWays of Righteousness^a" and "421. 4QWays of Righteousness^b," in *Qumran Cave 4.XV: Sapiential Texts, Part 1* (ed. Elgvin et al.; DJD 20; Oxford: Clarendon, 1997) 173-202, pls. XV-XVI. See also his discussion in "Admonition Texts from Qumran Cave 4," in *Methods of Investigation*, 137-52.

¹³⁰ 4QWays of Righteousness^a 1a i 4, although the letters of הַיְוֵהוּ are not well preserved; for parallels, see CD VI 15; VIII 5; IQS X 19; cf. IQS IX 8 (הַיְוֵהוּ אֲנֵשׁ הַרְמִיָּה) and IQpHab VIII 11 (הַיְוֵהוּ אֲנֵשׁ הַחַסֵּד). In frg. 2 (*olim* 3) 8 of the same manuscript, we hear of the righteous man, "in its furrows he will plough and always...." The vocabulary is reminiscent of a problematic passage in IQS III 2-3 (*par* 4QpapS^c III 3-4; §3.3.1.1 above), "His knowledge and his strength and his wealth shall not enter into the council of the community because (they are?) with wicked tread from his plowing and (there are?) defilements l in his dwelling (or conversion?)."

¹³¹ IQS I 11-12; III 2; cf. CD XIII 11. The reading, "good things" (טוֹבוֹת) would differ from הַיְוֵהוּ in the other documents, and may in fact still be a possible reading of the ink strokes in 4QWays of Righteousness^b.

¹³² 4QWays of Righteousness^a 2 (*olim* 3) 3 "[to ad]d to their tributes/measures" (לְהוֹסִיף) מְדוּרָה; note the reference to "those stricken by judgme[nt]" on the following line); 3 2 "was a (just?) balance" (הָיָה מִשְׁקָל); note the reference to judgment on the preceding line).

¹³³ Tigchelaar believes the entire document is a rule book, rather than a sapiential work; see "Sabbath Halakha and Worship in 4QWays of Righteousness: 4Q421 11 and 13 + 2 + 8 *par* 4Q264a 1-2," *RevQ* 18 (1998) 359-72. On sabbath halakhah, see 4Q251 frg. 1, and L. Doering, "New Aspects of Qumran Sabbath Law from Cave 4 Fragments," in *Cambridge*, 251-74.

category of miscellaneous rule texts rather than as a wisdom text. The text is presented here because it is treated as a sapiential work in the critical edition and in its designation.

The final sectarian wisdom sayings text that bears on our topic does so not because it treats wealth, but because it uses a term for the initiates that is also found in the Damascus Document. 4QCryptic A Words of the Sage to the Sons of Dawn I 1 (4Q298) refers to the initiates with the same epithet, “sons of the dawn,” that is used in CD XIV 14-15 (see §2.4.1.5 above).¹³⁴ In the Damascus Document, the sons of the dawn are the members of the community to whom particularly stringent commercial restrictions apply. No one is to give to or take from them anything except by exchange; that is, no money may change hands. Our present text, however, does not allude to these commercial restrictions.

5.2.7.2 *Nature Wisdom*

The calendrical documents appear to have functioned as both examples of nature wisdom and as liturgical reference texts. One of these documents, 4QCalendrical Document A 4 ii 10-13 (4Q320),¹³⁵ refers to “the days, and according to the weeks, | [and] to the months, *Blank* | according to the years, and to the Releases (וְלִשְׁמֵטִים) | and to the jubilees (וְלִיְבֻלֹת).” The perspective of the document towards time is that it is divisible into periods, two of which have to do with wealth. The “releases” and the “jubilees” were periods of rest for the land, for the restoration of land to its original owners, and for the redemption of Israelites sold into slavery (Lev 25; cf. §2.5.4 above). The fragmentary state of the passage precludes saying much beyond this.

The jubilee legislation is important in the Damascus Document (4QD^f 3 1-10; §2.5.4 above). There, the statute against fraud in advance of the jubilee (Lev 25:14) warrants a new law against fraud in the marriage transaction. The original biblical command related to sales and leases of real property, and so its extension to marriage arrangements at all times—not simply in advance of the jubilee—represents the customary sectarian intensification of Torah. But this particular extension of Torah also suggests that the sectarians so honored the jubilee that they sought to live it on a more regular basis than merely every fiftieth year. In any case, the jubilee is clearly a significant temporal marker in the calendars, apocalyptic texts and parabiblical literature of the

¹³⁴ Pfann and Kister, “298. 4Qcrypt A Words of the Maskil to All Sons of Dawn” (*DJD* 20) 1-30, pls. 1-II.

¹³⁵ The critical edition has been published by Talmon in *Qumran Cave 4.XVI: Calendrical Texts* (ed. Talmon, J. Ben Dov and U. Gießner; *DJD* 21; Oxford: Clarendon, 2001).

sect, and therefore likely played a role in economic arrangements as well.¹³⁶

5.2.7.3 *Mantic Wisdom*

Mantic wisdom includes divinatory, astrological and physiognomic texts that associate human behavior with natural phenomena. It is a category of wisdom generally associated with Babylonian sources and frequently denounced in Jewish scripture. Examples of this type of wisdom were found at Qumran and have consequently stimulated a reevaluation of the place of mantic wisdom in Jewish life.

4QHoruscope (4Q186) is an astrological text, but it has also been called a physiognomic text, in that it associates certain physical features of the person with the astrological sign under which that person was born.¹³⁷ In frg. 1 ii 7-9, we hear one such person described: "His spirit has six (parts) in the house of light and three in the house of 1 darkness. And this is the sign in which he was born: the period of Taurus. He will be poor (עני)."¹³⁸ The text predicts that the person born will be poor, and that prediction is based on an allocation of his parts in light and darkness that is in turn correlated to astronomical events at his birth. The parts of light assigned to a person are determined by the number of stars in the constellation that have risen above the horizon when the person is born, whereas the remaining stars of the constellation that lie below the horizon provide the number of his lot in darkness. The reason why this particular calculus in the sign of Taurus presages poverty is not clear. The important thing to note is the determinism inherent in accounting for poverty in this manner. The house of darkness, which may be related to the pit in other sectarian texts, is here the physical realm below the horizon.

The same sense of determinism relative to wealth is indicated in some other mantic wisdom texts, but since these are in Aramaic and arguably non-sectarian, they will be discussed below (§5.3.5).

5.2.7.4 *Wisdom through Revelation*

The category of wisdom transmitted through special revelation is one of the types of wisdom generated in apocalyptic circles. The content of the special revelation frequently includes a periodization of history culminating in an eschatological reversal of fortune or a critique of present institutions from the perspective of an otherworldly journey.

¹³⁶ The practice of the sabbatical and/or jubilee years is suggested by Mur 24, a series of rental contracts executed by Bar Kokhba's agent during the Second Jewish Revolt. The leases were valid from the date of execution to the "eve of the remission"; see §7.4 below.

¹³⁷ Allegro, "186" (*DJDJ* 5) 88-91, pl. XXXI; Strugnell, "Notes en Marge," 274-6.

¹³⁸ VanderKam, "Mantic Wisdom in the Dead Sea Scrolls," *DSD* 4 (1977) 341-3; M. Albani, "Horusopes," *EDSS*, 1.370-73; Lange, "Physiognomie oder Gotteslob? 4Q301 3," *DSD* 4 (1997) 292.

An example of the periodization of history is 4QFour Kingdoms^{a, b} (4Q552–553).¹³⁹ The four kingdoms of the title are portrayed as four trees. The manuscript preserves descriptions of only the first two: Babel and a second tree that rules over the powers of the sea and over the harbor (4QFour Kingdoms^a 1 ii 9-10).¹⁴⁰ The oppressive power whose days are numbered derives its power through its military and commercial stranglehold.¹⁴¹

The periods of history are governed by the biblical notion of the jubilee year in 11QMelchizedek (11Q13).¹⁴² This document applies the jubilee regulation to return property (Lev 25:13; Deut 15:2) to the return of captive peoples.¹⁴³ Furthermore, after a cycle of nine jubilees, atonement will be made for the sons of God and for the men of the lot of Melchizedek. Melchizedek will carry out the vengeance of God's judges and free the people from the hands of Belial. This will usher in justice and the day of peace, a time of salvation (II 15-25):

This [...] is the day of [peace about whi]ch he said [...] through Isa[ia]h the prophet, who said: ["How] beautiful | upon the mountains are the feet [of] the messen[ger who] announces peace, of the mess[enger of good who announces salvati]on, [sa]ying to Zion: 'your God [reigns]'" [Isa 52:7]. | Its interpretation: The mountains [are] the prophet[s...] ... [...] for all ... [...] | And the messenger i[s] the anointed of the spir[it] as Dan[iel] said [about him: "Until an anointed, a prince, it is seven weeks" [Dan 9:25]. And the messenger of] | good who announ[ces salvation] is the one about whom it is written that [...] | "To comfo[rt] the [afflicted, to watch over the afflicted ones of Zion]" [Isa 61:2-3]. "To comfo[rt] the afflicted," its interpretation:] to instruct them in all the ages of the wo[rld...] | in truth ... [...] ... [...] | [...] has turned away from Belial and will re[turn ...] ... [...] | [...] in the judgment[s of] God, as is written about him: "Saying to Zi[on]: 'your God rules'" [Isa 52:7]. ["Zi]on" i[s] | [the congregation of all the sons of justice, those] who establish the covenant, those who avoid walking [on the path] of the people. And "your God" is | [...]Melchizedek, who will fr[e]e them from the ha[nd] of Belial.

The author of the text expects a messiah-instructor, the anointed of the spirit (משיח הרוח), who stands on the mountains of the prophets and announces sal-

¹³⁹ The critical edition will be published by Puech in *Qumran Cave 4.XXVII: Textes araméens, deuxième partie: 4Q550–575, 580–582* (DJD 37). See also 4QApocryphon of Daniel (4Q246), which refers to the oppression of Assyria and Egypt (I 6) and the crushing of people until God's rise; Puech, "246. 4QApocryphe de Daniel ar" (DJD 22) 165-84, pl. XI.

¹⁴⁰ Since the second tree is discussed in frg. 6 ii 5-6, it is unclear if this reference is to this same tree or to another.

¹⁴¹ Cf. 4QFour Kingdoms^b 8 ii 1-2 has a similar but even more fragmentary reference to "the harbors and over [...] | the power of the strength."

¹⁴² García Martínez, Tigchelaar, and van der Woude, "13. 11QMelchizedek" (DJD 23) 221-41, pl. XXVII.

¹⁴³ 11QMelchizedek shares certain features in common with the beginning of Luke's gospel: both refer to the return to one's property (for the jubilee year in 11QMelch II 2, for the Roman census in Luke 2:1-7), both cite the proclamation of the year of release (11QMelch II 6; Luke 4:19), and both cite Isaiah 52:7 in the context of this jubilee (11QMelch II 15-25; Luke 4:16-22).

vation. This salvation is comfort for the afflicted (הַמְאֻבְלִים) in the form of instruction about the periods of history and their ultimate end. This view of conceptual rather than or prior to material relief is similar to the eschatological vision of Instruction. It is Melchizedek who will free them from the hand of Belial. Since the hand of Belial is elsewhere associated with wealth (CD IV–VI), and since the term “afflictions” can include financial hardship, it is legitimate to understand the messianic salvation as at least conceptual relief from the problems posed by the present affliction of the just, if not material relief from that affliction as well. This possibility is supported by the fact that eschatological redemption is envisaged as partially economic in several other Qumran texts, namely the constitutional literature, the *Hodayot* and *Instruction*.

Another wisdom text, 4QMessianic Apocalypse ? 2 ii 1-13 (4Q521), associates the messianic era with economic redemption, as well as with healing:¹⁴⁴

[...for the heav]ens and the earth will listen to his anointed one. | [and all] that is in them will not turn away from the precepts of the holy ones. | Strengthen yourselves, you who are seeking the Lord, in his service! *Blank* | Will you not in this encounter the Lord, all those who hope in their heart? | For the Lord will consider the pious, and call the righteous by name, | and his spirit will hover upon the poor, and he will renew the faithful with his strength. | For he will honor the pious upon the throne of an eternal kingdom, | freeing prisoners, giving sight to the blind, straightening out the twis[ted.] | And for[e]ver shall I cling to [those who] hope, and in his mercy [...] | and the fru[it of ...] ... not be delayed. | And the Lord will perform marvelous acts such as have not existed, just as he sa[id,] | [for] he will heal the badly wounded and will make the dead live, he will proclaim good news to the poor | and [...] ... [...] he will lead the [...] and enrich the hungry.

The eschatological reversal of fortune will include placing God’s spirit upon the poor (עֲנִיִּים), freeing prisoners, giving sight to the blind, healing the badly wounded, proclaiming good news to the poor, and enriching the hungry. Many of these acts are based upon earlier biblical exhortations in Isaiah 58:6-7, 61:1 and Psalm 146. But the special reference to healing the badly wounded is an emphasis not found in the biblical models but present in the sectarian literature at Qumran. There is an additional reference in the document to freeing others in the context of “the law of your favor” (חֻקַּיְךָ חֶסֶד), but the context is broken so the meaning is unclear.

Two other manuscripts, both designated 4QApocryphal Lamentations, re-

¹⁴⁴ Cf. 11QPsAp^a IV 2-3; 4QH^a 7 ii 7-11 *par* 4QH^c 1 1-9. 4Q521 has been published by Puech, “521. 4QApocalypse messianique,” in *Qumrân grotte 4.XVIII: Textes hébreux (4Q521–4Q528, 4Q576–4Q579)* (DJD 25; Oxford: Clarendon, 1998) 1-38, pls. I–III; for further discussion, see Collins, *The Scepter and the Star: The Messiahs of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Ancient Literature* (ABRL; New York: Doubleday, 1995) 117-22.

late the wounds of the present anguish to debts.¹⁴⁵ In 4QapocrLam A 1 i 12-15, “debt” may be employed as a metaphor for sin:

Our inheritance has been turned into a desert, land which does not | [... the soun]d of j[o]y is not heard in her. And he who is looking for | [...] for our incurable wounds. All our debts | [...] our [trans]gressions [our] ... [...] our sins...

The transformation of the land into a desert may refer to a real drought or famine; in the very least, the heaping of metaphors of deprivation (desert, lack of joy, incurable wounds, and debts [חוביני]) indicates the perceived and relative deprivation of the speaker. The context is more complete in 4QapocrLam B 1-4:

Do not give our inheritance to foreigners, nor our produce to the son of foreigners. Remember that | [we are the removed one]s of your people and the forsaken ones of your inheritance. Remember the sons of your covenant, the desolate, | [...] the spurred ones (המגורבים¹⁴⁶), the wanderers, who no one brings back, the sorely wounded, who no one bandages, | [those bent double, who no one raises up.

A cluster of images of is used to portray the author’s intended audience in terms of their deprivation: they are the desolate, the spurred ones, the wanderers, the undredeemed, the wounded, those who receive no medical care, the crippled.¹⁴⁷ The present plight prompts an exhortation to avoid commerce of any kind with foreigners, even though this would presumably aggravate even further the circumstances of those loyal to the covenant. The author goes on to speak of “the wretched ones of your people,” presumably fellow Jews who nevertheless mock the sons of the covenant and act violently against the poor and needy (עני ואביון, line 9).

One final representative of the wisdom through revelation category is the Mysteries text, attested by several manuscripts from Qumran.¹⁴⁸ 1QMysteries 1 i 10-11 uses the example of international oppression to illustrate that the golden rule is not operative in the world:

What people would wish to be oppressed by another more powerful than itself? Who | would wish to be sinfully looted of its wealth? And yet, which is the people not to oppress its neighbor? Where is the people which has not | looted [another] of its wea[lth?]

¹⁴⁵ 4QApocryphal Lamentations A (4Q179): Allegro, “179. Lamentations” (*DJD* 5) 75-7, pl. XXVI; Strugnell, “Notes en Marge,” 250-52. 4QApocryphal Lamentations B (4Q501): Baillet, “501. Lamentation” (*DJD* 7) 79-80, pl. XXVIII.

¹⁴⁶ Perhaps an error for “the volunteers” (המתנדבים)?

¹⁴⁷ These groups are very similar to those aided by the “service of the association” in CD XIV 12-19 and parallels; see §2.4.3.2 above.

¹⁴⁸ Those that mention wealth include 1QMysteries (1Q27): Milik, “27. ‘Livres des mystères’” (*DJD* 1) 102-107, pls. XXI–XXII; 4QMysteries^a (4Q299): Schiffman, “299. 4QMysteries^a” (*DJD* 20) 33-97, pls. III–VII (which has only a brief reference to inheritance); and 4QMysteries^c: Schiffman, “301. 4QMysteries^c (?)” (*DJD* 20) 113-23, pl. IX.

The two crimes which all peoples hate but which all peoples commit are to oppress (עשק) and to sinfully loot their neighbors of wealth (גזל ברשע הון). All of this is noted in a passage that hopes for the future revelation of justice, when those who presently do not know the mystery to come (רז נהייה), lines 3-4) are locked up and evil is destroyed forever (lines 5-8). In the meantime, injustice occurs on the local level as well (1 ii 2-8):

For him the reckonings (חשבונות) are advantageous [...] | ... [...] ... what benefit is there [...] | except he who does good and he who does evil. If ...[...] | He will have no success in anything. So all the good, his riches (ממונו)...[...] | without wealth (הון), and will be sold without them paying him, because [...] | What is [...] than life, except all [...] | value, and n[o] price will be enough for...

The passage seems to be promising that the unjust man will lose all his hoarded wealth in the end time, or at least at the end of his life, and may even have “no success” in the meantime. This judgment about the folly of mammon is a familiar motif in the sapiential tradition, while the apparent contrast to the priority of ethical action is consistent with sectarian economic perspectives. 4QMysteries^c 2 2-3 also preserves the phrase “without price” (לוא מחיר), but the context is too fragmentary to reconstruct the meaning.

5.2.7.5 Conclusions

The sectarian sapiential texts reinforce certain terms and concepts associated with the economy. Community members are repeatedly referred to as volunteers, evoking not only their intention but also their commitment of property. The epithet “sons of dawn” is also used. The poor adherent is given two consolations in his present lack: God will reverse fortunes in a predetermined cycle of jubilees, and poverty is not one’s fault but is also predetermined. These explanations counter the easy theodicy of both the Deuteronomistic history and the act-consequence relation prevalent in the wider wisdom tradition.

5.2.8 Conclusions about the Sectarian Literature

The sectarian literature from Qumran shares with the Damascus Document and the Rule a concern for the poor which is driven by the community’s experience of oppression. Poverty is never an ideal, but is rather something which God will remedy in the end times. The sectarian literature mentions motifs known from the core documents and there linked to wealth, such as Belial, the arrogance and violence associated with wealth, the correlation of wealth to food and to sacred food in particular, the critique of imperial and cultic levies and abuses, the employment of food rations as penalties, references to the pit, designations of the faithful as the volunteers and sons of dawn, stages of responsibility for community finances and acts, wariness of economic inter-

course with the impure, the rationale of covenant fidelity, and the ideal of the wilderness community. Matters more fully developed in the non-constitutional sectarian literature include the critique of international commerce and of the Wicked Priest, reference to the institution of benefaction to depict divine intent and to belittle human "heroes," the portrait of present deprivation in terms of a lack of food, the mechanism of rebuke that could be used for economic or financial missteps, a depiction of a violent eschatological reversal which includes the motifs of healing and a fattened remnant, and the correlation of equitable distribution with that end-time vision and the conquest tradition of the past. The metaphors chosen for oppression and redemption in these documents are not selected at random, but rather are selected on the basis of the nature of the present distress. Thus the eschatological event will include a full table at which people will grow fat; the swords and spears of the sons of light will be marked with ears of grain, and the heroes who attend God will bestow God's benefactions in a more just system of distribution.

5.3 *Wealth in the Non-sectarian Literary Texts*

The non-sectarian literary texts from Qumran also mention wealth, but as might be expected they do this with less frequency and without the particular vocabulary of the sectarian material. The fact that they lack sectarian vocabulary is in part explained by the *a priori* distinction of sectarian literature on the basis of vocabulary. The category of halakhic material is not represented in the non-sectarian literature at all, while the category of parabiblical literature has only non-sectarian exemplars.

5.3.1 *Literature with Eschatological Content*

One non-sectarian work in the corpus of eschatological literature from Qumran sheds light on the economic oppression endured by Judean Jews during the reign of Antiochus IV Epiphanes. 4QHistorical Text A (4Q248) is, in the opinion of its editors, an historical section of an apocalyptic work grounding a future vision (not preserved) in an accurate account of recent history.¹⁴⁹ That history includes the exploits of Antiochus IV during his two Egyptian campaigns (170/169 and 168 B.C.E.). In the context of a siege of Alexandria, we hear that the Alexandrians were forced to resort to cannibalism (lines 3-4), which may or may not be true. More likely are the charges that Antiochus seized control of crown land in Egypt and then sold it to fill his coffers (lines 5-6), for we have attestations by Porphyry and by Jerome (commenting on

¹⁴⁹ M. Broshi and E. Eshel, "248. 4QHistorical Text A" (*DJD* 36) 192-200, pl. IX.

Daniel 11:21) that Antiochus proclaimed himself King of Egypt¹⁵⁰ and that he was rapacious (Polybius 30.25.1–26.9). The text goes on to say, in a *vaticinia ex eventu*, “he shall com[e] to the Temple city and seize it and all [its treasures] and he shall overthrow lands of nations” (lines 6-8). It would appear that Antiochus did in Jerusalem and other nations what he did in Egypt, namely to expropriate and sell royal and sacred lands (1 Macc 1:20-24; 2 Macc 5:1, 11-16; Livy 45.11.9). As the editors note, this would explain an otherwise obscure verse in Daniel 11:39, in which the king will reward his loyal adherents with power and “shall distribute [to them] land for a price.”

The document now designated 4QTime of Righteousness (4Q215a) refers to the trial or anguish of the pit (וְנִסּוּי שַׁחַר) and uses the metaphor of the refiner’s fire to depict the present distress of the elect of righteousness (בְּחִירֵי צְדָקָה, 1 ii 2-3).¹⁵¹ A few lines further, the time of righteousness (עַתַּת הַצְדָּקָה, line 5) the period of peace (קִצְוַת שְׁלוֹמִים, line 6) and the dominion of {righteousness} good (מִלְּמַל הַצְדָּקָה הַטוֹבָה, line 10) are anticipated, at which time knowledge will be spread, intelligence, prudence and wisdom will be proved by “[his?] holy thought” (בְּמַחְשַׁבְתּוֹ הַקֹּדֶשׁ, line 5), and everyone will recognize and worship God. As the editors point out, there are close affinities between the eschatological terminology of this document and the Qumran sectarian literature. However, since some of the highlighted terms are shared with *1 Enoch* 11 and the Apocalypse of Weeks, it is more likely that 4QTime of Righteousness represents a pre-Qumranic apocalyptic work.¹⁵² The future dispersion of knowledge and righteousness parallels the donation of knowledge and deeds in the Rule of the Community and corresponds to the eschatological vision of Instruction as well.

5.3.2 Exegetical Literature

Two arguably non-sectarian exegetical works from Qumran deal with wealth, the Temple Scroll and 11QTargum of Job. The former treats largely sacrificial commerce, while the latter presents wealth as material blessing.

5.3.2.1 The Temple Scroll

The Temple Scroll is the most significant piece of non-sectarian literature for the topic of wealth, not because of what it says about wealth, but rather because it says very little. The scroll is a systematic rewriting of the Torah from

¹⁵⁰ F. Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*, 3 vols. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1954–1964; original Berlin: Weidmann, 1923) II/3B, 260 F49.

¹⁵¹ This passage was originally published as part of 4QTestament of Naphtali (4Q215) by M. E. Stone (*DJD* 22) 73-82, pl. V. Subsequently, Chazon and Stone published it as a separate manuscript, “215a. 4QTime of Righteousness (*olim* part of 4Q215, 4QTestament of Naphtali)” (*DJD* 36) 172-84, pl. VIII.

¹⁵² Chazon and Stone, *DJD* 36, 175-8, 184.

the end of Exodus through Deuteronomy that skips precisely those portions of Deuteronomy that treat secular commerce.¹⁵³

Two certain copies of the Temple Scroll were found in Cave 11 (11Q19–11Q20, 11QTemple Scroll^{a, b}, and a third fragmentary copy from Cave 4 may preserve the end of the scroll (4Q524, 4QTemple Scroll^b).¹⁵⁴ Two other texts are similar to Temple Scroll, but there is not sufficient overlap to justify a certain identification.¹⁵⁵ The work is a composite of earlier sources, including at the least a description of the Temple, a festival calendar and related laws, and an exposition of Deuteronomy that harmonizes laws found elsewhere in Torah with Deuteronomy 12–26.

There has been some dispute about whether the work is sectarian or non-sectarian. Hartmut Stegemann and Michael O. Wise argue that the document is completely independent of the Qumran community, while Yigael Yadin, Florentino García Martínez and Philip R. Davies hold the opposite opinion.¹⁵⁶ The text is treated as non-sectarian in this study on the basis of the criteria developed by Newsom (see Table 11). However, in view of the fact that the document shares some important affinities with the Damascus Document, the War Scroll, the Peshet of Nahum, the Rule of the Congregation, and the 364-day calendar of the sect, it is acknowledged that it likely originated in the priestly circles from whom the Qumran community later drew many of its leaders.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵³ Schiffman notes a parallel phenomenon, that the Temple Scroll is silent on the matter of ritual purity practices in everyday life, which so characterized the Qumran sect; see *Sectarian Law*, 14.

¹⁵⁴ 11QTemple Scroll^a: Y. Yadin, *The Temple Scroll*, 3 vols., rev. English ed. (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society/The Institute of Archaeology of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem/The Shrine of the Book, 1983); E. Qimron, *The Temple Scroll. A Critical Edition with Extensive Reconstructions* (JDS; Beer Sheva/Jerusalem: Ben-Gurion University of the Negev Press/Israel Exploration Society, 1996); and Lemaire, "Nouveaux fragments du Rouleau du Temple de Qumrân," *RevQ* 17 (1996) 272-3, pl. 27. 11QTemple^b: García Martínez, Tigchelaar and van der Woude, "20. 11QTemple^b?" (*DJD* 23) 357-409, pls. XLI–XLVII. 4QTemple Scroll^b: Puech, "524. 4QRouleau du Temple" (*DJD* 25) 85-114, pls. VII–VIII.

¹⁵⁵ 4QTemple^a (4Q365a) is more likely part of 4QReworked Pentateuch^c (S. A. White Crawford, "365a. 4QTemple?" [*DJD* 13] 319-33, pls. XXXIII–XXXIV; 11QTemple^c (11Q21) is possibly a fragment of a *Jubilees* manuscript, although the text does not overlap with either *Jubilees* or the known text of the Temple Scroll (García Martínez, Tigchelaar and van der Woude, "21. 11QTemple^c?" [*DJD* 23] 411-14, pl. XLVIII).

¹⁵⁶ Stegemann, "The Origins of the Temple Scroll," in *Congress Volume: Jerusalem, 1986* (ed. J. A. Emerton; VTSup 40; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1988) 235-56; Wise, *A Critical Study of the Temple Scroll from Qumran Cave 11* (Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1990); Yadin, *The Temple Scroll*; García Martínez, "Sources et composition du Rouleau du Temple," *Hen* 13 (1991) 219-32; Davies, "The Temple Scroll and the Damascus Document," in *Temple Scroll Studies* (ed. Brooke; Sheffield: JSOT, 1989) 201-210; *idem*, "The Ideology of the Temple in the Damascus Document," *JJS* 33 (1982) 287-301, reprinted in *Sects and Scrolls: Essays on Qumran and Related Topics* (USFSHJ 134; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996) 45-60.

¹⁵⁷ Following García Martínez, "Temple Scroll," trans. A. E. Alvarez, *EDSS*, 2.931, who also lists more precisely those features shared by the Temple Scroll and these other sectarian documents.

The Temple Scroll does discuss commerce, but mostly it is the commerce that bears on the cult. Thus there are sections on oaths and dedicated property, work on sabbath, tithes, and the half-shekel contribution. But these issues are not the focal point of the document; rather, the document is concerned to establish the holy ground of the Temple vis-à-vis the profane space of the associations and camps. Moreover, the officers in the scroll are not those found in the sectarian texts (Examiner, Overseer, Instructor, Teacher of Righteousness), but rather the priests and the Levites. The sacred food is not designated the “purity,” as it will be in the Rule, although the “purity” does refer to the sacrificial food from the Jerusalem Temple. Some of these differences are due to the pseudepigraphic fiction that the document is a direct divine revelation on Sinai; too many concessions to the actual Jerusalem Temple or the nascent Qumran community would thus be anachronistic. Nevertheless, it does appear that the document is articulated against the present Temple establishment for, as García Martínez points out, the setting of Sinai rather than the eschatological future presumes that this ritual blueprint precedes and therefore should be normative for the present.

Certain cultic regulations included in the document mention wealth. We hear of the customary age distinctions for participation in the cult, symbolized by the right to enter the courtyard of men after a young man reaches the age of the census tax (XXXIX). There are regulations about when and where to consume the sacred food (XLIII). There are descriptions of the storerooms along the inner courtyard as well as extra storerooms for the Levites along the women’s courtyard wall (11QTemple^a XXXVII–XLIV; 11QTemple^b frg. 12). There are regulations for free-will offerings (XXIX 5; LX 1-15; Deut 18:1-8). A prohibition against menial work on sacred days appears in both manuscripts (11QTemple^a XXV 9-10; XXVII 5-10; 11QTemple^b 5 5). People are urged to make good on vows (LIII 9-14):

Take only your holy things and all your votive offerings and go to the place over which I shall make | my name dwell, and sacrifice there before me in accordance with what you consecrated or vowed with your mouth. | And if you make a vow, do not delay in fulfilling it, because I shall certainly demand it from your hand | and it shall become a sin with you; but if you refrain and you do not make a vow there will be no sin with you. | You shall keep what comes out from your lips, so as you vowed with your mouth a freewill-offering (נדבה), you shall do | so as you vowed. *Blank*

Some of these same laws, and even the phrase “I shall certainly demand it from your hand,” occur in the Damascus Document.¹⁵⁸ In general, the laws regarding vows in cols. LIII 9–LIV 7 conflate the source material (Deut 23:22-24 + Num 30:3-16), but otherwise add little that is new except a ten-

¹⁵⁸ 4QD^a 7 iii 1-7 and 4QD^b 8 3-7; §2.4.2.4 above. See also 4QInstruction^c and parallels for the advice to repay loans expeditiously (pp. 180-81 above).

dency toward the prohibition of vows altogether and a clarification that the father or husband may nullify oaths as well as vows.¹⁵⁹

With exceptions such as the treatment of vows, the portion of the Temple Scroll that explicates the Deuteronomic Code (Deut 12–26) in columns LI–LXVII largely ignores cultic economic regulations and “secular” commercial laws. Of the eighteen legal passages from Deuteronomy eliminated from the Temple Scroll, fourteen or perhaps fifteen (78%–83%) treat sacrificial and commercial economy.¹⁶⁰ The missing passages include legislation regarding the following topics: the tithing of the third year to community storerooms for Levites, aliens, orphans and widows (Deut 14:28–29);¹⁶¹ the release from debt and slavery in the sabbatical year (Deut 15:1–18); the boundary mark (Deut 19:14); the regulation of slavery (Deut 23:16–17); interest for loans (Deut 23:20–21); eating a neighbor’s grapes or grain (Deut 23:25–26); divorce (Deut 24:1–4); taking a handmill as pledge (Deut 24:6); the kidnap and sale of a fellow Israelite (Deut 24:7); loans and pledges (Deut 24:10–13); loans on hired servants and foreigners (Deut 24:14–15); justice and gleaning for foreigners and others (Deut 24:17–22); the offering of first fruits (Deut 26:1–11); and third-year tithes (Deut 26:12–15). The fifteenth case of an omission may bear on cultic commerce: the law against cultic prostitution in Deut 23:18–19 was omitted from the Temple Scroll, and may have involved the exchange of money or goods (it also might have been omitted if no longer relevant). The Deuteronomic law on just weights is not omitted, but subsumed in LII 15.¹⁶² Perhaps this lack of interest in general commercial law simply underscores the cultic function of the document or the ritual concerns of its authors.

At the same time, certain of the Deuteronomic laws that do appear treat economic matters. Laws regarding vows have already been mentioned. The second tithe is to be brought to Jerusalem every year (XLIII 3–15; XXXIV 12–14; Deut 14:22–27). Prohibition of bribery of judges is discussed (LI 11–18, Exod 23:6; Deut 1:16–18; 16:18–20), as are spoils in battle (LXII 5–16; Deut 20:10–20) and recompense for rape (LXV 7–LXVI 11; Deut 22:13–27). In addition, certain conflicting biblical laws are harmonized, namely other laws

¹⁵⁹ In contrast to the Damascus Document, which chooses to comment on only some of the biblical laws regarding oaths and vows; see Schiffman, “The Law of Vows and Oaths (*Num.* 30, 3–16) in the *Zadokite Fragments and the Temple Scroll*,” *RevQ* 15 (1991) 199–214.

¹⁶⁰ Wise, *A Critical Study of the Temple Scroll*, 162–76. The summary that follows depends upon Wise’s presentation of the evidence.

¹⁶¹ J. Milgrom notes that later rabbinic law allowed the third- and sixth-year tithes to be given to the poor, based on Deuteronomy 14:28–29 and 26:12–26. The Temple Scroll community, on the other hand, apparently stipulated that the tithe of every year was to go to Jerusalem (*Jub* 32:10–12; Josephus, *Ant.* 4.8.22 [§§240–241]; Milgrom, “The Temple Scroll,” *BA* 41 [1978] 116).

¹⁶² The other omitted legal passages that do not appear to treat commercial matters are laws regarding the following topics: the scourging of a wicked man (Deut 25:1–3); Levirate marriage (Deut 25:5–10); and the wife touching the genitals of her husband’s enemy during a fight (Deut 25:11–12).

regarding spoils (LVIII 11-15; Num 31:27-30; 1 Sam 30:24-25) and the virgin who is raped (LXVI 8-11; Exod 22:15-16; Deut 22:28-29). There are some additional laws based on legislation elsewhere in Torah that discuss financial issues. For example, the king's many advisors are to be "haters of violent gain" (שנאי בצע; LVII 9), a command likely based on the criterion for judges in Jethro's time (Exod 18:21); the king himself is to avoid abusing his power to seize property (LVII 19-21); and the king is to be allowed a large portion of the spoils if victorious in battle (LVIII 3-15). The fact that the king cannot marry more than one wife or divorce his wife is suggestive of the admonition against fornication in CD IV 20-V 2 and likewise prohibits a possible avenue of "evil gain" through marriage arrangements:¹⁶³

When you enter the land which I give you, and take possession of it and live | in it and say, "I shall set a king over myself like all the peoples which surround me," | then you shall set over yourself a king /whom I shall choose./ From among your brothers you shall set over yourself a king; | you shall not set over yourself a foreign man who is not your brother. Only he shall not | multiply the cavalry to himself or make the people go back to Egypt on account of war in order to | multiply to himself the cavalry and the silver and gold. *Blank* And I told you, "You shall not | go back again on this path." And he shall not multiply wives to himself, lest | they turn his heart away from me. He shall not multiply silver and gold; not too much. | *Blank* (LVI 12-20)

The prohibition of polygamy occurs in a larger context that prohibits the amassing of wealth by the king. He is to augment his wealth neither through war nor through multiple marriages. The shared goal of these two strategies is further demonstrated in the same prohibition is used in both: "he shall not multiply to himself silver and gold" (וּכְסֵף וְזָהָב לֹא יִרְבֶּה). This warrants the claim made here and in Chapter 2 that polygamy is prohibited in part because it is a strategy for amassing wealth.

One interesting feature of the Temple Scroll is the augmented role of the Levites, whose privileges are extended so that they achieve a certain parity with priests. Jacob Milgrom has noted the improvements: they join priests on the king's advisory council (LII 12-15), they are given the right to pronounce the priestly blessing (LX 11), their tithes are restored (LX 6-9; cf. Neh 13:5, 12),¹⁶⁴ they are awarded the shoulder from every well-being offering

¹⁶³ Though see 11QTemple^a LIV 4 and the reconstructed LXVI 01 (Deut 22:19), which presume divorce, and the available space at 11QTemple^a LXIV 02-1, which could have accommodated Deut 21:15-17 and therefore which presumes polygamy.

¹⁶⁴ Scripture allocated the Levites the first tithe, one-hundredth of the spoil and hunt, and one-tenth the wild honey (Num 18:21-24; 31:30), but the Temple Scroll adds the shoulder of the well-being offering, one-fiftieth of the wild doves, and two pairs of the fourteen lambs and fourteen rams offered on the New Wine and New Oil festivals; see Milgrom, "Studies in the Temple Scroll," *JBL* 97 (1978) 502. See also R. A. Kugler, "The Priesthood at Qumran: The Evidence of References to Levi and the Levites," in *Provo*, 465-79; and Schiffman, "Priestly and Levitical Gifts in the Temple Scroll," in *Provo*, 480-96.

(XXI 4), and they receive twice the portion of the well-being offerings on certain festivals in comparison to the other tribes (XXI [1]; XXII 12). Lest we read too much into this "extraordinary windfall" of the Levites, Milgrom offers that their inclusion has less to do with political circumstances in the authorial community than with the exegetical technique of homogenization.¹⁶⁵ In places where scripture mentions only priests, the author has homogenized the text to others like Deuteronomy 17:9, which mentions priests *and* Levites, so that *all* passages read "priests and Levites." The priests maintain certain prerogatives themselves. Thus, for example, the author of the Temple Scroll grants them the fourth-year tithe of cattle and sheep (LX 2-4), even though the recipient is unspecified in Leviticus 27:32-33. This is not a unique judgment, but is rather common in contemporary literature with the exception of the rabbis,¹⁶⁶ and Schiffman traces it to a homogenization of the Leviticus passage with Numbers 18:8-20.¹⁶⁷ Likewise, the fourth-year tithe of fruit goes to the priest in view of Leviticus 27:30 (cf. *Jub* 7:35-37). The allocation of the fourth-year tithe to the priest is shared in 4QMMT B 63-64, likely also dating to the earliest history of the sect. On the other hand, the Temple Scroll preserves a contradiction present in scripture which allocates the firstborn offering both to the offerer (Deut 15:19-23; 11QT^a LII 7-12) and to the priests (Num 18:15; 11QT^a LX 2-3).¹⁶⁸

There is also a perceptible trend in the Temple Scroll to augment the descriptions of the Temple furnishings so that they are more luxurious. For example, 11QTemple^a VII 13-14 describes a curtain woven with gold, whereas in Exodus 26:31-33 the yarns are merely described as purple, crimson and of fine twisted linen, with cherubim skillfully worked in.¹⁶⁹ In similar fashion, 11QTemple^a III 8-14 amplifies the number of golden vessels in the biblical record (Exod 25:29). George J. Brooke offers that the biblical text may have been augmented in its transmission, since the Septuagint also exhibits this tendency (Exod 25:23: table for the bread of the presence made of acacia wood, overlaid with gold π , table of pure gold Θ). Alternatively, the description in 11QTemple^a may reflect conditions in the renovated Herodian

¹⁶⁵ Milgrom, "The Qumran Cult: Its Exegetical Principles," in *Temple Scroll Studies: Papers Presented at the International Symposium on the Temple Scroll, Manchester, December 1987* (ed. Brooke; JSPSup 7; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1989) 1173-8. Milgrom argues that the case of the shoulder of the well-being offering is based on an interpretation of Deuteronomy 18:1-3 in "The Shoulder for the Levites," in *The Temple Scroll*, vol. 1 (ed. Yadin; Jerusalem: Steimatzky, 1985) 169-76.

¹⁶⁶ *Jub* 13:25-26; *Tob* 1:6; Philo, *Spec. Laws* 1.141; 4.98; *Virtues* 95; *Did.* 13.3.

¹⁶⁷ "Miqṣat Ma'ase ha-Torah and the Temple Scroll," *RevQ* 14 (1990) 452-6.

¹⁶⁸ See Exod 12:2, 11-13 which does not specify the recipient; Schiffman, "Priestly and Levitical Gifts in the Temple Scroll," in *Provo*, 483.

¹⁶⁹ Neither does Josephus mention a golden curtain; see *Ant.* 3.6.4 (§§125-126) and 8.3.3 (§72). Schiffman adduces rabbinic parallels to the curtain of gold in "The Furnishings of the Temple According to the Temple Scroll," in *Madrid*, 2.625-7.

Temple.¹⁷⁰ But the description differs enough from contemporary descriptions of the Second Temple that it is more likely influenced by ideological interests. The ideal Temple of this scroll borrows some features from Ezekiel's ideal Temple: the emphasis on the courts as opposed to the sanctuary, the square form of the courts, the use of similar technical terms. Nevertheless, there are many differences as well, suggesting that the author distinguished between the Sinai blueprint to be built by humans and the messianic Temple of the future.¹⁷¹

In addition to its affinity to Ezekiel's utopian Temple, the Temple Scroll has some other affinities with the core constitutional texts from Qumran, probably because the sectarian texts are heavily influenced by the Torah, and specifically by the Book of Deuteronomy. The covenant fidelity rationale based on passages like Deuteronomy 6:5 is present in LIV 8-21.¹⁷² The Deuteronomic language of exhortation against straying to the right or the left is repeated (LVI 7). The sons of Belial make their customary appearance (LV 3; cf. Deut 13:14); the ban on them and on all their property and spoils is similar to the laws in our core texts for the separation from their wealth (LV 5-11; cf. Deut 13:15-18). There is a wariness of royal prerogatives and an association of wealth with strength (מַאֲדָה) when the king is encouraged not to increase silver and gold too much (לִרְאוֹ מְאֻדָּה; LVI 19; Deut 17:17). The stipulation that the king's advisors are to hate unjust gain (LVII 9; Exod 18:21) is retained as a criterion for the members of the sectarian community (CD VIII 2-12; X 14-21; XI 15; XII 6-11). The state of defeat and exile is characterized as one in which the people lack everything (LIX 2-3), while redemption is promised if they turn back to God "with all their heart and with all their soul, in agreement with all the words of this law" (LIX 9-10). The regulation restricting the sanctuary to the physically perfect is reminiscent of biblical law and the sectarian understanding of the sacred nature of community rituals.¹⁷³

Yet the Temple Scroll presumes ongoing worship in Jerusalem, and attaches the sanctity of the wilderness encampment at the base of Sinai to that city or as Levine argues to its Temple compound, rather than to a sectarian

¹⁷⁰ Brooke, "The Textual Tradition of the *Temple Scroll* and Recently Published Manuscripts of the Pentateuch," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Forty Years of Research* (ed. D. Dimant and U. Rappaport; STDJ 10; Jerusalem/Leiden: Magnes Press and Yad Ishak Ben-Zvi/E. J. Brill, 1992) 271.

¹⁷¹ Yadin, *The Temple Scroll*, 1.182-5. In support, see Schiffman, "Architecture and Law: The Temple and Its Courtyards in the *Temple Scroll*," in *From Ancient Israel to Modern Judaism. Intellect in Quest of Understanding: Essays in Honor of Marvin Fox* (ed. J. Neusner, E. S. Frerichs, and N. M. Sarna; BJS 159; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989) 267-84. The opposite view is argued by B. Z. Wacholder, *The Dawn of Qumran: The Sectarian Torah and the Teacher of Righteousness* (HUCM 8; Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 1983) 21-32.

¹⁷² Deut 13:2-7; cf. LIX 9-10.

¹⁷³ See also A. Shemesh, "'The Holy Angels are in Their Council': The Exclusion of Deformed Persons from Holy Places in Qumranic and Rabbinic Literature," *DSD* 4 (1997) 194 n. 37.

camp at some remove from it.¹⁷⁴ This is apparent, as Yadin and Milgrom have demonstrated, in the substitution of purity regulations originally applicable only to the wilderness camp to Jerusalem itself. For example, the Temple Scroll legislates that nocturnal emissions in Jerusalem require a three-day purification, a law that Torah stipulates for the wilderness encampment but not for Jerusalem, where impurity lasts only one day (Lev 15:16-18).¹⁷⁵ This concern for the sanctity of Jerusalem differs from the sectarian literature of a presumably later date, where the sectarian community assumes the function and sanctity of the wilderness sanctuary and thus simultaneously justifies its separation from the Jerusalem cult and maintains continuity with Torah.

The Temple Scroll does not replace the Torah, but rather augments it by harmonizing conflicting or unclear biblical precepts and by supplementing the Sinai revelation to warrant changes in current Temple practice. Because the Scroll does not replace the Torah, its lack of attention to commercial law does not demonstrate a lack of interest in such matters in the authorial community. Rather, it indicates that general economic arrangements were by and large not the loci of halakhic disputes between this group and its foes. This contrasts quite sharply with the polemics of the sectarian constitutional literature. But like the Damascus Document and the Rule, the Temple Scroll does discuss alterations of the cultic economy, and demonstrates how these alternative visions could be born of exegetical effort as well as of political circumstance.

5.3.2.2 11QTargum of Job

11QTargum of Job (11Q10) adds only one reference to wealth above and beyond the biblical text.¹⁷⁶ Biblical Job's query, "how do the wicked become mighty in power" (נברר חיל, 21:7), becomes "How is it that [the wicked...] and increase their riches?" (נכסין; IV 6). This adds weight to the argument that the terms "mighty" and "power" were understood in terms of one's wealth (progeny, homes, livestock; Job 21). All of the other references to poverty or wealth follow the biblical text.¹⁷⁷

5.3.3 Parabiblical Literature

The parabiblical literature is treated exclusively as a non-sectarian phenomenon. Nevertheless, its influence on the sectarian literature, particularly in the case of *Jubilees*, was quite pronounced. The literature will be presented

¹⁷⁴ B. A. Levine, "The Temple Scroll: Aspects of its Historical Provenance and Literary Character," *BASOR* 232 (1978) 5-23.

¹⁷⁵ Milgrom, "Studies in the Temple Scroll," 512-14.

¹⁷⁶ García Martínez, Tigchelaar, and van der Woude, "10. 11Qtargum Job" (*DJD* 23) 79-180, pls. IX-XXI.

¹⁷⁷ VIII 5 = Job 24:14; XI 7 = Job 27:16; XIV 6-8 = Job 29:12-13; XXV 4 = Job 34:28; XXVII 9 = Job 36:15.

in the canonical order of the biblical passages expanded in these works, so that the parabiblical treatments of Genesis will precede those of Exodus, and so on. One might also view the parabiblical material in terms of the degree of correlation with the foundational biblical text. By this criterion, the Pentateuchal Paraphrases or Reworked Pentateuch and *Jubilees* would be the most biblical of the works in this category, and the 4QPrayer of Enosh (4Q369) and 4QpapParaphrase of Kings (4Q382) the least biblical.

5.3.3.1 *Jubilees*

Some fourteen and perhaps fifteen manuscripts of the book of *Jubilees* have been found at Qumran, two from Cave 1 (1Q17, 1Q18), two from Cave 2 (2Q19, 2Q20), one from Cave 3 (3Q5), eight and possibly nine fragmentary texts from Cave 4 (4Q176a, 4Q216, 4Q218–222, the single manuscript 4Q223–224, and perhaps 4Q217), and one copy from Cave 11 (11Q12).¹⁷⁸ In addition to these actual copies, other works found at Qumran show the influence of the solar calendar of *Jubilees*,¹⁷⁹ though at the same time some works correct that calendar in the direction of the lunar-solar calendar of the Enochic Astronomical Book.¹⁸⁰ Written most likely in the mid-second century B.C.E., the earliest exemplar from Qumran dates to the Hasmonean period (125–100 B.C.E.).

The book of *Jubilees*, like the Temple Scroll, presents itself as part of the original revelation on Mt. Sinai, although directed to Moses for inscription rather than directly to the entire people of Israel. The narrative setting privileges the wilderness period as the foundation moment of Israel, just as the sectarian constitutional literature does. But since the book also mentions that the patriarchs from Noah to Abraham observed the Sinai laws before they were revealed, it makes an even wider claim for the relevance of the Mosaic covenant than Torah does. Thus for the author there is no time, before Sinai or in the second century B.C.E., when Jews were/are free from covenant observance.¹⁸¹ The work organizes history from the moment of creation to the en-

¹⁷⁸ 1Q17–1Q18: Milik, “17–18. Livre des Jubilés” (*DJD* 1) 82–4, pl. XVI. 2Q19–2Q20: Baillet, *DJDJ* 3, 77–9, pls. X, XV. 3Q5: Baillet, “5. Une prophétie apocryphe” (*DJDJ* 3) 96–8, pl. XVIII, and identified as *Jubilees* by A. Rofé (“Further Manuscript Fragments of the *Jubilees* in the Third Cave of Qumran,” *Tarbiz* 34 [1965] 333–6) and R. Deichgräber (“Fragmente einer Jubiläen-Handschrift aus Höhle 3 von Qumran,” *RevQ* 5 [1964–1965] 415–22). 4Q manuscripts: VanderKam and Milik, “4Q216–4Q228. 4QJubilees,” in *Qumran Cave 4.VIII: Parabiblical Texts, Part 1* (ed. H. Attridge et al.; *DJD* 13; Oxford: Clarendon, 1994) 1–185, pls. I–XII. 11Q12: García Martínez, Tigheelaar, and van der Woude, “12. 11QJubilees” (*DJD* 23) 207–220, pl. XXVI.

Other works influenced by *Jubilees* include 4QPseudo-Jubilees (4Q225–227), 4Q228, and the Genesis Apocryphon, as well as CD XVI 2–4 and possibly X 7–10 (*Jub* 23:11).

¹⁷⁹ 4QCalendrical Document E^b (4Q327), 4QMMT, 11QTemple^{a, b}, Songs of the Sabbath Sacrifice (4Q400–407, Mas 1k), and 11QPsalms^a XXVII 5–7 (11Q5).

¹⁸⁰ 4QCalendrical Document A (4Q320) and Commentary on Genesis A (4Q252).

¹⁸¹ VanderKam, “Jubilees, Book of,” *EDSS*, 1.435.

try into the land into exactly fifty jubilee periods of forty-nine years each, for a total of 2,450 years. The entry will take place at the end of the fiftieth jubilee—that is, in the jubilee of jubilees—while the book is set forty years before that entry. This synchronization of the occupation of the land with the jubilee cycle correlates the fertility and possession of the land more forcefully with covenant fidelity by establishing the occupation in a time of rest that requires trust in God’s provision and by extrapolating the biblical jubilee legislation to the national level (Jewish slaves freed from Egypt early in the jubilee period and restored to the land they had been allocated in the jubilee year itself; see Lev 25:8-17). In addition to its interest in covenant fidelity and the jubilee cycle, the book emphasizes the priesthood, a solar calendar, and the end-times, all of which are not mentioned or stressed as much in the biblical source material. All of these emphases are consistent with the sectarian outlook and help to explain the popularity of the book at Qumran.

The portions of the book discovered at Qumran preserve some of the specific passages that concern wealth and related matters, such as the sabbath. As mentioned, *Jubilees* is very concerned to establish the patterns of sabbath and sabbatical year rest, as well as the jubilee cycle.¹⁸² Given the authoritative status of *Jubilees* within the sectarian community (see CD XVI 2-4) and the demonstrable interest in sabbatical legislation and jubilee ideology among the covenanters, it is quite likely that the book played a role in legitimating sectarian attitudes toward wealth, and more specifically to legislation of sabbath, sabbatical year, and jubilee year rest. *Jubilees* locates the laws of rest in a time prior to the Mosaic covenant and as a “huge sign” for the angels, who will be joined by a chosen people in observing it (reconstructed at 4QJub^a VII 5-13; cf. *Jub* 2:13-24). The location of the laws of rest prior to Sinai and the assertion that the angels themselves observe them together place the sabbath beyond a specifically Jewish origin and thus warrant its observance in a population under increasing pressure from Hellenizing rulers. In a case of *vaticinia ex eventu*, *Jubilees* predicts after the fact that people in the future will forget these laws of rest (reconstructed at 4QJub^a II 16-17; cf. *Jub* 1:7-15), thus acknowledging that the laws were not observed by those outside its restricted audience. *Jubilees* also contextualizes a term that is useful for our study. In *Jubilees* 40:4, the administrators in Egypt who carry out Joseph’s commands to store grain against famine are referred to as the “overseers” (פְּלִיָּדִים).¹⁸³ The reader will recall that this same verbal root lies behind the title for the man at the head of the Many who tests the initiates regarding their insight and deeds in the Rule of the Community (1QS VI 14). While this title

¹⁸² The sabbath laws of rest are found in 4QJub^c 1 3 = *Jub* 2:26-27; Exod 23:10-11; 31:5; Lev 25:1-7; cf. 1 Macc 6:49. See §2.4.2.2 above for similar passages in the Damascus Document.

¹⁸³ 4QpapJub^h (4Q223–224) Unit 2, col. V 25; plate VIII, frg. 37.

does not occur in the Damascus Document, the Examiner (מבקר) is enjoined to scrutinize (יפקד) the covenanters in his care (XIV 6; XIII 11).

5.3.3.2 *Enoch Literature*

Twelve manuscripts of *1 Enoch* were discovered at Qumran, along with eight copies of the related Book of Giants.¹⁸⁴ This corpus treats the topic of wealth in a manner somewhat parallel to the economic material in the sectarian texts. In general, it envisions the eschatological restoration as a time of plentiful wine and food, peace and justice.¹⁸⁵ The vision of the future is in typical apocalyptic fashion a vision from the past, in that the primeval figure Enoch is granted a revelation of world history and insight that expands upon narrative lacunae in the biblical text.

The Book of the Watchers (*1 Enoch* 6–16), for example, is a narrative embellishment on the sparse account of the fall of the Watchers in Genesis 6:1–4. In the expanded treatment, the Watchers are promised that they will not enjoy the use of the possessions (קניאניא) of their loved ones and of their sons.¹⁸⁶ George W. E. Nickelsburg has argued that this portion of the Enoch corpus dates to the third century B.C.E. and includes a critique of the warring Hellenistic kings who succeeded Alexander the Great, the Diadochoi. If Nickelsburg is correct, then it is possible that the promise of the Watchers' future poverty is a critique of the present commercial might of the Greek kings.¹⁸⁷

The eight manuscripts of the Book of Giants discovered at Qumran parallel and expand on the Book of the Watchers. The Book of Giants treats not only the fall of the Watchers but also the flood meant to destroy them and their reprieve beforehand to learn from Enoch of their pending judgment. In this text, dating perhaps to the late third century B.C.E.,¹⁸⁸ the post-diluvian fe-

¹⁸⁴ Milik, *The Books of Enoch. Aramaic Fragments from Qumrân Cave 4* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1976). The manuscripts published in Milik's study will not be republished in the *DJD* series. See also L. Stuckenbruck, in *DJD* 36: "201 2-8. 4QEnoch^b ar" 3-7, pl. I; "203. 4QEnoch-Giants^a ar," 8-41, pls. I-II; "206 2-3. 4QEnochGiants^f ar," 42-8, pl. I; "23. 1QEnochGiants^a ar (Re-edition)," 49-66 (original Milik, "Deux Apocryphes en Araméen" [*DJD* 1] 97-8, pl. XIX); "24. 1QEnochGiants^{b?} ar (Re-edition)" 67-72 (original Milik, "Deux Apocryphes en Araméen" [*DJD* 1] 97-8, pl. XIX); "26. 2QEnochGiants ar (Re-edition)," 73-5 (original Baillet, "Fragment de Rituel [?]" [*DJDJ* 3] 90-91, pl. XVII); "8. 6QpapGiants ar (Re-edition)," 76-94 (original Baillet, "Un apocryphe de la Genèse" [*DJDJ* 3] 116-19, pl. XXIV). The editions of four *Enoch*-related manuscripts from Cave 4 have been published by Puech, "B. Livre des Géants" (*DJD* 31) 9-116, pls. I-VI. *DJD* 31 includes another edition of 4Q203.

¹⁸⁵ 4QEnoch^c ar (4Q204); cf. *1 En.* 10.18-19 + 12.3?

¹⁸⁶ 4QEnoch^c ar (4Q204) VI 16-17; 4QEnoch^b (4Q202) VI 8-9; cf. *1 En.* 14.4-6. Note that the term used for possessions, קניאניא, is the same term used in the Peshitta to translate נאָר in Deuteronomy 6:5 (נאָר, נאָר).

¹⁸⁷ "Apocalyptic and Myth in *1 Enoch* 6–11," *JBL* 96 (1977) 383-405.

¹⁸⁸ K. Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1984) 258-68.

cundity of the earth is prophesied by Enoch.¹⁸⁹ As in *1 Enoch* 10.17-19, the earth will again produce abundantly, but this fertility will include animals as well as humans and vegetation. In addition, 6QpapEnoch Giants ar 2 3 uses the term “paradise” or “garden” (פֶּרְדִּיטָא) of the world that Noah and his sons will occupy after the flood.¹⁹⁰ Part of the significance of this work is the link it demonstrates between early Mesopotamian narratives of destruction and consequent abundance on the one hand, and apocalyptic narratives of destruction and future abundance on the other.¹⁹¹

The final section of *1 Enoch* of relevance for the discussion of wealth is the Epistle of Enoch (91–104), attested by 4QEnoch^c ar 5 i 20-28 (4Q204) and 4QEnoch^g II 14–V 26. Part of the Apocalypse of Weeks at the beginning of this section is preserved (93:9-10 + 91:11-13, at 4QEnoch^g IV 11-18):¹⁹²

his [deeds] will be in er[r]or. | [At its close] the ch[osen one]s [will] be chosen as witnesses to justice from the p[lan]t | of ever[la]sting justice; sevenf[old] wisdom and knowledge shall be giv[en] to them. | They shall uproot the foundations of violence and the work of deceit in it in order to carry out [judgment.] | After this, the eighth week will come, the one of justice, in which [a sword] will be giv[en] | to all the just, for them to carry out {the judgment} just judgment against the wicked | and they will be delivered into their hands. At its close, they will gain riches in justice | and there will be built the temple of the [k]in[g]ship of The Great One, in his glorious greatness, for all eternal generations.

In the apocalypse, the seventh week is the period when the foundations of violence will be uprooted, and the eighth week will be a time of judgment against the wicked and recompense for the righteous. The just will “gain riches in justice” (יִקְנוּן נִכְסִין בְּקִשּׁוּט). The standard term for property or possessions, נִכְסִין, is used in 4QEnoch^g, while the non-Qumranic manuscripts use other terms, such as great things, goods, or houses.¹⁹³ The restoration is not only of human property, but also of God’s house, a fact which demonstrates the conceptual correlation of the human and divine economies. Violence and wealth are also associated here as they are in the Damascus Document. There are no Qumran witnesses to *1 Enoch* 94.6, the inaugural woe against the unrighteous that targets those who build oppression and injustice. Nevertheless,

¹⁸⁹ The context in 1Q23 is fragmentary; it refers only to groups of 200 animals (donkeys, wild asses, sheep, rams, every living creature) and one abundant vintage. But if Milik is correct in identifying this work with the middle Iranian Book of Giants (the Kawān) preserved in the Manichaean tradition, then we can supply the context for the Qumran fragment. See Stuckenbruck, *DJD* 36, 51.

¹⁹⁰ Stuckenbruck, *DJD* 36, 80-81. See also 6Q8 5 1, “all gardeners” (כָּל גַּנְיָן) and 4QAstronomical Enoch^b ar 23 (*olim* 11) 9, “paradise of righteousness” (פֶּרְדִּיטָא קִישּׁוּטָא).

¹⁹¹ Note the reference to the “day of the end” (יּוֹם קֵץ) in 1QEnochGiants^b ar 7 1.

¹⁹² Tigchelaar and García Martínez, “208–209. 4QAstronomical Enoch^{a-b} ar” (*DJD* 36) 95-171, pls. III–VII.

¹⁹³ Great things: Kebran 9/II (Ethiopic). Goods: EMMML 2080. Houses: Princeton Ethiopic 3. E. Isaac, “1 (Ethiopic Apocalypse of) Enoch,” *OTP*, 1.73.

given the preservation of nearby material, we may presume that the sectarians were familiar with this passage, which incorporates sapiential material as the criteria for eschatological judgment. *1 Enoch* is not the only work to do this; other examples were adduced in Chapter 4 (pp. 184-6). What is significant about this passage is that an arguably economic criterion leads the list; this priority of economic concerns may explain the priority of property matters in the sectarian penal codes, which after all provide the judgments for the community of the end times.

The critiques of imperial commerce and violence and the eschatological visions of judgment and restoration predate the sectarian material at Qumran. Where the sectarian material differs is in the volume of material developing these themes, the sectarian vocabulary it employs to do so, and the specific entities it targets for denunciation. The sectarian texts also have a more pronounced present-time focus with rules and institutions that resolve the present mystery rather than simply defer it to an eschatological end. Nevertheless it is clear that sectarian eschatological speculation about the restoration of wealth to the oppressed and the destruction of economic oppressors owes a profound debt to traditions developed in *1 Enoch*.

5.3.3.3 *Genesis Apocryphon*

1QGenesis Apocryphon (1Q20 and 1QapGen ar) recounts the adventures of Abraham.¹⁹⁴ On the subject of wealth, the text expands on the biblical account, emphasizing possessions and spoils to a greater degree. For example, instead of Abram being sent on his way from Pharaoh “with all that belonged to him” (Gen 12:20), 1QapGen XX 31-34 recounts that Pharaoh gave Sarai much silver and gold and many clothes of fine linen and purple. Abram’s sacrifice at Bethel (Gen 13:3-4) is supplemented with an account of his motivations: “I gave thanks there in God’s presence for all the possessions and goods (נכסֵיָא וּשְׂבָהָא) which he had given me, because he had acted well towards me, and because he had returned me | in peace to this land” (XXI 3-4). References to the plundered property of Sodom and Gomorrah (XXI 33; Gen 14:11), the tithe of booty to Melchizedek, and the restoration of (most of) the plundered wealth to the King of Sodom is similar to the biblical account (XXII 12-26; Gen 14:17-24). Biblical terms for wealth are replaced with Aramaic equivalents: thus, רכש for the plundered property becomes נכסֵיָא or שְׂבָהָא, and the reference to plundered provisions in Genesis 14:11 (אכלם) is dropped. The future reward God promises Abram in Genesis 15:1 is expand-

¹⁹⁴ J. A. Fitzmyer, S. J., *The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave 1: A Commentary*, 2d ed. (Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1971); N. Avigad and Yadin, *A Genesis Apocryphon. A Scroll from the Wilderness of Judaea* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press–Heikhal ha-sefer, 1956); see also the publication of eight additional fragments by Milik as “20. ‘Apocalypse de Lamech’” (*DJD* 1) 86-7, pl. XVII.

ed beyond countless offspring and land in the direction of greater detail about his future possessions (XXII 27-34). On two of these occasions, regarding the booty of Sodom and the future promise, biblical references to possessions are augmented with the added synonym, "riches" (עֲתֵרָה; Gen 14:23 with 1QapGen XXII 22, and Gen 15:14 with 1QapGen XXII 31). In general, the biblical account has been altered to provide greater emphasis on the notion of material blessing.

5.3.3.4 *Pentateuchal Paraphrases*

References to wealth in the Pentateuchal Paraphrases generally follow biblical legislation. For example, there are standard treatments of slave laws¹⁹⁵ and of legislation governing recompense for damaged property.¹⁹⁶ There is a good deal of attention paid to the description of the Temple and its storerooms (cf. 11QT^a XLII 3-17, XLIV 3-XLV 7), as well as to the work of the Temple (מְלֵאכֶת הַבַּיִת) conducted on the wood festival (4QRP^c 23 5, 8), a festival not found in Leviticus 23:42-24:2 but present in the Temple Scroll.¹⁹⁷ The special attention lavished upon the wilderness sanctuary in the paraphrases is demonstrated in 4QRP^c frg. 28 1-5, which skips from the census of the Levites (Num 4:47-49) to the completion of the sanctuary (Num 7:1) leaving a blank line in between. The intervening passages in Numbers—corpse defilement, unjust possession, the ordeal for the adulteress, and nazirite laws—were left out, apparently because they did not deal directly with the establishment of the Temple.¹⁹⁸ The emphasis placed on the wilderness sanctuary is similar to the emphasis on this past ideal institution in the Damascus Document, the Rule and the Temple Scroll.

5.3.3.5 *Testamentary Literature*

The Aramaic Levi literature, preserved in several manuscripts from Qumran, mentions wealth occasionally. Stipulations about rest from work are mentioned (1QTL^{Levi} 3 2).¹⁹⁹ Wisdom is portrayed as a treasure (טֵבִיחָה) more enduring and portable than material wealth—a standard sapiential substitution—in 4QLevi^a ar 1 i 20-21 (4Q213) and the subsequent text in 4QLevi^c ar 2-3 ii 1-6 (4Q214a).²⁰⁰ More significant are the texts which, like the sectarian literature, pair wealth with other matters. For example, 4QLevi^b ar 1 i 13-14 encourages

¹⁹⁵ 4QReworked Pentateuch^a 7-8 9-15 (4Q158), cf. Exod 21:1-10; Allegro, "158. Biblical Paraphrase: Genesis, Exodus" (*DJD* 5) 1-6, pl. I; Strugnell, "Notes en Marge," 168-75.

¹⁹⁶ 4QRP^a 10-12 1-14; cf. Exod 21:32-22:13.

¹⁹⁷ E. Tov and S. A. White, "364. Reworked Pentateuch^b" and "365. Reworked Pentateuch^c" (*DJD* 13) 197-318, pls. XIII-XXXII.

¹⁹⁸ This is the opinion of the editors of the *DJD* edition.

¹⁹⁹ 1QAramaic Levi (1Q21): Milik, "21. Testament de Lévi" (*DJD* 1) 87-91, pl. XVII.

²⁰⁰ For 4Q213-214, see Stone and J. C. Greenfield, "Levi Aramaic Document" (*DJD* 22) 1-72, pls. I-IV.

a conversion from evil and fornication toward “wisdom in intelligence and strength (גבורה),” thus linking wealth or strength with wisdom and intelligence and contrasting these to fornication (recall the nets of Belial in CD IV–VI and the assets the initiate brings into the community in 1QS I 11–12, CD XIII 11). Of interest is the fact that the term used for strength is not yet associated with wealth but is tied to religious fidelity, as it will be in the sectarian literature.

The Aramaic document 4QApocryphon of Joseph B 2 4 (4Q539) has a fragmentary reference to counting coins (זמנין סוני).²⁰¹ The reference is too limited to reconstruct a context.

The Apocryphon of Levi, attested by 4QapocrLevi^a ar lines 1–5, provides some tantalizing references to property (4Q540).²⁰²

Again distress will come upon him and the little one will lack goods and will ...
[...] | [...] 52. Again, a loss will come to it, and he will lack goods [...] | [...] and he will not resemble any one <lacking> goods, but instead like the great sea [...] | [...] he will lea[ve] the house in which he was born, and anothe[r] dwelling [...] | [...] the sun [...] ...a sanctuary [...] he will consecrate....

The text is extremely fragmentary, but seems to focus on an individual whose circumstances change. At first, the person is in distress, and so is referred to as a “little one” (זעירא) who lacks goods (יחסר נכסין), who experiences further loss (חובא יתה לה חסרון) and whose lack of goods thus either continues or is aggravated (the phrase יחסר נכסין is repeated). The term for goods or property is well-represented in the Aramaic documents from Qumran. The term “to lack” is employed heavily in Instruction. It is not clear whether the individual’s circumstances change for the better in the phrase, “he will not resemble any one goods”; García Martínez and Tigheelaar have supplied “lacking,” which would suggest a change for the better, but the term is not present and without it the opposite meaning may be intended.²⁰³ In any event, the individual is defined differently by the end of the passage, no longer as one who lacks but as one who consecrates and is in some way related to a sanctuary.

4QTestament of Qahat ar I 4–10 (4Q542) contains Qahat’s paternal advice to his sons to keep the “inheritance” (ירושתא) out of foreigners’ hands in order to avoid their humiliation and scorn.²⁰⁴ The terminology of inheritance here is metaphorical, in that it likely encompasses the entire patrimony of the Jewish people (land, law, legitimate descent). The concern to preserve the land of Israel from foreign dominance is of biblical origin (Deut 15:5–6; 28; cf. Isa 47:6; Jer 12:14; Lam 5:2), but it is accentuated in the literature of the Helleni-

²⁰¹ Puech, “539. 4QTestament de Joseph” (*DJD* 31) 201–221, pl. XII.

²⁰² *Olim* 4QAaronic Text A = 4QTestament of Levi^c (?) (4Q540 [4QAha = 4QTLevi^c]). Puech, “540. Apocryphe de Levi^a ar” (*DJD* 31) 217–24, pl. XII.

²⁰³ *DSSSE*, 2.1078–9.

²⁰⁴ Puech, “542. 4QTestament de Qahat ar” (*DJD* 31) 257–82, pl. XV.

stic period and in the sectarian concern to avoid economic intercourse with outsiders.

5.3.3.6 *Other Parabiblical Texts*

1QWords of Moses II 1-5 exhorts its audience to keep God's commands and promises material rewards (1Q22).²⁰⁵ It homogenizes Deuteronomy 6:10-12 and 8:11-14, utilizing the Deuteronomic phrase "take care not to raise your heart (רום לבבך) and forget what I command you." The text thus associates arrogance with wealth in a manner similar to the sectarian documents, although the phrase "raise your heart" (ירום [לב]בכה) is replaced in the sectarian constitutional literature with the idiom of the haughty hand (יד רמה).²⁰⁶ The exhortation to remember God in one's material prosperity rather than credit oneself is common in the sapiential tradition as well.²⁰⁷ The document also repeats the biblical legislation for the sabbatical year (III 1-7),²⁰⁸ although the rationale for relaxing debts differs from the biblical account. In Deuteronomy 15, the people are to relax debts because it is God who has ultimately provided them with blessings, because God will hold them guilty for exacting payment in the year of release, and because the needy will never be lacking in the land.²⁰⁹ In contrast, the rationale in 1QDM is that God has proclaimed the regulation and will bless those who observe it by forgiving their sins (III 5-7). God's executive and redemptive authority rather than God's provision of blessings grounds the precept, an interesting alteration given the problems of theodicy addressed in Instruction and by the sectarian economy.

Other parabiblical Moses traditions use phrases typical in Numbers and Deuteronomy which in turn will be picked up in the sectarian literature. 4QDiscourse on the Exodus/Conquest Tradition I 1-4 (4Q374) preserves the Deuteronomic command to observe the divine precepts with all one's heart

²⁰⁵ Cf. Deut 6:10-12. Milik, "22. 'Dires de Moïse'" (*DJD* 1) 91-7, pls. XVIII-XIX.

²⁰⁶ CD VIII 8 *par* XIX 21; X 3; 1QS VIII 22.

²⁰⁷ Cf. Sir 5:1-3; see also 1QInstruction 1 *par* 4QInstruction^e 4; 4QInstruction^d 184 1-4; 4QInstruction^b 2 iii 8-12 *par* 4QInstruction^d 9 6-12.

²⁰⁸ Exod 23:10-11; Lev 25:1-7; Deut 15:1-11. Note: the "year of relaxation" at the Feast of Booths was the time for the reading of the law (Deut 31:10).

²⁰⁹ Cf. Matt 26:11; Acts 2:45; 4:34-35. The Acts summaries occur in the narrative just after the Feast of Weeks or Pentecost (Lev 23:15-21; Deut 16:9-12), a time of bringing "a freewill offering in proportion to the blessing the Lord, your God, has bestowed on you" (Deut 16:10). Pentecost was a one-day festival that occurred on the fiftieth day after the first waving of the sheaf after Passover. Passover was the festival of unleavened bread, while the waving of the sheaf was the first offering of the harvest, after which the people could eat leavened bread. Then after a cycle of seven sevens, that is, of seven weeks, on the "jubilee day" (the fiftieth), the Festival of Weeks or Pentecost was celebrated. The festival of Pentecost is also associated with the giving of the law on Mt. Sinai. With regard to the appropriation of this festival in Acts, it is of interest that tongues of fire are mentioned in the parabiblical Moses literature, particularly in 1QLiturgy of the Three Tongues of Fire (1Q29) and 4QApocryphon of Moses^b (?; 4Q376). Fire is associated with Moses by virtue of the burning bush account (Exod 3:1-6) and the narrative of the theophany on Mt. Sinai (Exod 19:16-25; 24:15-18; 34:29-35).

and soul in order to receive salvation from trouble, although it is the abbreviated form of this command that is invoked rather than the one which also requires one's abundance or wealth (Deut 6:5).²¹⁰ 4QApocryphon of Moses^b (?) 1 iii 1 borrows the Numbers language of the "camp" and the "congregation" (4Q376).²¹¹ Both texts thus depend upon imagery from the wilderness accounts that is employed in the Damascus Document and the Rule to depict the sectarian community and to ground its economic practices. 4QApocryphon of Jeremiah C^e (*olim* Pseudo-Moses Apocalypse^e, 4Q390) 1 7-11 imagines a seventh jubilee of devastation in the land brought on by covenant infidelity (cf. *1 En.* 93.9-10; *Jub* 1:7-14).²¹² We also hear of the dominion of Belial in terms familiar from the Damascus Document (2 i 6-10):

And I shall deliver them | [to the hands of the an]gels of destruction and they will rule over them. And they will not know and will not understand that I am enraged towards them for their transgressions | [with which they will desert me and do what is evil in my eyes and what I do not like they have chosen: domineering for money, for advantage | [and for violence. And each] will steal what belongs to one's neighbor and they will oppress one another; they will defile my temple, | [they will defile my sabbaths. and] they will [forget] my festivals and with the sons of [foreigners they will de]base their offs[pring;] their priests will act violently...

Once again, the motif of covenant infidelity includes chiefly economic oppression, ritual improprieties including calendrical disputes, and intermarriage with foreigners. These three concerns—economics, Temple, and fornication—are the nets of Belial in CD IV–VI. The specific economic charges include domineering for money, advantage and violence (להחגבר להון ולבצע) (ולדחם), stealing from (גזל) and oppressing (עשק) their neighbors.

In 2QApocryphon of Moses (?) lines 4-6 (2Q21), Moses wonders in prayer how he will "make a single people for your deeds" (ל[עש]ת עם אחד ב[מ]עש[ך]).²¹³ The reference to "a single people" is a biblical ideal,²¹⁴ and is also reflected in

²¹⁰ *olim* 4QApocryphon of Moses A; Newsom, "374. 4QDiscourse on the Exodus/Conquest Tradition," in *Qumran Cave 4.XIV: Parabiblical Texts, Part 2* (ed. Elgvin et al.; DJD 19; Oxford: Clarendon, 1995) 99-110, pl. XIII. 4QApocryphon of Jeremiah C^f (*olim* 4Qpseudo Moses^b [?]) 1 1-5 also refers to covenant fidelity in the context of an apocalyptic periodization of time in years of jubilees (4Q387a); Dimant, "387a. 4QApocryphon of Jeremiah C^f," in *Qumran Cave 4.XXI: Parabiblical Texts, Part 4* (ed. Dimant et al.; DJD 30; Oxford: Clarendon, 2001) 255-60, pl. XII. Dimant's edition was published as the present study was going to press; hence I have been unable to consult it.

²¹¹ *olim* 4QLiturgy of the Three Tongues of Fire; Strugnell, "376. 4QApocryphon of Moses^b (?)" (DJD 19) 121-36, pl. XV.

²¹² The passage is reminiscent of the Apocalypse of Weeks in the *Enoch* corpus; Dimant, "390. Apocryphon of Jeremiah C^{em}" (DJD 30) 235-54, pl. XI. See her article, "New Light from Qumran on the Jewish Pseudepigrapha—4Q390," in *Madrid*, 2.405-48.

²¹³ Milik, "21. Un Apocryphe de Moïse (?)" (DJDJ 3) 79-81, pl. XV.

²¹⁴ 2 Sam 7:23 *par* 1 Chron 17:21: "Is there one nation (אחד) וְאֵין אֶחָד; אֵין אֶחָד; אֵין אֶחָד) on earth whose God went to redeem it as a people, to make a name for himself, doing great and awesome things for them, by driving out before his people nations and their gods?" See also Gen 11:6;

the self-designation of the Rule community as the *yahad*. The text also shares the sectarian view that the people are made a single entity through deeds consistent with the covenant (IQS VI 2-3).

Two passages in 4QApocryphon of Joshua^a (4Q378), 3 ii + 4 10-11 and 11 4-8, confirm the claim that the land and its bounty of grain, olive oil, honey, milk, iron and copper are God's gifts. 4QApocryphon of Joshua^b 12 3-6 confirms the view of *Jubilees* that the people entered the land of Canaan in a jubilee year, the forty-first year after the Exodus (4Q379).²¹⁵ In 4QVision of Samuel 7 2-4 (4Q160), Samuel disavows that he manipulated a woman with wealth when he asserts, "I did [not] solicit her favor with estates, riches or merchandise (רכוש ודון ומחיר) [...] | my lord, and I chose to lie down in front of the bed of...."²¹⁶ Strugnell offers that this passage may have derived from an autobiographical discourse of Samuel on his celibacy as a Nazirite.²¹⁷ 4QPseudo-Ezekiel^a 3 2-3 (4Q385) hopes for the future days when the children of Israel will inherit their land.²¹⁸ This future inheritance is based on the theological premise that God redeemed the people through the covenant: "[I am YHWH] who rescued my people, giving them the covenant" (הגואל עמי להם; 2 1). The righteous alone are redeemed through the rewards of restoration to the land and bodily resurrection (Ezek 37).

The son of Belial appears in 4QPseudo-Ezekiel^b (4Q386) at 1 ii 3 and again at 1 iii 1.²¹⁹ He is described as one who "will plot to oppress [God's] people" and as one who "will not have pity on the poor (ל) and will lead (them) to [Ba]bylon." References to wealth and finances in 4QProto-Esther and the Cave 4 Tobit manuscripts are unremarkable for our topic, apart from Tobit's wisdom-like instruction on almsgiving in 4QTobit^e 2 4-9 (Tobit 4:5-9, with v. 10 supplied from the NRSV in italics to complete the thought):²²⁰

According to the size of your hands, my son, be [generous in doing] just deeds (alms), and do not wit[draw your face from] | [any po]r person, so that from

34:16, 22; (עם אחר) and Ezek 37:22 (ג' אחר); cf. 1 Macc 1:41. Baillet thought that the vision of future restoration in Ezekiel 37:15-28 in particular lay behind the sectarian ideal.

²¹⁵ *Olim* 4QPsalms of Joshua^{a, b}; Newsom, "378. 4QApocryphon of Joshua^b" and "379. 4QApocryphon of Joshua^b" (*DJD* 22) 241-88, pls. XVII-XXV.

²¹⁶ Allegro, "The Vision of Samuel" (*DJD* 5) 9-11, pl. III; Strugnell, "Notes en Marge," 179-83.

²¹⁷ "Notes en Marge," 181.

²¹⁸ Dimant, "385. Pseudo-Ezekiel^a" (*DJD* 30) 7-16, pl. I. See her preliminary publications with Strugnell, "4Q *Second Ezekiel*," *RevQ* 13 (1988) 45-58, and "The Merkabah Vision in *Second Ezekiel* (4Q385 4)," *RevQ* 14 (1990) 331-48, as well as "An Apocryphon of Jeremiah from Cave 4 (4Q385^b = 4Q385 16)," in *Paris*, 11-30 and "Resurrection, Restoration and Time-Curtailing in Qumran, Early Judaism, and Christianity," *RevQ* 19 (2000) 527-48.

²¹⁹ Dimant, "385. Pseudo-Ezekiel^b" (*DJD* 30) 53-70, pl. II. See her article, "4Q386 ii-iii—A Prophecy on Hellenistic Kingdoms?" *RevQ* 18 (1998) 511-29.

²²⁰ See 4QProto-Esther^b lines 5-7 and 4QProto-Esther^c II 5 (4Q550a and b) in the forthcoming edition by Puech (*DJD* 37). For the Cave 4 Tobit manuscripts, see the following editions by Fitzmyer, 4QTobit^a 2 5-8 (4Q196); 4QTobit^b 3 i 1-2, 19; 4 4-5 (4Q197); 4QTobit^c 2 4-9 (4Q200), in *DJD* 19, 1-76, pls. I-X.

you [the face of God does] not [withdraw.] If, [my] son, you have [much, according to the abundance] † [do] ju[st] deeds with it. [Blank] If you have little, according to the lit[tle] † [do just deeds with it. By] your [do]ing just deeds, a [good] store [you will be storing up for yourself against the day of adversity. Almsgiving frees one from death, and keeps one from going into the dark abode. Alms are a worthy offering in the sight of the Most High for all who give them.]

Here alms are referred to as doing just deeds (עושה צדקות). They are a paradoxical kind of treasure or store: they are given away, yet they simultaneously accrue to the benefit of the giver. This rationale effectively transfers the advantage of benefaction out of this world, but does not critique the current system of benefaction in society or the causes of human need. In this respect, the passage differs from the sectarian exhortation to share goods with the poor; it does, however, have much in common with the sapiential tradition.²²¹

5.3.3.7 Conclusions

The non-sectarian parabiblical literature develops certain motifs about wealth that will be adapted in the sectarian works. These include the division of time into sabbaticals and jubilees, the coordination of these cycles to the great redemption of the past (the Exodus and conquest) and to the future promise of redemption, the eschatological restoration as a period of abundance, the economic critique of foreign powers, the association of the wealth of the land with ritual sacrifice, the enduring nature of wisdom *versus* the fleeting nature of wealth, the association of wealth with fornication, the anguish of the pit, the relationship of prosperity and arrogance, and certain terms and concepts such as “overseer” and “unity” (*yahad*) in deeds. In contrast to the sectarian literature, these references are not applied to a specific community with its own clearly defined polity, economy and terminology.

5.3.4 Poetic and Liturgical Texts

Two large collections of apocryphal psalms survive from Qumran, 4QNon-Canonical Psalms A and B (4Q380–381).²²² In addition, individual apocryphal psalms appear in certain of the biblical scrolls, namely in 4QPsalms^f (4Q88) and 11QPsalms^{a, b} (11Q5–6).²²³ An independent psalm, 4QApoc-

²²¹ See Ps 104:27-30; Prov 28:25; Sir 3:14; 12:3; 16:14; 31:23-24; 40:17, 24; 50:4; 4QInstruction^b 2 i 22–2 ii 4, 4QInstruction-like Composition B 3 9-11; 4QWays of Righteousness^a 1a ii-b 5-8; 4QWays of Righteousness^b 1 ii 6-17; IQS V 3-4; VIII 2. Cf. Deut 15:7-8.

²²² Schuller, “380. Non-Canonical Psalms A” and “381. Non-Canonical Psalms B” (*DJD* 11) 75-171, pls. VIII–XV.

²²³ 4QPsalms^f: Skehan, E. Ulrich, and P. W. Flint, “88. 4QPs^f in *Qumran Cave 4.XI: Psalms to Chronicles* (ed. Ulrich et al.; *DJD* 16; Oxford: Clarendon, 2000) 107-112, pls. XIII–XIV. 11QPsalms^{a, b}: Sanders, *The Psalms Scroll of Qumran Cave 11 (11QPs^a)* (*DJD* 4;

ryphal Psalm and Prayer (4Q448), mentions God's ransom of the humble in a non-messianic context otherwise like Psalm 154.²²⁴ In addition to these poetic texts, certain liturgical texts use language reminiscent of the sectarian corpus.

The most important poetic texts are 4QPsalms^f (4Q88) and 11QPsalms^a (11Q5). 4QP^f columns IX–X are an eschatological hymn and an anthology of biblical material. In IX 5-14, we hear that God will come to obliterate the wicked and the guilty brood (Pss 8:3; 119:119; 89:23²²⁵), as well as provide rain and thus end the drought in the land (Zech 8:12; Deut 33:28). The earth will once again yield fruit (Zech 8:12; Ps 1:3), no one will cheat others of the earth's produce, and the lowly (עניים) will eat and be satisfied (Ps 22:27a).²²⁶ As in the sectarian literature, the future blessing is imagined in terms of food, and the lack of food in the present is attributed to natural disaster and unjust distribution. Column X contains the Apostrophe to Judah, which continues the biblical anthology. In lines 5-12, the destruction of Belial allows the resumption of pilgrim festivals and the fulfillment of religious vows (נדרים; cf. Nah 2:1). This suggests that some corruption in the secular economy compromises individual resources to such a point that the person can no longer make good on gifts vowed to the Temple or its priests. Psalm 154, preserved in 11QPsalms^a XVIII 9-18, commends the man who is just and who glorifies God as if he had actually "greased the altar" with many holocausts, thus privileging justice over sacrifice as in the sectarian constitutional literature and its prophetic and sapiential sources. The psalmist further imagines a ritual banquet with the fragrance of sacrifice, the hymns of the devout, people eating to bursting, drinking, and meditating on the Law of the Most High. The wicked and arrogant are far from this feast, because God has pity on good people and ransoms the humble (נואל עני) from foreigners and the perfect from the wicked man's hand. Further in the scroll, in the Apostrophe to Zion, the period of eschatological restoration is envisioned as a time when the devout will enjoy God's favor after "hungering" for the day of salvation; they shall "suckle" at God's splendid breasts (11QP^a XXII 3-7). The feeding metaphors suggest, as they did more vociferously in the sectarian literature, that the nature of the present oppression is in part economic and relates to the unjust distribution of food or to excessive levies on produce that compromise the food supply.

Oxford: Clarendon, 1965); Yadin, "Another Fragment (E) of the Psalms Scroll from Qumran Cave 11 (11QP^a)," *Textus* 5 (1966) 1-10, pls. I-V; van der Ploeg, "Fragments d'un manuscrit de psaumes de Qumrân (11QP^b)," *RB* 74 (1967) 408-412, pl. XVIII. See also Flint, *The Dead Sea Psalms Scroll and the Book of Psalms* (STDJ 17; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1997).

²²⁴ Eshel, Eshel and Yardeni, "D. Apocryphal Psalm and Prayer" (*DJD* 11) 403-425, pl. XXXII; on the lack of the messianic reference, see M. Kister, "Notes on Some New Texts from Qumran," *JJS* 44 (1993) 289-90.

²²⁵ For the guilty brood (בני עולה), see also 1QH^a XIII 8.

²²⁶ God is also praised for his "just deeds" in 11QP^a XIX 7-11 (= 11QP^b 4-5 7-9).

4QNon-Canonical Psalms B 76–77 (4Q381) preserves remnants of two psalms, the first referring to destruction and salvation (lines 1–6), the second (lines 7–16) reading more like a covenantal lawsuit.²²⁷ The former passage reads:

Beasts and birds, be gathered [] to hu-
 mankind, according to the inclination of the thoug[hts of their hearts | []
 [] was destruction [] pesti]lence and
 destruction; and unsear[chable |] Israe], his treasured
 people... [] Blank

The phrase “his treasured people” (עַם סִגְלוֹתוֹ), as the editor notes, is a conflation of several biblical passages, Deuteronomy 7:6, 14:2, and 26:18 (עַם סִגְלוֹתוֹ) and Psalm 135:4 (יִשְׂרָאֵל לִסְגֻלוֹתוֹ). Deuteronomy 7:1–5 commands the Israelites to destroy the Canaanites and their altars and idols before declaring the people God’s treasured possession; 14:1 forbids certain mourning practices on the grounds that Israel is God’s treasured possession; 26:1–15 stipulates the offering of first fruits and the third-year tithe for the Levites, aliens, orphans and widows before a final exhortation to observe the covenant in return for status as God’s treasured possession. These contexts recall the covenant, which may explain why the next psalm continues the theme of judgment in a form reminiscent of the covenant lawsuit. In addition, the second of the two psalms apparently had no title, suggesting that it was an “orphan psalm” related to its predecessor. The significance of these facts is that they demonstrate the relationship of economics and the covenant: Israel is owned by God, and therefore God has a claim on the fidelity and the goods of Israel.

4QWords of the Luminaries^a 1–2 ii 11–18 (4Q504) includes the admission that “for our iniquities we were sold” (בַּעַד יְוֹנוֹתֵינוּ נִמְכַרְנוּ), and articulates the petition that God will nevertheless continue to free the people from sin and provide guidance to follow God with one’s whole heart and soul, so that they stray neither to the right nor to the left.²²⁸ Here, the experience of exile provides the metaphor for transgression and redemption, while the Deuteronomic language of covenant fidelity accompanies God’s act of redemption. The use of the economic image of redemption for forgiveness occurs more explicitly in frg. 4 line 7: “You ransom us (פָּדִינוּ) and forgive, [please,] our iniquity and [our] s[in].”²²⁹ As in many of the sectarian documents, divine forgiveness is described not only as a ransom but as a healing (1–2 ii 14–15). The Davidic monarchy is recalled as a time when the covenant was established. Its prosperity, though set in the past, is anticipated in the future (1–2 iv 8–14):

²²⁷ Schuller, “381. 4QNon-Canonical Psalms B” (*DJD* 11) 87–171, pls. IX–XV.

²²⁸ Baillet, “504. Paroles des Luminaires (i),” “505. Paroles des Luminaires (ii)” and “506. Paroles des Luminaires (iii)” (*DJD* 7) 137–75, pls. XVIII, XX, XXIII–XXIV, XLIX–LIII.

²²⁹ *Par* 4QWords of the Luminaries^c 131–132 14. See also frg. 5 ii + 3 i 4, “we will celebrate [our] redemp[ti]on” (נִחַמְנוּ נִאֲלֵנוּ) (1–2 v 10–11, which recalls the post-exilic redemption: “for you redeemed us (רוֹצְאוֹתֵנוּ) in the sight of the nations and did not desert us | among the nations.”

And all the countries have seen your glory, | for you have made yourself holy in the midst of your people, Israel. And to your | great Name they will carry their offerings: silver, gold, precious stones, | with all the treasures of their country, to honor your people and | Zion, your holy city and your wonderful house. And there was no opponent | or evil attack, but peace and blessing ... [...] | And they a[t]e, were replete, and became fat ...

The mixture of future and past tenses renders this passage, from the point of view of its actual author, both a recollection and a projection into the future, so that the abundance of the Davidic monarchy becomes the future ideal as well. The motif of the nations contributing to the Jerusalem Temple coffers is well-known from the post-exilic prophets (e.g., Isa 45:14; 60; cf. 42:6; 49:6; Zech 8). As in much of the sectarian literature, the image of the time of peace and blessing is abundant crops and fattened people.

A document entitled *Festival Prayers*, attested by four manuscripts, also merges the motifs of past exile with eschatological restoration and healing.²³⁰ Moreover, as in the sectarian literature, the group to be restored is associated with covenant fidelity and with poverty (1QFestival Prayers 3 ii 5-8):

[You] have chosen a people in the period of your favor, because you have remembered your covenant. | You established them, isolating them for yourself in order to make them holy among all the nations. And you have renewed your covenant with them in the vision of glory, and in the words of | your holy [spirit,] by the works of your hand. Your right hand has written to let them know the regulations of glory and the everlasting deeds. | [...You raised up] a loyal shepherd for them [...] poor and ...

The “period of your favor” (קִיץ רְצוֹנָךְ) suggests a periodization of history or at least an application of the sabbatical/jubilee cycle to the group’s sense of their own historical situation. The reference to the loyal shepherd who guides the “poor” (עֲנִי) recalls passages about the Teacher of Righteousness in the sectarian literature (e.g., CD I 10–II 13). The document also includes fragmentary references to inheritance language (1Q34 3 ii 3 = 4Q509 97–98 2; see also 4Q509 10 ii–11 6), and to the prescribed free-will offerings (4Q509 131–132 ii 6).

The non-sectarian poetic and liturgical texts include some of the motifs found in the sectarian literature. These include the metaphors of exile and illness for the present oppression and sin, the economic critique of Belial’s activity on the frontiers, the hope for a future reversal of fortune conveyed through images of eating, and the assertion that acts of justice are legitimate alternatives to cultic sacrifice.

²³⁰ The four manuscripts are 1Q34 and 4Q507–4Q509. See 4Q509 8–13 iii 16–21, where the exile metaphor is applied to the community, as well as 1Q34 3 i 3–6 = 4Q508 1 1–2. For 1Q34, see Milik, “34. Recueil de prières liturgiques” (*DJD* 1) 136, pl. XXXI. For the Cave 4 manuscripts, see Baillet, “507–509. Prières pour les fêtes (i)–(iii)” (*DJD* 7) 175–215, pls. IX, XI, XIII, XV, XVII, XIX, XXI, XXII, XXVIII, LIV.

5.3.5 *Sapiential Literature*

If one exempts the literature already discussed in Chapter 4 and in the section on sectarian literature in the present chapter (§5.2.1), only two categories of sapiential material are represented in the non-sectarian literature: wisdom sayings and mantic wisdom.

In the category of wisdom sayings or instructions, there are several texts with relevant if brief references to economic matters. The document Allegro entitled “4QWiles of the Wicked Woman” (4Q184) personifies evil as a woman whose hands grasp the pit (חמכו שוחד; line 3).²³¹ Strugnell notes that the intended reading might have been “whose hands grasp a bribe and whose feet descend to act wickedly and to walk in crimes” (ידיה חמכו שוחד רגליה להרשיע) (ירדו וללכת באשמוח *dalet* of שוחד (“bribe”).²³² Even if the reading “pit” was intended, the passage may still reference economics, if we are correct in arguing that pits were used in the collection of taxes and rental payments in kind. On two subsequent occasions when the pit is mentioned, the metaphorical context is economic: her “adornments” are described as diseases of the pit in line 5 (a reference to luxurious clothing or accessories?), and those who descend to the pit in line 11 do so because they have “inherited” her (but see other metaphorical contexts in line 17, where the context is the metaphor of seduction). Of course, the “pit” is frequently used to describe Sheol and thus almost any circumstance of perdition, so that its use here and elsewhere in 4Q184 (see especially lines 10-11) may not be economic at all (cf. Prov 5:5, on which line 3 may be based).

4QSapiential Work (4Q185) uses the metaphor of wisdom as a bride, which God has given Israel “like a [g]ood gift” (כֹּיבֵד [ט]ֹב) and which Israel is encouraged “to take possession of” (לְרִוּשָׁה) as her “inheritance” (נַחֲלָה; 1–2 ii 10-15).²³³ The application of the commercial metaphors depends upon the simple fact that the marriage arrangement was conducted as an economic transaction. The possession of the bride-wisdom carries with it promises of material prosperity and divine blessing (1–2 ii 12-13):

[With] her [there are long d]ays, and greasy bones, and a happy heart, rich[es and honor.] | His mercies are for her people, and his salvation [for all.]

The languor of long days, the pleasure of a happy heart, and more importantly for our topic the promise of greasy bones and riches (דֶּשֶׁן עֵצִים ... עֵשֶׂר) associates material prosperity with wisdom in the manner of the act-consequence relation so typical in the sapiential tradition.

²³¹ Allegro, “184” (*DJDJ* 5) 82-5, pl. XXVIII.

²³² “Notes en Marge,” 264.

²³³ Allegro, “185” (*DJDJ* 5) 85-7, pls. XXIX–XXX.

In 4QComposition concerning Divine Providence (4Q413) 1–2 2, God's love for humanity explains why God has "increased [man's] inheritance in the knowledge of his truth."²³⁴ Knowledge is related to wealth also in 4QWisdom Text with Beatitudes (4Q525); in 2 iii 2-7, it is clear that wisdom cannot be purchased, is more valuable than material wealth, and is not the prerogative of the wealthy.²³⁵ Once again, these are typical sapiential themes. Moreover, wisdom is inimical to arrogance of heart (רַ' מַת לֵב; 5 7; cf. 6 ii 6), and must not be abandoned to foreigners (5 7-8).²³⁶ In addition to these phrases, there are some other interesting fragmentary references. Someone is warned that he will "gather poverty" (חָאָר רִישׁ; 15 1). The pit (22 3), and particularly the "fasts of the pit" (צִרְמֵי שַׁחַת; 15 6-8) are mentioned in the context of judgment, although it is not clear whether the fasts of the pit are rituals or economic exigencies, or whether they are the fate of the just or the unjust. Some men are accused of murder, treachery and oppression (16 3-6). Finally, the arrogant are portrayed as those who "exalt themselves and parade" (21 5), activities typically associated with wealthy benefactors. The elevation of knowledge over wealth and the association of wealth with arrogance and violence are the most significant motifs related to wealth in the non-sectarian sapiential literature, and they are picked up and developed in the sectarian corpus.

There are several mantic wisdom texts written in Aramaic which therefore are likely non-sectarian in origin, at least according to the criteria developed by Dimant. Part of the deterministic system of the mantic wisdom texts is that material prosperity is foreordained, as in the brontological portion of 4QZodiacology and Brontology ar 2 ii 6-8 (4Q318):²³⁷

[If in Taurus] it thunders (there will be) *msbt* (revolutions? ...) against [...] | [and] affliction for the province, a sword [in the cou]rt of the king, and in the province, [...] | will be. And to the Arabs [...] hunger, and they will plunder each oth[er]...

Here thunder in the astrological sign of Taurus somehow causes or results in physical lack in the form of affliction and hunger for those born under this sign. Another text, 4QBirth of Noah^a ar 1 ii 1 (4Q534), associates the sons of the pit with the Watchers, which depends upon both the tradition that the Watchers were the fallen celestial luminaries and the understanding that the

²³⁴ Qimron, "413. 4QComposition concerning Divine Providence" (*DJD* 20) 169-71, pl. XIV. For similar biblical material, see Prov 3:13-18; 8:10-11, 17-21; 11:4, 28; 22:1; 24:1-6.

²³⁵ Puech, "Un hymne essénien," *RevQ* 13 (1988) 59-88.

²³⁶ Cf. 4QTestament of Qahat ar I 4-10 (§5.3.2.5 above). For other inheritance language, see 13 5; 14 ii 14.

²³⁷ *Olim 4QBrontology*; Greenfield and M. Sokoloff, *DJD* 36, 259-74, pls. XV-XVI; see also their earlier publication, "Astrological and Related Omen Texts in Jewish Palestinian Aramaic," *JNES* 48 (1989) 202.

dark place of their residence is the realm below the horizon.²³⁸ The association of the Watchers with the pit adds yet another negative association to that space. Finally, there is a fragmentary reference to possessions in 4QBirth of Noah^c ar 1 ii 9-11 (4Q536):²³⁹

because of which you are afraid of all men [...] | you have hidden, he seized with a sword your possessions (חֲסִינִךְ). *Blank* His goods (טוֹבוֹדֵי) ... [...] | and he will not die in the days of evil.

The poor state of the passage forbids us from concluding anything more than that possessions figured in the astrological speculations of the authors.

The deterministic view of poverty embraced by these mantic texts is at odds with the view typical of some sapiential literature that wealth and poverty are caused by the individual's own choices. Like the eschatological solution of Instruction, the determinist argument exonerates the individual, and both also expect that human behavior is linked to cosmic order in some kind of calculus, however mysterious. But the comparison between the deterministic and the eschatological solutions extends no farther, for determinism offers only an explanation for the cause for poverty rather than the remedy of reversal offered by the eschatological perspective.

5.3.6 *Unclassified Works*

Several manuscripts that mention wealth are so fragmentary that it is impossible to determine their genre and sectarian status. This list can only be provisional, as we await the publication of other unidentified fragments.²⁴⁰

The first group of terms derives from 4QUnidentified Fragments A–D. The term for the Overseer or commander occurs in fragment e, line 5 (פִּקִּיד (חֵילֵל),²⁴¹ Fragment f, line 1 mentions the portion and inheritance (חֵלֶק וְנַחֲלָה)²⁴² of the Levites.²⁴² 4QUnidentified Fragments B fragment k i line 5 mentions the “lowly ones on [high]” (שְׁפִלִים לְמַרְוֵם).²⁴³ 4QUnidentified Fragments C fragment c mentions several items related to wealth, such as offspring (line

²³⁸ Olim 4QElect of God, or 4QMess ar. Puech, “534. 4QNaissance de Noe^a ar” (*DJD* 31) 129-52, pls. VII–IX. See also Starcky, “Un texte messianique araméen de la grotte 4 de Qumrân,” in *École des langues orientales anciennes de l’Institut Catholique de Paris. Mémorial du cinquantenaire 1914–1964* (Paris: Bloud et Gay, 1964) 51-66; Alexander, “Physiognomy, Initiation, and Rank in the Qumran Community,” in *Geschichte—Tradition—Reflexion: Festschrift für Martin Hengel zum 70. Geburtstag. Band I: Judentum* (ed. H. Cancik, H. Lichtenberger, and P. Schäfer; Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1996) 390-93.

²³⁹ Puech, “536. 4QNaissance de Noe^c ar” (*DJD* 31) 161-70, pl. X.

²⁴⁰ D. Pike and A. Skinner, eds., *Qumran Cave 4.XXIII: Unidentified Fragments* (*DJD* 33; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2001).

²⁴¹ Fitzmyer, “281a-f. 4QUnidentified Fragments A, a-f” (*DJD* 36) 215, pl. X.

²⁴² Fitzmyer, *DJD* 36, 215, pl. X. Cf. Deut 12:12; 18:1.

²⁴³ Fitzmyer, “282a-t. 4QUnidentified Fragments B a-t” (*DJD* 36) 223-4, pl. XI. Cf. Job 5:11.

1), produce of cereal (line 6), and the poor of the land (אֲבִיּוֹנֵי אֶרֶץ).²⁴⁴ The same fragment also mentions a “[well] that’s been dug” (lines 6-7), which recalls the well of Torah dug by the covenanters (CD VI 3-11). Finally, two fragments of 4QUnidentified Fragments D mention terms that have been somewhat rare in this study. Fragment r, line 2 has the partial phrase “for a rich” (לְעֹשִׂיר),²⁴⁵ while fragment y mentions the terms “valuable” (יְקִיר), line 3) and “redempt[ion]” (פְּדוּתָהּ), line 4) in close proximity.²⁴⁶

These and other terms can be found in other fragmentary contexts of identifiable manuscripts as well. The term “[your?] associates” (חֲבֵרֵיךָ) occurs on line 7 in 4QpapCrypt A Prophecy? in close proximity to a reference to the end of times (בְּקֵץ הַקְּצִיִּים).²⁴⁷ The word “together” (יַחְדָּיו), used adverbially often in the sectarian and non-sectarian literature, is also found in 4QpapCrypt A Text Related to Isaiah 11.²⁴⁸ The term “valuable” is also present in 4QDaily Prayers VIII 5 (יְקִיר לְנוֹ).²⁴⁹ There is the promise, “he will not lack” (לֹא יִחְסֹר) in 4QText Mentioning Temple, frg. 8, line 2, which employs a term often found in Instruction.²⁵⁰ Finally, spoil (בֹּזֵה) is mentioned in 4QNarrative A frg. 1, line 10.²⁵¹

5.3.7 Conclusions about the Non-sectarian Literature

The non-sectarian literature, which for the most part predates the sectarian literature, provides a sort of control for our study of wealth at Qumran. Presuming that this literature was composed in environments different from those that spawned the constitutional literature, its treatment of wealth or lack thereof throws into relief the distinctive features of sectarian literature and practice, while at the same time suggesting their possible origins.

The non-sectarian texts were shown to share certain motifs and rationales with the sectarian works. Covenant fidelity, the imagery of the wilderness sanctuary, and the metaphor of exile were important themes in this literature as well as in the sectarian material, and therefore suggest that many communities adopted and interpreted these moments from Israel’s past to warrant current interpretations or practices. Sectarian use of these images or moments was different, however; expressions of covenant fidelity are expanded to include the formulation in Deuteronomy 6:5, which adds strength/wealth to

²⁴⁴ Broshi, “468c. 4QUnidentified Fragments C a-d” (*DJD* 36) 404-405, pl. XXVIII.

²⁴⁵ D. Ernst and Lange, “468m-bb. 4QUnidentified Fragments D, m-bb” (*DJD* 36) 426, pl. XXIX. Note that the word “love” (אֲהַבָה) is present on the line above.

²⁴⁶ Ernst and Lange, *DJD* 36, 429-30, pl. XXX.

²⁴⁷ Pfann, “249p. 4QpapCrypt A Prophecy?” (*DJD* 36) 588-9, pl. XXXIX.

²⁴⁸ Pfann, “250b. 4QpapCrypt A Text Related to Isaiah 11” (*DJD* 36) 682, pl. XLVI.

²⁴⁹ Baillet, “503. 4QPrières quotidiennes” (*DJD* 7) 105-136, pls. XXXV, XXXVII, XXXIX, XLI, XLVIII, XLV, XLVII.

²⁵⁰ Lim, “307. 4QText Mentioning Temple” (*DJD* 36) 258, pl. XIV.

²⁵¹ Larson, “458. 4QNarrative A” (*DJD* 36) 355-7, pl. XXV.

heart and soul as personal attributes committed to God. In addition, the Temple polemic becomes more polarized as the community arrogates Temple functions to itself. The association of wealth with violence and arrogance appears to be proverbial, given its predominance in the non-sectarian literature. But the sectarian literature will again sharpen this association and contextualize it ever more clearly within an eschatological framework. The non-sectarian literature, and particularly *Jubilees*, provides a framework for history using the sabbatical and jubilee cycles; the sectarian literature reveals a community that set its annual calendar by the jubilee vision and so likely implemented the sabbatical concept in a variety of ways into its economy, for example through actual redemption of debts and agricultural practices. The hope for a future eschatological reversal of fortune in which the oppressed would be freed and grow fat is present in the non-sectarian literature; but in the sectarian works, the *yahad* rather than some amorphous "remnant" is targeted as the ultimate beneficiary. Certain of the non-sectarian pieces, such as the Temple Scroll, presuppose involvement in the official Temple cult, while others particularly in the sectarian group reinforce the prophetic insight that deeds of justice are the sacrifices God prefers.

5.4 *The Copper Scroll*

The Copper Scroll (3Q15) contains a list of hidden treasure and is inscribed on a fine quality bronze sheet, a more precious material than any of the other scrolls.²⁵² It includes sixty-four sections that follow roughly the same format in describing the location and amount of treasure. The treasure includes gold and silver in huge amounts, as well as vestments and other cultic offerings and implements.

Opinions about the authenticity of the treasure account have varied. Some, including the original editor, consider it to be folklore, while others deem it a real record with either accurate or inflated amounts. Support for the position that the scroll is a real record lies in the fact that the document reads like a bookkeeper's ledger, and therefore lacks the style customary for a folkloric account of hidden treasure, as Al Wolters has observed.²⁵³

Opinions about the origins of the scroll vary even more dramatically. Some associate the treasure with the Qumran community, others with the Jerusalem Temple, still others with Temple contributions collected after the destruction of the Temple in 70 C.E. and others with the Bar Kokhba rebels.²⁵⁴

²⁵² Milik, "Le Rouleau de Cuivre provenant de la Grotte 3Q (3Q15)" (*DJDJ* 3) 201-302, pls. XLVIII-LXXI. The scroll is a copper-tin alloy, thus bronze; see F. H. Cryer, "The Qumran Conveyance: A Reply to F. M. Cross and E. Eshel," *SJOT* 11 (1997) 237 n. 24.

²⁵³ A. Wolters, "The Copper Scroll," in *DSSFY*, 311.

²⁵⁴ For a clear summary of the research, see Wolters, "The Copper Scroll," 302-323.

The fact that the palaeography of the scroll dates to the mid-first century C.E. has led to the consensus view that the document pre-dates or was composed during the turbulence of the First Jewish Revolt. The additional fact that the other materials in Cave 3 were certainly deposited before 68 C.E. supports the paleographic date. Moreover, if Richard A. Freund is correct, at least one of the sites mentioned in the scroll, the Cave of the Column, can be identified. Freund has argued that this cave, mentioned in VI 1-6, is the Cave of the Letters that contained the Babatha archive and was excavated by Yadin in 1960. The stunning discoveries in this cave that date from the Second Jewish Revolt should not overshadow the fact that the cave also bears traces of a first-century C.E. occupation, suggesting that the ritual vessels in the cave could have been deposited at the same time that the Copper Scroll was left in Qumran Cave 3. Freund argues just this possibility, noting that the cave not only has the appropriate natural features mentioned in the scroll (stone column outside, two openings), but also yielded a fragment of a Psalms scroll, incense shovels, a *patera*, and metal vessels which could be the "amphora," "book," and "forty-two talents" mentioned in the Copper Scroll.²⁵⁵ If Freund is correct, and bearing in mind the non-folkloric character of the list, the Copper Scroll may likely be a legitimate record of buried Temple tithes, vessels, and garments.

This does not necessarily mean, of course, that the document originated at Qumran, although some kind of connection to Qumran helps to explain how the Copper Scroll found its way to a cave with sectarian documents such as a peshar on Isaiah and non-sectarian but favored literature such as *Jubilees*, all of which were presumably deposited at roughly the same time. The affiliation between Qumran and the Jerusalem sanctuary would be strange at most points in the sect's history, given the separation from the sacrificial system there, the community's self-designation as an alternative Temple, and the group's hope for an eschatological replacement of the Temple and its high priest. But if the Jewish Revolt was viewed by this group as the final war, it is possible that some kind of temporary rapprochement could have occurred between the sect and the Temple establishment. The fact that the Romans destroyed the isolated Qumran settlement as well as the Jerusalem Temple points at least to their perception that both represented the enemy. There are enough questions about this anomalous scroll, however, that it seems best to refrain from classifying it as sectarian or non-sectarian. It lacks the customary sectarian markers, but its date and the circumstances of its deposit point to a link with the *yahad*.

²⁵⁵ "A New Interpretation of the Incense Shovels of the 'Cave of the Letters,'" *DSSFYD*, 644-60; Freund and R. Arav, "Return to the Cave of Letters: What Still Lies Buried?" *BAR* 27 (1 2001) 24-39; Freund, "The *Copper Scroll* and the Cave of Letters," paper presented at the annual meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature, Nashville, Tennessee, 20 November 2000.

Turning to the scroll itself, one of the more interesting features is the predominance of references to cultic objects. P. Kyle McCarter, Jr., tallies the number of cult-related deposits to one-quarter of the total of sixty-four entries.²⁵⁶ Such items include silver and gold vessels of the tithe on produce (כלי דמעה, I 9; III 2-3, 9; V 5; VIII 3; XI 1, 4, 10, 14; XII 6-7), of the seventh [-year] accumulation (והאצר השבוע), and of the second tithe (מעשר שני). Several of these gifts are reputedly hidden with registers of their contents (וספרו, VIII 3). Ben Zion Luria and Manfred R. Lehmann noted that these are technical terms for cultic offerings and concluded that all of the treasure was real and was to be associated with the Jerusalem Temple.²⁵⁷ Perhaps these deposits represented cultic offerings from the surrounding countryside (there are suggestions of toponyms from the locale) that for some reason could not be brought to the Temple treasury.²⁵⁸

The present study of sectarian attitudes toward wealth sheds little light on the nature and purpose of the Copper Scroll. Some modest points can, nevertheless, be hazarded. The first is that, whether the Copper Scroll comes from the Qumran community or not, it attests to the exaction of religious levies and to the ongoing collection of these taxes even in uncertain political circumstances. This supports a picture of an agricultural economy integrally connected to the religious institution of the Temple. If the authors of the Damascus Document and the Rule separated from the Temple, they nevertheless remained farmers and quite likely would have developed an alternative system for sanctifying part of their produce to secure future blessing. Whether they themselves would have replicated the sacrificial system in such detail as to duplicate its vessels and collect all its offerings is suggested neither by the archaeological evidence (§6.8 below), nor by the literary evidence, which only stylizes deeds in Torah as so many replacement sacrifices but does not refer to a sectarian practice of animal sacrifice. However this problem is to be resolved, it should be considered alongside the evidence of the hoard of coins found in L120, deposited approximately seventy-five years earlier. As I will argue in §6.3 below, this hoard is most likely a census collection or Temple tax, suggesting either a connection to the Jerusalem Temple or, more likely, that the community had arrogated this Temple prerogative to itself. The second point is less complicated: the Copper Scroll demonstrates the deep concern to protect sacred offerings and their vessels from the

²⁵⁶ P. K. McCarter, Jr., "The Copper Scroll Treasure as an Accumulation of Religious Offerings," in *Methods of Investigation*, 133-48.

²⁵⁷ B. Z. Luria, *The Copper Scroll from the Judaean Desert* (PIBRS 14; Jerusalem: Kiryat-Sepher, 1963) [Hebrew]; Lehmann, "Identification of the Copper Scroll Based on its Technical Terms," *RevQ* 5 (1964) 97-105.

²⁵⁸ McCarter observes that one of the terms in the scroll could be the family name of a clan that was given responsibility over the Temple treasury in the Second Temple period; see VII 9, בני הקין (Ezra 8:33 and Neh 10:6); "The Copper Scroll Treasure," 140.

profane hands of the Romans, and perhaps to preserve resources for the aftermath of the time of turmoil. It would be important for there to be some continuity between the Temple system before the revolt and after the defilement that might be anticipated in an armed struggle with Gentiles. This concern is analogous to the sectaries' concern to avoid or heavily regulate commercial contact with outsiders, and it represents an impulse displayed by the *yaḥad* to live in such a way as to preserve the true worship until the time of the messiahs.

5.5 *Conclusions*

The evidence presented in this chapter, drawn from sectarian and non-sectarian literature, supports and does not contradict the thesis that special economic circumstances obtained in this community in contrast to the practices of the outside world. The similarity of motifs in the non-sectarian literature to topics in the sectarian corpus explains why the former were popular at Qumran, and indicates the origin of images and themes directed toward a sectarian economy in the literature of the *yaḥad*. The voluntary contribution of wealth, the invocation of Deuteronomy 6:5 to warrant it, and the ideology of the eschatological reversal, first isolated in the constitutional literature and now demonstrably present in other sectarian works, confirm the significance of identified economic issues, terminologies and rationales.

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CHAPTER SIX
ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE OF WEALTH
FROM THE QUMRAN SITE AND VICINITY

6.1 *Introduction*

The material remains of the Qumran compound furnish evidence relevant for the study of wealth in the sect. The evidence is both positive and negative; that is, the presence as well as the absence of certain features and types of artifacts may be taken into consideration. Analysis of both positive and negative evidence is complicated, the former by the loss of many artifacts and the lack of a final archaeological report establishing the stratigraphic context of the remains, the latter by the methodological problem of arguments from silence. Given these caveats, any conclusions reached remain tentative, and therefore while conclusions will be offered in the present chapter, the emphasis will be on the presentation of evidence.

Evidence will be based on published findings from the series of excavations conducted at the Qumran ruins, in the nearby caves, and in the vicinity of Qumran.¹ The compound was excavated first by Roland de Vaux in 1951 and 1953–1956, in association with the Department of Antiquities of Jordan, the École Biblique et Archéologique Française de Jérusalem, and the Palestine Archaeological Museum. De Vaux published a series of preliminary reports on his excavations, and presented a synthesis of his views at the annual Schweich Lectures of the British Academy in 1959.² The first volume of the final reports was published by Jean-Baptiste Humbert and Alain Chambon in 1994; it contains de Vaux's field notes as well as photographs from the various expeditions.³ Some mostly unpublished excavations and restoration campaigns were conducted at the site in the 1960s by R. W. Dajjani for the Department of Antiquities of Jordan, John M. Allegro and Solomon H. Ste-

¹ For a summary of the expeditions and the discoveries, see J. Patrich, "Archaeology," *EDSS*, 1.59; see also S. J. Pfann, "Archaeological Surveys," *EDSS*, 1.52-7.

² "Fouilles au Khirbet Qumrân, Rapport préliminaire," *RB* 60 (1953) 83-106; "Fouilles au Khirbet Qumrân, Rapport préliminaire sur la deuxième campagne," *RB* 61 (1954) 206-36; "Fouilles de Khirbet Qumrân: Rapport préliminaire sur les 3e, 4e, et 5e campagnes," *RB* 63 (1956) 533-77; *Archaeology and the Dead Sea Scrolls. The Schweich Lectures of the British Academy 1959*, rev. ed. (London: Oxford University Press, 1973).

³ *Fouilles de Khirbet Qumrân et de Ain Feshkha I* (NTOA, Series Archaeologica 1; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1994).

ckoll.⁴ A second excavation of the compound and nearby installations took place as part of “Operation Scroll” from mid-November 1993 to January 1994, this time directed by Amir Drori and Yitzhak Magen on behalf of the Israel Antiquities Authority.⁵ A third excavation of the compound was conducted by James F. Strange of the University of South Florida in 1996.

The caves were excavated by de Vaux from 1949 to 1956 during the expeditions mentioned above,⁶ by Joseph Patrich and Yigael Yadin from 1983 to 1987,⁷ during “Operation Scroll” in 1993–1994, and finally in 1995–1996 by Hanan Eshel and Magen Broshi under the auspices of Bar-Ilan University, the Israel Museum and the Israel Exploration Society.⁸

The cemetery, like the compound, was explored in three phases: one grave was excavated by Charles S. Clermont-Ganneau in 1873; forty-three skeletons were exhumed from forty-one graves by de Vaux between 1949 and 1956; and eleven skeletons in ten tombs were analyzed by Steckoll between 1966 and 1967.⁹

In addition to the work in the compound and the caves, surveys of and excavations in the Dead Sea region yielded evidence relevant to Qumran at ‘Ein Feshka, ‘Ein el-Ghuweir, Ḥiam el-Sagha, the Buqei‘a region on the plateau above Qumran, Jericho, and Jerusalem.

⁴ See E.-M. Laperrousaz, *Qoumrân, L'établissement essénien des bords de la Mer Morte: Histoire et archéologie* (Paris: A. & J. Picard, 1976) 14 and 135.

⁵ A. Drori et al., “Operation Scroll,” in *Twentieth Archaeological Conference in Israel: Abstracts* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1994) 12-17 [Hebrew]; A. Rabinovich, “Operation Scroll. Recent Revelations about Qumran Promise to Shake up Dead Sea Scrolls Scholarship,” *Jerusalem Post Magazine* (6 May 1994) 6-10.

⁶ In addition to the literature cited in notes 2-4 above, see “La poterie,” *Qumrân Cave I* (ed. D. Barthélemy, O. P. and J. T. Milik; DJD 1; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955) 8-13; “Archéologie,” in *Les “petites grottes” de Qumrân* (ed. M. Baillet, O. P., Milik and de Vaux; DJD 3, 3a; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962) 3-36; and “Le matériel archéologique. La poterie,” in *Qumrân grotte 4.II* (ed. de Vaux and Milik; DJD 6; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977).

⁷ Patrich, “Khirbet Qumran in Light of New Archaeological Explorations in the Qumran Caves,” in *Methods of Investigation of the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Khirbet Qumran Site: Present Realities and Future Prospects* (ed. M. O. Wise, N. Golb, J. J. Collins, and D. G. Pardee; ANYAS 722; New York: The New York Academy of Sciences, 1994) 73-95.

⁸ H. Eshel and M. Broshi, “השרידים הארכיאולוגיים על גבעת החוואר הסמוכה לחורבת,” *קברות* 30 (1997) 129-33; Broshi and Eshel, “Residential Caves at Qumran,” *DSD* 6 (1999) 328-48; Eshel, “New Data from the Excavations at Qumran,” *American Schools of Oriental Research, Newsletter* 46 (2 1996) 28; Broshi and Eshel, “How and Where Did the Qumranites Live?” in *Provo*, 267-73.

⁹ From the 1873 excavation, two reports were published: C. S. Clermont-Ganneau, *Archaeological Researches in Palestine*, vol. 2 (trans. A. Stewart; London: Palestine Exploration Fund, 1899) 15-16, and C. R. Condor and H. H. Kitchener, *The Survey of Western Palestine*, vol. 3 (London: Palestine Exploration Fund, 1883) 210; see also Clermont-Ganneau, “The Jerusalem Researches: Letters from M. Clermont-Ganneau. III. Jerusalem, October 5-10, 1873,” *PEFQS* 5 (1874) 80-111, esp. 81, 83. De Vaux’s field notes are published in Humbert and Chambon, *FKQAF*, 346-52. Steckoll’s reports are published in “Preliminary Excavation Report in the Qumran Cemetery,” *RevQ* 6 (1968) 323-44 and “Marginal Notes on the Qumran Excavations,” *RevQ* 7 (1969) 33-40, with Table of Plates and pls. I-III.

The presentation of archaeological evidence in this chapter is premised on the hypothesis that Khirbet Qumran and the scrolls are to be understood together. The warrants for this hypothesis are compelling, despite the amount of ink that has been spilled contesting it. First, approximately ten cylindrical ceramic jars were found in the site that were identical in type and material to over seventy cylindrical jars found in the nearby caves.¹⁰ In fact, of the limestone caves that yielded scrolls (1-3, 6, 11), those that had pottery (1, 3, 11) had samples belonging to the same types found at the ruins. Moreover, in most of the limestone caves and in all of the marl caves in which pottery was discovered (4, 7-10), the ceramic types were exclusively those of the ruins.¹¹ These same conclusions hold true for the remaining thirty-one caves de Vaux excavated, fourteen of which yielded pottery, all of which was of the Qumran type. In addition, apart from two known exceptions, the cylindrical jar form is not yet attested anywhere outside the Qumran area.¹² A second point is that, while no coins were found in the caves, ceramic typology and the paleographic and Carbon-14 dating of the scrolls are sufficient to establish that the use of these caves is contemporaneous with the occupation of Khirbet Qumran. A third proof that the caves and ruins are connected is the geography of the vicinity: the ruins are roughly at the center of the twenty-five caves in which the Qumran-type pottery and scrolls were discovered, and the majority of the scrolls were discovered in the very marl terrace on which the ruins are situated, so that access to these caves required passage through or alongside the compound. Finally, several of the manuscripts discovered close to the ruins were also discovered in more distant caves, including important sectarian texts such as the Rule of the Community, the War Scroll, and several *pesharim*, and also including manuscripts penned by the same scribe.¹³

¹⁰ In his field notes, de Vaux comments particularly on the similarity of three such jars to Cave 1 exemplars: KhQ 27 from L2 and KhQ 799-800 from L45 (Humbert and Chambon, *FKQAF*, 292, 307).

The number of cylindrical jars found in the caves testifies to the likelihood that the number and distribution of scrolls were originally even more extensive than the rich hoarde remaining in the twentieth century. Ancient testimony confirms that scrolls were recovered from caves in the region in antiquity. Origen (185-254 C.E.) reports that the sixth Greek version of Psalms presented in his Hexapla had been found in a jar near Jericho. Eusebius (260-340 C.E.) likewise reports that Greek and Hebrew manuscripts including a Greek copy of Psalms had been found in a jar at Jericho during the reign of Caracalla (211-217 C.E.). Six hundred years later, the Nestorian patriarch of Seleucia, Timotheus I, reported the testimony of some Jewish converts to Christianity that many books written in Hebrew, both biblical and non-canonical, had recently been recovered from a rock dwelling near Jericho (de Vaux, "La Poterie," in *Qumrân Cave I* [DJD 1] 12).

¹¹ De Vaux, *Archaeology and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 53-4.

¹² The exceptions are from a tomb at Quailba, near Abila in the Transjordan (F. S. Ma'ayeh, *ADAJ* 4-5 [1960] 116; *idem*, "Chronique archéologique," *RB* 47 [1960] 229), and New Testament Jericho (J. L. Kelso and D. C. Baramki, *Excavations at New Testament Jericho and Khirbet en-Nitla* [AASOR 29-30; New Haven, Connecticut: American Schools of Oriental Research, 1955] pl. 23:A115).

Taken together, these arguments point to the conclusion that the scrolls and the ruins should be understood in relation to one another, and therefore that the archaeological data from the site are relevant for the analysis of wealth in the literature from the caves.

The archaeological data may be grouped into five categories: architectural remains, numismatic evidence, ceramic samples, other material artifacts, and osteological/grave data. After these data have been discussed, evidence of Qumran-like settlements in the Dead Sea region will be introduced and its economic implications discussed. Finally, theories for the use of the Qumran site will be presented and evaluated.

6.2 Architectural Evidence

De Vaux's excavations in the Qumran compound convinced him that the site had been occupied by a sectarian group from the mid-second century B.C.E. to 68 C.E., and thereafter by Roman soldiers during the First Revolt (68–72 C.E.) and Jewish rebels during the Second Revolt (132–135 C.E.). De Vaux divided the main occupation of the site into three periods: Period I (150/125–31 B.C.E.) represented the initial sectarian establishment which ended with a disastrous earthquake and fire, Period II encompassed a second period of sectarian occupation (beginning sometime between 4 B.C.E. and 1 B.C.E./1 C.E. and ending in 68 C.E.), and Period III denoted the post-sectarian tenure. He further divided Period I in two on the basis of a major alteration of the building complex sometime during the reign of John Hyrcanus (135–104 B.C.E.) or Alexander Jannaeus (103–76 B.C.E.), a change which expanded the built area to approximately 60 x 80 meters.¹⁴ De Vaux's identification of Period Ia has been criticized because, as he himself admitted, the few pottery remnants are indistinguishable from Period Ib, and there are no coins associated with this stratigraphic level to confirm the proposal.¹⁵ In addition, de Vaux's hypothe-

¹³ Isaiah Peshier, Micah Peshier, Zephaniah Peshier, Psalms Peshier. Additional scrolls found in the near and far caves include the New Jerusalem text, Hodayot, Mysteries, Festival Prayers, the *Targum of Job*, *Jubilees*, the *Book of Giants*, and *Aramaic Levi*. Manuscripts penned by the same scribe and found in near and far caves are 1QS, 4QSam^a, and 4QTestimonia (4Q175; F. M. Cross, "The Development of the Jewish Scripts," in *The Bible and the Ancient Near East* [ed. G. E. Wright; Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1961] 158).

¹⁴ Or less than 5,000 square meters; Patrich, "Did Extra-Mural Dwelling Quarters Exist at Qumran?" in *The Dead Sea Scrolls—Fifty Years after Their Discovery: Proceedings of the Jerusalem Congress, July 20-25, 1997* (ed. L. H. Schiffman, E. Tov and J. C. VanderKam; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society in cooperation with The Shrine of the Book, Israel Museum, 2000) 720-27; translated from "Was There an Extra Mural Dwelling Quarter at Qumran?" *Qadmoniot* 31 (1998) 66-7 [Hebrew].

¹⁵ *Archaeology and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 3-5. For an example of the critique of de Vaux's Period Ia, see P. R. Callaway, *The History of the Qumran Community: An Investigation* (JSPSup 3; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1988) 29-51.

sis that the site was abandoned for twenty to thirty years after a great earthquake has been contested in part on the basis of new numismatic evidence from elsewhere against which the Qumran coins may be evaluated.¹⁶ It now appears more likely that the site was immediately repaired after the earthquake, but then suffered a deliberate, violent destruction in 9/8 B.C.E., to be reoccupied four or five years later.¹⁷ De Vaux's argument that the site was reoccupied in Period II by the same group that had expanded the site in the prior period remains persuasive: the general plan of the complex remains the same, the rooms appear to be used for the same purposes, the practice of burying animal bones in pots or under sherds in open spaces continues in Period II, and the pottery does not demonstrate any dramatic changes.

Certain of the architectural features of the compound in Periods Ib and II are relevant for the discussion of wealth in the community that utilized the complex. These include the water system at the site, the large assembly rooms, and the installations for industry, grain and fruit storage, food preparation and animal livery. In addition to this positive evidence of a communal life, there are certain architectural features missing from the site which help to determine the social location of the compound's inhabitants.

To begin with, it was during Period Ib that the water system was expanded dramatically, enabling both the storage and ritual use of a large quantity of water and thereby permitting a greater number of people to reside near and/or utilize the site. Bryant Wood estimates that the site could store 1,300 cubic meters of water per year, which he judged to be adequate for 228 to 312 individuals.¹⁸ As Magen Broshi has noted, so precise a calculation should not be hazarded, given that we do not know the rate of evaporation, the actual per capita consumption of water, or whether the Qumran system was supplemented with other sources. What is certain is that the system was expanded in Period Ib. De Vaux traced an aqueduct that had been built during this period along the cliffs leading to the compound. The water was channeled toward an opening at the northwest corner of the compound and thence into a series of eight cisterns and *miqva'ot* and several smaller pools, all but three of which were newly hewn in Period Ib (Appendix E, feature #16).¹⁹ The system required some engineering expertise: it is inclined downward so that gravity will facilitate the distribution of water; there are several drains and plugs to control water flow; and most of the pools have decantation basins to trap the silt and keep the water clean for drinking and ritual bathing. The ex-

¹⁶ J. Magness, "The Chronology of the Settlement at Qumran in the Herodian Period," *DSD* 2 (1995) 58-65.

¹⁷ Magness, "A Reassessment of the Excavations of Qumran," in *DSSFYD*, 713.

¹⁸ "Water Systems," *EDSS*, 2.968-70; "To Dip or Sprinkle? The Qumran Cisterns in Perspective," *BASOR* 256 (1984) 45-60.

¹⁹ The three exceptions are L110, the only round cistern at the site, which predates the sectarian settlement, and LL117-118.

tent of the system cannot merely be explained by the desert location of the site, since so many of the pools at Qumran are clearly ritual baths rather than cisterns for drinking, as demonstrated by Ronny Reich,²⁰ and since other desert sites have been discovered that lack these precise features (e.g., Maṣada). Rather, the evidence is best explained in light of the scrolls, which demonstrate that the sect residing here was profoundly concerned about ritual purity.²¹ The evidence also points to the eschatology and self-understanding of the group, which was possibly influenced by Ezekiel's vision of the ideal future temple of Jerusalem.²² In Ezekiel 47, the angelic guide shows the exiled prophet a stream that flows from the south wall of the Temple to the east, and tells him:

This water flows toward the eastern region and goes down into the Arabah; and when it enters the sea, the sea of stagnant waters, the water will become fresh. Wherever the river goes, every living creature that swarms will live, and there will be very many fish, once these waters reach there. It will become fresh; and everything will live where the river goes. People will stand fishing beside the sea from En-geḏi to En-eglaim; it will be a place for the spreading of nets; its fish will be of a great many kinds, like the fish of the Great Sea. But its swamps and marshes will not become fresh; they are to be left for salt. On the banks, on both sides of the river, there will grow all kinds of trees for food. Their leaves will not wither nor their fruit fail, but they will bear fresh fruit every month, because the water for them flows from the sanctuary. Their fruit will be for food, and their leaves for healing. (47:8-12)

While this particular passage is not cited in the sectarian literature to justify the community's relocation, Ezekiel's eschatological vision is invoked in the Damascus Document in a *peshet* on Ezekiel 44:15:

The priests are the converts of Israel who left the land of Judah; and the Levites are those who joined them; and the sons of Zadok are the chosen of Israel, "those called by name" who stand up at the end of days. (CD IV 2-4)

1QHodayot^a XVI 4-11 also reflects the eschatological image of a watered wilderness:

I give [you] thanks, [Lord,] because you have set me at the source of streams in a dry land, at the spring of water in a parched land, | in a garden watered by channels [...] ... a plantation of cypresses and elms, together with cedars, for your glory. Trees of | life in the secret source, hidden among all the trees at the water, which shall make a shoot grow in the everlasting plantation, | to take root before they grow. Their roots extend to the gul[ly], and its trunk opens to the living waters | to be an everlasting spring. On the shoots of its leaves all [the

²⁰ "Miqwa'ot at Khirbet Qumran and the Jerusalem Connection," in *DSSFYD*, 728-9.

²¹ 1QS III 4-5, 8-9; V 13-14; 11QT^a XLV 7-10; XLIX 16-17; L 10-14; Josephus, *War* 2.8.5, 13 (§§129, 131, 161).

²² VanderKam, "The Judean Desert and the Community of the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Antikes Judentum und frühes Christentum. Festschrift für Hartmut Stegemann zum 65. Geburtstag* (eds. B. Kollmann, W. Reinbold, and A. Steudel; BZNW 97; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1999) 161-3.

anima]ls of the wood will feed, its trunk will be pasture for all who cross | the path, and its leaves for all winged birds. Above it will rise all the tr[ees] at the water for they will grow in their plantation | although they do not extend their root to the gully. However, he who causes the holy shoot to grow in the true plantation hides, not | considered, nor known, its sealed mystery. *Blank*

The water system at Qumran flowed from the direction of Jerusalem toward the Dead Sea, and sustained a community center in the wilderness. It would have made possible the provisional realization of Ezekiel's vision, not so much in terms of irrigation for agriculture but in terms of sustenance for a community in the desert.²³ It has been argued above that Ezekiel's ideal temple provides one lens through which the sectarians viewed their community (§2.5.2); the elaborate water system may suggest that the same eschatological image influenced their construction of physical space as well.

The connection between Jerusalem and Qumran has been established in another way by Reich. Reich observes that the type of *miqveh* found at Qumran is analogous to types found in Jerusalem but not in Jericho, suggesting that the origins or aspirations of the community lay in the capital. Moreover, the number of *miqva'ot* is in Reich's judgment roughly equivalent to the concentrations found near Temple Mount and in the private dwellings of mostly priestly families in upper Jerusalem.²⁴ But there are also intriguing differences between the Qumran *miqva'ot* and those in Jerusalem: several of the former are much larger, and the staircases have two to four divisions rather than Jerusalem's single barrier, perhaps reflecting the sectarians' interest in degrees of purity or differences in rank or status.²⁵

While the water system at Qumran is perhaps the compound's most dominant feature, the maximum amount of water it would have contained is modest when compared with contemporary desert fortresses. Qumran's two cisterns (L91, L110) and six *miqva'ot* (loci 48/49, 56/58, 71, 117, 118 and 138) have an estimated capacity of 1,300 cubic meters, compared to the 40,000 cubic-meter capacity of Herod's twelve cisterns at Maşada.²⁶

Two particularly large rooms were constructed during Period Ib and reutilized during Period II, namely loci 30 and 77 (Appendix E, features #4 and #9 respectively). Locus 30 was a two-story structure. The collapsed debris of the second story from Period II included low, plastered mud-brick pieces, a

²³ That the leaves of the eschatological trees would be a source for healing is also consistent with evidence from Qumran: several scrolls testify to the community's interest in healing (*Tobit*, 4QSongs of the Sage [4Q510–511], 4QAgainst Demons [4Q560], and 11QApocryphal Psalms; cf. Josephus, *War* 2.8.6 [§136]), and many of the bones exhumed there were reddened by the ingestion of alizarin, the main dye component of the madder root, which has long been thought by the people of the region to have healing properties (see §6.6 below).

²⁴ "Miqva'ot at Khirbet Qumran," in *DSSFYD*, 730.

²⁵ "Miqva'ot at Khirbet Qumran," in *DSSFYD*, 730.

²⁶ G. Garbrecht and Y. Peleg, "The Water Supply of the Desert Fortresses in the Jordan Valley," *BA* 57 (3 1994) 161-70.

platform with two cup-shaped depressions, and two inkwells. Other items retrieved from L30 included a bronze needle, an iron key, a limestone seal, seven coins, and a modest number of juglets, cups and plates. The cluster of evidence, the discovery of only one other inkwell at the site (in L31, to the southeast of L30²⁷), and the presence of hundreds of scrolls in the nearby caves led de Vaux to hypothesize that L30 served as the scriptorium of a kind of monastic community. Such a use of low benches in the production of manuscripts would be unprecedented, but even if their role has been misinterpreted the presence of inkwells presumes some scribal activity, and the large size of the room suggests that many people could use the room simultaneously. This impression is strengthened by comparison to the small number of inkwells found anywhere in Israel and by the fact that in no other case has more than one inkwell been found in one room, let alone four in one compound.²⁸

The other large room, L77, has been called the refectory or assembly hall of the complex. De Vaux based his assessment on the size of the room and the material evidence found within and near it. During Period Ib, he believed that it certainly was used for communal meals. First, a conduit from the water channel just north of the room would have enabled the residents to flush the room with water on occasion, and a drain on the other side of the room along with a gradual slope of the floor downward from either end channeled the waste-water outside the complex. Second, the adjacent L89 (Appendix E, feature #10), contained a great assemblage of pottery destroyed during the earthquake: 21 jars, 9 jugs, 38 platters, 210 plates, 722 bowls, 82 cups and 1 pot (see Plate I). Third, material evidence in L77 pointed to the same conclusion, as it included 7 jar supports, 1 small juglet, 10 plates, 10 bowls, and 4 cups.²⁹ De Vaux also noted a small, circular paved area at the west end of the room (Period Ib), which he judged to be the base for a podium for the leader of the community.³⁰ After the earthquake, the large size of the room was retained, although four columns were constructed at the east end to support less-

²⁷ Steckoll later found another inkwell at the site; see "An Inkwell from Qumran," *Mada' 13* (1969) 260-61 [Hebrew]; *idem*, "Investigation of the Inks used in Writing the Dead Sea Scrolls," *Nature* 220 (1968) 91-2.

²⁸ According to Hanan Eshel in H. Shanks, "The Enigma of Qumran," *BAR* 24 (1 1998) 35. Two other inkwells sold on the antiquities market may come from Qumran: see S. Goranson, "An Inkwell from Qumran," *Michmanim* 6 (1992) 37*-40*, and *idem*, "Qumran: A Hub of Scribal Activity?" *BAR* 20 (5 1994) 36-9. For inkwells in Israel, see Y. Olenik, "Early Roman-Period Pottery Inkwells from Eretz-Yisrael," *Israel—People and Land* 1 (1983–1984) 55-66 [Hebrew; English translation 10-11].

²⁹ Other items likely related to food production were found on the perimeter of the dining room/pantry complex: a millstone in L54 north of the dining room (KhQ 1635), two funnels in L92 just west of the pantry (KhQ 1477, 1497), and one funnel in L86 (KhQ 1452).

³⁰ 11QTemple Scroll³ XXXV 10 stipulates, "To the West of the Sanctuary you shall build a circular place, a porch with columns." The small paved area in L77 is not a porch with columns, but the fact that it is circular and in the west end of a room possibly used for ritual meals is an interesting coincidence.

expensive, short wood beams capable of bearing weight better than the prior rafters.³¹ At this time the drainage system was discontinued. Both of these rooms demonstrate that the site was capable of accommodating large groups for shared activities, which appear to have included scribal production and meals. If the circular paved area in L77 was indeed some sort of platform for the leader of the community, it would be consistent with descriptions of the privileges of rank at communal assemblies and meals prescribed in the sectarian literature (1QS VI 2-14; 1QSa I 25-II 3, 11-22).³²

The vast majority of the remaining rooms in the compound seem likewise to have served public functions. Many of the loci, particularly along the southeast edge of the compound and in the complex west of the main building, apparently served as workshops, storage rooms, and food preparation areas. Locus 52, just east of the earthquake-damaged cistern on the eastern edge of the compound, served as a laundry, with a raised stone basin and a drainage system appropriate to that function (Appendix E, above feature #6). Just above that facility, locus 53 yielded iron and bronze hooks and tools melted together by the heat of a destructive fire. On the other side of the main wall of the original rectangular building, a series of rooms and pottery production pits and kilns existed in Periods Ib and II (loci 64, 65 and 84; Appendix E, feature #7).³³ One of these rooms, locus 45, was a pottery storage room; de Vaux discovered eight jars, nine jugs and juglets, a small vase, a platter, nineteen plates, fourteen bowls, eight goblets and seven pots there. One of a complex of pools near the southeast corner served to prepare the clay for molding (L75), and may have served as a wine-press in some earlier period.³⁴ Magen and Drori's discovery of a vast quantity of date pits and ash distributed evenly on the promontory surface south of the compound led them to believe that the area was cultivated, serving as a kind of garden for the

³¹ Steckoll reported the observation of a British architect, Tom Zavislock, that the "pillars" in loci 77, 86 and 89 "were not of a type to support the roof, but had other purposes whether functional or otherwise" ("Marginal Notes," 34). Zavislock believed that the pillars never reached as high as the roof.

Charred wood presumably from rafters was, however, found in the adjacent pantry (L89), and chemical analysis indicated that the beams were date palm trunks estimated to measure 25-30 cm in diameter. Carbon-14 analysis of the wood suggested a date of destruction of 16 C.E. \pm 80 years. See F. E. Zeuner, "Notes on Qumrân," *PEQ* 92 (1960) 27-36.

³² Humbert and Chambon, *FKQAF*, 160, photographs 328-329.

³³ In Period Ia there were also kilns, but these were destroyed when the residents in Period Ib built the eastern *miqveh* (L48).

³⁴ Thus Pfann interprets the sump and the proximity of the installation to a *miqveh*, L69, that opens toward it rather than toward the compound; see his appendix, "The Wine Press (and *Miqveh*) at Kh. Qumran (loc. 75 and 69)," pp. 212-14 in Humbert, "L'espace sacré à Qumrân. Propositions pour l'archéologie," *RB* 101-102 (1994) 161-214. Schiffman reports that this putative wine-press was interpreted by the excavators of Operation Scroll to be a press for making date-honey (*Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 40).

site.³⁵ Excavations conducted during Operation Scroll unearthed storage areas for grain somewhere below the plateau on which the ruins sit.³⁶

Continuing clockwise around the perimeter of the site, remains of a simple stable were constructed in Period Ib at the southwest corner (Appendix E, feature #12), and long rooms were constructed (LL120, 121) beyond a courtyard (L111) to the west of the circular cistern.³⁷ Installations for bread baking were constructed in Period Ib in a triangular area east of the water channel just south of the circular cistern (L100), and in this room as well as in rooms south and west of these ovens, millstones were recovered (KhQ 2619, L102; KhQ 2051, L104; mill installation, L100).³⁸ Locus 100 also had a paved square niche off one side that de Vaux interpreted as a press.³⁹ One or more of the ovens in the locus may also have served as a forge. During Period II, an additional oven was added on the other side of the channel (L105). The western complex also included several small rooms which appear to have been storerooms: L114, at the northwest corner of the circular cistern, yielded a large quantity of pottery from Period Ib (three lamps, two jars, three jugs/juglets, one platter, thirty-nine plates, ninety-six bowls, forty-three goblets, and one little tureen), and two of the rooms immediately above that storeroom, loci 115 and 116, were equipped with silos during Period II, most likely for fruit or grain storage.⁴⁰ Just east of this complex of storerooms and beyond a rectangular cistern was a series of workshops, at least one of which included a furnace or heating installation (LL125–127). One or more of the long rooms of this western annex, loci 111, 121 and possibly 120, may have served as dining areas at one point, given their proximity to a food preparation area (LL100, 102, 104, 105) and to a dish pantry (L114).

Moving into the main, square part of the complex, the lower floors of the tower apparently served as storage facilities: none of these rooms had external exits, and they could only be reached by a staircase from the second story (LL8–11; Appendix E, feature #1). The tower was the northwest anchor of a group of rooms clustered around a central open courtyard. To the north and center, a paved room served as a kitchen during Period II and likely also during Period Ib (loci 38, 41; Appendix E, feature #2); several fireplaces discov-

³⁵ Y. Hirschfeld, "Early Roman Manor Houses in Judea and the Site of Khirbet Qumran," *JNES* 57 (1998) 182 n. 40.

³⁶ Schiffman, *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 40.

³⁷ De Vaux believed L111 was an open courtyard; others believe it was a closed room.

³⁸ The only other millstone found at the site was in L54.

³⁹ Humbert and Chambon, *FKQAF*, 143, photographs 295–298.

⁴⁰ Robert Donceel and Pauline H. E. Donceel-Voûte call these "vats," which would suggest that they held liquid ("The Archaeology of Khirbet Qumran," in *Methods of Investigation*, 25–6). De Vaux's descriptions and photographs of the two loci, however, do not indicate the drainage system and plastering customary for liquid containment (photographs 211–213 in Humbert and Chambon, *FKQAF*, 103–104).

ered there date to Period II.⁴¹ To the south of the central courtyard, locus 35 had several small basins draining to the east, the purpose of which de Vaux could not discern (Appendix E, feature #5). Finally, to the west of the courtyard and of L30, two small rectangular rooms were excavated. The northern of these rooms, L4, had two cupboards built into the wall and also a plastered basin that could be filled from the outside. De Vaux speculated that this room might have been used for the sequestering of the community's leaders for meetings.⁴² This room also had a shallow, short and narrow platform running along the base of the walls, most likely to support storage jars or shelves.

The above catalogue leaves several rooms undescribed, rooms which may have served as private dwellings. Staircases at L13 and between L109 and L113 as well as the debris in L30 and L89 indicate the existence of second-story rooms, and some of these could have been sleeping quarters. But the vast majority of rooms in the compound are included in the catalogue, and they appear to have served communal or industrial functions.

The public nature of the rooms raises the question whether anyone lived at the Qumran site at all. The extent of the installation, the practical nature of some of the spaces (kitchen, mill, water system), and fact that items of daily use such as plates and cups were found there suggest that the site was utilized on an ongoing basis for some 150–190 years.

De Vaux's excavation of over forty caves in the vicinity and his discovery of the equipment of daily life in twenty-five of them (lamps, plates, bowls, juglets) convinced him that several residents of the community actually lived in these chambers. He also speculated on the basis of five wood posts found in Cave 17, two of them forked, that tents were utilized by some residents.⁴³ Eshel and Broshi have confirmed through their exploration of the Qumran terrace that paths connected the compound with tent and cave dwellings along the northern escarpment and were used over a long period of time.⁴⁴ They estimate that perhaps twelve members lived in the compound, and another 140–240 members lived in an estimated 20–40 artificial caves in the vicinity. This estimate has not been accepted by Patrich, who believes that there is no evidence of a network of paths, tent encampments or extensive and permanent cave dwellings.⁴⁵ He estimates that all members, numbering 50–70, lived in

⁴¹ In loci 6 and 40, northeast of this kitchen, several items related to food production and consumption were discovered, supporting the thesis that a kitchen was nearby: one pestle (KhQ 127), three jars, two jugs, one platter, five plates, ten bowls (nine of which were of a unique "cylindrical" shape), and six cooking pots. Without an archaeological report, it is impossible to know how many of these items are related to the sectarian occupation and how many to the Roman.

⁴² *Archaeology and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 10-11.

⁴³ *DJDJ* 3, p. 9 and pl. VII.3; see also *Archaeology and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 57.

⁴⁴ "Archaeological Remains," 129-33; "Residential Caves at Qumran," 328-48.

⁴⁵ "Khirbet Qumran in Light of New Archaeological Explorations in the Qumran Caves," in *Methods of Investigation*, 73-95. Hirschfeld adds that the habitable caves bear few of the features

the compound. This number would require a dormitory arrangement on the upper floors of the compound. In the absence of such evidence, and in the presence of evidence that people utilized the local caves for dwelling, Broshi and Eshel's reconstruction is to be preferred, although it remains possible that the habitable caves provided temporary rather than permanent shelter for regular visitors to Qumran. In any event, it is apparent from the reinterments in the cemetery that all adherents of the sect did not live permanently at Qumran (see §6.6 below).

There is some evidence of sophisticated engineering at the site, namely the water system, as well as some fine stone masonry at the door jambs and lintels, but in general the complex lacks evidence of architectural craftsmanship and luxurious appointments. Many of the ashlar blocks of the door jambs and thresholds are well-dressed, and two capitals of round carved stone columns were discovered in L100, a departure from the square pilasters that supported ceilings in other rooms (loci 35, 77, 86/87/89).⁴⁶ Donceel and Donceel-Voûte record that several limestone tiles and flagstones were recorded in the inventory, some pierced for use as jar covers or water system elements, others apparently for paving. They remark that a number of these are colored, and conclude that they would have been used for decorative pavements of the *opus sectile* type known from contemporary opulent homes and palaces.⁴⁷ Their brief reference seems to indicate that these slabs were not part of the compound's own floors, but "were cut to be used in such pavements." Thus the *lack* of use in the compound is the more notable datum. Apart from these few examples of decorative masonry, there are none of the mosaics or frescoes typical of contemporary villas, apart from one fragment of plaster from L30 with the letter *reš* painted on it (KhQ 498) and another piece of inscribed plaster from L28 (KhQ 427). Nor are there the hot and cold baths, open swimming pools and gardens that grace the homes of the wealthy even in their desert domiciles.⁴⁸ On the contrary, the construction of most of the walls is poor; the large, undressed stones with mud plaster led G. Lankester Harding to the conclusion that the place was even more poorly constructed than a Roman fort, which he had at first taken the site to be.⁴⁹

Taken as a whole, the archaeological remains of the compound are consistent with the conclusion that a group of people used the site for public or

expected in permanent habitations, such as cisterns, storerooms, and plaster-coated walls and ceilings ("The Architectural Context of Qumran," *DSSFYD*, 674).

⁴⁶ De Vaux also reported three fragments of limestone columns from loci 3 and 4 (KhQ 131-133), but it is not known whether these are round or square.

⁴⁷ "Archaeology of Khirbet Qumran," 12.

⁴⁸ Reich discusses the halakhic problems that hot bathhouses would have posed to an observant Jewish community in "The Hot Bath-House (balneum), the Miqweh and the Jewish Community in the Second Temple Period," *JJS* 39 (1988) 102-107.

⁴⁹ "Khirbet Qumran and Wady Muraba'at," *PEQ* 84 (1952) 104.

common purposes, including ritual bathing, food preparation and meals, manuscript writing, limited industrial production, grain storage and milling, and agricultural production (date pressing). The capacities of the large *miqva'ot*, the dining hall and the cemetery are disproportionate to the amount of dwelling space inside the compound, indicating that the site was central to a larger community that visited regularly for festivals and at least occasionally utilized the local caves for dwelling. Certain features of the architecture align the community with Jerusalem. The dining room is oriented on an axis in the direction of Jerusalem; if this indeed is where the "purity" was consumed by the covenanters, then this fact may support the thesis advanced earlier that the sectarians viewed their common life as an alternative to the Jerusalem Temple. The great number of ritual baths also supports this thesis, particularly given the formal similarities they share with *miqva'ot* in Jerusalem. At the same time, the greater number of divisions on the staircases of these *miqva'ot* contrasts to contemporary exemplars and indicates a relatively heightened interest in multiple degrees of purity consistent with the sectarian literature.

6.3 Numismatic Evidence

De Vaux recovered 1,234 coins from the Qumran site.⁵⁰ Just under half of these comprised a hoard of silver tetradrachmas and didrachmas of Seleucid and autonomous Tyrian issue, with some silver Roman denarii, buried in three small pots under the floor of L120. A complete inventory of the coin hoard has never been published, but data from partial inventories prepared by Marcia Sharabani and Aida S. Arif are included in Table 12, "Coin issues recovered from the Qumran plateau."⁵¹ The remaining 673 pieces were mostly bronze coins ranging from the Seleucid period to the Second Jewish Revolt. De Vaux's field notes indicate the condition, reign (if legible), and locus of each coin, although only minimal indications of the stratigraphic context are provided. These designations were adjusted by the time de Vaux delivered his Schweich lectures in 1959, although he revised coin counts for only some of the issues, leaving it unclear which coins had actually been redesignated.

⁵⁰ Most publications refer to 1,231 coins, but a count of coins listed in de Vaux's field notes totals 1,234. The discrepancy is probably due to the fact that three coins were lost before initial identifications could be made: KhQ 2384 from L134, KhQ 2386 from L141, and KhQ 2407 from L134. Only four photographs in the PAM series were taken of the coins, and these were all of silver issues: PAM 40.657-658 (3 silver coins photographed in June 1953, reverse and obverse) and PAM 42.139-140 (hoard coins pictured with pots and jugs "in a [reconstructed] natural setting"). Zohar Amar indicates that Steckoll found a coin of the First Revolt at Qumran, but I have been unable to confirm this ("The Ash and the Red Material from Qumran," *DSD* 5 [1998] 1-15).

⁵¹ Sharabani, "Monnaies de Qumrân au Musée Rockefeller de Jérusalem," *RB* 87 (1980) 274-84; Arif, *Treasury of Classical and Islamic Coins: The Collection of the Amman Museum* (London: A. Probsthain, 1986) 10-11, 15-21.

Table 12.
Coin issues recovered from the Qumran plateau

<i>Regnal Yrs.</i>	<i>Ruler</i>	<i>Denomination</i>	<i>No. Coins</i>	
223–187 B.C.E.	Antiochus III		1	{4}
175–164	Antiochus IV		0	{3}
162–150	Demetrius I all in coin hoard			33 [†]
145–139	Demetrius II		1 [†]	1 [†]
139/8–129	Antiochus VII		5 (4 [†])	7? (6 [†])
137/6–126/5	Demetrius II-Antiochus VII all in coin hoard	Tetradrachmas Didrachmas		14 [†] 22 [†]
223–129	Seleucid		2	1
135–104	John Hyrcanus I		10	1
104–103	Judas Aristobulus		1	1
103–76	Alexander Jannaeus		153	164
76–67	Salome Alexandra and Hyrcanus II		0	1
67, 63–40	Hyrcanus II		4	6
85/4–41	Roman denarii all in coin hoard			6 [†]
40–37	Antigonus Mattathias		6	4
134–37	[Hasmonean]		5	0
37–4	Herod the Great		16	11
126–9/8	Tyre in excavation	Tetradrachmas Didrachmas	1 [†]	1 [†] 2 [†]
	in coin hoard	Tetradrachmas “mostly Tyrian Tetradrachmas” Didrachmas	[561 [†]]	102 [†] {336 [†] } 48 [†]
4 B.C.E. – 6 C.E.	Herod Archelaus		15	17
9 B.C.E. – 4 C.E.	Aretas IV		2	
6–14 C.E.	Prefects under Augustus		10	
14–37	Prefects under Tiberias		49	
37–41	Prefects under Caligula		0	
41–44	Agrippa I		84	81
44–54	Procurators under Claudius		8	
54–68	Procurators under Nero		40	33
62–63	Antioch		1	2* (1 [†])
6–68	Procuratorial coins		5	60
1–100	Nabatean		2	4
66	Jewish Revolt, Year 1		0	
67	Jewish Revolt, Year 2		34	85

(table cont.)

<i>Regnal Yrs.</i>	<i>Ruler</i>	<i>Denomination</i>	<i>No. Coins</i>	
68	Jewish Revolt, Year 3		2	5
66-?	Jewish Revolt, Year ?		59	6
Post-68 date or context	[Various]		38	{51}
?	[Illegible, lost or unknown]		119	{153}
	Subtotal from Excavation		673	704
	Subtotal from Hoard		561	561
	Total		1,234	1,265
† Silver coins	* one coin found in Period III context			

Table 12 includes two sets of coin counts. The numbers to the left derive from de Vaux's original designations for the excavation coins in his field notes. The numbers to the right reflect de Vaux's redesignations of the excavation coins, the more precise identifications of some of the hoard coins by Sharabani and Arif, and the addition of thirty-one coins in subsequent decades by R. R. Williams (one bronze of Antiochus IV discovered in the compound), Auguste Spijkerman (twenty undesignated coins added to de Vaux's list), and Eshel and Broshi (two of Alexander Jannaeus, one Herod the Great, two silver Tyrian tetradrachmas, two Agrippa I, one procuratorial coin, and two Jewish Revolt, Year Two, all excavated near the compound and dating to Periods Ib-II).⁵² The subtotals in braces (e.g., {51}) can only be estimates because complete inventories of these issues have not been published.

The total number of excavation coins together with the coins added subsequently by Williams, Spijkerman, and Eshel and Broshi is 704. Of these, 695 are bronze issues of various denominations and nine are silver didrachmas and tetradrachmas.⁵³ Together with the coin hoard, the total stands at 1,265 pieces.

⁵² R. R. Williams, "An Early Coin from Qumran," *NTS* 8 (1961-1962) 334-5; Donceel and Donceel-Voûte, "Archaeology of Khirbet Qumran," in *Methods of Investigation*, 4; Eshel and Broshi, "Archaeological Remains," 132-3; "Residential Caves at Qumran," 343-6, pls. 2, 5, and 7. Donceel and Donceel-Voûte write that Spijkerman added 21 coins. The "21" included Williams' bronze of Antiochus IV, which has already been tallied above, and their figure of 670 coins excavated by de Vaux disregards the three coins that had already been lost.

⁵³ The silver coins from the excavation catalogued in de Vaux's field notes include one didrachma of Demetrius II (KhQ 1307, L77), two tetradrachmas of Antiochus VII (KhQ 693, L7 [129 B.C.E.] and KhQ 159, Trench A [131/0 B.C.E.]), two didrachmas of Antiochus VII (KhQ 772, L9/9A [136 B.C.E.] and KhQ 1308, L77), one tetradrachma of autonomous Tyrian issue (KhQ 832, L45 [29 B.C.E.]), and one illegible coin (KhQ 993, L52). To these must be added the two Tyrian didrachmas discovered in Area D by Broshi and Eshel in 1995-1996, one of which bears a date of 25 C.E.

To propose any precise number of coins and assign these to the sectarian period is clearly precarious, given the present state of the evidence and reevaluations of the remaining material since de Vaux's death. Many of the coins have been lost, due to an original separation of the silver coin hoard, turmoil in the Middle East, theft, removal of portions for study, and lost records. The coin hoard was inventoried almost immediately by Henri Seyrig, but was then divided between the Palestine Archaeological Museum in Jerusalem and the Archaeological Museum of Amman. The division appears on the surface to have respected the original distribution, in that 153 coins, equal to the contents of the third container, went to Jerusalem, while the remaining 408 coins, equal to the contents of the first two pots, were sent to Amman for study. But close scrutiny of the separate collections in 1960 by Spijkerman against Seyrig's original inventory indicated that the contents had actually become hopelessly confused.⁵⁴ As for the excavation coins retrieved by de Vaux, Williams and Spijkerman, Spijkerman never published a catalogue of his additional twenty coins, and Donceel and Donceel-Voûte have reported that they have been unable to locate as many as 495 of the 691 pieces. Of those they have studied, they reported "thirty more identifications or finer readings" at the New York Academy of Sciences Conference in 1992, but deferred a precise inventory to the official publication, which has yet to appear.⁵⁵ Some other coins have disintegrated during cleaning, while others first designated "coins" were discovered after cleaning to be simply pieces of metal.⁵⁶ Add to this that the present collections in Amman and Jerusalem apparently include intrusive coins from other sites, and one begins to appreciate how fragile any assessments of the coins must be. Nevertheless, since a sense of the number of coins deposited during the sectarian period is necessary, it is best to begin with the total figure of 1,265 coins given above. If one subtracts the 153 illegible, lost or unpublished coins and the 52 pieces that are stamped after 68 C.E. or derive from Period III contexts, one is left with 499 excavation

⁵⁴ Also, by 1960 the Amman collection numbered only 402 coins; see Sharabani, "Monnaies de Qumrân au Musée Rockefeller de Jérusalem," 274-5. Arif has catalogued 241 coins in the Amman collection, though she has not noted the coin denominations. All appear to be Tyrian silver except for 33 silver coins of Demetrius I Soter (J.8110, pl. IX), one silver coin of "Demetrius" (J.8109), one with Dionysius on the obverse and Herakles standing on the reverse (J.8109), and 76 coins of J.8110 located with Tyrian coins but lacking explicit references to Tyre (pls. II-VIII).

⁵⁵ As of 1992, the official publication was to be made by François de Callatay, with the assistance of Christian Augé, in the NTOA Series (ed. M. Küchler; Fribourg: Institut Biblique/Biblisches Institut, Universität Freiburg/Université Fribourg). G. W. Nebe, in an article on inscriptions (*EDSS*, 1.376), provides slightly different bibliographic information: *Fouilles de Khirbet Qumrân et de Ain Feshka IV: Numismatique, Inscriptions et Graffiti* (NTOA, Series Archaeologica; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht). See also Donceel, "Reprise des travaux de publication des fouilles au Khirbet Qumran," *RB* 99 (1992) 557-73.

⁵⁶ Donceel and Donceel-Voûte, "The Archaeology of Khirbet Qumran," in *Methods of Investigation*, 3 n. 8.

coins and 561 hoard coins, 1,060 in total, that arguably date to the sectarian period.

None of these coins was found in the stratigraphic level associated with Period Ia (c.150–125 B.C.E.), but each of the subsequent periods is represented. Over half of the coins were discovered in one location, L120, at the northwest corner of the compound not far from the northern entrance. This hoard of 561 coins will be discussed in greater detail below. The remaining 499 coins that date from the sectarian period were found scattered across the site in almost every locus and in an area north of the compound. The largest clusters of coins were found in loci 7 and 134 (the main entrance to the compound), loci 18 and 27 (both east of the tower), loci 130, 137, Trench A, Southern Trench and Northern Trench (all possible debris dumps), L13 (seven of them in jars), L2, loci 22-31-36 and 35 south of the central courtyard in the core square of the compound, L44 between the square building and the eastern wall, L45 (near the kilns), L77 (the dining hall), L86 (part of the pantry), loci 83 and 103 (from the First Revolt), L111 (courtyard near hoard), and L129.⁵⁷

Disregarding for the moment the hoard of silver coins, the total of 499 coins is not an especially large amount for a site that was occupied for over 190 years; a rough distribution would yield only 2.6 coins per year. The real diachronic distribution of coins can never be established with any precision, still less in the absence of stratigraphic reports. Dates of issue alone are of course only marginally helpful in establishing periods of greater economic activity or larger membership. The numismatist Mark Blackburn refers to two kinds of factors affecting the number of coins recovered from a site.⁵⁸ The first type or “primary” factors are those which affect the original loss, and there are at least six such factors: (1) the domestic or public nature of the site; coins dropped in a domestic setting are more likely to be recovered by the owner; (2) the type of floor; wooden, straw or soft earth floors inhibit the owner’s recovery, while paved floors facilitate retrieval; (3) the denomination of the coin; smaller denominations are more easily lost and less likely searched, depending upon the socio-economic status of the owner; (4) whether commercial transactions occurred at the site; the more transactions, the more money you would expect to find; (5) the population at the site; and (6) the amount of coinage in circulation, which depends not only on mint output

⁵⁷ The numbers of legible, sectarian-period issues found in these loci are: L103-43 coins, L83-31, Trench A-25, L134-22, L7-14, L22/31/36-13, L2-12, L130-12, L86-11, L13-11, Southern Trench 11, L129-10, L111-9, Northern Trench-9, L35-8, L27-8, L77-8, L18-7, L44-7, L45-7, and L132-7.

⁵⁸ “What Factors Govern the Number of Coins Found on an Archaeological Site?” in *MARG, Medieval Archaeology Research Group: Proceedings of the First Meeting at Isegran, Norway 1988: Coins and Archaeology* (ed. H. Clarke and E. Schia; *BritARIS* 556; Oxford: B. A. R., 1989) 15-24.

but also the proportion of the money supply in the economy relative to the amount stored in treasuries. The second type of factor that influences the number of coins recovered from a site is anything that affects the chances of survival and recovery in modern times, such as corrosion and the adequacy of archaeological techniques. The latter disproportionately affects the number of smaller denominations recovered. The recovery of other metal from a site can provide a control for judging how well coins might have survived. Since many of the floors at Qumran were paved, since other metal was recovered from the site (albeit heavily oxidized or fused by fire), since the site was occupied for 150–190 years, and since several of the issues found at Qumran were heavily minted and remained in circulation for a long period of time, it appears that the number of coins found at Qumran is low, although more careful assessments will need to be made by numismatists when the full inventory from Qumran is published.

One way of analyzing the distribution of coins is the relatively crude correlation between the number of coins of a given reign and the number of years in that reign. The result yields a figure for the concentration of coins representing that reign, though this figure does not represent the concentration of coins deposited during that reign. Using the adjusted numbers where possible, the densest concentrations of coins are, in order: First Jewish Revolt 31.7 coins per year, Agrippa I 20.0, Alexander Jannaeus 5.8, Procurators under Nero 2.2, Herod Archelaus 2.1, Prefects under Tiberias 2.0, Prefects under Augustus 1.1, Hyrcanus II 1.0, and Herod the Great 0.3. These figures should further be correlated against the volume of coins issued by each ruler; for example, it is known that Alexander Jannaeus issued a relatively large number of coins during his reign, so that the somewhat high figure for the number of his coins found at Qumran may not be surprising.⁵⁹ The same can be said for Agrippa I and the Procurators under Nero.⁶⁰ As Blackburn notes, however, these different concentrations are indeed crude, for they may be influenced by a variety of factors such that swings of 25%–50% between two periods may be of no real significance.⁶¹ For example, the concentration of coins from the First Jewish Revolt is to be explained by the accidental fusion of a group of 39–40 coins around an iron pike in locus 103 and the apparent loss of a purse in locus 83. While these figures suggest a greater concentration of coins in Period II, the destruction of the compound by earthquake in 31 B.C.E. and perhaps by fire in the last decade of that century may explain the low representation of Period Ib coins, and in any case the hoard of 561 silver tetradrachmas,

⁵⁹ De Vaux, *Archaeology and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 19.

⁶⁰ J. Ciecielag, "Coins from the So-called Essene Settlements on the Dead Sea Shore," in *Mogilany 1995: Papers on the Dead Sea Scrolls Offered in Memory of Aleksy Klawek* (ed. Z. J. Kaperka; QM 15; Kraków: Enigma, 1998) 105–115; J. Meyshan, "The Coinage of Agrippa the First," *IEJ* 4 (1954) 186–200.

⁶¹ "What Factors Govern the Number of Coins Found on an Archaeological Site?" 18.

didrachmas and Roman denarii, which mostly date to Period Ib, provides a counterweight.

The hoard was found distributed in three containers, two of which were alien in form to Qumran types (KhQ 2542 and 2544). These two pots were plugged with palm-fiber stoppers. The neck of the Qumran-type juglet (KhQ 2546) was too narrow for the deposit of coins, and a slit in the body of the juglet was used for that purpose instead. The two atypical pots were found buried to the right of the door of the southern wall, while the juglet was buried against the northern wall of the room. The pots contained 223, 185, and 153 coins respectively, struck between 126 and 9/8 B.C.E. The dates of issue indicate an interesting trend, as de Vaux noted: "the later one proceeds in the period the more frequently all the various issues are represented, and the larger the number of new types."⁶² Jodi Magness concludes from this trend that the steady growth of new types may reflect an increase in the number of new members during the first seventy-five years of the first century B.C.E., and thus that the hoard represents a collection or deposit that accumulated over a relatively long period of time.⁶³ This would be true only if the hoard represented a once-in-a-lifetime payment rather than the annual assessment of a single random year.

The pots were found buried beneath the Period II floor of locus 120, but above the debris of Level Ib, suggesting that they were placed there after the site had been rebuilt and reoccupied. De Vaux dated this five to eight years after the last coin issue in the hoard, thus to 4–1 B.C.E., in part because numismatic evidence at the time suggested there were no Tyrian silver tetradrachmas minted between 9/8 B.C.E. and 4–1 B.C.E. Since then, exemplars from the intervening period have been discovered in the Usfiyeh hoard, reopening the debate about when the Qumran compound was reoccupied and suggesting that it might have been earlier than de Vaux suspected, or that it might never have been abandoned at all.

Studies of coin hoards from a number of sites in Roman Israel, notably Usfiyeh, indicate that, at least by the middle of the first century C.E., the annual half-shekel Temple tax was the only levy that had to be paid exclusively in Tyrian didrachmas or tetradrachmas (the didrachma was equal to one-half shekel, the tetradrachma to one shekel).⁶⁴ The distribution of coins in the Usfiyeh hoard corresponds to the distribution one would expect on the basis of rabbinic accounts of the census collection.⁶⁵ In all, 3,400 Tyrian shekels,

⁶² De Vaux, *Archaeology and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 34.

⁶³ "Qumran Archaeology," *DSSFY*, 74-5.

⁶⁴ L. Kadman, "Temple Dues and Currency in Ancient Palestine in the Light of Recently Discovered Coin-Hoards," *INJ* 1 (1962) 10.

⁶⁵ *M. Šegal*. 1:7: "If a man paid the Shekel on behalf of a poor man or on behalf of his fellow or on behalf of a fellow-townsmen, he is exempt [from the surcharge]; but if he had lent it to them he is liable.... And how much is the surcharge? A silver *maah*. So R. Meir. But the Sages

1,000 half-shekels, and 160 Roman denarii of Augustus were discovered. The required payment was only a half-shekel, but since the full shekel or tetradrachma was a more valuable coin, the payment for two men with one full shekel was encouraged by a surcharge of 8% on every individual half-shekel payment.⁶⁶ The surcharge was paid in Roman silver denarii. Since the half-shekel was worth two denarii, 8% of the half-shekel was equal to 0.16 Roman denarius. Thus the Usfiyeh hoard represents the half-shekel payment of 7,800 men, 6,800 of whom took advantage of the full shekel discount, plus the 8% assessment of the *agio* on the 1,000 individual payments.⁶⁷

The 561 coins found at Qumran are distributed across the same denominations as the Usfiyeh hoard. To begin with, the three pots were found in the same stratigraphic location, and their types and dates are homogeneous, proving that they are to be viewed as one hoard. A more interesting parallel is that the Qumran collection likewise is "almost exclusively" composed of Tyrian (and some Seleucid) shekels or tetradrachmas,⁶⁸ a "very few" Tyrian (and some Seleucid) half-shekels or didrachmas,⁶⁹ and a small number of Roman denarii dating from 85/4–41 B.C.E.⁷⁰ De Vaux's field notes make no mention of these Roman coins, but Sharabani indicated in 1980 that there were six from Hoard A that ended up in Amman.⁷¹ Without Seyrig's list, it is impossible to know exactly what the original proportion of denominations was, or if each receptacle should be understood as a separate collection in this regard. Sharabani only offers that "most" of the 153 coins in Jerusalem are from hoard A and 39 of the Amman pieces are as well, leaving at least 31 coins from that hoard without description. The distribution of this admittedly mixed collection would then be 126 shekels, 70 half-shekels, and only 6 denarii, with more than 39 pieces unknown. If the denarii are to be associated with the Roman *agio* and if the *agio* was 8%, the six denarii would represent the surcharge for 37.5 individuals, and since we have at least 70 half-shekels

say: Half a *maah*" (H. Danby, *The Mishnah* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1933] 153). Danby notes that the Mishnaic reference to the "shekel" is actually a reference to the half-shekel. A *maah* is one-sixth of a denarius; half a *maah* is one-twelfth of a denarius (Danby, "Appendix II, Money, Weights, and Measures," 797). The sages' figure is close to the 0.16 surcharge calculated by Kadman for the Usfiyeh hoard. See also *m. Ned.* 4:2 on paying for one's fellow, and *m. Bek.* 8:7, which specifies that the dues must be paid in Tyrian silver.

⁶⁶ This surcharge likely covered the cost of exchanging the coin for the tetradrachma. John W. Betlyon has observed that it was customary to charge 4%–8% for the conversion of local shekels to Antiochene tetradrachmas ("Coinage," *ABD*, 1.1086).

⁶⁷ The coins range in date from 40 B.C.E. to 52/53 C.E. Broshi argues that most of these coins are of Jerusalem minting and are therefore unlikely to be a Temple tax hoard ("The Role of the Temple in the Herodian Economy," *JJS* 38 [1987] 31-7).

⁶⁸ De Vaux, *Archaeology and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 34.

⁶⁹ Y. Meshorer, "Numismatics," *EDSS*, 2.619.

⁷⁰ Sharabani, "Monnaies de Qumrân au Musée Rockefeller de Jérusalem," 275.

⁷¹ "Monnaies de Qumrân au Musée Rockefeller de Jérusalem," *RB* 87 (1980) 274-84.

in the hoard, we would expect to find another six denarii in the collection.⁷² The data is incomplete, but in comparison to the Usfiyeh hoard, the Qumran hoard also appears to have been connected to the Temple tax and also includes a surcharge for individual payments. The proportion of individuals electing to avoid the surcharge by combining payments is almost double that of the Usfiyeh hoard, although this conclusion is tentative until a final report is published.⁷³ The proportion of joint payments adds another datum to the evidence of shared property at Qumran and indicates that the community was engaged in the Roman tax system.

Jacob Liver, in his study of the half-shekel offering, argues that there is no evidence that this tax was obligatory in the Second Temple era until the late Hasmonean period, which was coincident with the arrival of the Romans.⁷⁴ During the reign of Herod the Great, the Temple tax accounted for 10%–15% of the kingdom's total income.⁷⁵ Liver contends that the Qumran sect was opposed to this new religious levy. If so, it might have been because the legislation exceeded the Torah stipulation by assessing the tax annually rather than once in a man's lifetime (Exod 30:11-16), thus potentially inviting divine wrath (2 Sam 24; cf. 1 Chr 21:1). Moreover, there is rabbinic evidence that Herod assessed the tax on boys thirteen and older, again exceeding the biblical stipulation of age 20.⁷⁶ Liver further argues that the sect substituted for the Temple tax its own census or enrollment system, a registration which, as we have demonstrated, included the registration of property and a commitment of that property to communal use at age twenty or at full initiation.⁷⁷ As Magness argues, the single denomination of most of the coins in the hoard and the denomination itself recommend that the coins are to be associated in some way with the Temple; if the hoard was the sum total of the community's collective wealth rather than a Temple tax, one would expect a random assort-

⁷² In addition, we would expect to find at least five more half-shekels in the hoard. This is because the surcharge for the 32.5 persons whose half-shekel payments we have would amount to 5.2 denarii; presuming an even number of denarii and no overpayments, another five half-shekels would yield 0.8 denarii (for a total of 6 denarii).

⁷³ In the Usfiyeh hoard, the proportion of those taking advantage of the full shekel payment to those paying individually is 6,800:1,000 (6.8:1). In the Qumran hoard, it presently stands at 948:75 (12.6:1). The proportion will decrease if the final catalogue lists more than the 75 didrachmas and 12 denarii postulated above.

⁷⁴ "The Half-Shekel Offering in Biblical and Post-Biblical Literature," *HTR* 56 (1963) 173-98. See Philo, *Spec. Laws* 1.14.77; *Heir* 37.186; Josephus, *Ant.* 16.6.1-7 (§§160-173); *War* 7.6.6 (§218). S. Mandell is more concerned to define the post-70 C.E. Roman *didrachmon* tax which replaced the Temple tax (Josephus, *War* 7.6.6 [§218]), but provides some information about our period; "Who Paid the Temple Tax when the Jews Were under Roman Rule?" *HTR* 77 (1984) 223-32. For a contrary view of the rabbinic evidence, see A. Carlebach, "Rabbinic References to the Fiscus Judaicus," *JQR* 66 (1975) 57-61.

⁷⁵ Broshi, "The Role of the Temple in the Herodian Economy," 36.

⁷⁶ Thus Broshi on *m. Šeqal.* 1:3; "The Role of the Temple in the Herodian Economy," 35-6.

⁷⁷ Early Christians were also concerned about this levy; see *Matthew* 17:24-28; W. Carter, "Paying the Tax to Rome as Subversive Praxis: *Matthew* 17:24-27," *JSNT* 76 (1999) 3-31.

ment of coin denominations. Both Liver and Magness further note that 4QOrdinances^{a, b} (4Q159 and 4Q513) repeat the Torah regulation for the Temple tax in prescriptive legislation intended for the Qumran community, and that in defiance of the new annual assessment they collected it only once in one's lifetime upon either registration at age twenty or entry into the community (see §5.2.2.2 above).⁷⁸ It is interesting that, despite the relatively high concentration of First Revolt coins at Qumran, none of the silver issues of the Revolt is represented, even though we have retrieved eleven other silver Seleucid, Tyrian and Antiochene coins from the excavation. Broshi and Eshel contrast this situation to that at Maşada:

In contrast to Qumran with its many Tyrian silver coins, but no silver minted by the Jewish war rebels, Masada disclosed plenty of the rebels' silver currency but only two Tyrian shekels (whose pagan symbols were deliberately defaced).⁷⁹

Unlike Maşada, Tyrian silver was collected intentionally at Qumran, and was most likely a once-in-a-lifetime census payment that replaced the Temple tax.

The evidence of the coin hoard at Qumran is consistent with the results of this study, namely that the *yahad* described in the Rule of the Community understood itself to be an alternative sanctuary in the wilderness, and that the redistribution of wealth in its constitutional literature is governed by that identity and articulated in opposition to a new religious tax that went beyond biblical law. The Damascus Document does not identify the community so clearly with the wilderness sanctuary, but nevertheless understands that community in terms of the wilderness generation and uses the language of the original free-will contribution for the donation of members' wealth. The stipulation in the Damascus Document that members pay two-days' wages per month for the service of the association may be related to the community's usurpation of the Temple tax (CD XIV 12-19 + 4QD^a 10 i 5-13). A day's wage, according to Betlyon, equaled one Roman denarius.⁸⁰ Based on the evidence from the Usfiyeh hoard, we know that two denarii or two days' wages equaled one half-shekel (160 denarii = 8% of 1,000 half-shekels or 80 half-shekels). The contribution of two-days' wages to the community each month would represent the equivalent of a monthly "Temple tax" assessment for the benefit of the community rather than the Temple. It is interesting to note that the purpose of the assessment in the Damascus Document is the "service" of the association, a term elsewhere associated with Temple min-

⁷⁸ Magness, "Qumran Archaeology," *DSSFY*, 71-5.

⁷⁹ "Residential Caves at Qumran," 345. Of course, a true comparison of coin finds from different sites should assure that the survival and recovery rates are similar, that floor constructions were comparable, and that necessary adjustments have been made for differences in the size of the sites (Blackburn, "What Factors Govern the Number of Coins Found on an Archaeological Site?" 18).

⁸⁰ "Coinage," *ABD*, 1.1086.

istry. In summary, the Qumran community was conservative in its interpretation of biblical law, assessing the actual census tax only once in a person's lifetime, but was at the same time more aggressive than even the Temple authorities in claiming either a monthly half-shekel payment (Damascus Document) or a complete contribution of one's income (Rule of the Community) so that there would be no needy among their number. Along with their census assessment, they appear to have collected the Roman surcharge.

The fact that two of the pots in which the hoard was buried are atypical of Qumran is of interest. It may indicate that the census collection was conducted or at least begun elsewhere, possibly in the various villages or "camps" in which group members actually lived. It may have been stored at Qumran if that was the customary place where the payment was collected, perhaps at the annual covenant renewal ceremony from new members. Coins would not be susceptible to the same kind of purity concerns as liquids, and therefore there was no significance attached to the quality, uniformity or on-site production of the containers. It is also of interest that the hoard was buried and forgotten, which may suggest that there was only one person responsible for it (the Examiner?) and that this person died or was incapacitated. It is impossible to know for certain whether this happened in conjunction with the fire that apparently destroyed the compound sometime between 9/8 and 4-1 B.C.E.

It is also important to highlight that a variety of pagan issues are present at Qumran. This is rather interesting, since pagan imperial and cult symbols were present on the foreign coins, and these would presumably have been offensive to the sectarians, as they were to the Zealots at Masada. It would be of particular interest to discover whether there are any procuratorial coins of Pontius Pilate, minted from 29/30-32/33 C.E. and bearing the Roman cult images of the *simpulum* and the *lituus* on the obverse, symbols particularly offensive to Judeans.⁸¹ The provisional lists thus far published catalogue some forty-nine coins of the procurators under Tiberias, but do not differentiate among them.

Equally interesting are the legends printed on the coins of the First Jewish Revolt, "freedom of Zion" (לחירוה ציון). This replaces the name of the reigning monarch not only on the coins of the First Revolt, but also on the coins of the Second Revolt and in the date clauses of documentary texts executed during the Second Revolt (see Chapter 7). While obviously not minted by the sectarians, these legends correspond to the eschatological hopes of the Qumran community for a restoration of past political and economic autonomy under their God. The revolts and their coins demonstrate graphically that many others shared the covenanters' hopes, at least at certain points in time, and thus may help to account for the appeal of such a sect.

⁸¹ Betlyon, "Coinage," *ABD*, 1.1086. The *simpulum* was a ladle, and the *lituus* was an augur's wand.

Likewise of interest are the symbols of food that appear on many coins, suggesting the close relationship between coin and produce as well as the financial power of the monarch manifest in his ability to provide food. As Mary Joan Winn Leith has remarked, coins are government-sponsored art, and coin iconography therefore usually reflects the official ideology by means of recognizable symbols.⁸² The wide circulation of these coins thus affords an opportunity for political propaganda. The double cornucopiae of Hyrcanus I, the three ears of barley of Agrippa I, and the olive branch of the procurators under Nero associate the ruler with abundance and prosperity. The presence of such coins at Qumran indicates that this community lived within and engaged the local economy, but not that they agreed with its symbolism. In fact, they articulated explicit counter-symbols: 1QM V 8-12 refers also to forged metal bearing images of ears of grain, but these images are on the spears and swords of God's eschatological army which would overthrow the Kittim.

Apart from the coin hoard, which appears to have represented a special kind of collection, the coins from Qumran represent a rather meager haul.⁸³ Bronze and a few scattered silver coins that may date to the sectarian period number just under five hundred; this contrasts, for example, to the 2,275 coins from the second, third and fourth years of the First Jewish Revolt found at Maşada (that is, 758.3 coins per year against 2.6 per year at Qumran). Even if the hoard is included in the Qumran total, the number of coins per year is only 5.6. The lack of coins points in a certain direction. Using Blackburn's criteria, the scant distribution suggests that the site was not a commercial installation, even granting that the floors were paved in many rooms. If the industrial facilities were used for open economic exchange, or if the site were a toll collection center of some kind, we would expect to find more coins lost by the transient population or randomly deposited in debris dumps. Instead, the low distribution points to a more domestic site with a more closed economy, although a final judgment on the matter would have to be rendered in the context of the degree of monetization in the region at large during the period of the sectarian occupation of Qumran.

Some have expressed surprise that more coins were not found, if indeed the site was a community center where members contributed all their wealth to some kind of common fund. But this presumes that the contribution of "all one's wealth" stipulated in the sectarian constitutional literature was a contribution of liquidated assets. There is no reason to assume this was the way wealth was shared. In fact, the present study has suggested that the primary

⁸² "Seals and Coins in Persian Period Samaria," in *DSSFYD*, 694.

⁸³ Meshorer, "Numismatics," *EDSS*, 2.620. I share Meshorer's view, but note that Donceel and Donceel-Voûte have reached the opposite conclusion ("Archaeology of Khirbet Qumran," in *Methods of Investigation*, 6).

meaning of wealth was one's produce from the land rather than one's cash reserves, which in any case would have been minimal in an agricultural economy.⁸⁴ The modest number of coins found at Qumran supports the thesis that the residents of Qumran lived simply and engaged in some commerce. The coin hoard supports at the very least that the site was a communal center or clearing-house of some kind and that its members largely shared the burden of the Temple levy in order to avoid surcharges if possible. At most, the hoard suggests that the community had in its own imagination supplanted the Jerusalem Temple completely.

6.4 Ceramic Evidence

Ceramic items account for the vast majority of the finds from the Qumran compound. According to de Vaux's field notes, the clay artifacts included in whole or in part 1,044 bowls, 458 plates, 215 goblets, 145 jars, 93 pots, 74 jugs, 73 jugs, 69 platters, 61 lamps, 46 clay spheres, 46 ostraca or inscribed stones, 31 cups, 18 jar supports, 14 pieces of pipe, 13 vases, 9 dishes, 4 pot lids, and 2 inkwells.⁸⁵ Donceel and Donceel-Voûte have since suggested that de Vaux vastly underreported the actual finds, listing in the official inventory only the best-preserved items. According to their evaluation of boxes of evidence in the Rockefeller Museum, the number of all specimens should be revised upward. For example, in addition to the 61 lamps mentioned by de Vaux in his field notes, Donceel and Donceel-Voûte found pieces of 111 additional lamps, and discovered that twenty of the original complete pieces had disappeared. Since de Vaux's limited inventory is the only catalogue that has been published, it provides the bulk of the data for assessment.

Several features of the corpus deserve attention, namely the characteristics of the corpus, the bowls in particular, the contents of the containers, the inscribed or stamped jars, and the ostraca.

The first matter is the general character of the pottery discovered at the site and in the nearby caves. Magness explains:

The repertoire of types represented at Qumran is limited, repetitive, and plain. The absence or rarity of both imported and local fine ware types (such as imported amphoras and eastern terra sigillata) from the Qumran corpus is suggestive of a deliberate and selective policy of isolation on the part of the inhabitants.... [The] inhabitants of Qumran apparently preferred to manufacture and use their own ceramic products, many of which are morphologically similar to types found elsewhere in Judaea, but without decoration.⁸⁶

⁸⁴ D. E. Oakman, "The Ancient Economy," in *The Social Sciences and New Testament Interpretation* (ed. R. L. Rohrbaugh; Peabody, Massachusetts: Hendrickson, 1996) 130.

⁸⁵ De Vaux recovered one bronze inkwell from the site, and Steckoll a third clay inkwell.

⁸⁶ Magness, "Qumran Archaeology," *DSSFY*, 56-7.

Donceel and Donceel-Voûte note that there is more fine ware than de Vaux originally reported. They record less than a dozen sherds of eastern terra sigillata, "black varnished" pottery and the so-called pseudo-Nabatean ware with its stylized painted plant motifs, now thought to have been produced in Jerusalem.⁸⁷ While it is important to acknowledge the existence of this fine ware, it still represents a miniscule portion of the ceramic material. As Magness notes, western terra sigillata, other imported goods, and the locally produced eastern terra sigillata are well-attested at Jericho, Herodion and Jerusalem, but not at Qumran.⁸⁸ This demonstrates that the inhabitants of Qumran could have gotten these goods but did not, and therefore indicates the constraint either of choice or of financial necessity. Moreover, some of the Qumran pottery seems to be inspired by these finer forms, but is simpler in execution, again indicating a certain degree of constraint. Certain forms that are common in Judea during the sectarian period are thus far unattested or rare at Qumran, such as fusiform unguentaria and cornucopia and sunburst oil lamps of the Hasmonean period.⁸⁹ At the same time, some of the Period Ib finds, such as the Hellenistic lamps and some delicate bowls, manifest a ceramic tradition somewhat different from that of Hasmonean Judea.⁹⁰ Finally, some jars and jugs of buff or cream-colored ware suggest contacts with Nabatea. In sum, the lack of decoration on most of the ceramic pieces, the paucity of fine ware, the on-site production of pottery, the presence of peculiar types and the absence of some common local types at Qumran together point toward a simple and sectarian lifestyle, some connection with Nabatea, and a ceramic tradition that may derive from outside Judea.

The bowls found at the site deserve special mention, not only because they are the most heavily represented group but also because so many were found in a single locus, thus providing important information about their context and use. The lower level of L89 was filled with different groups of pottery, each separated from the other and neatly stacked. The 722 bowls were stacked against the east wall at the south end of the room (Plate I). De Vaux noted that the bowls were of two types: one dozen were similar to KhQ 1105, which had been found in L61 north of the kilns, and the remaining 710 were all of another type. He found 708 of the latter type stacked in 59 piles of twelve bowls each. One of these bowls had been inscribed before firing with the name 'El'azar in a hand J. T. Milik judged to belong to the first century C.E.⁹¹ De Vaux countered that the stratigraphic context precluded such a late date, and argued that paleography could not be as precise in the assessment of

⁸⁷ "Archaeology of Khirbet Qumran," in *Methods of Investigation*, 10.

⁸⁸ "The Community at Qumran in Light of Its Pottery," in *Methods of Investigation*, 39-50.

⁸⁹ Magness, "Community of Qumran in Light of Its Pottery," 44-5.

⁹⁰ Magness, "Community of Qumran in Light of Its Pottery," 46.

⁹¹ *Ten Years of Discovery in the Wilderness of Judaea*, trans. J. Strugnell (SBT 26; London: SCM, 1959; French original, Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1957) 44 [French], 55 [English].

clay inscriptions as it could be for formal bookhands.⁹² He understood the room to date to Period Ib, and to have been destroyed when the ceiling and second story collapsed, probably during the earthquake of 31 B.C.E. When the compound was reoccupied, a new floor was built directly over the destroyed material.

The evidence of the bowls is consistent with the frequent references in the Rule to shared meals. Moreover, the fact that a majority of the bowls are identical supports the sense one gets from the documents that, while ranks were maintained in the community, they were not commensurate with one's wealth upon entry and that therefore distinctions based on wealth, such as how much food one might eat or how fine the bowl one might eat from, were not entertained.⁹³ Both the Damascus Document and the Rule open their penal codes with the judgment against lying about property, and the punishment for such a violation is a reduction in one's food ration. This supports the contention that food was a symbol of covenant fidelity. It also presumes that under normal circumstances food was equitably distributed; otherwise, a reduction of one's food allotment would not have been as noticeable.

Given the almost complete homogeneity of the bowls and the impression they give of the equal status of those who used them, the single bowl with the name ʾElʿazar represents an anomaly. Since no other bowl in L89 is inscribed with a personal name, it would appear that ʾElʿazar enjoyed some special status in the community that would warrant the separation and designation of his dinnerware. We have already seen that a circular paved area at the west end of the adjacent dining hall may have served as a platform for a leader, and of course the sectarian literature leads us to expect that the rank and order that characterized entry to and the sequence of meals and assemblies would have had spatial and material counterparts. It is interesting in this regard that ʾElʿazar's bowl is otherwise identical in type, size, shape and decoration to the fifty-nine dozen other bowls in L89. His status is preserved, but the differentiation is not great. There is one other bowl that bears a personal name, KhQ 2587 (L143). On that bowl, the name ʾElʿazar is painted twice in large black letters.⁹⁴

Another issue of interest with regard to the ceramic containers from Qumran is the material preserved in some of them. Perhaps the most notable ex-

⁹² "Fouilles de Khirbet Qumrân" (1956) 564; *Archaeology and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 12 n. 1. See also Humbert and Chambon, *FKQAF*, 319-20; Cross, *The Ancient Library of Qumran and Modern Biblical Studies*, rev. ed. (Garden City, New York: Anchor, 1961) 48 n. 21; *idem*, "The Development of the Jewish Scripts," in *The Bible and the Ancient Near East* (ed. G. E. Wright; Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1961) 190 n. 9.

⁹³ See Philo, *Good Person* 84 (where "equality [ἰσότητα]" characterizes their communal life); *Hypothetica* (apud Eusebius, *Praep. ev.* 8.11.11); Josephus, *War* 2.8.3, 5, 7 (§§122-123, 130, 139); *Ant.* 18.1.5 (§20).

⁹⁴ De Vaux, "Fouilles de Khirbet Qumrân" (1956) 564; Humbert and Chambon, *FKQAF*, 338.

ample because the best preserved is the collection of several dozen animal bone deposits in, under and between ceramic containers or sherds. De Vaux notes that these were found in almost all the open places at Qumran, and were deposited both during Period Ib (loci 23, 80, 92, 130, and 135) and Period II (loci 73, 80, 130, and 132). The greatest concentrations of these deposits were in loci 80, 130, 132 and the Southern Trench.⁹⁵ F. E. Zeuner analyzed bones from thirty-nine of the deposits, and determined that they represented in order of frequency adult sheep, adult goats, lambs and/or kids, calves, cows or oxen, and one other unidentified animal.⁹⁶ No single container contained the full skeleton of an animal. Some of the bones were useless for human consumption, and their careful burial suggested to Zeuner some ritual character to the custom of their disposition. He also judged that, since two-thirds of the jars contained the bones of only one animal, these represented ritual meals for a small number of people. He noted that some of the bones were charred, as if they had been roasted, while others had fallen into the fire; the collectors were careful enough to gather refuse from both table and kitchen, but careless enough that no pot contains the full remnants of one animal. The care with which these bones were buried suggested to de Vaux that the consumption of these animals had some religious significance for the participants. Kurt Schubert agreed and proposed that the blessing of the meat during the meal would have made the bones consecrated so that they would require careful disposal.⁹⁷ While de Vaux could find no sectarian text to explain this ritual meal, three texts do explain the concern over the disposal of refuse from these meals that Schubert had hypothesized. 11QTemple Scroll^a stipulates, "Everything which is surplus from their festivals will be holy, it will be burned on the fire; it shall not be eaten anymore because it is holy" (XLIII 10-12). *Miqṣat Ma'aseh ha-Torah* is specifically concerned to keep dogs outside the holy city:

And one must not let dogs enter the holy camp, since they may eat some of the bones of the sanctuary while the flesh of the sacrifices is still on them. For Jerusalem is the camp of holiness and is the holy place which He has chosen from among all the places of the tribes of Israel. For Jerusalem is the capital of the camps of Israel. (B 58-62)⁹⁸

⁹⁵ *Archaeology and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 12-14 and pl. XI; see also Humbert and Chambon, *FKQAF*, photographs 262-268. Tiny circles on de Vaux's plates VI and XVII indicate the precise locations; these marks have been enlarged on the architectural renderings in Humbert and Chambon's volume.

⁹⁶ "Notes on Qumrān," 27-36.

⁹⁷ *The Dead Sea Community, Its Origin and Teachings*, trans. J. W. Doberstein (London: A. & C. Black, 1959; German original, Munich: Reinhardt, 1958) 27, 50.

⁹⁸ E. Qimron and J. Strugnell, *Qumran Cave 4.V: Miqṣat Ma'aseh ha-Torah* (DJD 10; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994) 53, 162-4.

Finally, 4QMen of the People Who Err (4Q306) has been reconstructed by Timothy H. Lim in a manner that suggests the same view: “and he will be stirred to wrath (?) and the dogs eat [some of the bones of the sanctuary |] by his sending out from the court the [do]gs...” (1 5-6).⁹⁹ It is possible, as Elisha Qimron and John Strugnell suggest, that the animals whose bones were buried in pots at Qumran were consumed as part of so many sacred meals, that the practice of burial in pots and under sherds discouraged scavengers (except that the deposits were close to or flush with the surface), and finally that the community understood itself as a holy camp akin to Jerusalem from which such scavengers should be banned. The animal bones do not bear directly on the issue of wealth at Qumran, but do support the thesis that the community that met there arrogated certain Temple functions to themselves, thus far sacred meals and the Temple tax, and these particular functions involved transactions of goods. The sacred meals need not be understood as sacrificial repasts in order to be analogous to the Temple. As Joseph M. Baumgarten argues, it is more likely that the Qumran sectarians extended the standard of purity elsewhere reserved for offerings to all their food, and therefore buried bones that had remnants of meat until their status as edible items passed.¹⁰⁰

Against the thesis that the community viewed itself as the camp of holiness is the presence of a latrine within the compound, albeit on the eastern edge. The facility in L51 consists of a terra cotta pipe set in a conical mud-lined pit.¹⁰¹ The Temple Scroll requires that latrines be roofed houses with pits 3,000 cubits northwest of the city (XLVI 13-16; cf. Deut 23:9-14). The War Scroll is more generous, allowing the latrines at a 2,000-cubit distance (1QM VII 6-7). Josephus indicates that the Essenes defecated by digging a trench in “the more retired spots,” that is, outside their dwellings (*War* 2.8.9 [§147-149]). None of these sources mentions latrines “in the camp,” but Josephus might be inclined to neglect common custom. Locus 51 opens only onto locus 53, a room with a pool, which could correspond the sectarian view that defecation was polluting and therefore required cleansing afterward. No chemical analysis was conducted on the soil in this room to verify its use.

⁹⁹ “ייקצף והכלבים אוכלים מקצת עצמות המקדש לרוציאו מחצר ה[כ]ל[ב]ים” 306. 4QMen of the People Who Err,” in *Qumran Cave 4.XXVI: Cryptic Texts and Miscellanea, Part 1* (ed. Pfann et al.; DJD 36; Oxford: Clarendon, 2000) 252-3.

¹⁰⁰ “The Essenes and the Temple: A Reappraisal,” in *Studies in Qumran Law* (SJLA 24; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1977) 59-61. Baumgarten observes that, unlike the buried bones at Qumran, the bones from ritually sacrificed animals had to be burned. Thus he considers it unlikely that these bones represent sacrificial offerings. Schiffman agrees that the bones cannot be from sacrificed animals, and adds that there are no analogies for the Qumran ritual in rabbinic law; see *Sectarian Law in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Courts, Testimony, and the Penal Code* (BJS 33; Chico, California: Scholars Press, 1983) 191-210.

¹⁰¹ Humbert and Chambon, *FKQAF*, 309, photographs 149-151, p. 75; Magness, “Qumran Archaeology,” in *DSSFY*, 47-77.

Some of the other vessels discovered at Qumran still held residues of the materials they had originally contained. Unfortunately, as with the latrine containers, little chemical analysis of this material has been conducted. Patrich and Benny Arubas analyzed material in a juglet from Cave 13 and determined that it was balsam oil, but also believed on the basis of contiguous finds and sectarian beliefs that the oil receptacle is better dated to the post-70 C.E. period.¹⁰² Vendyl Jones claimed to have discovered an accumulation of incense in a nearby cave in 1992, but Zohar Amar has argued that the material is more likely a mixture of lye and desert vegetation and the “silo” in which it was found was probably a lye production kiln.¹⁰³ It is reasonable to assume that many of the receptacles at Qumran once contained dates, given the number of date pits and dried dates found in the nearby caves and the date press found on the south end of the compound promontory. Two of the four inkwells recovered from the compound had dried ink in them.¹⁰⁴ Also, two large jars discovered in loci 66 and 101 had goblets or beakers in them, suggesting that the smaller vessel was used as a scoop or ladle for the original contents.¹⁰⁵ Other jars were nested in loci 4 (KhQ 48–51) and 7 (KhQ 96–97), but no interpretation of these has been offered. Finally, reference has already been made to pots and a juglet that contained only coins (L120), while several large jars and one lamp at the site were found to contain a few coins.¹⁰⁶ Apart from the coin hoard and the evidence of date consumption, none of these discoveries is widespread enough to suggest the nature of commercial production or economic intercourse at the site.

The site yielded a good number of stamped jar handles, jars and juglets with inscriptions, and ostraca, suggesting commerce or payments of some kind.¹⁰⁷ Unfortunately, in the absence of a complete inventory, it is unclear

¹⁰² “A Juglet Containing Balsam Oil(?) from a Cave Near Qumran,” *IEJ* 39 (1989) 43-59, figs. 4 and 5; Patrich, “Khirbet Qumran in Light of New Archaeological Explorations in the Qumran Caves,” in *Methods of Investigation*, 91.

¹⁰³ “The *Qetoret* (Temple Incense),” *Vendyl Jones Research Institutes*, n.p. [cited 14 December 2000]. Online: <http://www.vendyljones.org.il/incense.htm>. Against Jones’ proposal, see Amar, “The Ash and the Red Material from Qumran,” 1-15.

¹⁰⁴ De Vaux, “Fouilles au Khirbet Qumrân” (1954) 212; Steckoll, “Investigation of the Inks,” 91.

¹⁰⁵ In locus 66, or the northwest corner of locus 73, the excavators found a goblet (KhQ 1134) in a jug (KhQ 1149). In locus 101, a goblet (KhQ 2040) was found in a cooking pot (KhQ 2044).

¹⁰⁶ Two cylindrical jars in locus 13, KhQ 758 and KhQ805, held four and three coins, respectively. A Herodian lamp at the upper level of locus 40, KhQ 1437, held two coins, one from the First Jewish Revolt (KhQ 1438) and one a procuratorial coin from the reign of Nero (KhQ 1439).

¹⁰⁷ In 1992 Donceel and Donceel-Voûte reported there were at least seventy short inscriptions found at the site, and that Émile Puech would draft the final report on the epigraphic material in *Fouilles de Khirbet Qumrân et de Ain Feshka IV: Numismatique, Inscriptions et Graffiti* (NTOA, Series Archaeologica; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht); “Archaeology of Khirbet Qumran,” in *Methods of Investigation*, 14 n. 44. Photographs in the PAM series that include

how many of the more fragmentary items are parts of inscribed or stamped jars, signifying the source or destination of the payment or contribution, and how many are sherds that were inscribed after having been broken. In his field notes, de Vaux does distinguish between ostraca and sherds of jugs or jars, but it is unclear what precisely he means by these designations. The field notes do, however, indicate the following finds: sixteen jugs, jars or parts of them with inscriptions, at least eighteen ostraca, and two pre-sectarian, Iron II sherds.¹⁰⁸ The caves yielded an additional four inscribed jars or jugs and three additional sherds.¹⁰⁹ Two additional inscribed jars from a cave 100 meters south of Cave 6 were purchased by Milik in 1952. Their inscriptions most likely indicate the quantity of their contents or, in the case of one of the jars, indicate the capacity of the receptacle.¹¹⁰ James F. Strange discovered two ostraca at the base of the eastern wall of the compound in 1996, both of which are documentary texts. These two texts, KhQ1–2, will be discussed in greater detail in the next chapter, since they represent more sustained evidence of commerce than the other inscriptions and ostraca retrieved from the site. In addition, at least one of the ostraca listed above, KhQ 161 from Trench A, is an abecedary or writing exercise, and is therefore not directly connected with commerce.¹¹¹ Excluding KhQ1–2 and 161, epigraphic evidence dating to the sectarian period totals forty-two inscribed pieces of ce-

stamped jar handles and ostraca are: 40.405, 40.927, 40.956–957, 41.596, 42.432, 42.434 (10Q ostrakon), 42.563–575A, 42.652 (Gr7Q 6), 42.653–654, 42.683–700, 42.865 (Gr4Q 1), and possibly 40.649.

¹⁰⁸ The inscribed jugs and jars from the compound and their loci are: KhQ 189 (L8), 386 (L23), 425 (L10A), 621 (L34), 680 (L7), 681 (L35), 682 (L34), 691 (L37), 711 (L38–41), 734 (L39), 979 (L54), 1095 (L59), 1401 (L84), 2252 (L129), 2416 (L130, 2A), and 2417 (L130, 2A). Ostraca excavated in the compound are: 161 (Trench A), 461 (L29), 635 (L35), 701 (L39), which is two sherds, 1264 (L63), 1313 (L61), 1416 (L84), which again apparently represents several sherds, 2108 (L110), 2109 (L110), 2125 (L116), 2176 (L125), 2554 (L124), 2555 (L124), 2557 (L124), which again includes more than one sherd, and 2609 (L78). The Iron II sherds include a jar handle stamped “to the king” (למלך), KhQ 1235, L66) and a sherd inscribed in paleo-Hebrew (KhQ 1236, L73).

¹⁰⁹ Inscribed jars and jugs are KhQ 2507 north of Cave 1, Gr4Q 1, Gr7Q 6 and GQ8 10. Ostraca are items Gr7Q 1, Gr7Q 7, and Gr10Q 1. Broshi and Eshel suggest that three lumps of marl inside Cave 7 fell on Greek scrolls, and some letters from these scrolls were subsequently transferred in reverse onto the marl (“Residential Caves at Qumran,” 333). It is difficult to know whether these are the items de Vaux inventoried.

¹¹⁰ One of the jars is cylindrical, with a Greek *mu* inscribed midway between the handles; the other jar is bell-shaped and bears the inscription, “2 *seahs* and 7 *logs*.” Milik, “Appendice: Deux jarres inscrites provenant d’une grotte de Qumrân” (*DJDJ* 3) Textes 37–42, Planches pl. IX. It appears that these are the two jars G. W. Nebe mentions in “Inscriptions,” *EDSS*, 1.376; however, he says they were found in Cave 6.

¹¹¹ De Vaux, “Fouilles au Khirbet Qumrân” (1954) 229, pl. Xa; Humbert and Chambon, *FKQAF*, 339, fig. II, p. 4, photograph 384, p. 186; Cross and E. Eshel, “3. KhQOstrakon,” (*DJD* 36) 509–512, pl. XXXIV; Cross, “The Oldest Manuscripts from Qumran,” *JBL* 74 (1955) 147 n. 2; *idem*, “The Development of the Jewish Scripts,” 134, 190 n. 9.

ramic that may bear on our understanding of economic transactions at the site.¹¹²

Only a few of the inscriptions on these pieces have been deciphered and published. Aaron Demsky has noted that four of the storage jars at Qumran, including KhQ 621 found in a basin in locus 34, have the phrase ירחנן חטלא inscribed on them.¹¹³ KhQ 621 is a large, cylindrical jar that was found with its lid, and the name is painted in large red letters on the shoulder of the jar. Demsky identifies the second word not as a family name, but as a village reference. He links the site to Ḥaṭṭulim, one of two locations which the rabbis mention as sources for the Temple's high-quality wine, perhaps because of the premium character of the produce or because of the vintner's meticulousness in observing purity laws (*m. Men.* 8:6). It is tempting to consider whether the sectarians of Qumran purchased their wine from the same villages for the same reasons.¹¹⁴ If they did, it would be consistent with the thesis that they understood themselves to be operating as an alternative sanctuary governed by the same strict purity laws. Ze'ev Safrai and Hanan Eshel, in contrast, believe this large vessel was a receptacle of red ink for dyeing wool, which a member used to inscribe his name on the outside.¹¹⁵ It is unclear from their discussion whether they are basing this description on scientific analysis of the contents, the shape of the jar, or some other criterion. De Vaux appears to have been describing at least KhQ 621, if not the other three jars and other items from the site, when he wrote:

On lit, sur des jarres, les noms de Pinḥas, de Shime'on bar Jonathan, etc. Deux fragments de jarres et une jarre dont la forme a été reconstitué ont des inscriptions à l'encre qui sont un peu plus longues et doivent se rapporter à leur contenu.¹¹⁶

The names Pinḥas and Shime'on bar Jonathan may be added to the name Jonathan Ḥaṭṭulah as evidence that several of the jars at Qumran indicated the name of the owner, contributor, or recipient of their contents, and in some cases indicated their contents as well.

¹¹² On the relevance of such evidence for the economic history of an earlier period, see M. Silver, *Prophets and Markets: The Political Economy of Ancient Israel* (Social Dimensions of Economics; Boston: Kluwer-Nijhoff, 1983) 29-40.

¹¹³ "Qumran Epigraphy and Mishnaic Geography: The Identification of ḤTL' with Ḥaṭṭulim (*Menahoth* 8:6)," *DSD* 4 (1997) 157-61. Demsky does not identify the other item numbers. For earlier discussions of KhQ 621, see de Vaux, "Fouilles au Khirbet Qumrân" (1954) 208, 229 and pl. XII; Humbert and Chambon, *FKQAF*, 303-304, photographs 66-70, pp. 43-4. Callaway mis-transcribes the letters as ירחנן חטלא in "A Second Look at Ostrakon No. 1 from Khirbet Qumrân," *QC* 7 (1997) 154.

¹¹⁴ If these are indeed wine jars, the evidence would be difficult to square with argument that the Qumran sectarians are to be identified with the sons of Rekhav, described by the rabbis as "water drinkers" (*pace* Safrai and Eshel, "Economic Life," *EDSS*, 1.229).

¹¹⁵ "Economic Life," *EDSS*, 1.231.

¹¹⁶ "Fouilles de Khirbet Qumrân" (1956) 564-5.

Another jar that bears a name is Gr7Q 6, a jar with the name רומא painted twice in black on its shoulder.¹¹⁷ De Vaux comments that the name is commonly attested in Nabatean, with Palmyrian counterparts. Why it would have been inscribed twice is unclear, though a similar phenomenon can be observed on KhQ 2587, the bowl from locus 143, which bears the name מגע twice in large black letters (see above).

Another jar that has received some attention is Gr4Q 1, which bore remains of eleven Hebrew letters on its shoulder in black ink legible only under infrared light.¹¹⁸ The letters were $\text{לָרֹם יָאִיר לְאִפֶּךָ}$, for which de Vaux offered two reconstructions: “Repayment to Yair. To/In exchange/return” (לָרֹם יָאִיר), or “That peace brighten your face” ($\text{לָרֹם יָאִיר לְאִפֶּךָ}$).¹¹⁹ Both of these expressions are appropriate in economic contexts. The first would indicate the kind of barter or exchange required between community members in CD XIII 14-15. The second translation is similar to an idiom known from Babylonian royal land grants, where the joy of the king’s countenance functions as a guarantee of the king’s firm resolve to protect a grant against future claims contesting it.¹²⁰ In the Qumran context, the contents of the jar could have served as a repayment to a creditor or as a gift to secure favor.

De Vaux provides minimal descriptions of some other items. On two of the jugs with inscribed necks, Greek letters are used for an apparently Hebrew or Aramaic inscription (KhQ 189, L8 and KhQ 979, L54).¹²¹ An ostrakon, KhQ 2609 (L78) has Greek letters that were also not immediately intelligible to de Vaux.¹²² Magness indicates that another of the ostraca, KhQ 1416 (L84), bore traces of Greek letters as well.¹²³ KhQ 461 (L29) is a sherd with six Hebrew letters. KhQ 635 (L35) is a sherd with two engraved letters. KhQ 711 (L38-41) is a fragment of a juglet with four inscribed letters. KhQ 1264 (L63) is a sherd inscribed with two letters. KhQ 1401 (L84) is a jar with three

¹¹⁷ De Vaux, “Fouilles de Khirbet Qumrân” (1956) 572; “I. Archéologie” (*DJDJ* 3) 27-30, no. 5 on fig. 6, pp. 28-9; pl. VIII.2; Humbert and Chambon, *FKQAF*, 343.

¹¹⁸ De Vaux, “Le Matériel Archéologique. La Poterie” (*DJD* 6) 15-17, no. 2 on fig. 5, p. 16; pl. III; Humbert and Chambon, *FKQAF*, 343.

¹¹⁹ For the first, de Vaux offers that the לָרֹם is an Aramaism for biblical לָרֹם . For the second, de Vaux compares the phrase to Exod 13:21, Isa 60:19 and Ps 118:27, notes that לָרֹם is defective for לָרֹם , and observes that analogous wishes have been found inscribed on vases, cups and gourds in Greek and Latin epigraphy, and frequently on Byzantine and Arab lamps.

¹²⁰ Y. Muffs, “Joy and Love as Metaphorical Expressions of Willingness and Spontaneity in Cuneiform, Ancient Hebrew, and Related Literatures: Divine Investitures in the Midrash in the Light of Neo-Babylonian Royal Grants,” in *Christianity, Judaism and Other Greco-Roman Cults: Studies for Morton Smith at Sixty*, part 3, *Judaism before 70* (ed. J. Neusner; *SJLA* 12; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1975) 1-36. See §7.3 below.

¹²¹ De Vaux, “Fouilles au Khirbet Qumrân” (1954) 229; *idem*, “Fouilles de Khirbet Qumrân” (1956) 564; Humbert and Chambon, *FKQAF*, 310.

¹²² “Fouilles de Khirbet Qumrân” (1956) 564.

¹²³ “Women at Qumran?” paper presented at the annual meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature, Nashville, Tennessee, 20 November 2000, 16 n. 58. I would like to thank Dr. Magness for kindly forwarding a copy of her paper.

painted letters. KhQ 2416 and KhQ 2417 (L130, 2A) are jugs with Hebrew inscriptions in black ink on the shoulder that denote a proper name followed by a numerical notation. GQ8 10 is a jar inscribed with two *tets*.¹²⁴ Gr10Q 1 is a sherd inscribed with two Hebrew letters, which Milik transcribes $\text{ן}\text{ו}$.¹²⁵ All of the other pieces are simply described as “inscribed sherds” or “ostraca.”

The inscribed ceramic items from Khirbet Qumran and its associated caves provide evidence of economic transactions. Many of the pieces are parts of containers for goods that were exchanged, while other inscribed sherds may derive from registers of account (especially those with numerical figures) or even from more extended documentary texts. Some may be abecedaries or writing exercises, and therefore irrelevant for the discussion of wealth at Qumran. It is impossible to judge from the inscriptions published thus far whether the transactions they witness involved the exchange of money or only of goods in kind, with the possible exception of Gr4Q 1, an exchange in kind. Both types of transactions would be possible in the sectarian community, insofar as the sectarian constitutional literature stipulates barter for transactions between members and cash exchange and official oversight for commerce with the outside world.

In general, the ceramic evidence from Qumran is consistent with the image of a community that adhered to simplicity, purity, economic equality alongside an ethical and supervisory hierarchy, and restricted commerce with the outside world. Many of the pieces were certainly produced on site, given the installations for clay preparation, pits for pottery wheels, and kilns found at the southeast corner of the compound, although clay deposits free of the high salt content of the local sediment have not been found close to the site.¹²⁶ The evidence of lye or soap preparation in a nearby cave may point to another form of on-site industrial production.

6.5 Other Material Evidence

While ceramic items were the most common artifacts recovered from Khirbet

¹²⁴ *DJDJ* 3, Planches pl. VII.2 Nebe mentions a jar which he traces to Cave 3 that bears the impression of a *tet* (“Inscriptions,” *EDSS*, 1.376).

¹²⁵ *DJDJ* 3, Textes 164, Planches pl. XXXV. Nebe transcribes the letters $\text{ן}\text{ו}$ or $\text{ן}\text{ו}$, although the photograph clearly presents $\text{ן}\text{ו}$; he took these to be the remains of a personal name (*EDSS*, 1.376). Descriptions of all of these items are provided in de Vaux’s field notes. KhQ 2416 and KhQ 2417 are also described in “Fouilles de Khirbet Qumrân” (1956) fig. 1.5, pp. 552-3 and 565, respectively. For Gr10Q1, see de Vaux, “Fouilles de Khirbet Qumrân” (1956) 533-7; *idem*, “I. Archéologie” (*DJDJ* 3) 31, pl. XXXV; Baillet, “Ostrakon” (*DJDJ* 3) 164-8, pl. XXXV; Humbert and Chambon, *FKQAF*, 344; Eshel and Broshi, “Archaeological Remains,” 131; *idem*, “Residential Caves at Qumran,” 134.

¹²⁶ Zeuner, “Notes on Qumrân,” 30-33.

Qumran and the surrounding caves, pieces made of stone, glass, metal, bone, linen, wood, palm fiber and parchment were also found at the site and provide evidence of both the nature of the compound and the economy of its inhabitants.

Perhaps the most important group are those items that may relate directly to commercial transactions. De Vaux's field notes indicate that the assemblage includes one pan from a scale, at least three stone weights, one seal ring, and two stone seals.¹²⁷ The first of the stone weights, KhQ 2124, is inscribed, but only half of the piece is preserved. One of the stone seals, KhQ 2088, is likewise only half preserved. Published reports about this body of evidence conflict with one another. For example, de Vaux records that one limestone seal was retrieved from L30, but in his preliminary report on the second campaign states that a clay seal rather than a limestone seal was found there, and that it bore the name Joseph in Greek (ΙΩΣΗΠΟΣ).¹²⁸ De Vaux does not describe any of the other pieces, and Donceel and Donceel-Voûte merely note that "marked weights and stone seals are also evidence of not only domestic but truly economic and commercial activity."¹²⁹ Combined with the inscribed ceramic, these few pieces of commercial equipment do testify to some commercial activity at the site, but their number is not overwhelming. The seal ring is perhaps the most interesting piece, insofar as it would likely have been used either by someone in an official capacity to authorize transactions or notices, or by someone who regularly conducted business.¹³⁰ The clay (or limestone?) seal with the name Joseph testifies to the same phenomenon and may when published point toward the cultural affinities of its owner.

There are two other inscribed stone pieces whose function is at present unclear. One is a small limestone plaque (KhQ 2207, L129), with uncertain letters delicately engraved on the white surface.¹³¹ After describing this plaque in his 1956 article, de Vaux introduces another limestone plaque, chipped on all sides, with five lines painted in black, but admits that he dare not propose a reading since the text is effaced. This would appear to be KhQ 2145 from L121, the only other inscribed piece of limestone mentioned in de

¹²⁷ Scale: KhQ 1092 (L61). Stone weights: KhQ 2124 (L110) and KhQ 2115 (more than one weight, L111). Seal ring: KhQ 294 (L15). Stone seals: KhQ 439 (L30) and KhQ 2088 (L111).

¹²⁸ De Vaux, "Fouilles de Khirbet Qumrân" (1954) 229; cf. Humbert and Chambon, *FKQAF*, 302-303.

¹²⁹ "Archaeology of Khirbet Qumran," in *Methods of Investigation*, 12.

¹³⁰ Leith, "Seals and Coins in Persian Period Samaria," in *DSSFYD*, 696-9; *idem*, ed., *Wadi Daliyeh I: The Wadi Daliyeh Seal Impressions* (DJD 24; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997).

¹³¹ De Vaux, "Fouilles de Khirbet Qumrân" (1956) 565; cf. Humbert and Chambon, *FKQAF*, 332.

Vaux's field notes.¹³² Until these texts can be deciphered, their relevance for the study of the Qumran economy cannot be determined.

The presence of weights at Qumran (and 'Ein Feshka) raises the question of which standard the sectarians used for their internal exchanges and external transactions. Did they utilize the local standard enforced by king or Temple (cf. 4QOrd^a 1 ii + 9 7, 12 *par* 4Ord^b 1–2 i 2), or did they have a standard of their own in the same way that they established their own calendar? Were their calendrical calculations limited to determining the proper times for festivals and the proper courses for priests, or did they also track the rains and harvests so that prices and exchange rates could be set relative to supply, as in the astronomical diaries of Babylon?¹³³ There is no evidence of such calculations, and this along with the limited number of coins, ostraca, commercial implements and stone weights thus points to a community that exchanged rather than bought and sold goods on site, and that engaged minimally in the economy of the region.

Several other types of stone items were recovered from Qumran, chiefly vessels, tools and household implements. De Vaux records several stone vessels in his field notes, including fourteen limestone vases or pieces of vases, three or four limestone stoppers, two stone bowls, one limestone cup, and one chip-cut stone mug.¹³⁴ Donceel and Donceel-Voûte record an additional 53 pieces, yielding a total of almost 200.¹³⁵ Of greater significance than the number of pieces is their quality; there are several lathe-turned urns with chiseled, fluted and gadrooned ornamentation, which Donceel and Donceel-Voûte liken to the best specimens from the rich patrician residences in Jerusalem. As with the ceramic fine ware, however, the small number of such pieces is a significant datum. Overall, the lathe-turned and chip-cut limestone production techniques are characteristic of Jerusalem near the turn of the era. Stone vessels are of particular interest because of the rabbinic view that stone does not conduct impurity, and thus one might associate stone vessels at Qumran with the sectarian concern to preserve purity. However, it is impor-

¹³² Humbert and Chambon, *FKQAF*, 330. PAM 41.596, logged as a five-line ink inscription on stone photographed in January 1954, would appear to be an image of the same item; see Tov with Pfann, eds., "III. Chronological List of the Negatives," in *Companion Volume to the Dead Sea Scrolls Microfiche Edition*, 2d rev. ed. (Leiden: E. J. Brill/IDC, 1995) 84.

¹³³ See A. L. Slotsky, *The Bourse of Babylon: Market Quotations in the Astronomical Diaries of Babylonia* (Bethesda, Maryland: CDL, 1997).

¹³⁴ Vases: KhQ 26 (L1), 44 and 99 (L2), 100 (L5), 167 (L7), 355 (L25), 1036 (L44), 1604 (L91), 2126, 2135, and 2148 (L111), 2136 (L110), 2177 (L121), and 2216 (L127). Stoppers: KhQ 149–150? (L9/9A), 1577 (L91); and 2433 (L133). Bowls: KhQ 1067 (L44) and 2230 (L123). Cup: KhQ 150 (L9/9A; could be mouth of jar). Mug: KhQ 355 (L25; Donceel and Donceel-Voûte, "Archaeology of Khirbet Qumran," in *Methods of Investigation*, fig. 3, p. 12; de Vaux listed this as one of two fragments of a limestone vase, so I have provisionally listed it there as well; Humbert and Chambon, *FKQAF*, 30. De Vaux does list a [ceramic?] mug, KhQ 2037 [L104]).

¹³⁵ "Archaeology of Khirbet Qumran," in *Methods of Investigation*, 10–13.

tant to note that the sectarians might have differed from the rabbis on this point and viewed stone as capable of conducting certain kinds of impurity.¹³⁶ In addition to vessels of stone, tools and household implements included three sharpened stones, a limestone pivot or hinge, two pestles, a large mortar, four millstones, and nine basins for fire or water, one alabaster spindle whorl, and a piece of flint.¹³⁷ Two limestone "plaques" were found in loci 129 and 135, but de Vaux did not suggest their purpose.¹³⁸ Equally obscure are the nine limestone, three "stone," and single sandstone "disks" found in a variety of loci, although one of these has been successfully identified as a sundial by Uwe Gleßmer and Matthias Albani.¹³⁹ Finally, mention should be made of the brick and plaster pieces from the second story of L30, which de Vaux believed were pieces of tables.

Several pieces of glass were recovered, representing vessels and raw material for glass production. De Vaux recorded bases from two glass vases, a base of a cup and one goblet, the base of a glass flask, two ampullae, five beads, at least two of which are clearly glass, and some glass paste or raw material.¹⁴⁰ In addition, one piece of molded glass decorated with palms was discovered in L7 (KhQ 157). But Donceel and Donceel-Voûte reported as many as 150 glass fragments, from which they reconstructed 89 incomplete items: juglets, small bottles, pots, goblets and beads. They also remarked that several refined glass techniques were in evidence.¹⁴¹

Metal items were also found at the site. These included some bronze vessels, namely a bowl (KhQ 2019, L105 in the oven) and a pot (KhQ 105, L59). Certain weapons or tools were found, including twenty rods or shafts (fifteen of bronze, five of iron), thirteen arrowheads (at least seven of iron and one of bronze¹⁴²), three iron blades of knives or daggers, a javelin tip, an iron pike, an iron pick (KhQ 2584, L114), an iron sickle (KhQ 2173, L126), and a

¹³⁶ For example, corpse impurity or the impurity of leprosy; see E. Regev, "The Sectarian Controversies about the Cereal Offerings," *DSD* 5 (1998) 34-6.

¹³⁷ Sharpened stones: KhQ 1136 (L61) and QGB 1 and 3 (Cave B; a flint point and a flint arrowhead). Pivot or hinge: KhQ 669 (L35). Pestles: KhQ 127 (L6) and QGB 6 (Cave B). Mortar: KhQ 2512? (L105). Millstones: KhQ 1635 (L54), 2051 (L104), 2619 (L102), and an uninventoryed item (L100). Basins: KhQ 45 (L2), 144 (L7), 148 (L9/9A), 375 (L16), 522 (L22, ceramic), 678 (L13), 708 (L38-41), and 2622 (L100). Spindle whorl: KhQ 401 (L20). Flint: Cave 15, item 3.

¹³⁸ KhQ 2207 and 2289, respectively.

¹³⁹ KhQ 152 (L9/9A), 440 (L30), 759 (L13), 822 (L44), 826 (L44), 853 (south of L48), 886 (L51), 909 (L45c), 1229 (L45), 1319 (L77), 1355 (L81), 1489 (L81-sandstone), 2069 (L104), and 2615 (L134). KhQ 1229 from L45 is the sundial; see "An Astronomical Measuring Instrument from Qumran," in *Provo*, 407-442.

¹⁴⁰ Vases: KhQ 190 (L8/8A) and 235 (L10). Cup: KhQ 101 (L3). Goblet: KhQ 1441 (L47). Flask: KhQ 717 (L41). Ampullae: KhQ 654 (L31); 985 (L55). Glass beads: KhQ 716 (L41) and 777 (L43, therefore Period III) of green glass; possibly KhQ 652 (L35), 865 (L48), and 1625 (L44). Raw material: KhQ 70 (L6).

¹⁴¹ "Archaeology of Khirbet Qumran," in *Methods of Investigation*, 7-9.

¹⁴² One of these was inscribed; see PAM 42.083-084.

bronze sheath (or box? KhQ 1564, L91). Some of the weapons are certainly Roman in origin. To these discrete objects should be added three groups of iron and bronze tools found melted together in locus 52 (KhQ 960–963), which according to Donceel and Donceel-Voûte have been treated, separated, and restored.¹⁴³ Metal hardware is common, including over five dozen entries for nails, eighteen links or rings, five hooks, three bolts, four keys (loci 8/8A, 13, 30 and 45), three locks (loci 10/10A, 34 and 44), a bronze bracket, a bronze door beam (locus 39), and almost three dozen undifferentiated metal “masses.” These pieces are most commonly of bronze and iron, although there are a few copper nails and a coil and some sheets of lead. De Vaux recorded several metal “plaques,” eighteen of bronze, two of lead, and one each of copper and iron, but the function of these is unclear, as is the purpose of some bronze and iron “disks” mentioned in the field notes.¹⁴⁴ Some household items were also found, including six needles, two upholstery nails, a piece of a paddle, two spatulas, four boxes, one bronze inkwell (KhQ 436 or 473?, L30), and one bronze bell with an iron clapper (KhQ 145, L4). Items of clothing or ornamentation were also found, including thirteen buckles, five fibulae, four pins, one eyelet, one clasp, one bracelet, one pendant, one earring, and ornament or applique. Most of these decorative materials are in bronze, and some, for example the bracelet from L43, post-date the sectarian period. The caves also yielded some metal pieces, namely one iron pick ax or mattock, a copper buckle, two shafts, two keys, one bronze ring, one bronze earring or nose-ring, and three metal masses.¹⁴⁵

A few pieces of bone, ivory and shell are represented in the inventory. There are some five rods or shafts of bone or ivory, one ornament of mother-of-pearl (KhQ 2111, L111), and one spindle whorl from a Period III context.¹⁴⁶ In addition, one bead was found in Cave 11 (Gr11Q 13), and two beads of bone were excavated in Cave B (GQB 4, 5).

Very little organic material has survived at the compound, but several pieces were retrieved from the caves. Seventy-seven linen fragments from forty to fifty original pieces were retrieved from Cave 1 and analyzed by

¹⁴³ *Archaeology and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 7; Donceel and Donceel-Voûte, “Archaeology of Khirbet Qumran,” in *Methods of Investigation*, 13, 22.

¹⁴⁴ Bronze: 126 (L6), 194 (L11), 296 (L18), 738 (L39), and 1157 (L62). Iron: 2068 (L104).

¹⁴⁵ Pick ax or mattock: Gr11Q 6 (de Vaux, “Une hachette essénienne?” *VT* 9 [1959] 399–407). Copper buckle: Gr11Q 3. Bronze ring: GQ3 9. Metal shafts: Gr11Q 10 (iron), GQA 1 (bronze). Keys: Gr11Q 11, 12. Metal masses: GQ3 12; Gr11Q 2, 4. The bronze earring or nose-ring was found in Cave 24 by Patrich (“Khirbet Qumran in Light of New Archaeological Exploration of the Qumran Caves,” in *Methods of Investigation*, 90).

¹⁴⁶ Donceel and Donceel-Voûte report that about a dozen bone and ivory items were found and imply that several spindle whorls were found at Qumran, but only this spindle whorl and one of alabaster are recorded by de Vaux (“Archaeology of Khirbet Qumran,” in *Methods of Investigation*, 14); Magness, “Women at Qumran?” 12.

G. M. Crowfoot.¹⁴⁷ According to her report, the thread is never very fine, the linen is of fair quality, and the weaving varies in caliber. Crowfoot divided the fragments into three groupings from finest quality to poorest. The first category is twenty-two pieces from sixteen original cloths with blue lines woven in of thread dyed from indigo. The pattern is usually simple lines, although a more elaborate pattern of rectangles within each other also survives (nos. 1, 14, 19, 22, 28).¹⁴⁸ The second group is of plain pieces, some with fringes. The third group is of small, coarse cloths used as jar covers. Repairs made to all types of cloth are consistently poor. Crowfoot judged the linen to be a local product, and believed that all the samples from Cave 1 had been used to wrap or pad scrolls in the jars or to seal the jar mouths.¹⁴⁹ Carbon-14 dating of the linen yielded a range from 167 B.C.E.–237 C.E., a range within which the customary range assigned to the sectarian occupation of Qumran easily fits.

In addition to the linen fragments from Cave 1, other organic material was retrieved from the site. One wooden comb was retrieved from Cave 1.¹⁵⁰ Fabric and string, along with leather objects and phylacteries, were excavated from Caves 1 and 8.¹⁵¹ Some pieces of rope were retrieved from the caves.¹⁵² Three uninscribed pieces of skin or hide were recovered from two of the caves.¹⁵³ The sole of a sandal was found in Cave 8, while Eshel and Broshi discovered several nails from Roman-period sandals, coins, Qumran-era pottery, and a metal tent peg in an area north of the compound, which they judged to be the remains of a tent encampment.¹⁵⁴ Additionally, some few pieces of wood, woven palm fiber and wicker work survived the two millennia. Charred date-palm beams from the ceiling of L89 have already been mentioned, and a wood beam was also recovered from L100. De Vaux also records a wood "plaque," KhQ 1435 from L86, but as with the stone and metal exemplars, the function of the plaque is unknown. The five wood posts from Cave 17, two of them forked, have already been mentioned.¹⁵⁵ A long point of wood was recovered from Cave 15.¹⁵⁶ A cushion or seat of woven

¹⁴⁷ KhQ 77; see "The Linen Textiles" (*DJD* 1) 18-38, pls. I, IV-VII.

¹⁴⁸ The presence of patterns in the wrappers is interesting given the rabbinic debate about whether decoration on scroll-wrappers makes them susceptible to uncleanness (*m. Kelim* 28:4). The word used for figures is *תצור*, which according to Crowfoot may indicate either human and animal figures or geometric patterns.

¹⁴⁹ "The Linen Textiles," 22.

¹⁵⁰ Harding, "Introductory. The Discovery, the Excavation, Minor Finds" (*DJD* 1) 7, pl. I.4.

¹⁵¹ For the Cave 1 phylacteries, see 1Q13 and Harding, "Minor Finds" (*DJD* 1) 7, pl. 1.5-7. For Cave 8, see 8Q3 with Gr8Q 4 (fabric and string), 2, 3, 5 and 6 (leather and phylacteries).

¹⁵² Gr9Q 2.

¹⁵³ Gr8Q 3, Gr11Q 9 (2 pieces).

¹⁵⁴ Sandal sole: Gr8Q 10. For the sandal nails from the northern path, see Eshel and Broshi, "Archaeological Remains," 132-3; *idem*, "Residential Caves at Qumran," 336-7.

¹⁵⁵ Item 3; *DJD* 3, Planches pl. VII.3.

¹⁵⁶ Item 4.

date palm was retrieved from the ancient debris dump of locus 124 (KhQ 2442), and Donceel and Donceel-Voûte indicate that many others were found but never inventoried, including large mats from some rooms.¹⁵⁷ The caves also yielded palm mats.¹⁵⁸ Dried dates and date and olive pits were found in some of the caves as well.¹⁵⁹

Finally, one must mention again the scrolls that were recovered from the local caves. The argument for their relationship to the compound has already been made, an argument which included the fact that the dates of execution largely correspond to the dates of occupation of the nearby buildings.¹⁶⁰ But the distribution of manuscripts within the period of occupation illuminates the archaeological picture. Frank Moore Cross, in his paleographic analysis of the manuscripts against others from the vicinity and time period, notes that the Qumran scrolls exhibit three styles and handwriting, the archaic (250–150 B.C.E.), Hasmonean (150–30 B.C.E.) and Herodian (30 B.C.E.–70 C.E.). Of these three, the latter two are the most well-represented. He further observes:

Manuscripts *composed* as well as copied by the sectarian community begin, most significantly, about the middle of the Hasmonean period, that is, about 100 B.C.¹⁶¹

The extant sectarian constitutional literature, for example, is copied in the early first century B.C.E., while the sectarian *pesharim* come from the second half of that century. Both demonstrate a level of reflection and integration commensurate with a tradition that had been developing for years. Their number attests to the growth of the community at precisely the point of architectural expansion and increase in the hoard of Tyrian silver.

The material evidence of stone, glass, metal, bone, linen, wood, palm fiber and parchment represents the full range of items one might expect of an inhabited compound, although, as Magness has observed, items traditionally associated with women are largely lacking (beads, jewelry, combs, mirrors, spindle whorls, looms and loom weights, ostraca or deeds mentioning women).¹⁶² There are several items that exhibit fine craftsmanship, particularly the lathe-turned, fluted stone vases and some pieces of glass. Donceel and Donceel-Voûte were entitled to register surprise at the number and quality of these pieces, given de Vaux's success in portraying the "monastic simplicity" of the compound and its artifacts. But even with the items newly described by Donceel and Donceel-Voûte, the number of luxury items is still small.

¹⁵⁷ "Archaeology of Khirbet Qumran," *Methods of Investigation*, 14.

¹⁵⁸ Gr10Q 2; Cave 12 item 11.

¹⁵⁹ Cave 1 (Harding, "Minor Finds" [DJD 1] 7); Gr8Q 1; Gr9Q 1; Cave 10 (no inventory number).

¹⁶⁰ Cross, "The Early History of the Qumran Community," *McCormick Quarterly* 21 (1968) 249–64.

¹⁶¹ "Early History of the Qumran Community," 252.

¹⁶² "Women at Qumran?"

The evidence rather indicates limited commerce, particularly for items unavailable locally, such as glass and raw metal ore and the products manufactured from it, but also for items known to have been produced in other locales (e.g., decorative stone vases, pseudo-Nabatean ware). At the same time, it is possible that some of these items were brought into the community by members who had previously owned them; their presence at Qumran may not require the thesis of an open economy. Apart from these fine pieces, however, the artifacts also betray extensive on-site manufacture (ceramic, perhaps metal work and glass-blowing) and a heavy use of material from the local environment, both in construction (palm wood beams, limestone tiles, mud-brick walls) and in decoration (palm floor-mats and seat-cushions). For a community so protective of its scrolls, the linen shrouds found in Cave 1 are perhaps most revealing: while exhibiting some signs of decoration, the thread and weaving are only of fair quality, with even poorer quality repair-stitching. Together, the material evidence indicates that the economy of Qumran was not closed, but also that it was not oriented toward the exchange and enjoyment of fine goods.

6.6 *Osteological and Grave Evidence*

The skeletons of Qumran and their graves give mute testimony to the economic priorities and social status of those interred. Their witness takes several forms, from clues about the diet and lifestyle of those interred to the arrangement, construction and contents of the graves themselves.

There are several cemeteries in the vicinity of Khirbet Qumran.¹⁶³ The most significant is the so-called main cemetery 30–40 meters east of the compound. Its 1,100 graves are almost all oriented on a north-south axis. The western section is subdivided into three parts by two paths, while four promontories extend farther east and contain other graves. Clermont-Ganneau's single tomb was in the western section, as were twenty-eight of de Vaux's graves and at least one of Steckoll's. De Vaux also excavated two graves out of twelve on the northern promontory or northern cemetery,¹⁶⁴ one

¹⁶³ For summaries, see R. Hachlili, "Cemeteries," *EDSS*, 1.125-9; P. Smith, "Skeletal Remains: Human Remains," *EDSS*, 2.880-82; Kapera, "Recent Research on the Qumran Cemetery," *QC* 5 (1995) 123-32; and *idem*, "Recent Research on the Qumran Cemetery," in *Mogilany* 1995, 77-86.

¹⁶⁴ There is some confusion about whether de Vaux excavated two tombs in a North Cemetery (Tombs A and B) and two tombs on the north promontory (T9–T10), or whether Tomb A is T9 and Tomb B T10. The former position is assumed by Puech, "The Necropolises of Khirbet Qumran and 'Ain el-Ghuweir and the Essene Belief in Afterlife," *BASOR* 312 (1998) 21-36 and O. Röhrer-Ertl, F. Röhrhirsch, and D. Hahn, "Über die Gräberfelder von Khirbet Qumran, insbesondere die Funde der Campagne 1956. I: Anthropologische Datenvorlage und Erstauswertung aufgrund der Collectio Kurth," *RevQ* 19 (1999) 3-46, with foldout "Katalog der Gräber-

grave on the middle promontory, six graves on the southern promontory, and four graves out of thirty in a cemetery south of Wadi Qumran (the South Cemetery).

As mentioned above, fifty-one graves were excavated by Clermont-Ganneau (1873), de Vaux (1949–1956), and Steckoll (1966–1967), and these graves yielded fifty-four skeletons. De Vaux suspected that some of the graves were less closely connected to the compound on the basis of their location, orientation, construction, and contents. Most of these tombs were located on the southern promontory and in the Southern Cemetery, both locations peripheral to the main graveyard. The graves were oriented on an east-west axis rather than the predominant north-south alignment of the mounds in the main cemetery. The shaft was often shallower and its construction less carefully executed than in the main cemetery. Finally, over two-thirds of these graves contained women's and children's skeletons and some jewelry, while all of the north-south graves appeared to contain young adult or adult male skeletons and no grave goods. The definition of sectarian-period tombs resurfaced recently when Joseph E. Zias asserted that some of the Qumran interments, and especially those with female skeletons, contained recent Bedouin burials.¹⁶⁵ A complete anthropological analysis of many of the skeletons which is currently being prepared by Susan G. Sheridan reportedly confirms Zias' thesis.¹⁶⁶ In advance of the full publication of that report, it seems best to treat the north-south graves as the group most likely to bear on the sectarian period, and to present the east-west graves separately. These categories are provisional; for example, despite the east-west orientation of Tomb 4, the presence of Qumran-era pottery in its fill suggests a sectarian burial.

The grave excavated by Clermont-Ganneau was located in the main cemetery, to judge from his diagram, and was oriented north-south.¹⁶⁷ The ellipti-

felder von Khirbet Qumran" following. The latter view is presented in the publication of de Vaux's field notes in Humbert and Chambon, *FKQAF*.

According to Pfann, the data for the 1956 season had to be reconstructed by Donceel from de Vaux's somewhat illegible handwriting, and it is possible that some errors were made ("Towards an English Edition of de Vaux's Notes: Progress Update from Stephen J. Pfann," *Center for the Study of Early Christianity*, n.p. [cited 1 December 2000]. Online, <http://www.csec.ac.uk/devaux.html>). One of the errors may involve Tombs A–B and T9–T10. Puech states that Tombs 9–11 were excavated in 1951, while Tombs A–B were excavated in 1955; this distinction is not made in the published field notes.

¹⁶⁵ "The Cemeteries of Qumran and Celibacy: Confusion Laid to Rest?" *DSD* 7 (2000) 220–253. Zias contends that the anomalous tombs, T32–T36 and TS1–TS4, are the relatively recent Bedouin burials (post-1450 C.E.). His assessment is based on the presence of jewelry, the depth of the shafts, the east-west orientation, the degree of bone preservation, and dental condition.

¹⁶⁶ The analysis will be published in *Dead Sea Discoveries* in 2001–2002 and in the NTOA Series. Unfortunately, Carbon-14 tests appear to be out of the question for those remains and coffins that have been preserved and strengthened with chemicals (Kurth collection) or wax (coffins in Tombs 17–18).

¹⁶⁷ "The Jerusalem Researches," 83.

cal mound of small, rough stones had two tall stones at either end, and covered a shaft of over one meter in depth. At one meter, the excavators encountered rough bricks covering the skeleton that rested on ledges cut out of the earth; some of these stones seem to have collapsed in on the remains and crushed them. The head was to the south, the feet to the north. The skeleton was in a niche carved out at the base of the shaft rather than in a loculus cut to one side. In other tombs, this architecture was largely restricted to tombs containing coffins, but Clermont-Ganneau mentions no wood or wood residue in the grave. Most significantly for the present study, the excavators discovered no grave goods in the sepulcher. They apparently removed a jawbone containing teeth for analysis.

De Vaux excavated two tombs in 1949 (1–2), nine during the first season of excavation in late 1951 (T3–T11), eight during the second season in 1953 (T12–T19), and twenty-two during the final season in 1956 (T20–T37 and TS1–TS4), for a total of forty-one.¹⁶⁸ Tombs 1–3, 5–31, and 37 were oriented north-south, while tombs 4 and 32–36 on the Qumran plateau and tombs 1, 2 and 4 south of Wadi Qumran were oriented east-west. T3 south of Wadi Qumran was oriented north-south, but contained the skeleton of an infant in a context of otherwise east-west graves, so that de Vaux judged it also to be anomalous.

The thirty-one tombs de Vaux excavated that are oriented on a north-south axis exhibited several similarities. First, all but four of the graves were of the shaft-niche form: a shaft descends 0.7–1.6 meters to a loculus or niche that holds the remains, cut almost always in the east wall, yielding a complete depth of 1.2–2.0 meters.¹⁶⁹ Of the four graves with no loculus, two contained coffins (T17 and T19) and one is a reinterment (T11). The simple shaft would have made the burial of a coffin easier, although there is one example of a coffin buried in a loculus (T18). Likewise, two other tombs that contain reinterments utilize a loculus (T23–T24). Three of the four simple shafts are thus not anomalies but are connected to the nature of the burial. The second feature that all of these graves share is that the loculus is closed with stone slabs or bricks. In the shaft-niche graves, these lean obliquely against the loculus opening, while in tombs with coffins, they are laid above the coffin.¹⁷⁰ This feature and the depth of the graves would have discouraged scavengers, and thus exhibit care for the remains thus disposed. In three of the

¹⁶⁸ The data for de Vaux's excavations are derived from Humbert and Chambon, *FKQAF*. There are no notes on the excavation of T1–T2. In addition to de Vaux's field notes, see his "Fouilles de Khirbet Qumran, Le cimetiere," *RB* 60 (1953) 95-105; 61 (1954) 207; 63 (1956) 569-72; *idem*, *Archaeology and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 45-48, 57-58.

¹⁶⁹ De Vaux does not consistently remark on the location of the loculus; only those of tombs 3, 5–6, 8–10, 16, 18–19, 21–26, and 28–31 are noted. Of these nineteen, only one niche is in the west wall (T3).

¹⁷⁰ Five of the tombs lack a description of the loculus cover: 1, 2, 7, 11 and 17.

graves whose loculus covers are made of brick, the brick is composed of clay mixed with sherds of Qumran-type pottery, indicating a sectarian-era burial.¹⁷¹ A third similarity is that, of the twenty-three graves for which de Vaux reveals the orientation of the skeleton, all but one have at least one skeleton with its head to the south and feet to the north.¹⁷² The single exception is T19, in which the skeleton is buried in a coffin; it is possible that those burying the body did not know how the body within was disposed.¹⁷³ In addition, the bodies were all found in a dorsal position, with the arms alongside the body or the hands crossed at the pelvis, with the exception of course of the reinterments. The fourth and final similarity of the north-south graves is that there are almost no grave goods associated with any of them, and the pieces that were found simply serve as fill. Tomb 14 had a large piece of a Qumran-type jar in the fill, Tomb 15 likewise had a Qumran-type jar, broken in antiquity, Tomb 18 had a fragment of a door threshold from the compound, Tomb 23 had some sherds from the belly of a large jar, Tomb 26 yielded an intact Period II lamp (KhQ 2262), and Tomb 30 had three large pieces of a jar. There was no jewelry, no fine ware, and nothing near the skeletons, except in Tomb 3, where a stone was placed under the head. This too differs from contemporary custom: in Jericho and 'Ein Gedi, grave goods of a personal nature, such as jewelry, were buried in coffins especially of women and children, while objects of daily life were placed in the tomb chamber.¹⁷⁴ In addition, many of the grave goods appear to serve some function: for example, jars and pots may have contained water for purification, lamps may have been placed in the more commodious tombs near the head out of respect for the dead, juglets and bottles may have contained funerary spices.¹⁷⁵ In contrast, the grave goods in the Qumran graves could have served such uses but only at the burial or symbolically, since many were shattered in antiquity and the nature of the tombs precluded any ongoing function. The contrast between Qumran and the relatively modest graves at 'Ein Gedi, which nevertheless contain a great wealth of wooden and other grave goods, highlights the apparent intentionality of the Qumran practice. Also unlike contemporary burials, no coins are found in the Qumran skulls, which may not be surprising given that this is understood to be a borrowed Hellenistic custom.¹⁷⁶ The

¹⁷¹ Tombs 13, 16 and 19. The mere presence of Qumran-era pottery in the fill suggests a sectarian burial also, but less persuasively; anyone could use sherds to fill a grave, but more organization and permanence is implied in the production of bricks.

¹⁷² Tomb 24 is a reinterment containing two skeletons which have been arranged with the skulls at opposite ends of the niche.

¹⁷³ In one of the other coffin burials, the head is at the south (T18); in the other, de Vaux did not describe the orientation of the body (T17).

¹⁷⁴ Hachlili, "Burial Practices at Qumran," *RevQ* 16 (1993) 259; G. Hadas, "Nine Tombs of the Second Temple Period at 'En Gedi," *'Atiqot* 24 (1994) 1*-8*.

¹⁷⁵ Hachlili, "Jewish Funerary Customs," 121.

¹⁷⁶ Hachlili, "Jewish Funerary Customs," 128.

north-south tombs in sum share not only their orientation, but also their form, the alignment and arrangement of the skeleton, and a lack of grave goods. These characteristics point to some care in the disposition of the remains, but at the same time to simplicity in the manner of burial.

The shaft-niche form is a modest type of grave, more carefully executed than a simple shaft or shallow, mass grave, but less elaborate than the family sepulchers carved from stone in contemporary Judea.¹⁷⁷ The Qumran graves are more like those in a Nabatean cemetery of 3,500 shaft-niche graves recently discovered on the Lisan peninsula, on the eastern shore of the Dead Sea.¹⁷⁸ In both cases, the graves are oriented on a north-south axis, share the same construction, and contain individual skeletons aligned with the head at the south. The graves differ from those at Qumran in the greater representation of women and children and in the presence of grave goods and stele with the iconography of the Nabatean god Dushara.

As has been indicated, several of the Qumran tombs contain reinterments or coffins, suggesting that these individuals were transported to Qumran for burial or reburial.¹⁷⁹ The reinterments offer stronger evidence of transport to the site, since Rachel Hachlili has discovered primary burials in coffins in Jericho.¹⁸⁰ The skeletons in the coffins of T18 and T19 lie supine with one hand on the pelvis, suggesting that the body was transported before it had decomposed very much. In contrast, the bones in the coffin of T17 were completely mixed up, with the right shoulder, left arm, pelvis and legs together and the skull, spine and ribs mixed. It is possible that this occurred as a result of moving the body in an advanced state of decomposition, but it is perhaps more likely that the damage was due to the fall of debris, stones and water in the grave itself after burial.¹⁸¹ The wood from only one of the coffins, T18, has been subjected to chemical analysis, and it was cypress.¹⁸² Of interest is the fact that T18 is marked at the surface by a large circle of stones, c. 2–3

¹⁷⁷ Hachlili, "Burial Practices at Qumran," 257-8; Hachlili and A. Killebrew, "Jewish Funerary Customs during the Second Temple Period, in the Light of the Excavations at the Jericho Necropolis," *PEQ* 115 (1983) 109-139.

¹⁷⁸ K. D. Politis, "Rescue Excavations at the Nabatean Cemetery at Khirbat Qazone 1996–1997," *ADAJ* 42 (1998) 611-14; Shanks, "Who Lies Here? Jordan Tombs Match Those at Qumran," *BAR* 25 (5 1999) 48-53, 76.

¹⁷⁹ Hachlili observes that primary burial in coffins was a common practice in Jerusalem and Jericho in the first century B.C.E., but that the practice was abruptly discontinued in the next century ("Burial Practices at Qumran," 259-61).

¹⁸⁰ "The Qumran Cemetery: A Reconsideration," in *DSSFYD*, 663.

¹⁸¹ It seems less likely that this was due to a massacre and dismemberment of corpses, as Z. Kapera has suggested, since few of the bones exhibit the requisite trauma, and since the loss or movement of bones can be more easily explained by the collapse of loculus stones or the deleterious effects of sediment and humidity ("Some Remarks on the Qumran Cemetery," in *Methods of Investigation*, 108-109).

¹⁸² Donceel and Donceel-Voûte, "Archaeology of Khirbat Qumran," in *Methods of Investigation*, 14.

meters in diameter, and T17 and T19 also touch this circle.¹⁸³ The reinterments—one skeleton in T11, two skeletons in T24, and possibly the skeletons in T23 and T37—evidence secondary burial, though without the elaborately carved and frequently personalized ossuaries typical in the graves of affluent families, particularly in the first century C.E.¹⁸⁴ The transportation of remains to Qumran indicates that individuals connected to the compound died elsewhere; the reinterments further indicate that some individuals *lived* elsewhere, in that initial interment would likely have been in a grave closer to their homes. The reburials further suggest that there was some significance accorded to the Qumran site itself, which would account for why individuals would wish ultimately to be buried there. In addition to the two skeletons of the reinterment in T24, two skeletons were also recovered from T16. Otherwise, the tombs represent individual burials, an uncommon practice in the late Second Temple period.¹⁸⁵

The anthropological analysis of the skeletons retrieved from the north-south graves has thus far been conducted with varying measures of scientific rigor. Olav Röhrer-Ertl, Ferdinand Rohrhirsch, and Dietbert Hahn published perhaps the most careful analysis of most of the material that Gottfried Kurth had taken to Germany, a collection which included eleven of the thirty-one skeletons of the north-south group that de Vaux had exhumed in 1956.¹⁸⁶ Their analysis indicated that nine of these eleven skeletons were male, the exceptions being from T22 and the second, smaller skeleton in T24.¹⁸⁷ T24 is the clearest example of a reinterment, with the skulls placed at either end of the loculus and the bones arranged neatly between them. The male skeleton was a late adult who suffered from arthritis, the female skeleton a young adult. Of the nine male skeletons, seven were heavy-set individuals; all but one were poorly developed in terms of muscle mass, and four had robust bones, five more delicate bones. The female skeletons exhibited slim build,

¹⁸³ One wonders if there is any relationship between this circle of stones and the paved circle discovered in L77. The former is 2-3 meters in diameter, while the latter appears to be approximately two meters in diameter (Humbert and Chambon, *FKQAF*, 156, fig. 25).

¹⁸⁴ The skeletons in T23 and T37 were in disarray, suggesting to de Vaux reinterment. De Vaux was suspicious about whether T37 was a sectarian grave, since the shaft became irregular after one meter, the surface oval was filled with small rather than large stones, and the grave is located in a southern extension of the main cemetery that otherwise yielded women's and children's skeletons. On ossuary burials, see Hachlili, "Burial Practices at Qumran," 260.

¹⁸⁵ Hachlili, "Burial Practices at Qumran," 253, 257.

¹⁸⁶ Tombs 20–24, 26, 28–31 and 37; see "Über die Gräberfelder von Khirbet Qumran," 3-46, with foldout "Katalog der Gräberfelder von Khirbet Qumran" following.

¹⁸⁷ H. Valloir had earlier assessed the remains in T7 as "female?" These remains will be included in Sheridan's report. Zias questions the assessment that T7, T22 and T24 are female on the basis of the individuals' estimated heights of 159-163 cm, which Zias believes to be "statistically...decidedly out of the stature range of females of the period" ("The Cemeteries of Qumran and Celibacy," 231). He contends that the average height of females was 148.7 cm, while the average height of males was 159-168 cm.

poor muscle development and delicate bones. The skeleton of T20 displayed signs of chronic middle ear inflammation, possibly suggesting that meningitis was ultimately the cause of death. The condition of the bones indicated a relatively high level of nourishment and a lack of damage to the teeth, for example from excessive grinding or heavy consumption of whole-grain bread. Zias contrasts this with the adult skeletons from the southeast extension and southern cemeteries (T32–35I, II, T37, TS1), whose teeth showed signs of heavy wear, and concluded that whereas these women had lived their lives in a sandy, desert environment, the men in the main cemetery had migrated to Qumran from the uplands.¹⁸⁸ Five of the skeletons have a red or red-brown tone, which the analysts believed to be due to grave sediment. Overall, the individuals were remarkably healthy and undamaged by heavy physical labor, such that the analysts believed nothing precluded assigning them to a leadership group. Nevertheless, their average age of death was a low thirty-four years of age.

The east-west graves (T4, T32–36, TS1–2, TS4), and the north-south grave of an infant in the cemetery south of Wadi Qumran (TS3), are somewhat different from the north-south group. To begin with, all but T4 lie in the south extension of the main Qumran cemetery or in the South Cemetery. Six or seven of the ten graves are simple shafts, one of them only 0.4 m deep (T35), although in two cases this may be explained if the brown dust found within them is coffin residue (T32, T33).¹⁸⁹ None of the graves with niches use bricks or cut stones to cover the loculus, but rather stones. All of the skeletons lie with their head west and feet east, except in T4 and of course in the infant's grave in the South Cemetery (head south, feet north). There are grave goods in four of these graves: in T4, sherds of a Period Ib cylindrical jar were found, while the remaining three graves contained jewelry.¹⁹⁰ There are no examples of reburials other than the two tombs with coffin dust. Röhrer-Ertl, Rohrhirsch and Hahn examined six of the seven skeletons from the southern extension of the main cemetery (T32–T36), and discovered that two were late adults, three were young adults, and one was a seven-year-old infant. Two of the young women were buried together in T35.¹⁹¹ Three of

¹⁸⁸ "The Cemeteries of Qumran and Celibacy," 238.

¹⁸⁹ Zias believes that T32 and T33 are later Muslim burials which would preclude the use of a coffin. He offers that the dust is from burial cloths or palm biers; "The Cemeteries of Qumran and Celibacy," 225.

¹⁹⁰ T32, a bronze ring was on a finger (KhQ 2663) and nineteen beads from an anklet were near the right foot (KhQ 2664). In T33, two earrings were found (KhQ 2665). In T1 of the South Cemetery, thirty beads from an anklet were found near the foot (twenty-seven of colored stone, three of glass, KhQ 2670), and two earrings were also recovered (KhQ 2671). Zias believes that grave goods, particularly jewelry, are rare in contemporary Jewish tombs, if the number of items is divided by the absolute number of remains ("The Cemeteries of Qumran and Celibacy," 226).

¹⁹¹ De Vaux's field notes do not record the discovery of two skeletons in this tomb. The discrepancy may be due to the fact that de Vaux's notes from the 1956 season had to be recon-

the skeletons are described as stocky, poorly developed and with delicate or very delicate bones (the second and younger adult in T35 had stronger bones). The woman of T32 suffered from sinusitis, but otherwise the skeletons reveal a healthy and active population similar to the north-south group. The skeletons of the South Cemetery were slightly different, in that only one slim, poorly developed adult female was present, and the bones of four children, three of them boys, filled the other three graves.¹⁹²

The sheer number of graves led de Vaux to speculate that Qumran served as a kind of regional center for a larger group:

The large number of interments [sic] in the cemetery is altogether out of proportion to the small amount of living quarters and the length of time the site was occupied. It was therefore concluded that Khirbet Qumran was the center of a sect of which most of its members lived dispersed throughout the area.¹⁹³

This conclusion is borne out by the evidence of coffins and of secondary burials.

In 1966–1967, Steckoll excavated several graves in the main cemetery at Qumran, although a proper report about his excavation, including a map of the precise location of the graves, was never published.¹⁹⁴ As a result, there is some difference between published accounts. Steckoll's preliminary report of his excavations indicates that he designated his first probe Grave 1 (QG 1) even though it was not a grave at all, and that he then excavated nine actual tombs and retrieved ten skeletons (QG 2–10).¹⁹⁵ In 1971, Steckoll co-published a study of the bones in which he stated that he had recovered eleven nearly complete skeletons from ten graves (QG 2–11).¹⁹⁶ In 1999, Röhrer-Ertl, Rohrhirsch and Hahn indicated in their catalogue that Steckoll excavated ten graves and that two, rather than one, yielded two individuals (QG 3 as well as QG 6). Steckoll provided a limited amount of information on the graves' orientation and construction: all but Grave 10 were oriented north-south, and Grave 2, the only one he described in any depth, was in every re-

structed, or to the fact that Kurth or those supplying Kurth with remains appear to have mixed some of them up.

¹⁹² Again, de Vaux did not record that there were two skeletons in T3; the error could be due either to his notes or to the confusion of bones in transit.

¹⁹³ "Qumran, Khirbet-'Ein Feshka," in *Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land* (ed. M. Avi-Yonah and E. Stern; Jerusalem/Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: The Israel Exploration Society and Massada/Prentice-Hall, 1978) 4.983.

¹⁹⁴ Steckoll did publish a more complete report of his excavation, but I was unable to secure a copy: "The Community of the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Atti del Centro studi e documentazione sull'Italia romana 5: Convegno internazionale sui metodi di studio della città antica* (1973–1974) 199–244, 323–44. According to Joan Taylor, "in general" Steckoll's excavations took place not on the eastern extensions but in the central graveyard ("The Cemeteries of Khirbet Qumran and Women's Presence at the Site," *DSD* 6 [1999] 285–323).

¹⁹⁵ "Preliminary Excavation Report."

¹⁹⁶ Steckoll, Z. Goffer, H. Nathan and N. Haas, "Red-Stained Human Bones from Qumran," *IJMS* 7 (1971) 1219.

spect like de Vaux's north-south group.¹⁹⁷ It was located in the main cemetery and was of shaft-niche construction, with bricks closing the loculus. The body was in the dorsal position with arms alongside. Steckoll recovered a "considerable quantity of fine brown dust" from the skull and smaller quantities from the other bones. In the absence of chemical analysis, he surmised the dust was the residue of human hair and cloth, but we might also suspect wood residue from a coffin on the basis of de Vaux's tombs 32-33 (and 17-19). In fact, Steckoll reported finding this dust in seven other graves (3-6, 9-11). He also subjected a piece of charred wood from Grave 9 to Carbon-14 analysis, receiving a result of 120 C.E. \pm 210 years; he believed a first century C.E. date most likely on the basis of sherds also found in the grave.¹⁹⁸ Steckoll discovered, as de Vaux had in T3, that the area under the head had been specially prepared, this time with a lime plaster. Steckoll also reported that "a number of water-smoothed stones were found around the head and thorax," and that these stones were inscribed with what he presumed were funeral texts, visible only under ultra-violet light.¹⁹⁹ In the absence of a published report and photograph, Steckoll's assessment is impossible to evaluate. Other "grave goods" recovered by Steckoll included an imprint in the soil under the head in QG 3 was made from a pillow or basket of woven palm fronds, a date pit (QG 4), and forty sherds of a first-century C.E. jar (QG 9).²⁰⁰ With the possible exception of the inscribed stones, Steckoll's grave goods were modest and minimal, and thus are similar to the results of Clermont-Ganneau and de Vaux.

N. Haas and H. Nathan conducted a complete anthropological analysis of the skeleton of QG 2, but the only description of the other remains were attributions of the gender, age and in four cases the occupation of the other exhumed individuals offered by Steckoll.²⁰¹ Three older men (65-70 years), one middle-aged woman (45-50), one middle-aged man (40), two young women

¹⁹⁷ The east-west grave, Q.G. 10, contained a 25-26 year-old man whose head was at the west end of the grave.

¹⁹⁸ He attributed it to burned wood; "Community," 208-209.

¹⁹⁹ "Preliminary Excavation Report," 331; see also "Investigation of the Inks," where Steckoll reports that photographs of the stones in ultra-violet and infrared conditions yielded "negative" images; that is, the ink appeared light rather than dark on the image and the stones light. Steckoll hypothesized that this might be due to the use of red ink.

The list of PAM negatives published by Tov and Pfann includes an entry for a tomb inscription "S.871," photographed in September of 1955 (PAM 41.828), that is, eleven years before Steckoll's discovery. It is unclear from the inventory whether this is from Qumran or some other location, but if from Qumran it must be from Tombs 1-19, the only ones that had been excavated by the date of the photograph. See "III. Chronological List of the Negatives," in *Companion Volume to the Dead Sea Scrolls Microfiche Edition*, 84.

²⁰⁰ The QG 3 contents are reported by Puech, "Necropolises of *Khirbet Qumrân*," 26. The other contents are reported by Taylor, "The Cemeteries of *Khirbet Qumran*," 308.

²⁰¹ Haas and Nathan, "Anthropological Survey on the Human Skeletal Remains from Qumran," *RevQ* 6 (1968) 345-52; Steckoll, "Preliminary Excavation Report," 335; Röhrer-Ertl, Rohrhirsch and Hahn, "Katalog der Gräberfelder von *Khirbet Qumran*."

and two young men in their twenties, one adolescent woman, one infant, and one forty-year old of no identified gender were recovered. This last person was one of two interred in QG 3, while the other dual grave, QG 6, yielded a twenty-five year old woman and a two-year old child. The bones in Graves 3, 4, 6 and 10 showed signs of having been burned.²⁰² The well-analyzed skeleton of QG 2 was one of the older men. He had a serious skull fracture and broken right clavicle, both of which had healed long before his death. The healing of the clavicle was accompanied by a degree of atrophy which the analysts thought might be due to a lengthy immobilization of the injured shoulder. In addition, his teeth were in poorer condition than those in the Kurth collection; six molars had been lost before death, one likely due to an abscess, while the deep attrition of the teeth was attributed to side-to-side mastication, most likely of "coarse bread baked from meal containing a high amount of sand."²⁰³ A left lower molar seemed to contain a filling. For Graves 3–5 and 9, Steckoll proposed occupations for the individuals on the basis of bone condition: the 65-year old man in QG 3 was a scribe, the forty-year old man in QG 4 a horseman, the twenty-two year old man in QG 5 did hard physical labor and walked barefoot, and the 65–75 year-old man in QG 9 was a laborer who carried heavy weights on his shoulders. These designations seem rather too precise, and are somewhat at odds with the analysis performed on the Kurth skeletons, insofar as two of the four indicate a class accustomed to hard physical labor.

The evidence of a dental filling and atrophy near the healed clavicle of the individual in Grave 2 suggests some attention to medical care. This finding is corroborated by the results of a study of the red-stained bones of seven individuals exhumed by Steckoll.²⁰⁴ Since the red stain was present in the walls of the medullary cavity and in the spongy tissue of the epiphyses, the analysts believed that it was produced by diet rather than by grave sediment or clothing dyes.²⁰⁵ Chemical analysis revealed that pigmentation was due to the compound alizarin, the main dye component of the madder root. This root was grown and consumed in the region and was thought to have healing properties. Of interest in this regard is Josephus' report of Essene interest in medicine:

[They] give extraordinary attention to the treatises of the ancients, singling out especially those concerning the succour of soul and body, and with the help of

²⁰² Apud Kapera, "Some Remarks on the Qumran Cemetery," in *Methods of Investigation*, 109 n. 56.

²⁰³ Haas and Nathan, "Anthropological Survey," 346.

²⁰⁴ "Red-Stained Human Bones from Qumran," 1219-23; also published in *Nature* 231 (1971) 469-70. The graves with red-stained bones were 3–5, the woman in grave 6, and 9–11.

²⁰⁵ This *contra* Röhrer-Ertl, Rohrhirsch and Hahn, whose analysis of the red stains on other skeletons led them to believe they were due to soil ("Über die Gräberfelder von Khirbet Qumran," 17, 21, 34).

these toward the treatment of illnesses they investigate medicinal roots and the properties of stones. (*War* 2.8.6 [§136])

If the stones found around the thorax and head of the individual in Grave 2 do prove to be inscribed, they might provide evidence of amulets consistent with Josephus' testimony.²⁰⁶ While the individual skeleton in Grave 2 who sustained the greatest injuries lacks red-stained bones, the fact that other sectarian-era skeletons are stained accords with the ingestion of the healing root.

One further comment should be made about the cemeteries: there is no evidence of a special place for gathering or mourning. Steckoll thought that a small installation on a central promontory east of the main graveyard might have served to prepare the bodies for burial, but though much of the installation had collapsed into the ravine before de Vaux's excavation, his view was that the building served only to contain surplus sherds and debris for grave fill. The lack of a courtyard or gathering place among the tombs differs from contemporary burial practice, though Hachlili may be correct in assuming that the compound itself could have served for funerary or commemorative events on occasion.²⁰⁷

Two items were recovered from the cemeteries in 1995–1996. Broshi and Eshel found a bowl similar to one retrieved from L104 on a grave in the northern extension of the cemetery, and found the lower part of a large jar in the southern extension. In addition, metal detectors have revealed that a number of the tombs contain metal coffins, and at least one of three recently looted graves appears to have contained one.²⁰⁸

The cemeteries of Qumran, and particularly the main cemetery, evidence burial customs different from contemporary practice in Jerusalem and Jericho. Almost all graves are individual rather than family burials, most are oriented in a single north-south direction and organized in well-ordered rows, few exhibit grave goods, almost all lack commemoration or inscription, and there are secondary burials but no ossuaries yet discovered. Furthermore, there are almost none of the expected class differences in grave architecture, and this despite manifest variations in the health and social status of the grave occupants. Possible exceptions are T18 and, to a lesser extent, the proximate T17 and T19, which contain the remains of three individuals, two of them relatively young men (30–40 years old) in coffins under a surface circle of stones; but while the surface treatment may point to persons of some stature, all were nevertheless buried in the typical shaft grave with no grave goods. The wooden and lead coffins may also have contained individuals of high status.

²⁰⁶ Certain of the non-sectarian texts discovered at Qumran mention healing or manifest an interest in it (Tobit [4Q196–200], 4QInstruction^d 191 2), while some sectarian texts appear to be incantations or prayers used in the context of exorcisms and healings (4Q560, 11QP^sAp^a).

²⁰⁷ "Burial Practices at Qumran," 262–3.

²⁰⁸ Shanks, "Religious Jews: Save the Bones of Your Ancestors," *BAR* 27 (2 2001) 19. Shanks indicates that the metal is lead. A survey of the cemetery is planned in 2001.

Hachlili observes that burial customs are mentioned in the scrolls only in the Temple Scroll. 11Q Temple Scroll^a cols. XLVIII–LI deal with corpse uncleanness and its transference to burial grounds, the house of the dead, and the grave itself. But the laws there articulated are not particularly unique, as Schiffman has pointed out.²⁰⁹ Therefore the uniqueness of the Qumran cemetery is not to be explained by sectarian purity regulations. Rather, it lies in the economic and eschatological beliefs of the community. The relative simplicity of the grave architecture, the lack of grave goods, the near absence of status differences, the almost complete lack of family burials or associations, and the ordered alignment of individual graves suggest a single community organized outside of regular kinship networks who were committed to a common but adequate standard of living and therefore also to a common but adequate standard of burial.²¹⁰ The common nature of the graves is all the more striking given the variation in the physical quality of and occupational pathologies apparent in the bones. As Puech points out, the transportation and reinterment of remains to a site so close to the compound are evocative of the sectarian belief, established in the books of *Enoch* and the *Hodayot*, that the dead and living would gather together in the end of days in a life oriented no longer towards Jerusalem but toward the New Jerusalem awaiting them in the north.²¹¹

6.7 Qumran-like Settlements in the Vicinity

Several installations in the vicinity of Khirbet Qumran appear to have enjoyed some connection with the sectarian site during Periods Ib–II by virtue of shared design, similar pottery, contemporary coins, and analogous graves. A map of the Dead Sea Region in Appendix H locates most of these.

Most significant is ‘Ein Feshka, which lies approximately 3.6 kilometers southeast of Qumran. A long, low wall of two courses and approximately one meter in height runs from a point approximately one kilometer south of Qumran directly to a complex of buildings near the Feshka spring, although its course is broken at points. De Vaux excavated both the wall and the instal-

²⁰⁹ “The Impurity of the Dead in the *Temple Scroll*,” in *Archaeology and History in the Dead Sea Scrolls: The New York University Conference in Memory of Yigael Yadin* (ed. Schiffman; JSPSup 8; JSOT/ASOR Monographs 2; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1990) 152.

²¹⁰ There may be parallels here between the role of the charitable societies or *havurot* whose duties included the preparation of the body for burial and assumption of the funeral costs; see Hachlili, “Jewish Funerary Customs,” 121.

²¹¹ Puech, “Necropolises of *Khirbet Qumrân*,” 29–30; *idem*, “Death,” *EDSS*, 1.183–6; see also Milik, *The Books of Enoch. Aramaic Fragments from Qumrân Cave 4* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1976) 41; and D. Dimant, “Resurrection, Restoration and Time-Curtailing in Qumran, Early Judaism, and Christianity,” *RevQ* 19 (2000) 527–48.

lation at Feshka in 1958.²¹² In his view, the wall was an Israelite structure that was extended to Feshka in the sectarian period. Its purpose was to contain an agricultural area for the cultivation of date palms, which grow well in slightly salty soil. The complex of buildings at which the wall ended was some kind of industrial production center. It consisted of a rectangular complex 24 x 18 meters opening onto a central courtyard, a stable or drying facility (for dates?), storerooms and a semi-enclosed "paddock" just to the southwest, and a series of connected basins with plugs for drainage a short distance to the northeast built during Period II. In the central building, two rooms with fine doorways and cupboards, L3 and L5, appear to have been main rooms of the complex, while most of the other ground floor rooms seem to have been used for storage. A staircase on the southern section led up to a second story on the western and southern walls. The presence of so many storerooms relative to offices and living quarters, as well as the installations for animals and industry, led de Vaux to speculate that this was a communal facility rather than a private dwelling. He also discovered evidence that the site had been cleared out and expanded at the same point that Qumran was rebuilt (the beginning of Period II), though he did not find evidence of an earthquake or a fire to account for this. Some of the materials cleared included piles of limestone and dark bituminous tiles, perhaps part of an *opus sectile* floor in Period I.²¹³ Both sites were destroyed violently c.68 C.E.

The material evidence at the site suggested a strong connection to the ruins of Qumran. Ceramic types were all similar to Periods Ib and II at Qumran and were likewise separated by a destruction layer. Moreover, the 145 coins retrieved from the site were contemporary with those from Qumran, though these were more heavily weighted towards Period II with an even greater concentration of coins from the reign of Agrippa I (almost one in every three coins).²¹⁴ Two interesting artifacts include a shattered limestone jar with two lines of a semi-cursive Hebrew inscription engraved lightly in an engraved border, of which only the words "in the first year" (בשנת א'תת) remain, and a white limestone weight in the shape of a bulging cylinder with the letters LEB

²¹² "Fouilles de Feshka, Rapport préliminaire," *RB* 66 (1959) 225-55; *idem*, *Archaeology and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 58-83; Humbert and Chambon, *FKQAF*, 231-72 and 353-68; Magness, "Ein-Feshka," *EDSS*, 1.237-8.

²¹³ Magness, "Ein-Feshka," *EDSS*, 1.238.

²¹⁴ The distribution is as follows, according to de Vaux's revised numbers: Ptolemy II (247-245 B.C.E.)-1 coin; Alexander Jannaeus-4; Antigonus Mattathias-1; "Hasmonean"-4; Herod the Great-1; Herod Archelaus-4; Prefects and Procurators-32 (de Vaux's field notes indicate at least 4 coins of the prefects under Augustus, 18 of the Prefects under Tiberias, 3 of the Procurators under Claudius, and 1 of the Procurators under Nero); Tyre (36/37 C.E.)-1, Agrippa I-45; First Revolt, Year 2-1; coins that post-date 68 C.E.-23; illegible coins-{31}. De Vaux mentions a silver coin of Ptolemy VII in his field notes, but not in his revised figures (*Archaeology and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 64-7).

incised on one face.²¹⁵ De Vaux offers several possibilities for the significance of the latter inscription, but favors reading the “L” as the symbol of “year,” “E” as the number “5,” and “B” as a numerical reference to the weight of the piece (729 grams) or possibly an abbreviation for “King” (Βασιλεύς). Only two other inscribed pieces are recorded in the inventory, a piece of stamped clay and a stamped brick that may bear the imprint of a Roman legion, both of which may post-date the sectarian period.²¹⁶

De Vaux’s hypothesis is reasonable, that ‘Ein Feshka served as a kind of agricultural and industrial outpost of Khirbet Qumran especially during Period II, with some capacity to raise livestock. Dates, reeds and palm fronds, salt, bitumen rising naturally in the Dead Sea, and locally raised goats and sheep could have provided the Qumran center with some of its own material needs as well as produce and commodities to trade.

Pessah Bar-Adon discovered two other sites farther down the Dead Sea coast that may be related to Qumran, ‘Ein el-Ghuweir and Ḥiam el-Sagha.²¹⁷ The spring at Ghuweir lies fifteen kilometers south of Qumran. Bar-Adon discovered a large rectangular courtyard with two storerooms and a kitchen running along its northern wall (identified on the basis of two ovens, two granaries, and several cooking pots, bowls, jugs, flasks, and large jars). Several bronze coins date from the reign of Herod the Great (5), Herod Archelaus (1), and Agrippa I (1), along with some illegible others. A cemetery 800 meters north of the building bore a great deal of similarity to the graveyard at Qumran. There were twenty graves, eighteen on the northern hill and two on the southern hill. The eighteen graves were oval, had shaped headstones at the south end, and sixteen of them were oriented north-south. In addition, thirteen of the sixteen north-south graves had a shaft-niche construction, with the loculus in the east wall as at Qumran and large stones covering the loculus. The remains included thirteen men (18-70 years), six women (18-34 years), and one seven-year old child. The skeletons were supine in the north-south graves, some with heads turned to the east. A small stone or several small stones lay underneath or alongside the heads. Bar-Adon interpreted a layer of dust in the graves as the remnants of a linen shroud, and the impression of bulrushes under one woman’s head as a reed-mat shroud. Most of the bones had red or purplish violet stains, and according to Haas exhibited a poorer state of health than those buried at Qumran. Some graves yielded sherds from their fill, including a deep bowl, parts of two storage jars, and a complete storage jar. The bowl was resting on the loculus stone at the head of one grave, but the other pieces had been deliberately broken and were scat-

²¹⁵ Jar: AF 207? L21? Weight: AF 71, L10.

²¹⁶ Stamped clay: AF 171, L16. Stamped brick: AF 174, L28.

²¹⁷ “Another Settlement of the Judean Desert Sect at ‘En el-Ghuweir on the Shores of the Dead Sea,” *BASOR* 227 (1977) 1-25; Patrich, “Ghuweir, Wadi,” *EDSS*, 1.308-309.

tered on the loculus stones. The broken storage jar from Tomb 18 bore an inscription on the shoulder of two rows written in black ink, the first word of which was Yehohanan (לִי/אֶמְחַרֵּר // לְהוֹחֵן בְּנֵר²¹⁸), and another illegible inscription on the bottom of the jar. The ceramic from the compound and the graves was contemporary with and similar to Period II at Qumran, but neutron activation analysis conducted by Broshi and J. Yellin indicated that the pottery at the two sites does not share a common source.²¹⁹

Bar-Adon found another small cemetery immediately south and west of ʿEin el-Ghuweir, at Ḥiam el-Sagha. He might have opened one of its twenty graves, but only mentioned the cemetery briefly in his diaries. Two more of the graves were excavated by Eshel and Zvi Greenhut.²²⁰ They were oriented north-south, with the head at the south. One grave contained a 25-year old man, his head resting on a stone pillow. The other contained a 3-4 year old child with a necklace of 34 glass beads. Both were supine, hands on the pelvis, face pointed east. The graves were simple shafts, but the bodies were covered with stones, then a layer of fill, and then surface stones as at Qumran. Apart from the necklace, no grave goods were found, nor has any structure been found yet that might have served some communal purpose.

Several areas north of the Qumran compound appear also to be associated with it. A path runs westward from the site up the limestone cliffs and leads to the Buqeiʿa region on the plateau above Qumran, also known as the Hyrcania Valley. Cross and Milik explored the valley in 1954 and 1955.²²¹ Settlement in the area occurred chiefly during the seventh century B.C.E., when a series of dams enabled the cultivation of wheat, barley and legumes.²²² Although this irrigation system and extensive settlement pattern is not attested during the sectarian occupation of Qumran, it is possible that some of the people associated with Qumran farmed there and thus provided grain for the compound in the Dead Sea region below. The presence of grain mills at Qumran attests that raw grain was ground at the compound, and this is the nearest and most accessible location that might have produced it.

²¹⁸ Puech, "Necropolises of *Khirbet Qumrân*," 27.

²¹⁹ Broshi, "The Archeology of Qumran—A Reconsideration," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Forty Years of Research* (ed. Dimant and U. Rappaport; STDJ 10; Jerusalem/Leiden: Magnes Press and Yad Ishak Ben-Zvi/E. J. Brill, 1992) 115.

²²⁰ "Ḥiam el-Sagha, a Cemetery of the Qumran Type, Judaean Desert," *RB* 100 (1993) 252-9; D. Reshef and P. Smith, "Two Skeletal Remains from Ḥiam el-Sagha," *RB* 100 (1993) 260-69.

²²¹ "Explorations in the Judaean Buqeiʿah," *BASOR* 142 (1956) 5-17; Cross, "Buqeiʿa," in *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land* (ed. E. Stern; Jerusalem/New York: Israel Exploration Society and Carta/Simon & Schuster, 1993) 1.267-9; Bar Adon, "The Judaean Desert and Plain of Jericho," in *Judea, Samaria and the Golan: Archaeological Survey 1967-1968* (ed. M. Kochavi; Jerusalem: Association for the Archaeological Survey of Israel, 1972) 92-152.

²²² Patrich, "Buqeiʿa," *EDSS*, 1.104

There is some evidence to suggest a connection between Jericho and Qumran. An ostrakon discovered at Qumran by James F. Strange in 1996, KhQ 1, is a draft of a deed of gift that was due to be executed in Jericho. This interesting ostrakon, which will be discussed more fully in the following chapter, suggests that someone associated with Qumran was about to execute a transaction in Jericho and sought the scribal services or the formal authorization of an individual at Qumran. In addition to this piece of evidence, Puech observes that several graves north of Trench II at Tell el-Sultan which date to the first century C.E. are similar to the graves at Qumran.²²³ The Jericho graves are all shaft-niche graves with an inclined loculus cover of bricks, the remains lie supine, and there are no grave goods. Unlike most of the Qumran graves, however, the tombs are oriented on an east-west axis.

The last site with possible connections to Qumran is the city of Jerusalem. There is ancient evidence that the Essenes occupied a section of the city,²²⁴ and that the nearby gate was named for them.²²⁵ Bargil Pixner is of the opinion that Herod favored the Essenes with the southwestern portion of the city and cut a gate in the Hasmonean wall in return for their support against the Hasmoneans.²²⁶ The archaeological evidence of the gate he has unearthed under the Lutheran-Anglican cemetery on Mount Zion supports this thesis. The discovery of several *miqva'ot* just inside the wall lends further credence to the reconstruction. In addition to the Essene quarter, Boaz Zissu has excavated forty-one of fifty graves from the Second Temple period in Beit Safafa in southern Jerusalem.²²⁷ These graves were individual shaft (23) or shaft-

²²³ "Necropolises of *Khirbet Qumrân*," 28-9.

²²⁴ IQM III 10-11; Josephus, *Ant.* 13.11.2 (§§311-313).

²²⁵ Josephus, *War* 5.4.2 (§145). See B. Pixner, O.S.B., "An Essene Quarter on Mount Zion?" in *Studia Hierosolymitana I: Studi archeologici in onore di P. Bellarmino Bagatti OFM* (ed. E. Testa, I. Mancini and M. Piccirillo; Jerusalem: Franciscan, 1976) 245-84; *idem*, "The History of the 'Essene Gate' Area," *ZDPV* 105 (1989) 96-104; *idem*, "Jerusalem's Essene Gateway: Where the Community Lived in Jesus' Time," *BAR* 23 (3 1997) 22-31, 64-6; Pixner, D. Chen and S. Margalit, "Mount Zion: The 'Gate of the Essenes' Re-excavated," *ZDPV* 105 (1989) 85-95; R. Rienser, "Josephus' 'Gate of the Essenes' in Modern Discussion," *ZDPV* 105 (1989) 105-109; *idem*, "Das Jerusalem Essenerviertel antwort auf einige Einwände," in *Intertestamental Essays in Honour of Jozef Tadeusz Milik* (ed. Kaperá; QM 6; Kraków: Enigma, 1992) 179-86; *idem*, "Das Jerusalem Essenerviertel und die Urgemeinde Josephus, Bellum Judaicum V 145; 11QMiqdasch 46,13-16; Apostelgeschichte 1-6 und die Archäologie," *ANRW*, 2.26.2 (ed. W. Haase; Berlin/New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1995) 1776-1992; M. Delcor, "A Propos de l'emplacement de la porte des Esséniens selon Josèphe et de ses implications historiques, Essénienne et Chrétienne. Examen d'une théorie," in *Intertestamental Essays*, 25-44.

²²⁶ *Ant.* 15.10.4-5 (§§371-378).

²²⁷ "'Qumran-Type' Graves in Jerusalem: Archaeological Evidence of an Essene Community?" *DSD* 5 (1998) 158-71; English translation of שרה 'קברים חפורים' בביה צפפא עדווה" ["Field Graves at Beit Zafafa: Archaeological Evidence for the Essene Community?"], in *New Studies on Jerusalem: Proceedings of the Second Conference, November 28th 1996* (ed. A. Faust; Ramat-Gan: Ingeborg Rennert Center for Jerusalem Studies/C. G. Foundation Jerusalem Project, 1996) 32-40; *idem*, "Odd Tomb Out: Has Jerusalem's Essene Cemetery Been Found?" *BAR* 25 (2 1999) 50-55, 62.

niche tombs (18), half of which were oriented on a north-south axis. The rectangular shafts reached depths similar to those at Qumran, 1.5–2.5 meters, and like Qumran had loculus covers composed of limestone slabs. In two graves, burial troughs for two bodies were superimposed. One of the graves yielded a collection of bones, another two bodies above a third. Otherwise, the graves contained individuals, lying supine. Altogether, remains from approximately 47 individuals were identified: 42 adults and 5 individuals between ages five and eighteen. Of the adults, 15 males and 10 females were identified, and the women's remains were not concentrated but were dispersed throughout the graveyard. Limited grave goods were discovered, including a stone ossuary, thirty iron nails (likely from a coffin), two small glass bottles and a glass bracelet, and some ceramic sherds. The glass items derive from the first four centuries C.E., indicating that several graves were reused or added later. D. Amit had uncovered a *miqveh* from the same period and other rock-cut installations 300 meters from these graves a few years before.²²⁸ Similar shaft graves were discovered in East Talpiyot.²²⁹ These are different from the shallow graves on the one hand and the elaborate family burial caves on the other, both dating to the late Second Temple period in Jerusalem.

The Damascus Document distinguished between the assembly of the cities of Israel and the assembly of the camps (CD XII 19, 22-23), while Josephus and Philo distribute the Essenes across Judea.²³⁰ Only Pliny locates the group exclusively above 'Ein Gedi on the Dead Sea coast. None of the ancient authors suggests that Essenes lived at 'Ein Gedi, and to date no remains have been found there that bear the distinctive Qumran features. But for the places where such material evidence has been found, it corroborates the ancient secondary testimony in its picture of a network of people bound by similar religious beliefs and economic priorities, particularly during Period II.

6.8 Theories about the Use of the Site

There is a great deal of debate about the nature and purpose of the compound.²³¹ To date, at least eight theories have been proposed, and these may

²²⁸ "Ritual Baths (Mikva'ot) from the Second Temple Period in the Hebron Mountains," in *Judea and Samaria Research Studies, Proceedings of the 3rd Annual Meeting—1993* (ed. Z. H. Ehrlich and Y. Eshel; Kedumim: Ariel, 1993) 161-2, fig. 1 [Hebrew, English summary].

²²⁹ A. Kloner and Y. Gat, "Burial Caves in East Talpiyot," *Atiqot* 8 (1982) 74-6 [Hebrew, English summary].

²³⁰ Josephus, *War* 2.8.4 (§124): "They are not in one town only, but in every town several of them form a colony"; Philo, *Good Person* 85; *Hypothetica* 8.11.1: "They live in a number of towns in Judea, and also in many villages and large groups."

²³¹ Summaries of the theories may be found in Humbert, "Les différentes interprétations du site de Qumran," *MdB* 107 (1997) 20-25; Kapera, "Archaeological Interpretations of the Qumran Settlement. A Rapid Review of Hypothesis Fifty Years after the Discoveries at the Dead Sea," in *Mogilany* 1995, 15-33; Magness, "Qumran Archaeology," in *DSSFY*, 1.53-7; Broshi, "Qumran:

be grouped into four categories defined by function, namely that the site served a military, recreational, commercial, or religious purpose.

One of the earliest theories to be advanced argues for the military nature of the site. Norman Golb was the first to propose that the compound served as a fortress initially established under Hasmonean rule and defended by Jewish Zealots during the First Revolt.²³² All investigators agree that the compound was destroyed in a military campaign, given the evidence of a destructive fire and the presence of Roman arrowheads. Beyond this, Golb believes that the cemetery is to be explained as the result of a pitched battle. He further focuses on the fortified, two- to three-story tower at the exposed northern entrance to the site and the wall that surrounds the compound as evidence of defensive architecture. He believes that the water system, while originating outside the compound, could have supplied 750 people with six liters per day for eight months, more than enough for a military outpost.

It is difficult, however, to view the Qumran site as a fortress. While the tower is reinforced, none of the other walls are, and in fact there are three to four other entrances to the complex through the perimeter wall that would have been inconceivable in a fortress. In view of potential sieges, an exterior water source is not a secure option; an army need only attack before the spring rains and divert the aqueduct. There is no open space large enough for a military garrison to train; the promontory seems to have been cultivated, and in any event is rather narrow. It is unlikely that the graveyard holds the remains of people killed in battle, since its order points to less frequent and more careful burials than one would expect after a conflict, since no weapons or military grave goods were found, and since to date no cemeteries have been discovered at any of the other Judean desert fortresses.²³³ The theory also raises the question who the soldiers would have been;²³⁴ given political changes during the period of occupation, one would expect more upheaval at a military site than one finds at Qumran. The theory makes sense of the tower, but not of the *miqva'ot*, the tools of agriculture, the installations for

Archaeology," *EDSS*, 2.733-9; *idem*, "Was Qumran, Indeed, a Monastery? The Consensus and Its Challengers, an Archaeologist's View," in *Caves of Enlightenment: Proceedings of the American Schools of Oriental Research Dead Sea Scrolls Jubilee Symposium (1947-1997)* (ed. J. H. Charlesworth; North Richland Hill, Texas: Bibal, 1998) 19-37.

²³² "Khirbet Qumran and the Manuscript Finds of the Judean Wilderness," in *Methods of Investigation*, 51-72; *idem*, *Who Wrote the Dead Sea Scrolls?: The Search for the Secret of Qumran* (New York: Scribner, 1995). C. Roth and G. R. Driver had earlier proposed that the site was to be associated with the Zealots of the First Jewish Revolt; see Roth, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A New Historical Approach* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1965); Driver, *The Judean Scrolls: The Problem and a Solution* (New York: Schocken, 1965).

²³³ On the last point, see Hachlili, "The Qumran Cemetery: A Reconsideration," in *DSSFYD*, 666.

²³⁴ Magness, in Shanks, "The Enigma of Qumran," 28.

fruit or grain storage, the hoard of Tyrian silver, or the cemetery.²³⁵ The fact that it also disregards the scrolls is intentional, given Golb's view that the scrolls were brought from several libraries in Jerusalem during the First Jewish Revolt and are therefore irrelevant to the site.

The theory that Qumran was a purely recreational site was first proposed by Donceel and Donceel-Voûte, who believed that the Qumran compound was a *villa rustica*.²³⁶ They first suspected that the consensus of a kind of desert monastery was untenable when the École Biblique gave them the responsibility to prepare the final report on de Vaux's original excavation. They discovered that de Vaux had only catalogued the most complete pieces he had found, while boxes of other more fragmentary material had languished unreported and uninventoried. A closer look at the unexpected pieces revealed several more lamps, juglets, lathe-turned stoneware and glass pieces than the archaeologists had expected, and raised in their minds the possibility that the site had been misinterpreted. Closer study of the compound itself led them to surmise that the central square portion of the compound was the *pars urbana* or residential zone of the complex, with the typical *pyrgos* or storehouse tower at its corner. Rooms with plastered walls were compared to the stuccoed and frescoed walls of contemporary villas, and other architectural elements such as the decorated capitals and round columns were highlighted as evidence of luxurious decoration. The plastered pieces discovered by de Vaux in L30 were interpreted not as tables but as the bases for couches in an upstairs *triclinium* or dining hall. The western portion of the complex comprised the industrial zone. Its water system, vats and ovens were conducive to the production of perfumes and unguents made with local vegetation and minerals that were then bottled in juglets and amphorae for sale. In sum, the compound was an open rather than a closed site, which not only received but also produced commodities of true commercial value and profited from their sale.²³⁷

Donceel and Donceel-Voûte have done an important service in highlighting artifacts and aspects of the site linking it more extensively to the local economy. In the final analysis, however, they appear to be overstating the evidence. The items of fine ware they discovered are still vastly outnumbered by the simplified imitations and modest, locally made vessels. Likewise,

²³⁵ For a comparison of Qumran to contemporary desert fortresses, see Bar-Adon, "The Hasmonean Fortresses and the Status of Khirbet Qumran at the North of the Dead Sea," in *Fifth Archaeological Conference in Israel: Yohanan Aharoni Memorial Volume* (Erlsr 15; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1978) 349-52 [Hebrew], 86* [English summary].

²³⁶ Donceel and Donceel-Voûte, "Archaeology of Khirbet Qumran," in *Methods of Investigation*, 1-38; Donceel-Voûte, "'Coenaculum': La salle à l'étage du locus 30 à Khirbet Qumrân sur la Mer Morte," in *Banquets d'Orient* (ed. R. Gyselen, with M. Bernus-Taylor et al.; ResO 4; Leuven: Peeters, 1992) 61-84; *idem*, "Les ruines de Qumrân réinterprétées," *Archéologia* 298 (1994) 24-35.

²³⁷ Donceel-Voûte, "Ruines de Qumran réinterprétés," 35.

while there may be a few column capitals and drums, some graffiti from the plastered walls, some colored floor tiles, and ashlar at some door jambs, the presence of these few elements is underwhelming in the context of the lack of architectural ornamentation, the absence of frescoes, the dearth of mosaics, the rubble walls, and the scarcity of other luxurious appointments of the typical desert villa (the hypocausts, the gardens, the swimming pools). The proposal that the furniture of L30 served as so many bases for *triclinium* couches is unlikely because the bases are far too narrow.²³⁸ As with Golb's theory, this proposal suffers from its inability to account for the presence of the scrolls or the cemetery.²³⁹

The evidence that Donceel and Donceel-Vofite have brought to light demonstrates that the denizens of Qumran were engaged to a greater degree in the regional economy than de Vaux had supposed. The next two theories go further, arguing that the Qumran compound was commercial in nature.

Yizhar Hirschfeld has advanced the thesis that the buildings of Qumran are more like fortified manor houses or estates constructed in the Late Hellenistic and early Roman periods in Judea than they are like Roman villas.²⁴⁰ Both Qumran and these fortified houses enjoy a strategic location, a fortified tower, and agricultural installations nearby.²⁴¹ The living quarters of the compound cluster off the tower and around a central courtyard. They are not especially well-built, frequently utilizing rough stones rather than ashlar in the construction. Local, utilitarian pottery, stone vessels and some fine ware are present in them, demonstrating the high economic status of the owners. He believes that some of the basins, mills, and ovens were used in the production of perfumes and medicines from balsam, and that the residents of the site may have been engaged in the local bitumen trade as well.²⁴² One difference is size and level of complexity: while manor houses are large, covering several hundred square meters, Qumran is even more complex and covers c.4,800 square meters. In fact, it is the only central complex at Qumran that is like the other manor houses. Hirschfeld explains the difference as due to one of two causes: the desert air caused more of the Qumran site to be preserved, or

²³⁸ Reich, "A Note on the Function of Room 30 (the 'Scriptorium') at Khirbet Qumran," *JJS* 46 (1995) 157-60. He contrasts the 50 cm x 70 cm furniture to the 1.8 m x 1.2 m platforms in a Hellenistic villa 7 km west of Hebron that is contemporary with Qumran.

²³⁹ Magness, "A Villa at Khirbet Qumran?" *RevQ* 16 (1994) 397-419; *idem*, "Qumran: Not a Country Villa," *BAR* 22 (6 1996) 38, 40-47, 72-3.

²⁴⁰ "Early Roman Manor Houses," 161-89.

²⁴¹ A related theory has been recently proposed by Magen and Drori. In their view, the Qumran site was more than a fortress, but a fortified farm. It was established by Hasmonean loyalists, even demobilized soldiers, and was destroyed in the wars with Herod around 40-37 B.C.E. (Rabinovich, "Operation Scroll," *apud* Kapera, "Archaeological Interpretations of the Qumran Settlement," 26). This theory has not been fully published, however, so it cannot be addressed.

²⁴² On the bitumen trade, see P. C. Hammond, "The Nabataean Bitumen Industry at the Dead Sea," *BA* 22 (1959) 40-48.

the site was more fully excavated than most of the manor houses have been. He does not find the number or size of the *miqva'ot* anomalous in the context of other manor houses. Hirschfeld contends that the scrolls are not connected to the site, believes de Vaux overestimated the number of graves in the cemetery (Hirschfeld puts the number at a few hundred²⁴³), and believes that the relationship of Essenes to the site was in the form of cheap agricultural labor for the lord of the manor.

This theory is attractive because it makes sense of some of the evidence of fine ware and an open economy at the site, and because it is grounded on several real similarities between the ruins of Qumran and contemporary fortified dwellings more modest than the putative parallels offered by Donceel and Donceel-Voûte. Hirschfeld's data demonstrate that the builders of Qumran used the architectural vernacular of their time and that the buildings they constructed served some of the same purposes. But Hirschfeld wants to go farther. His argument is that the compound was not just *like* a manor house; it was *only* a manor house. And to make this case, he must minimize the evidence that contradicts, testimony that suggests a group united by common beliefs. Thus he argues that there were only a few hundred graves, when the aerial photographs clearly indicate over nine hundred; thus he must discount the scrolls and the animal bones buried in pots and the *miqva'ot* and the hoard of Tyrian silver. His attempt to acknowledge links to the Essenes by positing that they provided cheap agricultural labor prematurely assigns the Essenes to a low social class and in the context of his theory appears unnecessary. Hirschfeld's thesis that the Qumran site was only a manor house therefore cannot stand because it cannot comprehend all of the evidence. But insofar as it apprehends legitimate comparisons with fortified manors, it offers an important new avenue for understanding the architectural idiom and therefore the purpose of Khirbet Qumran.

Alan Crown and Lena Cansdale have promoted the theory that the compound was a commercial entrepôt in the Dead Sea region.²⁴⁴ Crown and Cansdale note the examples of high-quality stoneware from Jerusalem and the fine pieces of glassware as evidence that the economy of Qumran was open. They further observe that the compound is situated along a major trade route on the western shore of the Dead Sea, providing the opportunity for its residents to engage in and benefit from local commerce. The long wall from Qumran toward Feshka is understood as the remains of a wharf. Crown and Cansdale paint a picture of the goods trafficked at that time, including local

²⁴³ In a subsequent essay, he revised this number to 700 based on the 1883 estimate of Conder and Kitchener; "The Architectural Context of Qumran," *DSSFYD*, 675.

²⁴⁴ "Qumran—Was It an Essene Settlement?" *BAR* 20 (5 1994) 24-36, 73-8; Cansdale, *Qumran and the Essenes: A Reevaluation of the Evidence* (TSAJ 60; Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1997).

products such as bitumen and salts from the Dead Sea, the latter useful for mummification, and agricultural goods such as aromatic balsam and dates. They note the presence of a wharf on the Dead Sea coast just below Qumran as evidence of a commercial installation that would have served the site. Furthermore, they discount evidence of farming in the immediate environment of Qumran in antiquity, thus removing the possibility that residents of Qumran could have lived off the local land. They also understand the water installations at Qumran to be beyond the financial and intellectual resources of Essenes, but find them well-suited to a commercial center with a constant source of income and access to local engineers. In their view, the compound was a tax collection center and commercial storehouse on a trade route, as well as a wayfarer's inn. They view the hoard of Tyrian silver as evidence that priests oversaw many of the activities of the site and collected the Temple tax there as well. The cemetery can be explained as a burial ground for travelers who died *en route*.

This theory, like those of Donceel and Donceel-Voûte and Hirschfeld, is attractive in that it appreciates the site in the context of the local economy. But for Crown and Cansdale, this perspective is incompatible with the thesis that Qumran was populated by Essenes. Their view of the Essenes is based on the ancient secondary sources, as it must be, but lacks an appreciation for the apologetic and rhetorical motives of those sources—that is, for the fact that their portraits of the Essenes are artificial constructions. As such the portraits would naturally be at odds with reality, whoever the real Essenes might be. More detrimental to their thesis is that it fails to accommodate the full archaeological record, such as it is. The fine ware at Qumran is a very small portion of the total inventory, and the remainder of that inventory points to a group with a slightly peculiar ceramic tradition, an interest in producing most of its pottery on site, manifest religious concerns (the *miqva'ot*, the buried animal bones, the careful order of the graveyard, the scrolls). The Tyrian hoard is understood as a Temple tax collection, but this requires the otherwise unnecessary assertion that priests supervised a tax collection post. The lack of the equipment of commerce also hampers this theory; if Qumran were a commercial center, one would expect more than one pan from a scale, three stone weights, one seal ring, two stone seals, some ostraca, and 2.6 to 5.6 coins lost per year. Lacking also are the multiple fireplaces travelers would require to prepare their meals, stables large enough for many simultaneous guests, and small rooms necessary in an inn.²⁴⁵ The large size of the dining hall is explained as necessary for the poorer guests who could not afford to eat in the *triclinium* (L30). The long wall is only one meter wide; parts of it date to the Israelite period, and it lacks any features associated with wharves,

²⁴⁵ Broshi, "Was Qumran, Indeed, a Monastery? The Consensus and Its Challengers, an Archaeologist's View," in *Caves of Enlightenment*, 19-37.

such as breakwaters, anchors exposed by a receding water line, and possibly dry-dock facilities.²⁴⁶ The agricultural implements and silos are not discussed. And to imagine that over a thousand graves would have been necessary for travelers who happened to die *en route* requires that the nearby trade route be abnormally dangerous (and therefore less likely used?), and that the families of the deceased be content to leave their kin in a distant, common graveyard, not to mention that it makes no sense of the secondary burials.

Broshi has demonstrated that Qumran does not lie on a major trade route, a conclusion that seriously damages all of the above theories.²⁴⁷ According to Broshi, only narrow paths connected it to the rest of the world. Archaeological evidence indicates that the level of the Dead Sea was about -395 meters at the time the Qumran community flourished. Water levels have to fall well below -400 meters before a land route emerges around the Feshka cliffs. Therefore, no north-south road would have been possible during the Qumran period, nor would it have been necessary. Docking facilities and roads excavated at Qasr el-Yahud (Khirbet Mazin) near Feshka and Rujm el Baħr at the northern tip of the Dead Sea indicate that goods were conveyed to Jerusalem and Jericho overland via routes through the Kedron gorge and the Jordan Valley rather than over the steep path that rises from Qumran. Thus the modest evidence of commerce and fine ware found at Qumran will have to be explained another way.

The four remaining theories acknowledge the connection between the religious literature found in the caves and the site nearby, and propose on those grounds that the compound served a religious group or purpose.

Jean-Baptiste Humbert agrees with Donceel, Donceel-Voūte and Hirschfeld that the site shares certain features with villas or fortified manor houses of the Hasmonean period.²⁴⁸ Where Humbert parts company is in his assertion that Essenes took over this Hasmonean villa sometime after it was destroyed by Gabinius (57 B.C.E.) or Herod (31 B.C.E.). Thereafter, the Essenes, disaffected with sacrificial worship in the Jerusalem Temple but nonetheless concerned to fulfill sacrificial law, expanded the Qumran compound to serve as a center for ritual sacrifice for their members living in the region. Only ten to fifteen members actually lived at the site; others came for festivals, prayers, meals and sacrifices. L120 was the first room used for a sanctuary, a thesis Humbert bases on its orientation toward Jerusalem, its well-finished interior, the deposit of animal bones from the sacred meals immediately to the north (L130), and the eventual and mysteriously complete

²⁴⁶ De Vaux, *Archaeology and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 59; for other excavated ports along the Dead Sea coast, see G. Hadas, "Where was the Harbour of 'En-Gedi Situated?" *IEJ* 43 (1993) 45-9.

²⁴⁷ "Was Qumran a Crossroads?" *RevQ* 19 (1999) 273-6.

²⁴⁸ "L'espace sacré à Qumrān," 161-211.

enclosure of its west end (the holy of holies). At some point, cultic activity was shifted to the southern part of the complex: L77 served as the new cultic center, equipped with short pillars to support a surface for offerings, a flushing system and the nearby pantry of libation and offering vessels (L86/89). This explains the animal bone deposits south of L77 and around the southern perimeter (loci 73, 80, 90, 92, 98).

Humbert highlights features that the prior theories have ignored, namely the buried animal bones and the scrolls. The theory appears to overinterpret the evidence, however. No certain altar installation has yet been found at the site. The bowls and other vessels in the pantry could hypothetically serve for offerings, except that two at the site were inscribed with individuals' names, while none were inscribed with terms indicating a ritual purpose (e.g., שְׁקֵרָה or לְקִדְשׁ).²⁴⁹ The scrolls state that community members ate "the purity" and drank "the pure drink," and certainly criticize the Jerusalem Temple, but seem to defer the establishment of a new effective temple to the eschatological future. The community of the last days is in the interim symbolized as a temple, but it becomes that symbol through the sacrifices of halakhic observance, not necessarily through actual ritual sacrifice. Humbert's theory is also difficult to harmonize with the combined evidence of paleography and archaeology, which suggest that the community was well-organized in the early- to mid-Hasmonean period and that those living at the site in the early first century B.C.E. were the same group as those living there at the end of the century.²⁵⁰

Edward M. Cook has offered his view that the site was a ritual purification center.²⁵¹ He understands that the full volume of water stored at the site would have far exceeded the drinking and washing requirements of the 50–70 people he believes resided there at any given time. He views the water installations, and in particular the six *miqva'ot*, in the context of 11QTemple Scroll^a XLVI 16-18:

You shall make | three places, to the East of the city, separate from each other, to which shall | come the lepers and those afflicted with a discharge and the men who have an emission of semen.

In Cook's view, the Temple Scroll mandates the creation of places where the defiled can go to be purified. Qumran would have served as the eastern purification center, staffed by men from the Jerusalem branch of the Essenes who maintained a state of ritual purity. The basins in L52 as well as some of

²⁴⁹ See, for example, G. Barkay, "A Bowl with the Hebrew Inscription שְׁקֵרָה," *IEJ* 40 (1990) 124-9.

²⁵⁰ Magness contends that the sectarian period began in the first half of the first century B.C.E., certainly no later than 50 B.C.E. ("A Reassessment of the Excavations of Qumran," in *DSSFYD*, 714).

²⁵¹ "Qumran: A Ritual Purification Center," *BAR* 22 (6 1996) 39, 48-51, 73-5.

the installations at 'Ein Feshka would have been used to wash the clothes of the impure. Scrolls were stored here and bodies buried because both were considered impure and therefore could not remain in Jerusalem.

The theory is attractive in that it makes sense of the many *miqva*'ot at the site and, by rendering the site a pilgrimage rather than a residential center, explains the lack of dwelling space in the compound and nearby caves. It suffers, however, in positing a positive relationship between the Jerusalem Temple and the Qumran site. Qumran becomes an ancillary Temple facility, when in fact many of the scrolls state quite baldly that there are new purity requirements precisely because the Temple has failed. The fact that the graves in the cemetery are oriented north-south rather than in the direction of the Temple signifies the spiritual bankruptcy of that institution for this community. Cook reaches his conclusion because he focuses on a very early stage of the literature, the Temple Scroll and 4QMMT; later and more explicitly sectarian literature paints a different picture of the goals and self-understanding of the covenanters.

Hartmut Stegemann and André Lemaire are of the opinion that Qumran and 'Ein Feshka were expanded at the same time for the purpose of producing scrolls.²⁵² Stegemann believes that the vats constructed at 'Ein Feshka were used to cure, rinse and tan the hides with chemicals derived locally (no tannins from tree bark were found in the sediment of the vats). The location by both the chemical-rich Dead Sea and the fresh water spring of Feshka provided the necessary components of the curing process. Scrolls were further prepared at Qumran, in a tannery in the western buildings and a scroll production room in the ground floor of the main compound. The aqueduct was built to supply the extra water needed for the final stages of parchment preparation. Scrolls were inscribed in the upstairs scriptorium, master scrolls were stored in a library in the main compound, and the many other scrolls were stored in some of the local caves (especially Cave 4). But the operation was not limited to internal use; rather, scrolls were produced in order to be sold to the numerous local Essene communities. Proceeds from these sales were used to supply the artisans with goods they could not produce themselves. Thus the two installations at Qumran and closer to the Dead Sea served together as a kind of "Essene publishing house," not, in Stegemann's view, as the center of the dispersed Essene movement. For Stegemann, the center of that movement always remained Jerusalem; that is the "city of the Temple" (4QMMT B 22-

²⁵² Stegemann, *The Library of Qumran: On the Essenes, John the Baptist and Jesus* (Leiden/Grand Rapids, Michigan: E. J. Brill/William B. Eerdmans, 1998; German original, Freiburg: Herder, 1993), especially 52-5; Lemaire, "Qoumrân: Sa fonction, ses manuscrits," in *Qoumrân et les Manuscrits de la mer Morte. Un Cinquantenaire* (ed. Laperrousaz; Paris: Cerf, 1997) 117-49.

28; CD XII 1; XX 22) from which the Essene leaders guided the larger group.²⁵³

Stegemann and Lemaire focus welcome attention on the scrolls as a dominant artifact that explains the nature of the site. But the content rather than the existence of these scrolls should surely weigh more heavily in evaluations of the compound. The scrolls speak of a community that goes to the wilderness to separate from others, that registers new members according to their deeds, insight and property, that gathers together regularly according to an alternative calendar, that eats “the purity” together, prays and studies Torah together. Surely the larger rooms at the Qumran compound should be associated with these activities privileged in the scrolls, rather than exclusively with industrial activities that must be presumed but are nowhere mentioned. More significant evidence against the theory is not only that no traces of tannin were found at either Qumran or ‘Ein Feshka, which could well be explained by an innovative curing process and which in any event are not necessary for the production of parchment, but the percentages of organic materials retrieved from the basins at ‘Ein Feshka were below one percent in every basin.²⁵⁴ Whatever chemicals were used to depilate the hides, some hair and skin should have been left behind, and Zeuner found no hair and extremely low traces of organic matter when he tested the basin sediment.²⁵⁵ Thus the only positive evidence for scroll production is the inkwells at Qumran and Feshka, needles possibly used to sew parchment sheets together, and the scrolls themselves, all of which attest to scroll writing rather than parchment production. Stegemann’s thesis that the scribes of Qumran sold scrolls to their fellow Essenes to produce revenue would be contrary to the Damascus Document prescription that members share their goods from hand to hand, and only buy and sell with outsiders. Finally, if Qumran were mainly an industrial center, it would be difficult to explain the cemetery.

The weight of the evidence, therefore, points to the identification of the Qumran site as a sectarian community center, the last of the theories and the first proposed by de Vaux. De Vaux’s portrait of the site as a monastery must, however, be redefined. The site was modeled on the fortified manor houses of the vicinity, but its purpose was somewhat different. Rather than house a single family running a productive estate for the purpose of self-sufficiency, external trade and profit, this site served a sectarian community which depended upon the contributions of its members, restricted its external trade, and disavowed for the most part practices and commodities it viewed as

²⁵³ Stegemann, “The Qumran Essenes—Local Members of the Main Jewish Union in Late Second Temple Times,” in *Madrid*, 1.134-7.

²⁵⁴ To my knowledge, the soils at Qumran were not tested.

²⁵⁵ “Notes on Qumrân,” 33-6. Zeuner’s view was that these pits were refreshed frequently, perhaps for fish farming, though as de Vaux notes this purpose would have been better served if the basins had not been plastered.

excessively oriented toward profit and luxury. The limited number of people residing in the compound and caves at any given time had certain material requirements which were met by its own modest agricultural and industrial production, the goods in kind brought by members and stored on site, and items acquired in trade. But the site also served a larger number of people on certain occasions, such as communal festivals and other assemblies.

6.9 Conclusions

Qumran was not a villa, fortified estate or commercial entrepôt, but rather the hub of a religious and economic network that extended along the northwest coast of the Dead Sea to Jericho. The relatively low number of coins, ostraca and documentary texts compared to other Judean desert sites indicates that this economic network was largely characterized by barter between members rather than by purchase and sale with outsiders. Some of the evidence points to commercial interactions beyond the compound but supervised from Qumran, for example the ostracon drafted at Qumran in advance of its execution in Jericho (KhQ1), the excavation coins, the Roman surcharge collected with the coin hoard, and possibly some of the inscribed and stamped jars. In addition, the pottery-production facilities, the grain and date storage silos and milling facilities, and the furnace at Qumran, as well as the lye production installation in a nearby cave, the industrial installation and animal pens at 'Ein Feshka, and the probable date palm orchard east of the long wall, all testify to an extended community that met many of its own needs and perhaps produced some surplus. This surplus would have been useful for securing goods which the community itself could not produce, such as raw metal and linen. The economy was not closed to non-members in the vicinity, but was restricted so that the purity of the community could be maintained, an interest which explains the on-site production of pottery.

There is limited evidence at the site of cultural and/or economic connections with both Jerusalem and Nabatea. The dining hall is oriented toward Jerusalem, the *miqva'ot* are similar to those found in Jerusalem but not Jericho, the lathe-turned and chip-cut stone vessels and the pseudo-Nabatean ware were likely produced in Jerusalem, and the teeth of several of the skeletons suggest a diet lower in abrasive sand than the characteristic desert fare. At the same time, the ceramic tradition is somewhat peculiar, lacking some common forms found at surrounding sites and testifying to some types unknown elsewhere. The connection with Nabatea is suggested by the grave architecture and orientation, so similar to the cemetery on the Nabatean coast of the Dead Sea, by the presence of a Nabatean name on a storage jar (אבנא, Gr7Q 6), and by the presence of a few Nabatean coins.

The lack of osteological and dental pathologies and the presence of some fine ware and architectural ornamentation at the Qumran site may be explained by the presence of individuals in the community from higher social ranks and perhaps from the hieratic class who brought these goods with them, purchased them for the community's benefit, or in some cases such as the inscribed bowls enjoyed the exclusive use of them. It is time to discard the notion that the residents at Qumran embraced poverty. What they embraced was not lack, but a lack of *need*,²⁵⁶ and this goal was met through a common and relatively austere lifestyle with some measure of centralized control, an open but restricted economy, and the provision of a proper if modest burial. The "asceticism" practiced at Qumran was not oriented toward the suppression of individual desire, but rather was profoundly social.

This view of the site is consistent with the full, albeit provisional, archaeological record from Qumran, and allows for the existence of a religious community there. It adjusts the older view of that community by envisioning it as geographically less centralized and economically more open. The partial integration with the regional Judean economy is not at odds with the sectarian critique of that economy, but rather helps to explain it, insofar as critiques are only necessary while the institutions being criticized represent a real force with which a group must contend and against which they must forge an identity.

²⁵⁶ Pace Broshi, "Matrimony and Poverty: Jesus and the Essenes," *RevQ* 19 (2000) 633.

CHAPTER SEVEN

WEALTH IN THE DOCUMENTARY TEXTS FROM THE JUDEAN DESERT

7.1 Introduction

Evidence for sectarian attitudes and practices regarding wealth is not limited to the literature the group wrote and collected, nor is it exhausted by the archaeological evidence of the Qumran compound and its satellite encampments. Another corpus of evidence expands our horizon for understanding sectarian economics, namely the documentary material emerging from the Judean desert. Documentary evidence includes a variety of contracts, receipts, official letters and judicial records that one might keep among one's personal papers and record in a public archive. Personal caches of such records have been discovered in the vicinity of Qumran from the late first and early second centuries C.E., while other public and private documents in Aramaic and Greek from the last centuries B.C.E. and from as far away as Egypt have also been published. Together, these documents establish the traditional vocabulary for economic exchanges and help us to reconstruct some customary practices associated with commerce. Several of these terms and practices are present in the Damascus Document and the Rule of the Community. Moreover, some twenty-eight fragmentary documentary texts from Qumran have been published, and both their similarity to and divergence from contemporary documentary material is of interest.

Documentary texts have been found throughout the ancient near east in a variety of cultural contexts. In fact, one of the earliest examples of writing ever discovered was not a literary text, but Egyptian records of linen and oil deliveries and taxes dating to 3300–3200 B.C.E.¹ While all of this material is of interest, the examples on which this chapter will focus will be drawn from a Jewish or Aramaic context.

Since documentary texts may be unfamiliar to the reader, the chapter begins with an introduction to the form, content, functions and execution of

¹ J. Gorsdorf, G. Dreyer, and U. Hartung, "C Dating of the Archaic Royal Necropolis Umm el-Qaab at Abydos," in *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Institute, Abteilung Kairo* 54 (1998) 169-75, and Dreyer, *Umm el-Qaab I: Das prädynastische Königsggrab U-j und seine frühen Schriftzeugnisse* (Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Abteilung Kairo, Archeiologische Veröffentlichungen 86; Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1999). The three hundred pieces of bone, ivory and clay were discovered in Abydos (southern Egypt) in 1998 in the tomb of King Scorpion I, and challenge the reigning assumption that writing was invented in Sumeria.

commercial instruments. It then focuses upon those features of the genre that bear most on the sectarian constitutional literature, namely commercial language, practices, and agents, as well as conventions that would have been anathema to the Qumran sectarians. A final section treats the documentary literature from Qumran. It begins with discussion of two problems, the so-called “Yaḥad” ostrakon and the provenance of the “Cave 4” documentary material. It then turns to the content and significance of this corpus.

7.2 Commercial Instruments

Recent discoveries of Aramaic and Greek documentary texts from Elephantine, Egypt,² Idumaea,³ and the Dead Sea region⁴ have vastly expanded our

² A. E. Cowley, ed., *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C.* (Osnabrück: Otto Zeller, 1967; original 1923); Bezalel Porten and Ada Yardeni have compiled a four-volume English and Hebrew translation of the papyri; volumes 2–4 include the documentary material (*Textbook of Aramaic Documents from Ancient Egypt*, vol. 2, *Contracts*, vol. 3, *Literature, Accounts, Lists*, vol. 4, *Ostraca and Assorted Inscriptions* [Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 1989–1999]).

³ I. Eph'al and J. Naveh, *Aramaic Ostraca of the Fourth Century BC from Idumaea* (Jerusalem: Magnes/Israel Exploration Society, 1996).

⁴ References to published materials will be listed from north to south. Most of the following sites can be found on the map of the Dead Sea Region (Appendix H).

From Wadi Daliyeh: D. M. Gropp, “Wadi Daliyeh II: The Samaria Papyri from Wadi Daliyeh,” in *Wadi Daliyeh II: The Samaria Papyri from Wadi Daliyeh; Qumran Cave 4.XXVIII: Miscellaneous, Part 2* (ed. Gropp and E. Schuller; DJD 28; Oxford: Clarendon, 2001).

From Ketef Jericho: H. Eshel et al., “Ketef Jericho,” in *Miscellaneous Texts from the Judaean Desert* (ed. J. H. Charlesworth et al.; DJD 38; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000) 3–113, figs. 1–25, pls. I–XXV.

From Qumran: Yardeni, “32. XḤev/Se papDeed F (+ 4Q347) ar” and “Appendix: Documentary Texts Alleged to be from Qumran Cave 4,” in *Aramaic, Hebrew and Greek Documentary Texts from Naḥal Ḥever and Other Sites, with an Appendix Containing Alleged Qumran Texts (The Seiyāl Collection II)* (ed. H. M. Cotton and Yardeni; DJD 27; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997) 106–107, with fig. 19 and pl. XXI, and 283–317, 322, with figs. 28–31 and pls. LIV–LXI; Cotton, “350. 4QAccount gr,” in *Qumran Cave 4.XXVI: Cryptic Texts and Miscellaneous, Part 1* (ed. S. J. Pfann et al.; DJD 36; Oxford: Clarendon, 2000) 294–5, pl. XX; Yardeni, “355. 4QAccount C ar or heb” (DJD 36) 296, pl. XX; M. Baillet, O. P., “26–29. Groupes en cursive,” in *Les “petites grottes” de Qumrân* (ed. Baillet, J. T. Milik and R. de Vaux, O. P.; DJD 3, 3a; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1962) 138–40, pl. XXIX (Cave 6); Cross and E. Eshel, “1. KhQOstrakon” and “2. KhQOstrakon” (DJD 36) 497–508, pls. XXXIII–XXXIV.

From Murabba'at: P. Benoit, Milik, and de Vaux, *Les grottes de Murabba'at* (DJD 2, 2a; Oxford: Clarendon, 1961); Yardeni, “50. XḤev/Se papDeed of Sale H (+ Mur 26) ar” (DJD 27) 123–9, figs. 24–26, pls. XXVIII–XXX.

From Wadi Sdeir: Yardeni, “2. Sdeir papPromissory Note? ar” (DJD 38) 125–9, fig. 26, pl. XXIII.

From Naḥal Ḥever: Cotton and Yardeni, DJD 27; N. Lewis, Y. Yadin and J. C. Greenfield, eds., *Documents from the Bar Kokhba Period*, vol. 1, *Greek Papyri and Aramaic and Nabatean Signatures and Subscriptions* (JDS 2; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, and the Shrine of the Book, 1989). Much of the Babatha archive has not yet been published in the form of a critical edition, but preliminary publications include J. Starcky, “Un contrat nabatéen sur papyrus,” *RB* 61 (1954) 161–81; Yadin, Greenfield and Yardeni, “Babatha’s *Ketubba*,” *IEJ* 44 (1994) 75–101. The critical edition will be published by

knowledge of commercial instruments in the ancient world. Excellent introductions to and summaries of the documentary materials are provided by Hannah M. Cotton and Ada Yardeni in their critical edition of the Naḥal Ḥever texts and by Naphtali Lewis in his edition of documents from the Bar Kokhba period.⁵ For the purpose of the present study, some general remarks are in order to orient the reader to the types of documents introduced below and to certain terms to be used in conjunction with them. A map of the Dead Sea Region, featuring sites mentioned in this chapter, is included as Appendix H.⁶

Commercial transactions of many kinds are attested by the documentary finds from the ancient near east. Some of the more common transactions include sales of immovable property, deeds of gift, slave conveyances, rental contracts, deposit records, registration of land for purposes of taxation (census), marriage and divorce contracts, promissory notes, tax and payment receipts and ledgers, waivers of claims and summons to court. All of these commercial transactions required written instruments registered with the proper authorities in order to be defensible in the courts of those authorities. That does not mean that a documentary text was executed for every transaction, but if one had resources to protect and could afford a scribe, one would execute a document defining the transaction, record a copy in a public archive, and keep a copy for oneself. We have been fortunate in the last century to discover several caches of such personal papers, notably the Babatha and Salome Komaïse archives from Naḥal Ḥever dating from the Second Jewish Revolt (132–135 C.E.), as well as other such records from before and during the Bar Kokhba period from Wadi Murabbaʿat and other locations.

Yadin, Greenfield, Yardeni and B. A. Levine, *The Documents from the Bar Kokhba Period in the Cave of Letters*, vol. 2, *Hebrew, Aramaic and Nabatean Documents* (JDS 3; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, and the Shrine of the Book).

From Naḥal Mishmar: Cotton, "2. IMish papList of Names and Account gr" (*DJD* 38) 203-204, pl. XXXII.

From Naḥal Şe'elim (Wadi Seiyâl): M. Morgenstern and Cotton, "Naḥal Şe'elim" (*DJD* 38) 207-228, pls. XXXIII-XXXV.

From Maşada: Yadin and Naveh, "The Aramaic and Hebrew Ostraca and Jar Inscriptions," in *Masada I: The Yigael Yadin Excavations (1963-1965), Final Reports* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society and The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1989) 1-70, pls. 1-60; Cotton and J. Geiger, *Masada II: The Yigael Yadin Excavations 1963-1965, Final Reports. The Latin and Greek Documents* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society and The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1989).

⁵ Cotton and Yardeni, "General Introduction" (*DJD* 27) 1-6; Yardeni, "Introduction to the Aramaic and Hebrew Documentary Texts" (*DJD* 27) 9-17; Cotton, "Introduction to the Greek Documentary Texts" and "Introduction to the Archive of Salome Komaïse Daughter of Levi" (*DJD* 27) 133-65; Lewis, *DBKP*, 1.6-10. Cotton's introduction is the most comprehensive, setting the documentary material not only in the context of Jewish documentary evidence but also in the broader framework of ancient near eastern and Roman papyrology.

⁶ The reader may also wish to consult the map by B. Zissu in *DJD* 38 (figure 1).

One of the documentary texts from the Babatha archive, P. Yadin 16, is presented on Plates VI–VII of the present volume as a representative example of a documentary text (for the editors' transcription and translation, see Appendix G, "Transcriptions of Plates").⁷ Certain features of that text will be highlighted by way of introducing documentary texts in general.

The first thing to note is that the document is inscribed on papyrus, a relatively inexpensive and therefore common medium for documentary texts. Second, it is written in a carefully executed cursive script. Cursive scripts are standard in documentary texts. While this particular document reflects a regular and practiced hand, some of the documentary texts, whether written more hastily or by poorer scribes, include more misspellings and paleographic variation than one generally finds in the bookhand scripts of literary texts.

Third, this is an example of a double deed, wherein the formulaic presentation of the terms is inscribed twice, once in smaller script at the top of the document, and again in larger script at the bottom (Plate VII and transcription). This form facilitated both easy reference to the document via the lower or outer text nearest the outside of the rolled papyrus, and protection of the exact terms on the upper or inner text, which was rolled and sewn shut at the center of the closed scroll to prevent subsequent tampering. The upper text of this scroll is still rolled and tied (see the top edge of the document on Plate VII, where the threads are still clearly visible); therefore, the first visible line of text is line 3 of the transcription. Because the deed was inscribed twice, scholars will refer to a given part of the double deed with two line notations if both portions are extant, one referring to the upper and one to the lower text. Finally, the witnesses would sign their names on the verso, perpendicular to the recto text and at the points of stitching, to indicate that what was sealed therein was indeed the document they had witnessed (Plate VI). The first signature would sometimes be that of the person in whose name the deed had been executed. While Roman practice required seven witnesses, documents from the Judean desert show some variation, with three to seven witnesses. In contrast to double deeds such as P. Yadin 16, simple deeds would have the terms written only once, with the signatures on the recto and parallel to the main text.

A fourth point to notice is that this document is actually a copy of the original, and so in lines 1-5 provides a certification formula before rendering the terms of the deed (inner text, lines 1-2; the outer text, lines 3-5, repeats the same formula). In this case, the inner text is not a complete copy of the outer text, but rather an abbreviation of it, illustrating that the significance of the inner text was gradually diminishing in the Roman period.⁸ The editors sug-

⁷ The critical edition of the document, and the source of the transcription and translation presented herein, is Lewis, Yadin and Greenfield, eds., *DBKP*, 1.65-70, pls. 13-14.

⁸ Cotton, "Introduction to the Greek Documentary Texts" (*DJD* 27) 141.

gest that the scribe made his copy directly from the original posted on the basilica wall in Rabbat. This particular document is a registration of land for the purposes of a census. In it, Babatha declares for the purpose of taxation the four groves she owns in Maoza, at the southern tip of the Dead Sea. The purpose of the declaration determines the content: she describes the four orchards in terms of location, size, tax obligation in kind and in money, and boundaries (abutters on east and west). She would have executed the document in the government office, waited for it to be posted, and then hired a scribe to execute a copy before she left to return home.⁹

Finally, the scroll includes many of the typical formulae found on almost all documentary texts: date clause, place of execution, identification of parties and nature of transaction, specifics on the property (value, boundaries), the *bona fides* of the parties, and the signatures of the parties and witnesses. These and other clauses typical of commercial instruments are presented in Appendix F, "Comparative Structure of Various Types of Documentary Texts." In the appendix, all of the standard clauses are listed along the left margin, while the various types of documentary texts are listed along the top margin. Clauses routinely found in the respective types of documents are listed in the appropriate column, with numbers representing the customary order of the clauses within that type of document.¹⁰

7.3 Commercial Language

Certain of the standard clauses used in the documentary texts bear on the terminology of wealth in the sectarian constitutional literature. The formula used in the Rule of the Community for the initiate's voluntary commitment to the *yahad* is, "he shall establish/set upon his soul" (יָקִים עַל נַפְשׁוֹ) to return to the law of Moses.¹¹ The *qal* and *hif'il* forms of the root קָיָם occur in the documentary texts as well. In fact, the verb is part of a standard provision known as the defension clause, which is an oath pledging that title to the item being sold or conveyed is clear of any third-party claims. The customary formulation of the clause is, "I and anything which I own and anything which I might acquire, are responsible and a security to establish (לְקִימָא / σταθόντες¹²) and to cleanse those places (before you) from any dispute or challenge which will

⁹ On this particular document, the name of Babatha (בבִּתָּא) is written on the bottom right edge of the scroll. Presumably the copyist executed many such documents, and so labeled them by the name of the property owner to facilitate retrieval.

¹⁰ It should be noted that the order frequently varies.

¹¹ IQS V 8, 10; CD XVI 1, 4, (5), 7, 9; cf. CD IX 7; XV 12; IQH^a VI 17; VII 11.

¹² The language of the documents is frequently vulgar, hence σταθόντες rather than σταθέντες; see P. Yadin 20 14, 37.

come upon you.”¹³ One example of the defension clause is very similar to the formulation in IQS: P. Yadin 45 29-30 reads that payment for such claims will be made out of the seller’s property, after which the seller pledges, “it stands upon me to act accordingly” (וְקִיָּם עָלַי לַעֲוֹמַח כַּכֹּה).¹⁴ The verb קִיָּם is common in many contexts, but the fact that it is used in the Rule in the context of the single legal oath binding on the initiate suggests that we look to legal corpora such as commercial instruments for an interpretive context.¹⁵

The formulation of the one oath permitted covenanters, the oath that binds them to the communal life upon entry, is similar to the defension clause not only in vocabulary but also in purpose. It functions as a declaration that the initiate’s heart, soul and strength (wealth) are dedicated to God and unfettered by any other claimants. In the case of an initiate who enters encumbered by financial obligations, it has been suggested that title to his person is cleared not by his declaration alone, but by some form of material relief determined by the Examiner (CD XIII 9-10; see §2.3.3 above). The probationary period of several years in the Rule might have functioned not only to test the would-be member, but also to allow time for prior claims to surface. Moreover, the same verb “to establish” is used to describe the establishment of the covenant in the past and in the end time,¹⁶ which may indicate that the covenant itself was understood as a kind of deed. If the analogy to the defension clause is accepted, these comparisons would imply that, in the Rule, the member is essentially clearing his person of all demands and claims other than fidelity to the law of Moses, and that that legal covenant is now the preeminent contract that subsumes all others by virtue of its significance.

The declaration that one establishes “upon his soul” (עַל נַפְשׁוֹ) is also supported in the documentary texts. The term “soul” is used for the person and is descriptive of one’s capacity to act on one’s own behalf in contemporary subscription clauses, in which the writer of the document identifies himself by the phrase, “‘x’ for himself wrote it” (עַל נַפְשָׁה כְּתַבָּה).¹⁷ A variation of the

¹³ See *DJD* 27, X Hēv/Se 7 6; 8 6-7; 8a 11; etc.; Greenfield, “The ‘Defension Clause’ in Some Documents from Naḥal Hēver and Naḥal Še’elim,” *RevQ* 15 (1991–1992) 467-71; R. Yaron, *Gifts in Contemplation of Death in Jewish and Roman Law* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1960) 129-31; 166-8.

¹⁴ The manuscript is not yet published; cited by Yardeni, “344. 4QDebt Acknowledgement ar” (*DJD* 27) 291 n. 6. See also X Hēv/Se 49 10-11 (*DJD* 27) 122. For the Greek documents, which use forms of the verb ἵσταναι in the same types of clauses, see X Hēv/Se 63 13, “while standing firm” (ἵσταντες σταῖσα δ[έ]), and P. Yadin 20 14/37 (σταθόντες [= σταθέντες]).

¹⁵ See the similar phrases in Daniel 6:8, where “to establish a decree” is rendered קִיָּמָה קִיָּם, and in Esther 9:27, where taking a pledge upon oneself is rendered קִיָּמוֹ וְקִבַּל (M. Weinfeld, “The Loyalty Oath in the Ancient Near East,” *UF* 8 [1976] 410-12).

¹⁶ Past: 1QM XIII 7; CD III 13, 21; IV 9. Future: 1QS VIII 10. See also 1QM XIV 10: “You have protected the soul of your redeemed ones [when the m]en of his empire [were scheming]. You have raised the fallen with your strength, but those who arose, you cut down to humiliate them.”

¹⁷ See Appendix F, clause 17, and 4Q344 6. In Aramaic documents from fifth-century B.C.E. Elephantine, the phrase is “by his own hands” (בְּכַפֵּי נַפְשׁוֹ); see Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri*: No. 2,

formula is also used in independence clauses from acts of renunciation or divorce (Mur 19 2-7/13-19), where the husband declares that his wife "is free on her soul/part to go and become the wife of any Jewish man she wishes" (רשיא) (בנפשכי למהך ולמהי אנת לכול גבר יהודי די הצבין).¹⁸

The date clause also bears mention under the present topic of terminology (Appendix F, clause 1). In documents executed during the Bar Kokhba Revolt (132–135 C.E.), the date clause specifies the year not as the regnal year of a Roman Emperor or local imperial agent, as in other Jewish documents from prior years, but rather as the first or second year of the "liberation" or "redemption" (חרור/גאולה) of Israel.¹⁹ This terminology of redemption also occurs in CD XIV 16 (*par* 4QD^a 10 i 9), where the covenanters are instructed to contribute two days' wages for the support of the needy, a group that includes the girl who has no redeemer (ולבתולה אשר אין לה גואל). The role of kin in redeeming relatives' financial obligations is well-documented in scripture and therefore not surprising. What is surprising is that, in the Damascus Document, the community (החבר) has taken this obligation or service upon itself through the creation of an alternative economic institution. It has become the community's job to redeem. The date clauses in the documentary texts from the Bar Kokhba period indicate that a messianic movement understood its existence in terms of the economic redemption and political freedom of the entire people. In a similar manner, the eschatological expectation of the Damascus Document and Rule communities included a future economic redemption that could be realized in a provisional way in the present.

The clause introducing the parties and the transaction (Appendix F, clause 3) frequently includes a volitional statement, "I, of my own free will, [execute this deed]."²⁰ Yochanan Muffs, in his studies of the Aramaic legal formulary, has demonstrated that expressions of willingness, joy and love in legal contexts convey the specific legal idea of free and uncoerced willingness.²¹ In Babylonian royal land grants, the firm resolve of the king which seals the do-

Contract for supplying corn to the Garrison, duplicate (484 B.C.E.), line 21 (pp. 7-9), and No. 13, Conveyance of a House (447 B.C.E.), lines 17-18 (pp. 37-41). The two documents are reproduced as "B4.3" and "B2.7," respectively, in Porten and Yardeni, *Textbook of Aramaic Documents from Ancient Egypt*, 2.106-108, 34-7.

¹⁸ See Appendix F, clause 4 (independence).

¹⁹ Mur 22 frags. 1-9 1; Mur 24 A 1; B 2; D 2; E 1; G 2; 29 1, 9; 30 8 (*DJDJ* 3); XHev/Se 49 2 (*DJD* 27). See also the fragmentary 6Q26, frags. 3-4 (*DJDJ* 3) 139.

²⁰ In Aramaic, אנה מרעוהי / אנה מן רעוהי יומה דנה, see Mur 19 2/13; 24 B 5-7; C 4-6; E 4-5; H 2-3; 34 1; XHev/Se 8 1-2/8-9; 8 a 2-3; 9 1-2/12-13; 64 a 3-6/24-25; P. Yadin 45; 46. The Greek form is ἐπι τῆς θελήσεως καὶ συνηδοκῆσεως αὐτοῦ; see P. Yadin 17 3/20.

²¹ See "Joy and Love as Metaphorical Expressions of Willingness and Spontaneity in Cuneiform, Ancient Hebrew, and Related Literatures: Divine Investitures in the Midrash in the Light of Neo-Babylonian Royal Grants," in *Christianity, Judaism and Other Greco-Roman Cults: Studies for Morton Smith at Sixty*, part 3, *Judaism before 70* (ed. J. Neusner; SJLA 12; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1975) 1-36; and *Studies in the Aramaic Legal Papyri from Elephantine* (SDIOAP 8; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1969; reprinted New York: KTAV, 1973).

nation is expressed in terms of the joy of his countenance, which should be understood not as a poetic flourish but as a legal formula guaranteeing the grant against future claims contesting it.²² In rabbinic literature, terms for free will and joy are likewise employed with the sense that they guarantee an eternal gift. In Numbers 18:18, God's gift of the *terumah* to the priests is, in the rabbis' view, guaranteed eternally because the grammatically unnecessary and therefore emphatic words "and I hereby" (וַאֲנִי הֵנָּה) are understood to express divine willingness or acceptance (רְצִיּוֹן) and joy (חֲמֵד).²³ In contrast, because God gives the gift of tithes to the Levites with some reservation (note the qualifying phrase, "in return for their services" in Num 18:21), this donation is, in the view of some rabbis, subject to cancellation.²⁴ This evidence, written before and after the sectarian constitutional literature, supports the thesis that the terms for voluntary offering (נְדָבָה, 1QS IX 4, 5, 24; 1QH^a VI 26; VII 13), love (אַהֲבָה, 1QS V 25; IX 16; 1QH^a VI 26; VII 13), and acceptance or willingness (רְצִיּוֹן, 1QS VIII 6; IX 4, 5, 13, 14, 24), so ubiquitous in the sectarian literature in the context of the donation of wealth, are not merely poetic embellishment or even biblical allusion but rather depend upon customary legal formulae guaranteeing the validity of a transaction.

7.4 Commercial Practices

In addition to these important formulaic affinities, there are certain economic practices attested in the documentary material that are similar to practices mentioned in the Damascus Document and the Rule.

Deeds were customarily registered in a public archive (διὰ δημοσίων; P. Yadin 19 25-27; 20 12-13/34-36; 24 4-6), just as one's wealth was publicly inscribed either by the Examiner (CD XIII 12) or by the initiate himself (1QS VI 20).²⁵ The ledger in which one recorded one's goods is referred to in the Rule as a "reckoning" or "account" (חֲשׁוֹבֵן), the common term for a commercial instrument registering payments (e.g., P. Yadin 17 6/25/41).²⁶

²² "Joy and Love as Metaphorical Expressions," 14-18.

²³ See *Sipre Num.* 18:18 and *Num. Rab.* 3.11-12.

²⁴ "Joy and Love as Metaphorical Expressions," 24-6.

²⁵ Appendix F, clauses 0 (statement of registration) and 14 (exchange/registration of document, also known as the "ἀνανέωσις" clause).

²⁶ P. Yadin 17 is a Greek Deposit with an Aramaic subscription. It therefore gives us Aramaic terms and their Greek equivalents. The account of deposit (חֲשׁוֹבֵן פְּקָדִין) is rendered λόγον παραθήκης (Lewis, *DBKP*, 1.71-5, 141, pls. 15-16). For חֲשׁוֹבֵן in another Aramaic document, see 4Q346a 1 (*DJD* 27); for two other bilingual documents, see P. Yadin 18 8/40, 15/49 (where the λόγον προσφορᾶς/προϊκός is an account of dowry), and P. Yadin 27 8, 16 (λόγον τροφίων καὶ ἀμφιαζμού is widow Babatha's account of food and clothing she has collected from her son's guardian). Other Greek documents that use the term λόγος for "account" are Mur 115 6; 121 4; XHev/Se 64 b 29; 69 a 6r.

In standard practice, witnesses were not only required to be present at the execution of the document, but also to sign the document. In the Rule of the Community, the role of witnesses in matters relating to wealth is expanded. Here, as in standard practice, witnesses are required for all matters pertaining to the integration of the initiate's assets, which is the first and most comprehensive economic transaction the initiate undertakes. All subsequent commercial transactions are overseen by the Examiner and judged by the Many and/or the leaders of the community. In the case of judgment, the community plays an ongoing role as witness, and summons fewer witnesses in cases of wealth than in any other category.²⁷ In addition, several documentary texts from Qumran bear the signatures of witnesses (see below).

Oath formulas are standard features of the *stipulatio* or *bona fide* clause of documentary texts from the period (see Appendix F, clause 16).²⁸ The fact that oaths are severely restricted in the Damascus Document and the Rule (CD XV 1-6; 1QS I 16–II 18; V 8-20) would raise the question whether covenanters could execute common deeds or conduct transactions in the outside world.²⁹ This would be particularly true if the formulae of the deeds required both the name of Moses and the name of the local foreign governor, a practice not attested in the Judean documentary texts but recorded in the Mishnah.³⁰ One of the few oaths allowed by the community was the initiatory oath, which, as already mentioned, is similar to the particular oath formula known as the defension clause found in documentary texts (§7.3 above). Unfortunately, the documentary texts from Qumran are all so fragmentary that they attest neither to the presence nor to the absence of the *stipulatio* clause.

Several of the conventional clauses in the documentary texts reflect a concern to reveal the exact nature, extent and quality of the goods being conveyed, with the presumption that the seller might not otherwise be compelled to be honest.³¹ Similarly, we see a certain expectation of and anxiety about lies related to property in the constitutional literature, such that this transgres-

²⁷ Appendix F, clause 3 ([witnesses,] parties and transaction) and element 18 (signatures). See also L. H. Schiffman, *Secular Law in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Courts, Testimony, and the Penal Code* (Chico, California: Scholars Press, 1983).

²⁸ See also clauses 12 (defension) and 13 (guarantee).

²⁹ L. Ginzberg noted that the Pharisees, who were also generally averse to oaths, were willing to take them in court, whereas the Essenes forswore them altogether (*An Unknown Jewish Sect* [New York: Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1976; original 1970] 93). See CD XV 1-5, Josephus, *War* 2.8.7 (§§139-142), and §2.4.1.2 above.

³⁰ See *m. Yadayim* 4:8, which relates the story of a Galilean heretic who complained that the Pharisees write the name of Moses together with the name of the governor in a bill of divorce, and the discussion in S. Lieberman, "The Discipline in the So-Called Dead Sea Manual of Discipline," *JBL* 71 (1952) 205. We do have statements in two marriage contracts from Naḥal Ḥever that the husband pledges to maintain his wife "in accordance with Greek custom and Greek manner" (XḤev/Se 65 9-10 and P. Yadin 18 16/51; see discussion in Cotton, *DJD* 27, 231-5).

³¹ Appendix F, clauses 5–10 (property/notice of transaction, boundaries, description of the property, sum/value statement, terms of gift/repayment, receipt).

sion is the very first one mentioned in the extant penal codes of the sect. The same anxiety is attested in the repetition of biblical law regarding fraud in the marriage transaction (4QD^f 3 1-10 and parallels). The overall impression one gets from the Damascus Document and the Rule, however, is that the community cultivates openness, presumes fair-dealing, and discourages compulsion when it comes to wealth. The Rule stipulates that the initiate is to register his goods in the communal ledger “in his own hand,” and that at every stage his act is voluntary. The secondary testimony of Philo and Josephus to the Essenes corresponds to this picture: initiates deposit their goods “before them all, into their midst,” a location that symbolizes common use, open communication and profound trust, quite in contrast to the distrust presupposed in standard documentary formulae.³²

The documentary texts describe one economic arrangement that bears on the practice of shared wealth. Certain of the documentary texts are records of goods deposited with another; for example XHev/Se 26 records a deposit of barley, P. Yadin 5 records the deposit of a deceased husband’s assets with the guardian of the orphaned child, who is then required to pay child support out of those assets, and P. Yadin 17 records a wife’s “deposit” to her second husband. These deposits were similar to loans, except that in addition to the right of usufruct, the recipient was under no obligation to pay interest. In the case of P. Yadin 5, the guardian is only obliged to pay a stipend to the orphaned child until he is of age, at which point the entire deposit reverts to the heir. In P. Yadin 17, no interest payments accrue after the deposit, and the arrangement leaves room for the possibility that repayment will never be required. We can speculate that some deposits were made with the expectation of accruing interest (see Luke 19:11-27 and parallels). Deposits might also have served as a method of sheltering assets from others’ claims. Indeed, the cultic version of this practice—dedicating property to the Temple as a means avoiding others’ claims while retaining use oneself—comes under heavy critique in the Damascus Document (CD XVI 13-20 + 4QD^a 8 ii 1-7 and parallels; see §2.4.2.1 above). It is likely that the deposit provides the best model for the practice of shared goods among the sectaries. That is, shared goods should not be understood as a complete transfer of property to an independent entity named “the community” or its agent, but rather as a kind of deposit arrangement, whereby the member still retained the rights of usufruct on and disposition of his material assets but simultaneously committed them to others’ use and oversight. This kind of arrangement more easily accounts for a point of tension long debated in treatments of shared wealth at Qumran, namely the

³² Philo, *Good Person* 86; Josephus, *War* 2.8.3 (§122); *Ant.* 18.1.5 (§20).

apparent contradiction between a community of goods and the maintenance of private property.³³

One other practice related to wealth is illuminated in the documentary texts. The sabbatical cycle legislated in scripture stipulates that properties are to be restored to their original owners and the land is to lie fallow every seventh year. A special case of this restoration and redemption occurs in the jubilee year, that is, after seven sabbatical cycles. Scholars have long questioned whether the biblical legislation was ever carried out in practice.³⁴ One special problem has been the concurrence of the sabbatical and jubilee calendars, which would have required that the land lie fallow for two consecutive years (the 49th and the 50th), a disastrous phenomenon in an agricultural economy. The Temple Scroll and *Jubilees*, together with a documentary text, resolve some of these problems. The Temple Scroll indicates that the computation of fifty-day periods between the various festivals allowed some overlap in time, such that the fiftieth day after one festival was also the first day of the next pentecontad. If the sabbatical and jubilee cycles were computed in the same way, then the sabbatical of the forty-ninth year was also the jubilee year, and the land need only lie fallow every seventh year.³⁵ Indeed, the jubilee was computed in this manner in the book of *Jubilees*, whose calendar the Qumran community adopted. This still leaves open the possibility that the sabbatical year was not practiced, but a documentary text from the Judean desert indicates the contrary. Mur 24, a document discovered at Wadi Murabba'at and inscribed during the Bar Kokhba Revolt (133 C.E.), a series of rental contracts is executed in the name of Bar Kosiba, each in its own column.³⁶ Three of these columns, B, D and E, are presented on Plates III–V in this volume, with accompanying transcriptions in Appendix G, "Transcriptions of Plates." In these contracts, Kosiba appropriates the right to the imperial title (עשרה) in the regions he controls. The contracts are computed on the sabbatical-year cycle, which in turn is synchronized with the years of the revolt. Thus, the first year of the "redemption of Israel" (לגאולת ישראל) coincides with the first year of the new sabbath, and all of the contracts are exe-

³³ Schiffman and Justin Taylor have independently reached the conclusion that the sectarian's initial commitment of goods to the community did not transfer the right of ownership to the community, but rather expanded the rights of usufruct to other members; neither of them suggests, however, that the deposit arrangement provides a possible model for the practice. Taylor argues that this distinction only applies to the Damascus Document community and the Essenes described by Philo; members of the Qumran community in contrast did transfer ownership. See Schiffman, *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls: The History of Judaism, the Background of Christianity, the Lost Library of Qumran* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1994) 110 and Taylor, "The Community of Goods among the First Christians and among the Essenes," in *Orion IV* (forthcoming).

³⁴ See, for example, de Vaux, *Ancient Israel* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1961) 175-7.

³⁵ Milgrom, "Studies in the Temple Scroll," *JBL* 97 (1978) 518.

³⁶ Milik, "Mur 24. Contrats de fermage, en hébreu" (*DJD* 2) 122-34, pls. XXXV-XXXVII.

cuted only for the period from their initiation “until the end of the eve of the remission” (עד סוף ערב השמטה) for “the remission” or “the letting drop of exactions” in the seventh year, see Deut 15:1-2, 9; 31:10). According to scripture, the land was not cultivated during the seventh year and therefore had no productive value. Thus, in an economic system faithful to biblical law, rents would be suspended during the sabbatical year. Kosiba was acknowledging that he would abide by this biblical stipulation, and if the previous Roman administration had not, this would be a welcome form of tax relief or rent control in the eyes of the local beneficiaries.³⁷ That the sabbatical year was not observed in the Roman period is suggested by two pieces of evidence. The first is another document from Murabba‘at, an acknowledgment of debt dating to the year 55/56 C.E. In it, the debtor promises to repay his debt, and if he does not during the stipulated term, he pledges to repay the principal with twenty per cent interest “even if it is the sabbatical year” (ועגה שמטה רה; Mur 18 7). The second is Josephus’ report of the rebel seizure of Jerusalem during the First Jewish Revolt in August, 66 C.E. He recounts that the *sicarii* first set fire to the house of the high priest and the royal palaces, and then:

[They] carried their firebrands to the archives, eager to destroy the money-lenders’ bonds and to cut off the collection of debts, in order to gain a crowd of those who had been helped and with impunity to cause a rising of the poor against the rich. (*War* 2.17.6 [§§426–427])³⁸

No mention is made of the sabbatical year—which would be natural if the intended audience were Roman—but the text does demonstrate the heavy debt burden of a large group of people under Roman administration.

The contracts in Mur 24 demonstrate the economic origins and implications of redemption language. They are also generated by a leader who was explicitly associated with the messianic promise of Numbers 24:17, 25–27 in the variant of his name (Bar Kokhba, “son of the star”), in the coins he minted (with a star rising over the temple),³⁹ and in the designation of his reign (“the liberation/redemption of Israel”).⁴⁰ The restoration of the sabbatical year by a messianic figure who computes his levies in terms of Israel’s “year of redemption” demonstrates the confluence of economic and eschatological interests in the period just after the destruction of Qumran, and together with the

³⁷ Note that Josephus reports an exemption from taxes in the seventh year under Julius Caesar in *Ant.* 14.10.6 (§202).

³⁸ Apparently they did not completely destroy the archive, because Josephus reports that the Romans burned it again in 70 C.E. (*War* 6.6.3 [§354]). On the general topic, see S. Applebaum, “Josephus and the Economic Causes of the Jewish War,” in *Josephus, the Bible, and History* (ed. L. H. Feldman and G. Hata; Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1989) 237–64.

³⁹ Y. Meshorer, “The Coins of the Bar Cochba War 132–135 C.E.,” in *Jewish Coins of the Second Temple Period* (Tel Aviv: Am Hassefer, 1967) 92–101, 159–69, plates 21–28.

⁴⁰ Milik, “Une lettre de Siméon bar Kokheba,” *RB* 60 (1953) 289–91. See also J. J. Collins, *The Scepter and the Star: The Messiahs of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Ancient Literature* (ABRL; New York: Doubleday, 1995), especially pp. 60–80.

earlier evidence of Mur 18 and the account of Josephus testifies to a likely conflation of similar interests in the community of the renewed covenant.

7.5 Commercial Agents

Three professional titles are mentioned in the sectarian constitutions that also occur in documentary texts: the men or sons of the pit (אנשי [ה]שחור and בני (ה)שחור), the Examiner (מבקר), and the Overseer (פקיד). The occurrence of these terms outside the sectarian corpus sheds light on the commercial background of these titles in the Qumran community.

References to the men or sons of the pit are found in the Damascus Document at CD VI 15 and XIII 14, and in the Rule at 1QS IX 16, 22 and X 19. These citations, along with references to the “nets of the pit” (מוקשי שחור), CD XIV 2; 1QH^a X 21), occur in contexts where the economic practices of others are being condemned. This is not surprising, for in documentary texts external to the community, the phrase also occurs in economic contexts. Aramaic ostraca from fourth century B.C.E. Idumea indicate that the “pit” was a place where commodities such as grain, wine, and oil were deposited, paid or stored.⁴¹ On one ostrakon, 150 2, the “owners of the pit” (בעלי מנקרה) are specifically mentioned as the recipients of the payment of wine and pine seed from the sons of Rammarana.⁴² This suggests that the phrase “men of the pit” refers to owners or merchants who managed pits where taxes, debts or other assessments were paid in kind. Apparently “the pit” was an economic hub long before the advent of the contemporary stock exchange. This is not to say that “the pit” could not serve in some contexts as a metaphor for evil; it is simply to propose that a concrete economic reality lies behind the image. However, because the image is used in the sectarian literature in economic contexts, it is likely that references to the pit there are not merely symbolic.

In the sectarian constitutional literature, and especially in the Damascus Document, the Examiner (מבקר) has particular responsibility over the scrutiny of initiates’ wealth. He examines the novices (CD XIII 11-12; 1QS I 11-15; III 2-3; VI 16-23), he relieves their burdens (CD XIII 9-10), he registers their goods (CD XIII 11-12; 1QS VI 16-23), he receives the monthly contribution (4QD^a 7 iii 1-7 + 4QD^b 8 3-7?, CD XIV 12-19), he supervises all commercial transactions (4QD^a 9 iii 1-5 + CD XIII 15-17), and he records transgressions regarding property (4QD^a 11 14-16).⁴³ In the sectarian text 4QCommunal

⁴¹ The term is מנקרה in Aramaic. See Ostraca 2 3, 9 2, 15 2, 34 1, 38 2, 49 3, 54 3, 81 3, 108 2, 124 2, 131 1, 151 1.

⁴² Eph^aal and Naveh, *Aramaic Ostraca*, 72-3.

⁴³ The economic responsibilities of the Examiner are mentioned in 1QS only once, at VI 20, where the Examiner of the possessions of the Many receives the initiates’ goods and supervises the registration of those goods in the initiate’s own hand in the communal register. The other re-

Ceremony, the Examiner is responsible to curse and cut off “from his inheritance fore[ver]” some unlucky individuals, presumably apostates (3 3-6).⁴⁴ The verb “to examine” (בקר) occurs frequently in a papyrus record of Aramaic accounts of import and export duties from fifth-century B.C.E. Egypt, “C3.7 Aḥiqar Palimpsest, Account of Import and Export Duties.”⁴⁵ A representative entry from II 19–III 3 reads:

On the 30th of Athyr they inspected (בקר) for Egypt
 1 ship of [PN son of PN],
 Ionian, *psl*[*d/ršy*].
 ʔ[*swt*] *kh*[*mws*] a large ship it is.
 [The] *du*[*ty* (המנדח)] which was collected from it and made (over) to the
 (store-)house of the king:
 go[ld, 10 staters for gold, 8 sh(ekels), 15 h(allurs)];
 si[lver, 10 karsh, 2 h(allurs), 2 q(arters)].

The introductory formula “they inspected” occurs over forty times on this document of customs inspections, indicating that the verb designated the standard action associated with import and export duties. Also of interest is the clear indication that the duty thus assessed was paid in cash directly into the storehouse of the king. The implication of this evidence is that the sectarians, who also chose to designate one of their agents as the מבקר, would have understood that title to encompass a similar economic role. It is interesting that this chief economic agent of the community is also given the deciding role in the admission of new members (CD XIII 12-13; cf. IQS VI 13-15), as if economic concerns were foremost in the decisions over community identity and composition. Note also the intermediary role of the Examiner with respect to the world outside the community: he supervises the integration and alienation of both people and their assets, and manages the ongoing economic intercourse between members and outside society.

Early students of the scrolls, interested to probe parallels to the New Testament, suggested that the office of the Examiner was to be associated with the early church official who held a similar supervisory role, the ἐπίσκοπος (Acts 20:28; Phil 1:1; 1 Tim 3:2; Titus 1:7).⁴⁶ There is certainly an etymological

sponsibilities of the Examiner listed in the Damascus Document may be implied in the Rule, but they are not listed (in IQS VI 12, the Examiner has an additional responsibility to recognize or prevent people from speaking at the common assemblies).

⁴⁴ *Olim 4QTohorot B*^a. P. S. Alexander and G. Vermes, “275. 4QCommunal Ceremony” (*DJD* 26) 209-216, pl. XXII. The curses of the covenant are pronounced by the Levites in IQS II 4-9; cf. 4QS^b II 12–III 3; 4QS^c II 1-6; 5Q 11 i 1-5, which may suggest as B. E. Thiering has argued that the Examiner was a Levite, or at least shared the status of that group (“*Mebaqer* and *Episkopos* in the Light of the Temple Scroll,” *JBL* 100 [1981] 59-74).

⁴⁵ Porten and Yardeni, *Textbook of Aramaic Documents*, 3.82-7. The document quoted above is a palimpsest from Elephantine. The sapiential work, Words of Aḥiqar, was copied c. 450–400 B.C.E. over an erased customs account dating from 475 B.C.E.

⁴⁶ See, for example, B. Reicke, “The Constitution of the Primitive Church in the Light of Jewish Documents,” in *The Scrolls and the New Testament* (ed. K. Stendahl; Christian Origins

similarity between the terms מְבַקֵּר and the ἐπίσκοπος, and the role of the Examiner in relieving the distress of his charges is depicted in the Damascus Document as the kind of paternal pity a father or guardian should provide. Moreover, as J. T. Milik noted, the verbal root ἐπισκοπεῖν in the LXX translates both בִּקֵּר and, more rarely, בְּקֵר.⁴⁷

The documentary texts, however, do not confirm the association of ἐπίσκοπος with either מְבַקֵּר or בִּקֵּר, even if differences between Hebrew and Aramaic terminology are allowed. First, the term ἐπίσκοπος is rare in the documentary material. It is used in two documents for a legal guardian, and it is interesting that this sole ἐπίσκοπος is a wealthy woman, Julia Crispina (P. Yadin 20 5, 25, 43; 25b 3). The customary term for a guardian in the Greek portions of the documentary texts is ἐπίτροπος,⁴⁸ a phenomenon borne out in Greek literature and inscriptions as well.⁴⁹ In this wider corpus, the ἐπίτροπος can be a manager, foreman or steward as well as a legal guardian,⁵⁰ and the Latin equivalent is *procurator* ("one who cares for").⁵¹ Second, when ἐπίτροπος is translated into Aramaic in the subscriptions of the Greek deeds, it is not rendered by "examiner" (מְבַקֵּר) but rather by "lord" (אֲדוֹן) when referring to the guardian of a grown woman,⁵² and by the transliterated term "epitropos" (אֵפִיטְרוֹפּוֹס) when referring to the guardian of a child.⁵³ The picture

Library; New York: Crossroad, 1992; original 1957) 143-56, 275-6. Few, however, have gone as far as Thiering in arguing that the Christian church adopted the office from "Essene lay communities" ("Mebaqqer and Episkopos," 59-74).

⁴⁷ *Ten Years of Discovery in the Wilderness of Judaea*, trans. J. Strugnell (SBT 26; London: SCM, 1959; French original, Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1957) 100 n. 1.

⁴⁸ XHēv/Se 64 a 4r; 65 15; 68 a 3, 4; 69 a 4r (DJD 27); P. Yadin 13 20; 14 6, 22, 24; 15 4, 5, 12, 18, 20, 29, 31, 33; 16 15; 17 5, 23; 20 4, 6, 23, 25; 22 28; 23 2, 11; 24 1; 25 4, 14, 27, 46, 63; 27 4, 6, 16, 18; 37 15 (P. Yadin 37 = XHēv/Se 65; Lewis, *DBKP*).

⁴⁹ Herodotus 4.76; 9.10; Thucydides 2.80; Diodorus Siculus 11.79.6; *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*, List 3, 364.53; 1014.122; POxy 265.28; PRyl 109.18; 2 Macc 11:1; 13:2; 14:2; Philo, *On Dreams* 1.107; Gal 4:2.

⁵⁰ Herodotus 1.108; Xenophon, *Oeconomicus* 12.3; Philo, *Good Person* 35; Josephus, *Ant.* 18.6.6 (§194); Matt 20:8; Luke 8:3. In *Antiquities* 7.14.8 (§369), Josephus recounts how David appointed some soldiers to be "custodians of the treasures and of the villages, fields and cattle" (ἐπίτροπους τε τῶν θησαυρῶν καὶ κωμῶν καὶ ἀγρῶν ἄλλους καὶ κτηρῶν), thus indicating that the term means to manage assets.

⁵¹ Strabo 3.4.20; Plutarch 2.813e; cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 15.11.4 (§406). H. G. Liddell and R. Scott, comp., *A Greek-English Lexicon*, 9th rev. ed. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1996) 669; F. W. Danker, ed., *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*, 3d ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000) 385; J. F. Hall, "Procurator," *ABD*, 5.473-4.

⁵² P. Yadin 15 37; 17 40; 22 28/34. One exception is a reference to the ἐπίτροπος of Babatha (a grown woman) in P. Yadin 27 18; the Aramaic phrase simply refers to her guardian by name, with no Aramaic designation of his role.

⁵³ P. Yadin 20 41; 27 12. Cotton discusses the implications of the Aramaic distinctions between women and children in her introduction to the Greek documentary texts from Nahal Hēver (DJD 27, 145-6). She argues that the designation of a guardian for the woman is not native to the Aramaic environment, but was rather imposed by the Roman authorities, hence the lack of a common term in Aramaic for an office that was common in Roman law. Lewis explains, "In Roman law *tutor* could designate either the guardian of a minor (*tutor impuberis*) or the transactional 'guardian', or attendant, of a woman (*tutor mulieris*)" (*DBKP*, 17).

is somewhat different when we turn to Philo and Josephus. Neither of these secondary witnesses to the Essenes uses the term ἐπίσκοπος for the community's steward of property.⁵⁴ Philo does mention an official with responsibilities similar to those of the Examiner, but refers to him as a steward (ταμίας). Josephus uses the terms guardian (ἐπίτροπος, κηδεμών), caretaker (ἐπιμελητής),⁵⁵ and receiver (ἀποδέκτης), and he uses the verb "to steward" (ταμιεύω) for this administrator's actions.⁵⁶

Given both the Aramaic papyrus evidence and that of Josephus, we may imagine the role of the Examiner in the Damascus Document and the Rule to have had affinities to both an economic steward and a legal guardian.⁵⁷ The term ἐπίσκοπος, which apparently was reserved for those guardians of highest status, is not attested as an equivalent for the Examiner.

The rental contracts from Murabba'at help to explain another element of the description of the Examiner. The Examiner is frequently presented as an agent of the camp (e.g., "the Examiner who is over the camp" [מבקר אשר על המחנה], 4QD^a 7 iii 3 *par* 4QD^b 8 4; and "the Examiner who is in the camp" [מבקר אשר במחנה] CD XIII 16). In the rental contracts, the messianic military leader Bar Kosiba is referred to in the same way: "Simon son of Kosiba, prince of Israel, who is in the camp" (see Plates III and V with Appendix G, "Transcriptions of Plates," col. B 3-4, col. E 2-3). As Milik notes, the phrase "in the camp" denotes Simon's civil and military role and makes the theological allusion to the warrior messiah. The Examiner in the Damascus Document is not a military figure, but like Simon bar Kosiba he has an economic

⁵⁴ Hellenistic cultic associations employed ἐπίσκοποι to manage finances (*TWNT*, 2.608.10), although the more common term is ἐπιμελητής (F. Poland, *Geschichte des griechischen Vereinswesens* [Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1909] 377, 381). These socio-religious groups may be more appropriate analogues for the sectarian community than the individuals referred to in the documentary texts; though see §1.2.2.3 above. Note that Nabatean memorial inscriptions to sacerdotal leaders include references to the מבקר; see A. Negev, "Nabatean Sanctuary at Jebel Moneijah," *IEJ* 27 (1977) 211-31 and discussion in Weinfeld, *The Organizational Pattern and the Penal Code of the Qumran Sect: A Comparison with Guilds and Religious Associations of the Hellenistic-Roman Period* (NTOA 2; Fribourg/Göttingen: Universitätsverlag/Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1986) 21.

⁵⁵ An ostrakon discovered at Sepphoris in the Galilee bears near the jug handle the inscription "שפמללש." Naveh understands the first five letters to be an abbreviated and transliterated form of the Greek ἐπιμελητής, "manager," "overseer," or possibly simply the verb ("caring for *it*"). See "16. Jar Fragment with Inscription in Hebrew," in *Sepphoris in Galilee: Crosscurrents of Culture* (R. M. Nagy, C. L. Meyers, E. M. Meyers, and Z. Weiss; Raleigh, North Carolina: North Carolina Museum of Art, 1996) 170.

⁵⁶ ταμίας: Philo, *Hypothetica* (*apud* Eusebius, *Praeparatio evangelica* 8.11.10); cf. Josephus, *War* 2.8.4 (§125). ἐπίτροπος: Josephus, *War* 2.8.6 (§134); those who have authority over subsidies to one's family; cf. 4QD^a 9 iii 1-5 + CD XIII 15-17). κηδεμών: Josephus, *War* 2.8.4 (§125). ἐπιμελητής: Josephus, *War* 2.8.3 (§123). ἀποδέκτης: Josephus, *Ant.* 18.1.5 (§22).

⁵⁷ On the role of the legal guardian in Jewish antiquity, see V. H. Matthews and D. C. Benjamin, "The Legal Guardian," in *Social World of Ancient Israel, 1250-587 BCE* (Peabody, Massachusetts: Hendrickson, 1993) 110-20.

authority understood in an eschatological framework of redemption.⁵⁸ Furthermore, the fact that the Examiner is located “in the camp” and that elsewhere the Damascus Document speaks of multiple camps in which the covenanters dwell (CD XII 22-23) suggests that there may have been an Examiner in each camp (cf. the “Examiner of *all* the camps” [המבקר אשר לכל המחנות] in CD XIV 9),⁵⁹ although in IQS his special duty to oversee communal assets and assemblies points to a figure with wider responsibilities.

The third role mentioned in the Damascus Document and the Rule that is illuminated by the documentary texts is the term “overseer” (פקיד). The title “overseer” occurs only in the Rule (IQS VI 14), and even here it may be less a title than a description of a responsibility. The text in IQS VI 13-15 reads:

<p>וכולה מתנדב (וכול המתנדב) מישראל להוסיף על עצה היחד ידרשהו האיש הפקיד בראש הרבים לשכלו ולמעשיו ואם ישיג מוסר יביאדו בבריה לשוב לאמו ולסור מכול עול ורביניהו בכול משפטי היחד</p>	<p>And anyone from Israel who freely volunteers to enrol in the council of the Community, the Overseer at the head of the Many shall test him with regard to his insight and his deeds. If he suits the discipline he shall let him enter into the covenant so that he can revert to the truth and shun all injustice, and he shall teach him all the judgments of the Community.</p>
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In this case, the role of the novice inspector is given to “the man, the overseer” or “the man appointed,” depending upon how the form הפקיד is read. This may not refer to a separate office, but rather may be the same individual designated as the Examiner (מבקר), given that he has just been introduced in IQS VI 12 and that the analogous passage on initiation procedures in CD XIII 11-20 uses the verb פקיד to describe the activity of the Examiner.⁶⁰ The verb is used elsewhere to describe the community’s or the Examiner’s supervision of an initiate (IQS VI 21, CD XIV 6). It commonly means “to search or examine,” but it can also mean “to entrust, deposit or give in charge.”⁶¹ Indeed,

⁵⁸ J. F. Priest has argued that the dual offices of Examiner and Overseer were related to the eschatological anticipation of two messiahs (IQS IX 11), a thesis weakened by the possibility that *paqid* in IQS VI 14 is not a title and by the fact that there is no *paqid* and only one messiah in the Damascus Document; see “Mebaqqer, Paqid, and the Messiah,” *JBL* 81 (1962) 55-61.

⁵⁹ Thiering, “*Mebaqqer and Episkopos*,” 64-5.

⁶⁰ See, for example, P. Wernberg-Møller, *The Manual of Discipline* (STDJ 1; Leiden/Grand Rapids: E. J. Brill/William B. Eerdmans, 1957) 107 n. 42; Milik, *Ten Years of Discovery*, 100.

⁶¹ “To search or examine”: cf. IQS V 24; IQSb III 24. “To entrust, deposit or give in charge”: CD XX 2. Just as the community examines its members, so God examines the people (CD I 7), and just as the community gives commands or judgments of the upright, so God commands the people to observe their mutual agreement (IQS V 22; IQM XIII 10).

The root is also used of God’s coming inspection or visitation in the end time (CD V 15; VII 9, 21; VIII 2, 3; XIX 6, 10, 11, 14, 15; cf. IQS III 18; IV 6, 11, 19, 26; IQSb III 2; IQH^a IX 17; 4QpHos^a I 10), as well as of the mustering or ranking for the eschatological battle (CD X 2; XIV 3; XV 6, 8; IQS III 14; cf. IQSa I 9; IQM II 4, 15; XII 4, 8; XIX 12). See also the fragmentary reference to a commander of an army, [הַיָּחַד], in 4QUnidentified Fragments A, frg. e, line 5 (J. A. Fitzmyer, S. J., “281a-f. 4QUnidentified Fragments A, a-f” [*DJD* 36] 215, pl. X).

it appears to have this meaning in certain documentary texts (Mur 44 8; XHev/Se 35 1), and in the sapiential Words of Ahiqar among the Elephantine papyri (col. 6, lines 87-88):

[See the go]od of a king. If (something) is commanded to you (פְּקִיד עֲלֶיךָ), it is a burning fire. Hurry, do it. Do not kindle (it) against you and (do not) cover your palms (= “sit on your hands”). [More]over, (do) the word of the king with heat/delight of the heart (= “eagerly”).⁶²

and again, in col. 13, lines 191-193:

If your master will deposit (with) you (יִפְקִיד לְךָ אֲדוֹנֶיךָ) water to watch, [do not] drink [...] to leave gold in your hand. Do not [...] and he will not carry [...] “Approach me.” And let him not say to you, “Wit[hd]raw from me.”

While these two examples are from a sapiential work, they are referring to economic practices of responsibility and deposit vis-à-vis one’s master, and therefore indicate the economic overtones of the root, פְּקִיד. Two other documents from the Elephantine papyri expand our understanding of the term. In Arthur E. Cowley’s edition of the texts, letter no. 37, lines 6-7 refers to a Mazdaean who “is set over” (פְּקִיד) a province, with a lacuna before the next phrase, “we fear robbery because we are few.” The verb here clearly refers to some kind of political or economic oversight, which the letter writer judges inadequate (“we fear robbery”).⁶³ Another document, a settlement of claim from 420 B.C.E., uses the root twice when describing the initial cause for action (no. 20, lines 4-7):

[We] sued you in the court of NPA before Damandin the governor (and) Wardiang the commander of the Garrison saying: There [are] goods, garments of wool and cotton, vessels of bronze and iron, vessels of wood and ivory, corn &c., and we pleaded saying: Ashor your father received (these) from Shelomem b. Azariah, and also said, “They are on depos[it]” (אִיהֵי זֶי בַּפְּקִידוֹן). They were deposited (הִפְקִידוֹן), but he kept possession and did not return (them) to him, and therefore we sue you.

Here, the term “deposit” clearly refers to the material deposit of certain goods with Ashor. The Aramaic noun “deposit” and its Greek equivalent, παραθήκη, occur frequently in the Judean desert documentary texts as well.⁶⁴ Together, these mostly non-sectarian texts establish the common economic associations for the root פְּקִיד and support the thesis that the activity of oversight

⁶² Porten and Yardeni, “C1.1. The Words of Ahiqar (Sachau Plates 40–50),” in *Textbook of Aramaic Documents*, 3.37. Both this passage and the next are very similar to 4QInstruction^b 2 ii 4-15 and parallels (see Chapter 4).

⁶³ Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri*, 132-5.

⁶⁴ See XHev/Se 26 4; 35 1? (*DJD* 27); P. Yadin 5 a i 8, ii 5, 7-8?, 17 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 25, 27, 29, 31, 32, 41, 42. See also 2 Macc 3:15, where the priests pray to the God “who had given the law about deposits” kept in the Temple (τὸν περὶ παρακαταθήκης νομοθετήσαντα).

in IQS VI 14, and the supervisory responsibilities of the Examiner in the Damascus Document and the Rule, were understood in part as economic.

7.6 *Commercial Practices Criticized by the Sectarrians*

The documentary material from the Judean desert illuminates the Qumran literature in another important way. It attests to several matters criticized by the sectarians, namely violent gain (בצע), "fornication" (זנות), and other occasions of the improper "mixture" of wealth (ערב הון).

The first matter to which the documentary texts give witness is the litigiousness of first and second-century C.E. Judea, that is, to the very practices that the sectaries might have dubbed "violent gain." The Babatha and Salome Komaïse archives are particularly illustrative on this point. Judging from the number of documents in her possession, Babatha spent no small amount of time in court contesting the stinginess of her orphaned child's guardians and protecting her assets from counter-claims.⁶⁵ The court appearances cost money, as did the execution of the records.

Another type of "violent gain" illuminated by the documentary texts is interest rates and usury. Violence in this arena could take several forms. Legal guardians served as trustors of a man's estate if he died and left a male heir, as Babatha's husband did. The guardians were supposed to pay child support out of the deposit or out of its interest gained on investment. The fact that Babatha repeatedly claims that her son's guardians are not paying enough (see P. Yadin 13–15) suggests that the trustors were making a handsome profit on their investment, and that the widow and orphan experienced deprivation as a result.⁶⁶ She also complains in P. Yadin 13 17-19 that her late husband's brother did nothing to support her son, which she presumes to be immoral if not illegal. Another type of violence related to interest is the exaction of usurious interest rates. On this point P. Yadin 11 indicates that 12% was a standard rate for a personal loan, but other documents demonstrate how that the percentage could be raised significantly if the debtor failed to repay the sum in the specified time. For example, in a debt acknowledgement from Murab-

⁶⁵ For general discussion of the Babatha archive, see M. Goodman, "Babatha's Story," *JRS* 81 (1991) 169-75; B. Isaac, "The Babatha Archive: A Review Article," *IEJ* 42 (1992) 62-75; M. Broshi, "Agriculture and Economy in Roman Palestine: Seven Notes on the Babatha Archive," *IEJ* 42 (1992) 230-40; Cotton and Greenfield, "Babatha's Patria: Maḥoza, Maḥoz 'Eglatain, and Zo'ar," *ZPE* 107 (1995) 126-34; *idem*, "Babatha's Property and the Law of Succession in the Babatha Archive," *ZPE* 104 (1994) 211-24; M. A. Friedman, "Babatha's *Ketubba*: Some Preliminary Observations," *IEJ* 46 (1996) 55-76; A. J. Saldarini, "Babatha's Story," *BAR* 24 (2 1998) 28-37, 72; and R. Katzoff, "Babatha," *EDSS*, 1.73-5.

⁶⁶ The guardians 'Abdodbas and John are paying her son Jesus 6% per annum, and she offers to take over the deposit and pay her son 18% per annum; see Lewis, *DBKP*, 51-64; and Broshi, "Agriculture and Economy in Roman Palestine," 239-40.

ba'at mentioned above, the debtor promises to repay the principal and 20% interest if he is delinquent, and to do so even in an intervening sabbatical year (Mur 18 5-7).⁶⁷

The documents also witness to the polygamous arrangements that the Damascus Document designates "fornication," one of the nets of Belial (see P. Yadin 26⁶⁸). The Damascus Document warns that these nets intertwine, such that people are trapped in two or three of them simultaneously. From the evidence of Babatha's archive, it is clear that "wealth" was tied quite tightly to fornication or polygamy, as it was to marriage in general.⁶⁹ Multiple marriages were one strategy used by men to concentrate assets during this time (cf. 11QT^a LVI 12-20, §5.3.2.1 above). From the second wife's point of view, a polygamous marriage would have offered some financial security, as well as more control over her own assets in that her husband, rather than some other man, would serve as her transactional guardian. In addition, her assets would be somewhat sheltered, since her husband presumably had his own property and that of his first wife on which to draw.

There were other strategies for concentrating wealth that the sectarians opposed as so many occasions for the improper mixture of assets. For example, there were clearly ploys for circumventing the laws of succession, laws which favored male heirs (sons and nephews). For example, parents could deed gifts of immovable property to their daughters in order to provide them, ef-

⁶⁷ Milik, *DJD* 2, 100-104, pl. XXIX.

⁶⁸ In this document, Babatha summons the other wife, Miriam, to appear in court for a probate dispute over the estate of their late husband. Lewis, *DBKP*, 1.113-15, pls. 34-35.

⁶⁹ "Fornication" in the scrolls is not limited to polygamy, but seems to encompass any marital arrangement deemed irregular by the sectarians, including possibly divorce, marriage within degrees of kinship forbidden in Lev 18, and sexual intercourse for purposes other than procreation. See J. M. Baumgarten, "The Qumran-Essene Restraints on Marriage," in *Archaeology and History in the Dead Sea Scrolls: The New York University Conference in Memory of Yigael Yadin* (ed. Schiffman; JSPSup 8; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1990) 13-24; G. Brin, "Divorce at Qumran," *Cambridge*, 231-44; Collins, "Marriage, Divorce and Family in Second Temple Judaism," in *Families and Ancient Israel* (ed. L. G. Perdue; The Family, Religion, and Culture; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1997) 104-62; Fitzmyer, "The So-called Aramaic Divorce Text from Wadi Seiyal," *Erlsr* 26 (1966) 16*-22*; *idem*, "The Matthean Divorce Texts and Some New Palestinian Evidence," *TS* 37 (1976) 197-226, reprinted in *To Advance the Gospel: New Testament Studies* (New York: Crossroad, 1981) 79-111; *idem*, "Divorce among First-Century Palestinian Jews," *Erlsr* 14 (1978) 103-110; *idem*, "Marriage and Divorce," *EDSS*, 1.511-15; J. I. Kampen, "The Matthean Divorce Texts Reexamined," in *Paris*, 149-67; Katzoff, "Polygamy in P. Yadin?" *ZPE* 109 (1995) 128-32; Kister, "Notes on Some New Texts from Qumran," *JIS* 44 (1993) 280-81; Lewis, "Judah's Bigamy," *ZPE* 116 (1997) 152; H. R. Moehring, "Josephus and the Marriage Customs of the Essenes: Jewish War II: 119-166 and Antiquities XVIII:11-25," in *Early Christian Origins: Studies in Honor of Harold R. Willoughby* (ed. A. P. Wikgren; Chicago: Quadrangle, 1961) 120-27; J. R. Mueller, "The Temple Scroll and the Gospel Divorce Texts," *RevQ* 10 (1980) 247-56; Schiffman, "Laws Pertaining to Women in the Temple Scroll," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Forty Years of Research* (ed. D. Dimant and U. Rappaport; STDJ 10; Jerusalem/Leiden: Magnes Press and Yad Ishak Ben-Zvi/E. J. Brill, 1992) 210-28; E. Schuller, "Women in the Dead Sea Scrolls," *DSSFY*, 2.117-44; and Yadin, "L'attitude essénien envers la polygamie et le divorce," *RB* 79 (1972) 98-9.

fectively, with an inheritance.⁷⁰ Such gifts also functioned outside the dowry system because, unlike the dowry, the husband had no right of usufruct to property deeded to his wife. That is, the husband could not derive benefit from such gifts as he could from the dowry.⁷¹ The dowry, for its part, generally contained only “feminine adornment in silver and gold, clothing and other feminine items” (see XHev/Se 65 = P. Yadin 37).⁷² These kinds of arrangements between parents and daughters help to contextualize some of the sapiential sayings asserting that a husband’s authority over his wife is greater than that of her parents (e.g., 4QInstruction^b 2 iv 2-6 *par* 4QInstruction^d 10 5-8). It also helps us understand some of the financial incentives to celibacy, or at least to the requirement in the Damascus Document that the Examiner oversee all commercial and therefore marital transactions.⁷³

Several sectarian works prohibit surety and circumscribe loans, marriages, and gifts that would naturally result in the co-mingling of assets. The phrase used for this mixture in 4QInstruction^b 2 ii 18 is ערב רב הון, where the maven is discouraged from pledging or mixing his wealth as surety, as this will likely

⁷⁰ See P. Yadin 19, where Judah deeds half of a courtyard to his daughter eleven days after her marriage, with the remainder of the courtyard to follow at his death (Lewis, *DBKP*, 1.83-8, pls. 20-21).

⁷¹ See, for example, P. Yadin 18, a marriage contract which stipulates that the husband has the right of execution (Appendix F, clause 11 [πράξις]) but not the right of ownership over the dowry (Lewis, *DBKP*, 1.76-82, 142-3, pls. 17-19); another example is P. Yadin 37 = XHev/Se 65 (Lewis, *DBKP*, 1.130-33, pl. 40 / Cotton, *DJD* 27, 224-37, pl. XLI). In other types of deeds, the rights of ownership and execution are both granted through the πράξις clause. For discussion of the marriage contracts, see T. Ilan, “Part 3. Women and the Judaean Desert Papyri,” in *Integrating Women into Second Temple History* (TSAJ 76; Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1999) 215-62; *idem*, “Marriage,” in *Jewish Women in Greco-Roman Palestine: An Inquiry into Image and Status* (TSAJ 44; Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck] 1995; Peabody, Massachusetts: Hendrickson, 1996) 57-96; Saldarini, “The Social World of Christian Jews and Jewish Christians,” in *Religious and Ethnic Communities in Later Roman Palestine* (ed. H. Lapin; STJHC 5; Bethesda, Maryland: University Press of Maryland, 1998) 115-54.

⁷² Cotton, *DJD* 27, 224-37, pl. XLI. On Jewish marriage customs in antiquity, see L. M. Epstein, *The Jewish Marriage Contract: A Study in the Status of the Woman in Jewish Law* (The Jewish People: History, Religion, Literature; New York: Arno, 1973; original, New York: Jewish Theological Society of America, 1927); Friedman, *Jewish Marriage in Palestine: A Cairo Geniza Study*, vol. 1, *The Ketubba Traditions of Eretz Israel* (Tel Aviv/New York: Tel Aviv University, The Chaim Rosenberg School of Jewish Studies, “Moreshet” Project for the Study of Eastern Jewry/Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1980); Ilan, “Marriage Laws,” in *Integrating Women into Second Temple History*, 46-63; *idem*, “Marriage,” in *Jewish Women in Greco-Roman Palestine*, 57-96; A. M. Mann, *The Jewish Marriage Contracts from Elephantine: A Study of Text and Marriage* (Ph. D. Dissertation, New York University, 1985; Ann Arbor, Michigan: University Microfilms International, 1985); A. Shemesh, “4Q271.3: A Key to Sectarian Matrimonial Law,” *JJS* 49 (1998) 244-63; Strugnell, “More on Wives and Marriage in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” *RevQ* 17 (1996) 537-47; Vermes, “Sectarian Matrimonial Halakhah in the Damascus Rule,” *JJS* 25 (1974) 197-202, reprinted in *Post-Biblical Jewish Studies* (SJLA 8; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1975) 50-56; and J. R. Wegner, *Chattel or Person? The Status of Women in the Mishnah* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988).

⁷³ See §2.4.1.5 and Chapter 4 above, as well as Josephus, *War* 2.8.6 (§134). See also my forthcoming article, “Celibacy as a Strategy for Economic Purity in the Dead Sea Scrolls.”

impoverish him. The Rule of the Community employs this exact phrase to describe the proper and forbidden mixtures of property incumbent on all members of the community (1QS VI 22; VII 26-27; VIII 23; IX 8). This demonstrates that the sectarians established an alternative mechanism of financial support modeled on loan and surety arrangements in the wider economy but oriented toward mutual support rather than individual enrichment.

One final matter that comes in for criticism in the sectarian literature is taxes, although in this the covenanters' concern is hardly unusual. The Babatha archive reveals that taxes in kind could total as much as half of one's crop on good land (see P. Yadin 16 on Plates VI–VII, and transcription in Appendix G).⁷⁴ The percentage could be smaller depending upon the crop, the fertility of the land, the agricultural output of a given year, the effectiveness of the tax farmers, and the power of the taxing entity. With the assessment of an occasional crown tax, the levies could be truly excessive. 4QInstruction^b 2 ii 7-15 and parallels indicates that tax collection could tempt a servant to betray his master's trust, and a phrase found in Instruction, the Damascus Document and the Hodayot, "calamities of oppression" (בְּהוֹרֹת מַדְדָּהבָה), may also refer to the oppressive burden of taxes.⁷⁵ It is possible that the pooling of resources in the Rule of the Community served in some way to relieve this tax burden, if only by making the most efficient use of the produce remaining after the levy.

The documentary evidence from the Judean desert, which portrays Jewish people following Gentile customs and legal conventions, or at least non-rabbinic norms, has problematized one scenario of the evolution of rabbinic halakhah, namely that one can speak of halakhah before the codification of the Mishnah in 200 C.E. As Cotton points out, the documentary evidence, like the Jewish literature from Qumran, points instead to a diversity of practice that should be taken as primary evidence for the nature of Jewish society at the time.⁷⁶ To regard Babatha and company, and for that matter the covenanters, as peripheral to Judaism in their day would be to judge them against a standard which developed later, a standard to which their experiences might have contributed.

7.7 Documentary Texts from Qumran

Twenty-seven documentary texts on papyrus or leather were discovered at

⁷⁴ 1 Macc 10:25-31, Josephus, *Ant.* 13.2.3 (§§48-51). See also Broshi, "Agriculture and Economy in Roman Palestine," 235-40.

⁷⁵ See 4QInstruction^b 2 ii 14; 4QInstruction^d 176 1-3; CD XIII 9; 1QH^a XI 25; XX 18. The argument that "oppression" here refers to taxes depends upon Symmachus and Theodotus's translation choice at Isaiah 14:4 (φορολογία for מַדְדָּהבָה); see the discussion on p. 188.

⁷⁶ "Introduction to the Greek Documentary Texts" (*DJD* 27) 153-6.

Qumran, twenty-three from Cave 4 and four from Cave 6.⁷⁷ Two more documentary texts written on clay sherds were discovered in 1996: the so-called “Yahad” ostracon (KhQ1) and a fragmentary deed (KhQ2).⁷⁸ One striking feature of these texts is that more than half of them are inscribed on the relatively costly and durable medium of leather, while the remainder are inscribed on papyrus (marked with an asterisk in the footnote list), and in two cases on pottery. The corpus includes one act of partnership (4Q347),⁷⁹ one debt acknowledgment (4Q344), two letters (4Q342–343), six deeds (4Q345–346, 4Q348–349, 4Q359, 6Q26), one deed of gift (KhQ1), ten registers of account (4Q350–352, 4Q352a, 4Q353–358), and seven documents that are too small or fragmentary to be identified (4Q346a,⁸⁰ 4Q360a–360b, 4Q361, 6Q27–29, KhQ2). All of these documentary texts are inscribed in Semitic languages (Hebrew, Aramaic, or Nabatean), except for two small manuscripts written in Greek (4Q350 and 4Q361). Paleographic dates of the Cave 4 materials range from 50 B.C.E.–70 C.E.⁸¹

The discussion of these documentary texts must begin with two problems. The first is the transcription and significance of the so-called “Yahad” ostracon. The second is the provenance of the Cave 4 documentary texts. Only after these issues are addressed can the significance of the corpus be discussed.

7.7.1 The “Yahad” Ostracon

This thick-bodied sherd, measuring 17.2 cm long by 6.3 cm wide, was discovered at the base of the eastern wall of the compound in 1996 in soundings directed by James F. Strange of the University of South Florida (for the loca-

⁷⁷ Twenty-two of the Cave 4 texts have been published: see Yardeni, “X Hēv/Se 32 + 4Q347. papDeed F ar” and “Appendix: Documentary Texts Alleged to be from Qumran Cave 4” (*DJD* 27) 106–107, 283–317, fig. 19, pls. XXI, LIV–LXI (4Q342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 346a, 347*, 348, 351, 352*, 352a*, 353*, 354, 356, 357, 358*, 359*, 360a*, 360b, 361*); two of these, 4Q360b and 4Q361, are not transcribed, but are only presented on the plate [LXI]); Cotton, “350. 4QAccount gr” (*DJD* 36) 294–5, pl. XX, and Yardeni, “355. 4QAccount C ar or heb” (*DJD* 36) 296, pl. XX (both of these texts are on leather). It is unclear whether the remaining documentary text, 4Q349*, will be published. The Cave 6 documents, 6Q26–6Q29, were published by Baillet, *DJDJ* 3, 138–40, pl. XXIX (all four are on papyrus).

⁷⁸ Cross and E. Eshel, “1. KhQOstracon” and “2. KhQOstracon” (*DJD* 36) 497–508, pls. XXXIII–XXXIV. Earlier publications of KhQ1 by the same authors include “Ostraca from Khirbet Qumrân,” *IEJ* 47 (1997) 17–28; “The ‘Yahad’ (Community) Ostracon,” in *A Day at Qumran: The Dead Sea Sect and Its Scrolls* (ed. A. Roitman; Jerusalem: Israel Museum, 1997) 39–40; “A New Ostracon from Qumrân,” *Qadmoniyot* 30 (1997) 134–6 [Hebrew], and “The Missing Link (An Ostracon of the First Century C.E. from Qumrân),” *BAR* 24 (2 1998) 48–53, 69.

⁷⁹ Yardeni joins this text to X Hēv/Se 32 and designates the composite work a deed. I am taking 4Q347 to be a discrete manuscript from Qumran; see below.

⁸⁰ The first visible word on this manuscript appears to be חשבון, which would render this most likely a register of account.

⁸¹ Baillet judged the palaeography of the 6Q fragments too difficult to date (*DJDJ* 3, 138).

tion, see feature #11 on Appendix E, “Archaeological Site Plan of the Qumran Compound c.31 B.C.E.”). Frank Moore Cross and Esther Eshel were selected to edit the piece, and presented it as a late Herodian draft of a deed of gift, written in a vulgar, semi-formal style with an occasional cursive lapse, conveying an estate and perhaps a slave from a certain Ḥōnî to an agent of the community. A photograph of the sherd is provided on Plate II, with my own accompanying transcription in Appendix G, “Transcriptions of Plates.”⁸² The editors transcribe and translate as follows:

[	בשנת שנים לו	1	In year two of the []
[	בירחו נתן חני בן	2	in Jericho, Ḥōnî so[n of] gave
[	לאלעזר בן נחמני	3	to ʿElʿazar son of Nahāmanî []
[	את חסדי מחולן	4	Ḥisday from Ḥōlōn []
[	מהיום הזה לעולם	5	from this day to perpetui[ty]
[	ואתחם החומה הבית ו	6	the boundaries of the house and []
[	והתאנים הזיתים	7	and the figs, the ol[ives (?),]
[	וכמלותו ליהוד	8	when he fulfills (his oath) to the community []
[	אחני		and Ḥōnî (?) []
[	לו את חסדי	9	to him Ḥis[day (?)]
[	ואת	10	and the []
[	וביר	11	And into the hand of []
[	לזכרון	12	[]
[	חסדי עבד חני	13	Ḥisday servant of Ḥōnî (?) from]
[	חלון	14	Ḥōlōn []
	<i>bottom margin</i>	15	

Because Cross and Eshel read “יהוד” on line 8, they understand the ostracon to establish a connection between the Qumran archaeological site and the sectarian constitutional literature.

The editors’ reading “to the community” on line 8 is, however, problematic. All letters in their transcription of יהוד except *het* are defensible on the basis of like forms elsewhere on the ostracon (for the “v”-shaped *waw*, see שנים, line 1 and חני, line 2; for the characteristic high right shoulder of *dalet*, see חסדי, line 4 and ביר, line 12). But while the ostracon has an uncommonly large number of *hets*—one out of every ten clear letters—not one of them resembles the form of the third letter of the contested word on line 8. The editors must therefore introduce evidence of cursive *hets* from other inscriptions of the period, namely from the Bethphage ossuary lid and from several items from Masada.⁸³ While significant, this external evidence cannot supersede the internal evidence of this particular scribe’s hand on the same ostracon, even granting for the fluidity of cursive scripts. The third letter of the word resembles more closely the *ʿaleps* of this hand (see especially לאלעזר, line 3, and ואתחם, line 6; note also the *keraiā* on אתחם, line 4 and ואתחם, line 11) or per-

⁸² I am grateful to E. Eshel for providing the slide from which this photograph was made.

⁸³ See the editors’ note on line 8 (*DJD* 36) 499, and the Excursus, 505-507.

haps the *he* (see וְהָחֲזִינִים, line 7).⁸⁴ The stance of the third letter is peculiar compared to these proposed readings, but *het* would also not be expected to tilt to the lower left.

Cross and Eshel's reconstruction of the ostrakon has been disputed by many. For some, such as Yardeni, the critique is based on paleographic considerations.⁸⁵ Using a new photograph of the ostrakon produced by Bruce Zuckerman and Marilyn Lundberg, Yardeni reads line 8 as follows: וְכֹל אֵילָן וְכֹל עֵץ לְיָחִיד (underlined letters indicate points of disagreement). Yardeni's reconstruction "every other tree" after the specific trees of line 7 has the advantage of clear parallels in other documentary texts (e.g., Mur 30 18). But apart from the certain *'alep* of her reading אֵילָן, which Cross and Eshel read as the *het* of יָחִיד, Cross and Eshel's reading remains possible and, at other lines of the ostrakon, more likely (see line 4). Frederick H. Cryer also disagrees with Cross and Eshel's reading לְיָחִיד, preferring לְנִאֲחֹן, which he reads as the *nif'al* infinitive of נִאֲחַז, meaning "to take possession of."⁸⁶ Yardeni, Cryer and Norman Golb all read the putative *het* of יָחִיד as *'alep*, and all dispute the *yod* and *dalet* as well (though they propose different alternatives).⁸⁷

Cryer and Phillip R. Callaway also dispute Cross and Eshel's understanding of the nature of the document, but on this point they are mistaken. Cryer believes the document is a deed of sale, rather than a deed of gift, because the document never mentions what the giver receives in exchange for his gift. Yet such a clause would be expected precisely on a deed of sale, not on a deed of gift. This misunderstanding leads Cryer to the untenable translation of נָתַן as "sold" rather than "gave." Callaway also misunderstands the nature of the document when he calls it a record of a past transaction.⁸⁸ He bases this judgment on four criteria: the use of the past tense "gave," the absence of first-person references in the introductory formula, the absence of witnesses, and the poor scribal character of the letter. However, introductory formulae of documentary texts could be in present or past tense (4Q344 2; XHev/Se 7 1-2/8), and can be entirely in the subjective or in a mixture of subjective and objective reference. Our ostrakon is a fragmentary draft, both of which factors may influence the extant form of reference. Witnesses may be absent because the text breaks at the bottom and/or because the ostrakon is a draft. The poor scribal character of the ostrakon is not determinative of genre, but may simply be due to the draft nature of the document, the difficulties inherent in writing on a jar, and/or the lack of skill of its executor.

⁸⁴ On the basis of similarity to *he* the editors argue that this is a case of *hel/het* confusion.

⁸⁵ "A Draft of a Deed on an Ostrakon from Khirbet Qumrān," *IEJ* 47 (1997) 233-7; *idem*, "Breaking the Missing Link," *BAR* 24 (3 1998) 44-7.

⁸⁶ "The Qumran Conveyance: A Reply to Cross and E. Eshel," *SJOT* 11 (1997) 232-40.

⁸⁷ Golb, "Qadmoniot and the 'Yahad' Claim," *QC* 7 (1997) 171-3.

⁸⁸ "A Second Look at Ostrakon No. 1 from Khirbet Qumrān," *QC* 7 (1997) 145-70.

A third dispute pertains to the date of the ostrakon. Cross and Eshel admit that the artifact was found in an unstratified context outside the eastern wall, but identified the context as a Roman dump filled with material cleared from the compound. Callaway reports that the chief excavator, James Strange, believed the dump was created by the de Vaux expeditions in the 1950s, which would mean that the ostrakon, found at the bottom of its trench, would have come from the top stratigraphic layers and therefore could postdate the sectarian establishment. The unclear stratigraphic context and the irregular letter forms lead Callaway and Cryer to argue that the ostrakon dates to the Second Jewish Revolt c.134 C.E. and therefore bears no connection to the alleged Essene occupation of Qumran. The arguments they adduce to support their theses are weak, however, and in the end the first century C.E. Qumran context and Cross and Eshel's paleographic analysis are more convincing.⁸⁹

In sum, all critics agree that this deed is a conveyance of some kind and disagree with Cross and Eshel that the term "community" is present. Even if Cross and Eshel are incorrect in their reading of line 8, with the result that the ostrakon does not make reference to the community specifically, they appear to be correct when they identify the sherd as a draft deed of gift discovered at Qumran and dating to the sectarian occupation of the site. Therefore the ostrakon bears on the present study.

There are several interesting features of the ostrakon. First, the opening date formula is unusual. One expects the day, month and year in sequence, and one reads instead "in the second year of." As the editors note, the scribe may have left the precise date open if the ostrakon is indeed merely a draft of the deed. The editors consider the phrase to refer to the second year of the First Jewish Revolt, 67 C.E. While they offer other possibilities (the reign of a Roman emperor, a Jewish king, or the high priest [see 4Q348]), the formula is most like those employed during the Second Jewish Revolt, such as those found on the rental contracts of Mur 24 (see columns B, D and E, Plates III–V and their transcriptions in Appendix G). If the date of this deed was formulated as the second year of the freedom or redemption of Israel, we would

⁸⁹ Callaway argues that because the name Ḥōnī is mentioned in two Murabba'at documents dating to the Second Revolt, the KhQ1 Ḥōnī is the same person. He notes that the dating formula of KhQ1 is also similar to the one employed in Second Revolt-era documents, although this of course would not rule out an earlier use of the formula. He also claims that the style of the script is not a Qumranic hand, as if all Qumran residents were experts in Hebrew bookhand and would have used that style in everything they wrote. Cryer argues that documents must be dated on formal grounds by the latest letter forms, presuming that a scribe could retain older forms but could not anticipate future forms—an unnecessary conclusion. He also bases his late date on his transcription of line 1, which he believes should be reconstructed as the "destruction of J[erusalem ?]." This reading is unlikely. He takes the fact that Bar Kokhba coins were found at Qumran as evidence that the ostrakon could date from that period as well. Without a stratigraphic context for the ostrakon, this point cannot be established. Finally, Cryer notes that all other conveyances known to us date from the Bar Kokhba period, but this is neither true nor relevant for the date of KhQ1.

have an explicit parallel to Mur 24 and thus a stronger case for the Qumran community's own correlation of economic redemption to political liberation. We would also have a deed synchronized to a political calendar that lies outside the community's direct control, but in which they nevertheless might have been ideologically invested.

A second interesting feature is that the deed is (to be?) executed in Jericho (line 2), although the draft sherd was discovered at Qumran on pottery typical of that site. This supports the view that the sectarians resided in several villages and that Qumran was a community or administrative center of some kind. It may also indicate that an agent of the community in residence at the community center had the power to oversee the execution of deeds involving community members (CD XIII 11-19; 1QS VI 16-23); this would explain why the deed would need to be drafted at Qumran though it would later be formally executed in Jericho. The editors entertain but ultimately reject the thesis that the document originally designated Qumran itself as the site of the deed's formal execution; they contend that there is not enough room to reconstruct the necessary formula.

Third, a slave named Ḥisday is deeded to ʿElʿazar. The slave's name is unaccompanied by a patronymic, a common convention for slave names. The editors further note that the name of the town of Ḥolon, from which the slave comes, may suggest that the slave was not Jewish. The Damascus Document presumes that the covenanters kept slaves (CD XI 12) and that those slaves could originally have been Gentiles (CD XII 9-11). This is somewhat at odds with ancient secondary testimony about the Essenes; Philo and Josephus both indicate that the group did not desire to keep slaves (Philo, *Good Person* 79; Josephus, *Ant.* 18.1.5 [§21]). If the Essenes are to be associated with the Qumran site, it is possible that there were differences of practice among various groups of Essenes, as Josephus tells us was the case on the matter of marriage.

Fourth, the editors note the use of a standard formula employed in deeds of gift, ceding the property to the recipient "from this day to perpetui[ty]" (מֵהַיּוֹם הַזֶּה לְעַד־לְוָלָדָם, line 5).⁹⁰ This reinforces the perception that the community used the standard legal conventions and instruments of its day to conduct business, although given the concern for commercial intercourse with outsiders, we may well wonder what relationship each of the named individuals had to the community, and this whether יַחַד is read on line 8 or not. The editors' suggestion that ʿElʿazar son of Naḥāmanī is the Examiner of the community seems to stretch the evidence, since we are not certain that Ḥōnī is a member of the community or that only the Examiner could be the legal recipient of deeds of gift or sale on behalf of community members. It is possible

⁹⁰ Cryer reads חָתוּם הַגְּלִילִי (ה) "seal of the [d]istrict (?)", which makes little sense.

that, after full initiation, members could receive gifts of property, and that such assets would then secondarily be registered in the Examiner's account in the name of the member (1QS VI 18-22). In this scenario the Examiner would be acting more as a transactional guardian overseeing legitimate business deals of individual community members rather than as the party involved in the transaction himself. This arrangement would have the advantage of maintaining a record of each individual's property so that this property could be more effectively alienated from the community should the member be expelled.⁹¹

Fifth, Hōnī deeds to ʿElʿazar not only a slave, but also property consisting (at least) of a plot with a house, fig trees and olive trees. Such a gift augments the real and productive assets of the recipient. As we have seen from the Babatha and Salome Komaïse archives, deeds of gift are known to have functioned as a strategy to circumvent the laws of succession, which favored male heirs. A parent or husband could gift assets to a daughter or wife and thus augment and protect their source of income. This ostrakon, however, represents a deed of gift to a man, and raises the question why this type of instrument has been chosen. It is not necessary to conclude with the editors that this document represents a member's donation of property to the bursar of the community, for reasons given in the paragraph above. It may be an exchange between community members who could have used this type of instrument in lieu of a deed of sale to avoid a cash transaction and thus fulfill the directive to ask or give to one another only "from hand to hand" (CD XIII 14-15; 1QS V 16-17).⁹² These same passages render it unlikely that the deed represents a gift from an outsider, since the passages stipulate that such transactions were to involve the exchange of money.

A sixth and related point is that it is not necessary to assume, as the editors do, that this estate would be liquidated once the initiate completed his period of probation.⁹³ The editors argue this point on analogy to Acts 4:34-35:

⁹¹ Brian J. Capper reconstructs the evidence of the Rule differently, arguing that the initiate's property was sealed in a blocked account but only until full initiation, at which point the property was fully integrated with that of the community. That is, the property remained in the initiate's power, but only until the final stage of initiation; see "Community of Goods in the Early Jerusalem Church," in *ANRW*, 2.26.2 (ed. W. Haase; New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1995) 1741-52. The difficulty with this view is that it would complicate the expulsion of an apostate, with whom all members are forbidden to "mix."

⁹² The "hand" is not only the location of the transaction, thus signifying a kind of barter transmission or trade, but also conveys the sense of legal agency or power, thus implying direct exchange, without the media of money or perhaps of legal documentation. See P. Cowley 81 28-38 (*Aramaic Papyri*); *b. Yebam.* 39a; *b. Ketub.* 83a; *b. Ned.* 88b; *b. Qidd.* 3b; 23a; *b. B. Meši'a* 70b. See also the discussion in Capper, "Community of Goods in the Early Jerusalem Church," 1746-52.

⁹³ *DJD* 36, 504. Hartmut Stegemann also discusses the likelihood that members retained but shared their property; "The Qumran Essenes—Local Members of the Main Jewish Union in Late Second Temple Times," in *Madrid*, 1.113-14.

There was not a needy person among them, for as many as owned lands or houses sold them and brought the proceeds of what was sold. They laid it at the apostles' feet, and it was distributed to each as any had need.

The "wealth" a new member integrated into the common assets need not have been in the form of money, but could have been the produce of his real property, in this case the yearly yield of figs and olives. In fact, this interpretation is to be preferred, given that "wealth" often signifies food in the sectarian constitutional literature (see §3.4.1 above).

Seventh, the phrase that refers to the fulfillment or completion (of an oath?, line 8) is interesting. But whether this refers to the oath initiated upon entry as the editors suggest is unclear. How can Ḥōnî give his estate to ʔElʿazar from "this day to perpetuity" if the gift is actually deferred until Ḥōnî fulfills his oath in the future? The editors argue that such a deferral is consistent with the stages of property integration in IQS VI 18-23, but given this peculiar process in the Rule, might one not expect greater adaptation of the formula "from *this* day to perpetuity"? In any event, since the object of fulfillment is not specified, and since the following reading (ל'יחיד) is disputed, the interpretation is tenuous.

In conclusion, the so-called "Yahad" ostracon does not mention the community, and as a consequence it does not establish a direct link between the archaeological site and the *yahad* terminology of the sectarian literature found in the nearby caves. Nevertheless, it is understood here as a document executed, at least in draft, at Qumran during the sectarian period, and therefore bears on economic transactions of the sectarians. One need not understand the recipient of the gifted slave and property as the bursar of the community, for there is nothing in the constitutional literature as presented in this study that would prohibit a community member from executing contracts, as long as the community or its agents oversee the transaction and share the benefit (in this case, the figs and olives, although presumably only ʔElʿazar would benefit from the slave transfer). This particular instrument, a deed of gift, could in fact have been negotiated between two community members, since it is one of the few commercial instruments that does not require the transfer of cash.

7.7.2 *Provenance of Disputed Texts*

Another kind of problem obtains in the case of the Qumran documentary texts inscribed on leather and papyrus. Twenty of the Cave 4 documents have been published by Yardeni in *DJD 27*, a volume of documentary materials otherwise from Naḥal Ḥever. The justification for publishing the Cave 4 texts in a volume of material from another site is based on the desirability of publishing generically similar material together, but also on Yardeni's suggestion that the Cave 4 documents were originally recovered from then-Israeli-controlled

Nahal Ḥever by the Bedouin and misrepresented as having been taken from then-Jordanian-controlled Qumran Cave 4.⁹⁴ She grounds her argument on several points: the lack of clear records about the origin of the twenty manuscripts she publishes; the alleged join between 4Q347 and XḤev/Se 32; the anomaly of documentary texts among the otherwise literary Qumran texts; the anomaly of cursive texts among the square script or paleo-Hebrew Qumran manuscripts; Carbon-14 dates for two of the twenty manuscripts which date “well into the late first and early second centuries C.E.”; and the similarity of the name Mattat son of Ḥazaq in 4Q359 to the name Ḥazaq son of Mattat in XḤev/Se 7.

Each one of Yardeni’s points is problematic. It is true that the provenance of the “Cave 4” fragments is unclear. The photographer’s logbook indicates that the earliest of the documentary texts to be photographed, 4Q348, was shot as PAM 40.585 in May of 1953; this photograph was part of the “G (Government) series” taken of a large group of fragments purchased by the Jordanian Government on 20 September 1952 (the first official excavation of Cave 4 took place that same month).⁹⁵ Many of the other manuscripts of this lot were subsequently identified as biblical and sectarian literary works, supporting their association with Qumran as opposed to some other site. The manuscripts identified in this purchased lot include the Cave 4 copies of the Damascus Document, the Rule of the Community, the War Scroll (4Q285), Florilegium, Testimonia, Tanhumin, Ordinances, Halakhah A (4Q251), and several of the *pesharim*.⁹⁶ Further support for a Qumran origin was estab-

⁹⁴ This would be similar to the situation demonstrably true of most of the Nahal Ḥever finds published in *DJD* 27, which were thought to have been found by the Bedouin in Wadi Seiyāl (Nahal Şe’elim), which was then under Israeli control. Whether because the provenance was uncertain or politically sensitive, the Seiyāl/Şe’elim designation was never publicized by those in charge of the documents.

⁹⁵ N. A. Albina, “Appendix 1: The Photographer’s Logbook of the Photographic Sessions Taken at the PAM between 20.12.1947 and March 1961,” in *Companion Volume to the Dead Sea Scrolls Microfiche Edition*, 2d rev. ed. (ed. E. Tov, with S. J. Pfann; Leiden: E. J. Brill/IDC, 1995) 155-62; Pfann and Kister, “298. 4QcryptA Words of the Maskil to All Sons of Dawn,” in *Qumran Cave 4.XV: Sapiential Texts, Part 1* (ed. T. Elgvin et al.; *DJD* 20; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997) 1 n. 2.

⁹⁶ The PAM range of the G series is 40.575–40.637. Biblical manuscripts included in this series, in PAM order, are paleoExod^m, Deutⁿ (4Q22, 4Q41; 40.576), Num^b, Sam^a, XII^c (4Q27, 4Q51, 4Q78; 40.578), Deut^d, Jer^f (4Q31, 4Q72; 40.579), Qoh^a (4Q109; 40.580), Josh^a, XII^a (4Q47, 4Q76; 40.584), Deut^h (4Q35; 40.586), paleoGen-Exodⁱ (4Q11; 40.592), Lev-Num^a, Jer^d, LXXNum (4Q23, 4Q72a, 4Q121; 40.602), Gen-Exod^a (4Q1; 40.604), Exod^b (4Q13; 40.607), Gen^k, Isa^a (4Q10, 4Q55; 40.608), Deut^e, Isa^f (4Q30, 4Q60; 40.610), Dan^b (4Q113; 40.612), Exod^k, Dan^a (4Q21, 4Q112; 40.613), Isa^c (4Q59; 40.617), Gen^f, Isa^c (4Q6, 4Q57; 40.619), Gen^g, Ezek^a (4Q7, 4Q73; 40.620), Deut^e (4Q32; 40.621), Lev^d, Deutⁱ (4Q26, 4Q37; 40.622), Gen^c, ^d (4Q3, 4Q4; 40.624), papLXXLev^b (4Q120; 40.633), and Deut^{k1} (4Q38; 40.634).

Sectarian works included in this series are the List of False Prophets ar, Cryptic B (4Q339, 4Q362 or 4Q363; 40.577), Rule of the Community^{b, d}, Cryptic A Words of the Maskil to All Sons of Dawn (4Q256, 4Q258, 4Q298; 40.581), Psalms Peshar^a (4Q171; 40.585), Isaiah Peshar^a, Ages of Creation (4Q161, 4Q180; 40.587), Mysteries^a (4Q299; 40.592), War Scroll (4Q285;

lished by joins between fragments purchased on several occasions from the Bedouin by the Jordanian government and fragments retrieved from Cave 4 in a controlled excavation (see Table 12, “Qumran Cave 4 manuscripts with fragments derived from both purchase and controlled excavation”). There are so many biblical and sectarian works represented in this lot, and these are so closely associated with Qumran Cave 4, that the burden of proof should lie upon anyone claiming that part of this lot originates elsewhere. That being said, in the absence of joins with manuscripts unearthed in a controlled excavation of Cave 4, it is possible that a fragment allegedly from Cave 4 is actually from some other site.

More damaging to Yardeni’s theory is that the join she proposes between XH̄ev/Se 32 and 4Q347 is incorrect (please see Plate VIII). The first reason is paleographic: of the letters clearly preserved on both fragments, namely *ʾalep*, *bet*, *he*, *pe*, *sin*, and *taw*, not one of them corresponds from one fragment to the next. The *pes* in particular are quite different: on 4Q347, the right side and base-stroke of *pe* curve downward to the left in a smooth sweep, while on XH̄ev/Se 32 the right side of *pe* is straight and the base-stroke connects to it at a sharp angle. Moreover, the character of the paleography differs: the hand of 4Q347 is rounder and more cursive, while the hand of XH̄ev/Se 32 is more elegant and precise. The second reason the join cannot work is that the letter remnants along the join do not align into recognizable characters. Yardeni seems to recognize this when she proposes variable letter readings for five of the extant twelve letters. The most obvious problem lies with the final *he* on the line: the upper cross-stroke of *he* is clearly visible on the bottom edge of XH̄ev/Se 32 4, with clear leather below it; but the proposed lower portion of the letter, on 4Q347 1, also has the cross-stroke. Since we have the full, undamaged cross-stroke on one piece, we

40.594), Catena^a, Miscellaneous Rules (4Q177, 4Q265; 40.596), Testimonia (4Q175; 40.603), Commentary on Genesis B (4Q253; 40.604), Cryptic A Sereḡ ha ʿEdah (4Q249; 40.605), Wiles of the Wicked Woman (4Q184; 40.607), Vision of Samuel, Ages of Creation, Historical Work (4Q160, 4Q181, 4Q183; 40.608), Tanhumin (4Q176; 40.609), Reworked Pentateuch^b (4Q158; 40.610), Zodiology and Brontology ar (4Q318; 40.612), Damascus Document^b, Berakhot^a (4Q267, 4Q286; 40.613), Sapiential Work, Horoscope (4Q185, 4Q186; 40.615), Ordinances^a, Rule of the Community^c (4Q159, 4Q259; 40.617), Halakhah A, Cryptic B (4Q251, 4Q362 or 4Q363; 40.618), Florilegium, CryptA Calendrical Document C^f (4Q174, 4Q324c; 40.619), Apocryphal Lamentations A, Damascus Document^f (4Q179, 4Q271; 40.622), Tohorot A (4Q274; 40.624), Cryptic A Words of the Maskil to All Sons of Dawn, Phases of the Moon (4Q298, 4Q317; 40.625), papRule of the Community^a (4Q255; 40.628), Isaiah Pesher^c (4Q163; 40.631), Rule of the Community^c (4Q257; 40.636).

Many other documents, such as *Tobit*, *Jubilees*, and *Enoch*, were also photographed in this series. The three Cave 4 documentary texts definitely photographed in this early series appear on PAMs 40.585 (4Q348, with Psalms Pesher^a [4Q171]), 40.602 (4Q343, with Lev-Num^a [4Q23], Jer^d [4Q72a], LXXNum [4Q121], Tob^c [4Q200], and Enoch^c ar [4Q206]), and 40.618 (4Q342, with Halakhah [4Q251], Calendrical Document D [4Q325], and Cryptic B [4Q362 or 4Q363]).

Table 12.

Qumran Cave 4 manuscripts with fragments derived from both purchase and controlled excavation

<i>Cave 4 MS No.</i>	<i>Cave 4 MS Siglum</i>	<i>PAMs of Fragments from Jordanian Gov't. Purchase</i>	<i>PAMs of Fragments from Controlled Excavation</i>
4Q1	Gen-Exod ^a	40.604, 611, 619	40.968, 983
4Q26	Lev ^d	40.622	40.976
4Q27	Num ^b	40.578, 590, 599, 602, 615, 617, 620, 621, 623, 626; 42.603	40.963, 978, 979, 982
4Q30	Deut ^c	40.610	40.968
4Q51	Sam ^a	40.578-580, 587, 592, 599, 615, 620; 42.603	40.978
4Q52	Sam ^b	42.599	40.967
4Q121	LXXNum	40.602	40.976
4Q163	pap pIsa ^c	40.631, 632, 634	40.972
4Q179	apocrLam A	40.622	40.962
4Q217	papJub ^{b?}	40.631	40.974
4Q249	papCryptA Ser-ek ha- ^c Edah	40.605	40.974, 40.977
4Q258	S ^d	40.581, 596	40.962
4Q324c	cryptA Calendrical Doc. C ^f	40.619	40.975, 979, 985
4Q362	cryptB undeciphered frgs. A	40.577, 591, 626	40.982
4Q364	RP ^b	40.601, 608, 612, 615, 624	40.968
4Q378	apocrJosh ^a	40.615	40.975
4Q381	Non-Canonical Psalms B	40.580, 592	40.962
4Q385	psEzek ^a	40.615	40.975
4Q391	pap psEzek ^e	40.631	40.972
4Q418	Instruction ^d	40.592, 594, 601, 602, 612-614, 618, 619	40.962, 964
4Q432	papHod ^f	40.632	40.972
4Q487	papSap Work B?	40.630, 631	40.974
4Q491	M ^a	40.581, 592	40.976
4Q496	papM ^f	40.628	40.981
4Q502	papRitMar	40.629, 631, 635	40.977

(table cont.)

<i>Cave 4 MS No.</i>	<i>Cave 4 MS Signum</i>	<i>PAMs of Fragments from Jordanian Gov't. Purchase</i>	<i>PAMs of Fragments from Controlled Excavation</i>
4Q503	papPrQuot	40.628, 629, 636	40.980
4Q506	papDibHam ^c	40.628	40.981
4Q509	PrFêtes ^c	40.629, 635	40.974, 980
4Q512	papRitPur B	40.628, 629, 637	40.981
4Q525	Wisdom Text with Beat	40.611, 614, 617	40.969
4Q545	Visions of Amram ^c ar	40.608	40.965
4Q558	papVision ^b ar	40.600, 632	40.972

cannot have it also on another.⁹⁷ A third reason the combination of fragments cannot work is that the angle of writing relative to the papyrus fibers differs on both fragments. The letters on XHev/Se 32 are written across the fibers at a perpendicular angle, while the letters on 4Q347 slope downward to the left relative to the fibers. Variations in line orientation can of course occur in a column of text, but not on letters from the same line (line 4 [4Q347 line 1]).

In addition to the problems of provenance and the proposed join, Yardeni adduces several other arguments to support the redesignation of the Qumran documents. She considers the documentary texts to be an anomaly among the otherwise literary and ephemeral Qumran texts. On this point, she discounts the four documentary manuscripts from Cave 6 because they are small and fragmentary. She also must disregard some fifty ostraca from the site that evidence both deeds (e.g., KhQ1 and perhaps KhQ2) and commercial exchanges of goods, such as jars inscribed with contents and/or the name of the supplier or recipient (for examples, see §6.4 above). Of course, by relocating the majority of the documentary texts to another site, Yardeni *makes* them anomalous at Qumran, so this point of argument is somewhat circular. It also minimizes the fact that some of the accounts which she does not publish in *DJD* 27 are written on the verso of literary works: 4Q350 is written in Greek on the verso of 4Q460, Narrative Work and Prayer, and 4Q355 is inscribed on the verso of 4Q324, Calendrical Document C^c.⁹⁸ Both of these literary works

⁹⁷ Layers of leather can separate, so that ink that has penetrated more deeply is preserved on the lower piece while the same stroke is preserved on the upper piece. It is not my impression that papyrus deteriorates in this fashion, nor is there any appearance of such abrasion on the photographs of the fragments.

⁹⁸ 4Q460 has been published by E. W. Larson in *DJD* 36, 369-86, pl. XXVI. 4Q324 has been published by S. Talmon in *Qumran Cave 4.XVI: Calendrical Texts* (ed. Talmon, J. Ben Dov and U. GleBmer; *DJD* 21; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2001).

have orthographic and verbal affinities with other documents of established Qumran provenance. It is possible, as Cotton proposes, that 4Q350, written in Greek, was the work of a later inhabitant of the Qumran site (the recto text bears the tetragrammaton, and she considers it unlikely that a sectarian would have used such a text for so mundane a purpose).⁹⁹ If that were the case, however, one would have to account for how and why such a text would have remained in Cave 4 with other sectarian materials after it was reinscribed.

The fact that the Cave 4 documents are written in cursive rather than in square script is judged to be unusual for Qumran; however, in view of the pervasive custom of composing documentary material in this style, it would be much more remarkable to find documentary texts at Qumran written in square script than it is to find cursive material at Qumran. The Carbon-14 dates Yardeni presents are problematic. In her general introduction, Yardeni says that the relevant dates are “well into the late first and early second centuries C.E., long after the settlement at Khirbet Qumran was abandoned.”¹⁰⁰ This conclusion overstates the evidence she herself adduces in the individual manuscript editions. First, only three of the twenty texts were subjected to radiocarbon analysis, 4Q342, 4Q344, and 4Q345, and of these, only the first two have “late” radiocarbon dates, while the third is exceptionally early (373–171 B.C.E.).¹⁰¹ The C-14 date proposed for the first of the manuscripts, 4Q342, is 14–115 C.E., which corresponds to Yardeni’s paleographic date of 1–50 C.E. and to the period of sectarian occupation at Qumran. This leaves only one manuscript, 4Q344, which is alleged to originate “long after the settlement at Qumran was abandoned,” but even its C-14 range, 72–127 C.E., comes close to overlapping with the sectarian period. Yardeni provides a rather imprecise palaeographic summary of 4Q344 to corroborate her interpretation of the C-14 data, saying that “the deed would not seem to predate the end of the Herodian period.”¹⁰² Add to this that this document exhibits a rather unusual practice of witness signatures written vertically on the recto, a custom unattested among the Naḥal Ḥever finds but known from one other alleged Qumran manuscript (4Q348), and it becomes easier to account for a Qumran provenance. The same is true for the very early 4Q345.

Yardeni’s final argument is that the name Mattat son of Ḥazaq in 4Q359 is similar to the name Ḥazaq son of Mattat in XḤev/Se 7. This is an interesting coincidence, but before it can become significant enough to warrant changing

⁹⁹ *DJD* 36, 294.

¹⁰⁰ *DJD* 27, 283.

¹⁰¹ A. J. T. Jull, D. J. Donahue, Broshi, and Tov, “Radiocarbon Dating of Scrolls and Linen Fragments from the Judean Desert,” *Atiqot* 28 (1996) 85–91. Paleographic analysis of the very early manuscript, 4Q345, yields a later date of 50–1 B.C.E. Both the C-14 and the palaeographic dates lie long before the range of dates of the Naḥal Ḥever corpus and would be consistent with a Qumran provenance.

¹⁰² *DJD* 27, 289.

the provenance of the manuscript, the frequency of these names' occurrence in first to second century C.E. Judea should be demonstrated.

To the problems with Yardeni's argument may be added the material evidence of the "alleged" Qumran Cave 4 documentary texts themselves, which is inconsistent with the Naḥal Ḥever finds. Granted, most of the Cave 4 manuscripts are quite fragmentary. Nevertheless, it is significant that eleven of the twenty alleged Cave 4 manuscripts are inscribed on leather, whereas all but two of the forty-nine Naḥal Ḥever documents published in *DJD 27* are on papyrus. In addition, while the Naḥal Ḥever documents are inscribed in both Aramaic and Greek, there are only two Greek deeds among the Cave 4 finds, and one of these may postdate the sectarian period. Furthermore, two of the Cave 4 manuscripts mention cultic terms (see below), which is nowhere paralleled among the Naḥal Ḥever finds. Finally, the witness signatures on 4Q344 and 4Q348 are unusual compared to the Judean desert documentary texts, and 4Q348 includes a long list of names unusual for contemporary documents.

For all of these reasons, it is more likely that the documents allegedly from Qumran actually *are* from Qumran, and provide evidence of commercial exchanges that correlate to the beliefs of the sect.

7.7.3 Content and Significance of the Qumran Documentary Texts

One of the most significant aspects of the documentary material from Qumran is the simple fact that it provides evidence of commercial transactions. There are several deeds of sale, multiple accounts, a deed of gift and even a debt acknowledgment. At least two of the documents, 4Q345 (a deed of sale) and 6Q29, indicate a payment in silver; two other documents, 4Q344 and 4Q359, likely referred to a cash payment also after references to the stipulated amount or denomination. Most of the documents appear to be accounts, for they include references to the numbers of a given measure of grain or other produce and sometimes names associated with these measures.¹⁰³ These accounts indicate some kind of exchange, donation, registration, or payment of goods, most likely to the community stores from community members. They should be evaluated alongside the inscribed ceramic containers found in several loci at Qumran, although whether the names on these jars indicate the producer, donor or recipient is not clear (see §6.4 above).¹⁰⁴ In general, many of these documents have features expected in their subgenre. For example, 4Q344 is a debt acknowledgment, and includes the typical introductory formula along with the standard guarantee clause (Appendix F, clauses 3 and 13); 4Q346, a

¹⁰³ 4Q350 is the best example, but it probably postdates the sectarian period at Qumran. See also 4Q351, 4Q356, and 4Q359.

¹⁰⁴ The character and origin of the pottery may help to resolve that question, but we must await the official report of the excavation for that kind of analysis.

deed of sale, includes the customary ownership and guarantee clauses (Appendix F, clauses 11 and 13).

For all their similarities to standard commercial instruments, there are also significant differences between some of these documents and other Judean desert evidence. The first is the use of cultic terminology in 4Q360a. The word “sacrifices” (קרבן) appears on frgs. g + h line 1, a fact so unusual for documentary material that Yardeni suggests this manuscript may be a literary rather than a documentary text. Against Yardeni’s proposal is the fact that there are clear numerical symbols on line 2 of the fragment. It would be easier to account for the presence of the word “sacrifices” in a Qumran documentary text than it would be to account for numerical symbols in a Qumran literary text.¹⁰⁵ As we have seen, the Qumran community understood itself as the wilderness sanctuary, and understood the donation of wealth to be one of the new types of sacrifice allowed. If the meals or charitable work of the community or the donation of property itself were viewed as sacrifices, then the record of or receipt for donations toward those “sacrifices” might be inscribed in this manner.¹⁰⁶

The second unique element also relates to the cult. It is the reference to the high priest on the first line of the lower portion of a double deed, 4Q348 (line 13; see Plate X and the accompanying transcriptions in Appendix G). The editor judges the reading “almost certain,” though the *kap* and *dalet* could be questioned. The first line of a deed customarily contains the date clause (Appendix F, clause 1), and the inclusion of a reference to the high priest suggests that the date in this document was computed in terms of his incumbency. Date clauses were customarily reckoned in terms of the reign of a political leader, such as Hadrian (the “ἀρχιερέως μεγίστου”) on P. Yadin 16 6-7. Alternatively, in documents from the Bar Kokhba revolt, we have dates computed in the politically subversive category of “the year of the freedom (or liberation) of Israel” (Mur 24). The significance of a dating formula in 4Q348 that refers to the regnal year of a high priest is that it indicates that the political affiliation of the undersigned parties was not a foreign entity but rather the native Temple hierarchy. Hanan Eshel takes the argument one step further.¹⁰⁷ He reads the letter traces before the title, with Yardeni, as “Camydus” (קמ[יד] ור[י]ו[ס]), the high priest appointed by Herod of Chalcis in 46 C.E. Eshel also suggests that a reference to the high priest in the dating formula indicates that the document may derive from priestly circles. Whether

¹⁰⁵ Although see 4QZodiology and Brontology ar (4Q318; Greenfield and M. Sokoloff, “318. 4QZodiology and Brontology ar” [DJD 36] 259-74, pls. XV-XVI).

¹⁰⁶ Some have argued that the sectarians actually practiced animal sacrifice, in which case these receipts or records might be of contributions toward actual offerings of grain, wine or livestock.

¹⁰⁷ “4Q348, 4Q343 and 4Q345: Three Economic Documents from Qumran Cave 4?” *JJS* 52 (2001) 132-5.

this full form of the argument is accepted, the reading conflicts with a scenario that depends on animosity between the Jerusalem Temple and the Qumran sectarians, presuming that the latter group executed this document. Sectarian deference to the Temple establishment, at least at the stage represented by 4Q348, is at odds with certain literary works from the caves which presume varying degrees of separation from the Jerusalem hierarchy. At the same time, evidence ranging from 4QMMT and the Temple Scroll to the archaeological record—the dentition of the skeletons, the form of the Qumran *miqva'ot*, the orientation of the dining hall, and the presence of vessels cut in Jerusalem—point to some sort of positive relationship between the urban and wilderness sanctuaries.

A third difference between the Qumran documentary texts and other exemplars from the Judean desert pertains to the same manuscript 4Q348. Unlike other documentary texts, it appears to consist largely of names (including the name Ḥōnî; see KhQ 1). Registers of names are common on accounts, which take the form of names, measures (of produce) and numbers, but are not common on narrative, witnessed deeds. If the names are included because all are party to a single transaction, this document would be a significant witness to the practice of shared property, for it would demonstrate that at some functional level (ownership? execution?), many individuals were required to effect the transaction, thus functioning as a single unit. If this were the case, 4Q348 would be a more significant witness to the sectarian community than the so-called *yahad* ostrakon.

A fourth divergence is the location of the witness signatures on the double deeds, 4Q344 and 4Q348: the signatures of the witnesses are written perpendicular to the text on the recto. Customarily, one expects signatures on the recto only in single deeds, and these are usually oriented horizontally, that is, in the same direction as the text of the deed. In the case of a double deed, one would expect that the signatures of its witnesses would appear on the verso perpendicular to the text, so that the second copy of the deed on the recto follows the first with the interruption only of blank leather or papyrus. In fact, 4Q345 demonstrates this more standard form (see Plate IX for both 4Q344 and 345, along with the transcriptions in Appendix G). The presence of the witnesses' names on the same surface as the terms of the deeds suggests a kind of openness contrary to contemporary practice. This would be consistent with the evidence from the constitutional rules, which encourage the public record of all one's assets and require honesty above all in matters of wealth. It is also consistent, in an oddly literal way, with Philo's testimony that the Essene workers deposit their earnings "before them all, in their midst" (*Good Person*, 86).

A fifth difference emerges as a possible feature of one document, the solitary debt acknowledgment (4Q344). It must be admitted that the manuscript

is fragmentary compared to other exemplars, but this brief deed appears to lack at least the elaborate guarantees, if not the entire mention, of interest payments or extended collateral typical of guarantee clauses on promissory notes.¹⁰⁸ If the original document did lack such a statement, it would correspond to a prohibition against various forms of interest in 4QD^b 4 8-11 (standing as surety for another's debt, usury, loaning food for profit).

The evidence of documents that diverge from contemporary Judean practice lends support to the thesis of a Qumran or sectarian origin for those documents. But we should not assume that all documents found at Qumran were necessarily executed there or that their parties were all members of the community. Cotton has demonstrated that the prosaic Greek account on 4Q350, inscribed on the verso of a sectarian narrative work bearing the tetragrammaton, was probably penned by a visitor to Cave 4 after 68 C.E. It is possible that 4Q345, a double deed which bears signatures on the verso perpendicular to the texts as expected for deeds in general but in contrast to 4Q344 and 4Q348, is a document that an initiate brought into the community. That at least one of the parties in 4Q345 was an outsider is indicated also by the reference to an exchange of silver; only transactions with outsiders were to involve the transfer of cash (CD XIII 14-15; 1QS V 16-17). For the same reason 4Q359 and 6Q29 may refer to sales involving outsiders; however, these documents are so fragmentary that, despite their references to silver, it is not clear whether they are deeds of sale at all. They may be registrations of cash donations to the community, consistent with the hoard of silver Tyrian tetradrachmas found in pots in Locus 120 and dating to de Vaux's Period Ib. We must also entertain the possibility that rules regarding contracts with outsiders changed over time.

It is important to recall that the sectarian literature does not prohibit commercial transactions with outsiders; rather, it restricts such activity heavily. In fact, the Damascus Document presumes ongoing commercial relationships with people outside the community at several points (4QD^f 2 4-7; 3 1-10; CD XII 6-11; XIII 15-17). While all commercial activity with outsiders was viewed as potentially dangerous in both the Damascus Document and the Rule and therefore was subject to the oversight of the Examiner and the judgment of the entire community, the only person with whom one absolutely could not transact business was the apostate. It is for violations of that taboo that sectarians were most heavily penalized. Thus individual initiates could have brought their previously executed documents into the community, or could have executed new contracts while members. Furthermore, it is possi-

¹⁰⁸ Mur 18 5-7 stipulates that, if the borrower fails to repay in the specified term, he will repay the principal with twenty per cent interest, even in the sabbatical year. In P. Yadin 11 7-10/22-27, the debtor guarantees payment not only by promising his own estate as collateral, but also that of his father. See also Mur 26 6; 114 14-21; P. Yadin 17 12-15/35-38.

ble that both parties in some of the documents were members of the community: the sectarian legislation does not prohibit members from executing documents with one another, exchanging property or conducting business, but only stipulates that this be done without the exchange of cash and with the community as witness. These scenarios depend upon an understanding that members could commit their goods to the community in a kind of deposit arrangement, but still maintain the right of usufruct and disposition, with oversight by the community's agents. This arrangement is consistent with the requirement that members make restitution for losses they cause to the common fund; they can do this because they still retain the right of usufruct on properties brought to the community. The paucity of documentary material relative to other Judean desert sites may suggest, however, that the execution of deeds was rare once one had become a community member.

While the documentary evidence from Qumran is fragmentary and the manuscripts are small, they nevertheless attest not only to commercial activity, but to a kind of commercial activity that is somewhat different from that of the surrounding culture and that can be correlated to attitudes toward wealth found in the constitutional literature of the community.

7.8 *Conclusions*

The evidence presented in this chapter, drawn from the Judean desert in general and the Qumran documentary evidence in particular, supports and does not contradict the thesis that special economic circumstances obtained in this community in contrast to the practices of the outside world. The average person outside the community, or at least the average person with property, executed documents in the terms and language of the prevailing power: they designated dates in terms of the non-Jewish ruler, swore oaths to solidify every deal, collected from three to seven witnesses for every executed document, registered documents in a public place (which could be a pagan temple¹⁰⁹), and appealed to non-Jewish administrators and courts for redress. Their commercial instruments mixed Greek and Aramaic (or Nabatean) language and customs. The sectaries largely avoided these conventions. They had their own political structure, their own calendar, their own registry, and their own Examiners, Overseers, judges and court system for adjudicating claims about property and other matters. They limited oaths to one comprehensive oath upon entry, and expanded the role of witnesses so that the entire community was responsible to oversee every act. Members may have contin-

¹⁰⁹ See P. Yadin 12, an extract from the minutes of the council (βουλή) in Petra. The minutes represent Babatha's petition to the court to pressure her orphaned son's guardians to pay more child support. The document states that the official copy of the minutes has been posted in the Temple of Aphrodite in Petra (Lewis, *DBKP*, 1.47-50, pls. 5-6).

ued to execute contracts with outsiders, but as the draft ostracon suggests, they did so with the community's oversight. The documentary texts provide concrete evidence that the sectarians adopted some features of the economic institutions of their day and even engaged in them to a limited extent, but also established an alternative economy directed to their own ends.

The sectarian constitutional literature was found to borrow and redefine customary economic instruments, practices, agents and formulae in its own construction of economic and judicial institutions. Consistent with such a use of the surrounding conventions is the existence of both documentary texts from Qumran and inscribed ceramic vessels, which indicate that commercial exchanges occurred at the site, although not to the extent that Alan Crown and Lena Cansdale have suggested.¹¹⁰ The so-called *yahad* ostracon, which does not attest to a gift to the community as the editors assert, nevertheless indicates that Qumran was an administrative center in that the draft of a deed to be executed in Jericho was first executed at Qumran, perhaps under the supervision of its agents. The commercial practice of depositing goods with another person, such that one retained the rights of execution and usufruct but others were also entitled to benefit from the deposit, was adduced as a likely model for shared property that explains how wealth could be both private and common at the same time.

¹¹⁰ "Qumran—Was It an Essene Settlement?" *BAR* 20 (5 1994) 24-35, 73-4, 76-8; see §6.2 and §6.8 above.

CHAPTER EIGHT

SECONDARY TESTIMONY TO ESSENE ECONOMIC PRACTICES

8.1 Introduction

The reports of Philo, Josephus, and Pliny the Elder about the Essenes provide an important witness to the practice of shared possessions in a Jewish group.¹ These secondary accounts at the very least depict a group whose economic practices paralleled those of the Qumran sect, while a maximalist interpretation would be that the Essenes are to be identified with the covenanters.

The identification of the Essenes and the sectarians has won a consensus among scholars,² but there are significant problems with the equation having to do with both the logic of the argument and the evidence itself. Edna Ullmann-Margalit has illustrated the chain of the argument in a recent article.³ She notes that it relies on two inferences that are then connected and reinforce one another. The first inference is about the scrolls, the second about the ruins. The first problematic inference is that the contents of the scrolls are compatible with the descriptions of the Essenes in Philo, Josephus and Pliny, and therefore the scrolls are Essene documents. Of course, as Ullmann-Margalit points out, the conclusion is not necessary, in that compatibility does not assure identification but only similarity. Further weakening this inference are the discrepancies between the scrolls and the descriptions of the Essenes on matters ranging from the group's name to its beliefs and practices, all of which compromise not the logic but the premise of the inference. The second inference Ullman-Margalit comments upon is that the Qumran ruins correspond to Pliny's location of the Essene center, and therefore Qumran is that Essene center. This inference is logically problematic for the same reason as

¹ Other accounts of the Essenes were composed or copied several centuries later, and largely depend on earlier witnesses. They are Dio of Prusa (40–112 C.E.), *apud* Synesius (c.400 C.E.), *Dio* 3.2; Hegesippus (2nd century C.E.), *Hypomnemata*, *apud* Eusebius (260–340 C.E.), *Ecclesiastical History* 4.22.7; and Hippolytus of Rome (170–236 C.E.), *Refutation of All Heresies* 9.18–28. Of these, only Hippolytus mentions economic practices, and he depends upon Josephus.

² The first proponent of this identification was E. L. Sukenik; see *מגילות עמורת I* (Jerusalem: Bialik, 1948) 16, and N. Avigad and Sukenik, eds., *DSSHU*, 29. For the earliest explanation of what would become the consensus view, see A. Dupont-Sommer, *The Dead Sea Scrolls, a Preliminary Survey*, trans. E. M. Rowley (New York: Macmillan, 1956; French original, Paris: Maisonneuve, 1950) 85–96. See also R. de Vaux, O. P., *Archaeology and the Dead Sea Scrolls. The Schweich Lectures of the British Academy 1959* (London: Oxford University Press, 1973).

³ “Writings, Ruins, and Their Reading: The Dead Sea Discoveries as a Case Study in Theory Formation and Scientific Interpretation,” *Social Research* 65 (1998) 839–70.

the first—the conclusion is not necessary. In addition, it depends on Pliny's observation that "below [the Essenes lies] 'Ein Gedi" (*infra hos Engada*), when in fact 'Ein Gedi lies well over 30 kilometers south of Qumran. These two inferences are then joined and mutually reinforced by the physical proximity of the caves to the Qumran compound. Each of these problems will be taken up in turn.

Philo, Josephus and Pliny refer to the group as the "Essenes," but it is unclear what the Hebrew or Aramaic equivalent for this term would be.⁴ To begin with, the secondary references differ from each other: 'Εσσηνοὶ appears in Josephus, 'Εσσαῖοι in Philo and Josephus, and *Esseni* in Pliny.⁵ The etymology of the term is also complicated. Philo attempts to explain the designation in terms of its Greek etymology, speculating that it is due to the community's holiness (ὁσιότητα);⁶ but scholars find it more likely that the name translates a Semitic term. Three Semitic words have been proposed as sources for the secondary designations. The first is the Hebrew term "holy, pious ones" (חַסִּדִּים) or its eastern Aramaic equivalent ܫܫܝܢ (cf. Syriac ܫܫܝܢ).⁷ The eastern Aramaic term ܫܫܝܢ has now been found in a Qumran text, but the work is a pre-sectarian Aramaic Levi manuscript and the word is not used as an epithet for the sectarian community.⁸ Moreover, as Geza Vermes has noted, this eastern Aramaic term has a Hebrew equivalent (חַסִּדִּים) that is rendered οἱ Ἀσίδαῖοι, not οἱ Ἐσσαῖοι, in the Greek literature (see 1 Macc 7:13).⁹ Vermes has proposed an alternative in the term "healers" (חַוְוִי), but this suggestion has not won many adherents.¹⁰ In what is perhaps the most compelling proposition, Stephen Goranson has revived an early argument for the derivation of Essene from "doers" (עוֹשִׂים),¹¹ which has the advantage of

⁴ J. C. VanderKam, "Identity and History of the Community," in *DSSFY*, 2.490-99.

⁵ 'Εσσηνοὶ: *Ant.* 13.5.9 (§§171-172), 10.6 (§298), 11.2 (§311), 13.5 (§373), 14.1 (§378); 18.1.2 (§11), 1.5 (§18); *War* 2.8.2 (§119), 8.11 (§158), 13 (§160); 5.4.2 (§145); *Life* 10. 'Εσσαῖοι: Philo, *Good Person* 75, 91; *Hypothetica* (apud Eusebius, *Praep. ev.* 8.6.1); Josephus, *Ant.* 15.10.4 (§371); 17.13.3 (§346); *War* 1.3.5 (§78); 2.7.3 (§113), 20.4 (§567); 3.2.1 (§11).

⁶ Philo, *Good Person* 75; *Hypothetica* (*Praep. ev.*, 8.6.1); cf. Josephus, *War* 2.8.2 (§119). J. I. Kampen documents the use of the term εσσην/εσσηνας of certain cultic officials at the Temple of Artemis in Ephesus ("A Reconsideration of the Name 'Essene' in Greco-Jewish Literature in Light of Recent Perceptions of the Qumran Sect," *HUCA* 57 [1986] 61-81; see also C. Hutt, "Qumran and the Ancient Sources," in *Provo*, 274-93). But this derivation is unlikely given Philo's perplexity about the term and the somewhat nativist orientation of the Essenes.

⁷ Dupont-Sommer, *Dead Sea Scrolls*, 105-117; Cross, *The Ancient Library of Qumran and Modern Biblical Studies*, rev. ed. (Garden City, New York: Anchor, 1961) 183.

⁸ 4QLevi^b ar 3-4 6 (4Q213a): "and the name of his holy one (חַסִּדִּים) [will] not [be] blotted out from all names." Cross was the first to note the occurrence of the term here; see *The Ancient Library of Qumran*, 183. For the Qumran text, see M. E. Stone and J. C. Greenfield, "213a. 4QLevi^b ar," in *Qumran Cave 4.XVII: Parabiblical Texts, Part 3* (ed. G. E. Brooke et al.; DJD 22; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996) 37-41, pl. III.

⁹ "The Etymology of 'Essenes,'" *RevQ* 2 (1960) 433; reprinted in *Post-Biblical Jewish Studies* (SJLA 8; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1975) 14.

¹⁰ "The Etymology of 'Essenes,'" 427-4 (= *Post-Biblical Jewish Studies*, 8-29).

corresponding to self-designations of the community in the scrolls (עושי ההורה).¹² Other names used within the scrolls for the sect, such as camp (מחנה), congregation (עדה), or community (יחד), are clearly unrelated to the term chosen by the secondary authors.

If the problem of the name of the sect has been resolved by Goranson, there are still other discrepancies of content between the scrolls and the secondary descriptions that must be addressed. Some of these are matched by contradictions in the scrolls themselves; for example, both the secondary sources and the scrolls differ regarding the celibacy of members, the nature of their involvement in ritual sacrifice, and their belief in bodily resurrection.¹³ The fact that these discrepancies are found both in the secondary sources and in the scrolls is most easily explained in terms of the diversity of belief and practice within the larger group, which we would expect to be manifest in our sources. The confluence between the secondary sources and the primary evidence in reporting these diverse practices may be taken as a datum supporting, though not proving, that they are speaking about the same groups. A more significant type of discrepancy between the primary and secondary sources is outright disagreement for which no variety of practice or belief is evident. Several examples can be adduced. Priests play a significant role in the history and polity of the *yahad*, yet the ancient secondary sources make almost no mention of priests in connection with the group.¹⁴ Some sectarian texts anticipate one, two or even three messiahs, but messianic speculation is nowhere addressed in Philo or Josephus. The Qumran sect followed a solar calendar for the determination of its festivals, a practice which segregated them from the lunisolar calendar of the Temple; yet although our ancient authors speak of the segregation of the Essenes from the Temple cult, they do not mention the Essene calendar as the culprit.¹⁵ The scrolls speak of the initiation of men and of certain oaths at the conclusion of these rites, while Josephus also adds an initiation procedure for women and differs in his descrip-

¹¹ "Essenes: Etymology from עשה," *RevQ* 11 (1984) 483-98; VanderKam concurs, with some corrections ("Identity and History of the Community," 494-500); see also W. Brownlee, *The Midrash Peshet of Habakkuk* (SBLMS 24; Missoula, Montana: Scholars Press, 1979) 119.

¹² 1QpHab VII 10-12; VIII 1-3; XII 4-5; 4QpPs^a II 5 (cf. lines 15, 23). See also the preponderance of the term עשה in IQS (I 2, 5, 16-18; V 3-4, 20-22; VIII 1-2, 15-16; IX 13, 15-16, 20-21, 23-24).

¹³ For a summary of these discrepancies, see T. S. Beall, "Essenes," *EDSS*, I.265-9. On the Essene belief in resurrection in Josephus, see A. Paul, "Flavius Josephus et les Esséniens," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Forty Years of Research* (ed. D. Dimant and U. Rappaport; STDJ 10; Jerusalem/Leiden: Magnes Press and Yad Ishak Ben-Zvi/E. J. Brill, 1992) 132-7.

¹⁴ The exceptions are found in Josephus, *War* 2.8.5 (§§129, 131); *Ant.* 18.1.5 (§22).

¹⁵ This is S. Talmon's argument; see "The Calendar Reckoning of the Sect from the Judean Desert," in *Aspects of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 2d ed. (ed. C. Rabin and Y. Yadin; ScrHier 4; Jerusalem, Magnes, 1965) 197. For this reason, Talmon questions the identification of the Essenes and the community of the renewed covenant.

tion of the oaths spoken by men as well as the procedures of their initiation.¹⁶ Finally, and more to the point of the present study, the Damascus Document and the Rule of the Community differ in their expectations of the individual's contribution to the common fund, but this difference of practice is not noted in the utopian accounts of the ancient historians.

These differences are important, but they can be and have been explained. To begin with, it is likely that Philo and Josephus both relied on several sources in common, although they do not both rely equally on them. This would explain the occasional similarities between the two authors' accounts (where they share a single source), and it would also account to some extent for discrepancies between their descriptions (where they employ or emphasize different sources). The features found in the scrolls and absent from the secondary witnesses—for example, messianic speculation and the solar calendar—may have been considered too arcane or simply too Jewish for apologetic works designed for a Gentile audience.¹⁷ Moreover, the sectarian literature designates some teachings of the *yahad* as “mysteries” or secrets into which novices are initiated, which may have restricted the circulation and comprehension of these teachings outside sectarian circles (see Josephus, *War* 2.8.7 [§§141-142]). Finally, whether Philo and Josephus relied on their own experience of the Essenes, as Josephus avers (*Life* 10-11), or on a common source, their exposure to the beliefs and practices of the group would have been limited, and so they could not be expected to reflect the full scope of institutions and perspectives bequeathed to us in an eclectic sectarian library spanning some 150–200 years.

Challenges to the premise of the first inference linking the Qumran community to the Essenes have been discussed. Since these can be resolved, this leaves only the logic of the inference on shaky ground. But that is only true if the conclusion is presented as logically necessary. If the multiple correspondences of belief, practice, and chronology are instead viewed as evidence of a probable or plausible relationship, then the conclusion is as reasonable as it can be in the face of limited evidence.¹⁸ Some have questioned even the plausibility of the proposed relationship, however. For example, Martin Goodman has argued that, given the likely diversity of socio-religious groups in first century C.E. Judea, it would be extremely coincidental if the scrolls corre-

¹⁶ See Beall, *Josephus' Description of the Essenes Illustrated by the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988) 74-8.

¹⁷ We need not go as far as some have in treating the accounts of Philo and Josephus as “Hellenizing distortions” that cannot be trusted vis-à-vis the primary Qumran literature. We should rather filter out the redactional elements and identify the historical phenomena that may lie at their core.

¹⁸ Beall takes the relationship of the Essenes to the Dead Sea sect as a working hypothesis, and finds that hypothesis more than verified in the close relationships he establishes on matters practice; see *Josephus' Description of the Essenes*.

sponded to one of the three sects selected by Josephus for comment.¹⁹ This argument is not compelling, however, because it disregards the fact that Josephus comments on the most widespread and enduring groups dating from the time of his sources to his own era, a period which corresponds to the paleographic range of the scrolls and the archaeological time-frame of the Qumran site, not to mention the content of some of the literature found there.

Problems with the second inference must also be discussed, and that is the correlation of the Qumran site first with Pliny's Essene center above 'Ein Gedi and second with the scrolls themselves (*Nat. Hist.* 5.17.4 [§73]). The first point was addressed in Roland de Vaux's revised Schweich lecture, published posthumously in 1973. When Pliny described the Essene center and then commented that 'Ein Gedi was "*infra hos*," de Vaux argued, he did not mean that the spring was immediately below the Essene center but that it was south of or downstream from the site.²⁰ In support of this argument, de Vaux adduced attested meanings of "*infra*" as well as the lack of archaeological evidence anywhere else between Qumran and 'Ein Gedi for a settlement of any significant size, let alone one near palm trees. Granting then that both of de Vaux's inferences are reasonable, if not logically necessary, the question remains whether it is necessary to connect the scrolls found at Qumran with the compound discovered there.²¹ A positive case for that association has been made in Chapter 6 (§6.1), and so will not be repeated here.

In the final analysis, then, the reasons given to support an identification of the Essenes with the Qumran sectarians outweigh the reasons against such an association. Similarities between the secondary descriptions and the primary texts include the geographic location of Pliny's Essenes and that of the caves and Qumran compound, the period of time in which Josephus places the Essenes, which corresponds both to the period of occupation at the Qumran compound and the general paleographic range of the Qumran manuscripts, and the internal evidence of the scrolls themselves, which legislate a lifestyle fundamentally similar to that described in the secondary sources. The burden of the present chapter will be to demonstrate this judgment with regard to one institution, the economy of the sect. Whether the case is made adequately or not is peripheral, however, to the bulk of this study, which has sought to de-

¹⁹ "A Note on the Qumran Sectarians, the Essenes and Josephus," *JJS* 46 (1995) 161-6.

²⁰ *Archaeology and the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 133-7. De Vaux was responding to the argument that Pliny's Essene center must have been located in or close to 'Ein Gedi. For that argument, see G. R. Driver, *The Hebrew Scrolls, from the Neighbourhood of Jericho and the Dead Sea* (London: Oxford University Press, 1950); *idem*, *The Judaean Scrolls: The Problem and a Solution* (New York: Schocken, 1965); and J.-P. Audet, "Qumrân et la notice de Pline sur les Esséniens," *RB* (1961) 446-87. E.-M. Laperrousaz responds to Audet and champions de Vaux's argument in "'Infra hos Engadda': Notes à propos d'un article récent," *RB* 69 (1962) 369-80.

²¹ Norman Golb has been perhaps the most vocal advocate of the thesis that the site and the scrolls are not connected; see "The Problem of Origin and Identification of the Dead Sea Scrolls," *PAPS* 124 (1980) 1-24.

scribe sectarian economic rationales and practices in terms native to the primary literary and archaeological evidence from Qumran.

8.2 Sources for the Secondary Testimony

The accounts of the Essenes in Philo and Josephus are so similar that scholars have proposed several common sources behind them. Foremost among the candidates are the works of Nicolaus of Damascus, the court historian of Herod the Great, whose *World History* and *Collection of Remarkable Customs* certainly lie behind much of the material on Hasmonean- and Herodian-era history in Philo and Josephus.²² In addition to these texts, Roland Bergmeier has proposed that Philo and Josephus shared two additional sources for their descriptions of the Essenes, a “Hellenistic-Jewish-Essene” source and a “Pythagorizing Essene” tradition.²³ Bergmeier believes that the material on Essene common life derives from these last two sources, but there is reason to believe that portrait of the Essene *oikonomia* was also influenced by Nicolaus.

Nicolaus of Damascus (64–sometime after 4 B.C.E.) was a philosopher and historian. His significance in western history lies chiefly in his role as a transmitter of traditions, both of Greek philosophical thought to the Semitic-speaking world, and of Jewish history through Philo, Josephus and early Christian compilers. Tutor to the children of Antony and Cleopatra, he entered into the service of Herod sometime in the decade following the Battle of Actium (31 B.C.E.) and Cleopatra’s death (30 B.C.E.), remaining in Herod’s service until Herod’s death in 4 B.C.E.

²² Felix Jacoby lists fourteen fragments explicitly quoted by Josephus and two speeches in an appendix; however, none of these have to do with the Essene economy (*Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*, 3 vols. [Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1954–1964; original Berlin: Weidmann, 1923]). On Nicolaus in general, see B. Z. Wacholder, *Nicolaus of Damascus* (University of California Publications in History 75; Berkeley: University of California Press, 1962), who lists the fourteen fragments and their parallels in the *Antiquities* on pp. 91-2 n. 42. Several studies have established Josephus’ dependence on Nicolaus for the Essene material: A. Adam, *Antike Berichte über die Essener*, 2d ed. (rev. C. Burchard; KIT 182; Berlin/New York: de Gruyter, 1972) 22-3, 34, 41; G. Klinzing, *Die Umdeutung des Kultus in der Qumrangemeinde und im Neuen Testament* (SUNT 7; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1971) 48-9; L. H. Feldman, *Josephus and Modern Scholarship (1937–1980)* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1984) 593-4; M. Stern, “Nicolaus of Damascus as a Source of Jewish History in the Herodian and Hasmonean Age,” in *Studies in Bible and Jewish History Dedicated to the Memory of Jacob Liver* (ed. B. Uffenheimer; Tel Aviv: University of Tel Aviv Faculty for Liberal Arts, 1972) 375-89 [Hebrew]; *idem*, *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism* (Jerusalem: Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1976) 1.229-32. D. S. Williams, who argues for Josephus’ authorship of *War* 2.8.2-13 (§§119-161) on the basis of stylometric considerations, nevertheless believes Josephus adapted a source; see “Josephus and the Authorship of *War* 2.119-161 (On the Essenes),” *JSJ* 25 (1994) 207-221. D. R. Schwartz has demonstrated Josephus’ reliance on Nicolaus for his account of the Pharisees in “Josephus and Nicolaus on the Pharisees,” *JSJ* 14 (1983) 157-71.

²³ *Die Essener-Berichte des Flavius Josephus: Quellenstudien zu den Essenerertexten im Werk des jüdischen Historiographen* (Kampen: Kok Pharos, 1993).

Nicolaus certainly lies behind parts of Philo's depiction of the economy of the Therapeutae, as Ben Zion Wacholder has demonstrated. Philo's comparison of the Therapeutae and the Galactophagoi of Homer's *Iliad*, in terms of their communal living and abandonment of worldly possessions, relies on a peculiar interpretation of a term in the *Iliad* for which Nicolaus was responsible.²⁴ Moreover, since Nicolaus seems to be keenly interested in groups practicing a communal life, Wacholder thinks it likely that he described the Essenes as well, and that this account lies behind Philo and Josephus.²⁵ In addition to Nicolaus' interest in communal life, he opposed slavery (90 F 139), a trait attributed approvingly to the Essenes in Philo and Josephus.²⁶ Furthermore, in Josephus' work the Essenes are treated favorably in contrast to the Pharisees,²⁷ and in both Philo and Josephus are said to enjoy royal favor.²⁸ These appraisals correspond to the Herodian point of view, and so may well derive from the pen of the historian of that court. To Nicolaus we might also trace the Hellenizing portrait of the Essenes and its corollary, the disin-

²⁴ *Contempl. Life* 17; *Iliad* 2.135-6; Nicolaus, fragment 104 5 (Jacoby). Wacholder discusses the shared interpretation of ἀβίωσις in *Nicolaus of Damascus*, 124 n. 72. Nicolaus understands the term to mean "having no subsistence," whereas most commentators understand it as a proper name. The fact that Philo follows Nicolaus in this interpretation suggests dependence.

²⁵ The Galactophagoi or milk-drinkers are discussed at greater length by Nicolaus than by Philo; Nicolaus mentions that "envy, hatred or fear had never been recorded because of their communal life and practice of justice" (F 104 5; cf. Philo, *Good Person*, 84). The other groups Nicolaus mentions in this regard are the Libyrnii (90 F 103d), the Dapsolibytes (F 103p), and the Iberians (F 105). Note that Josephus' treatment of the Essenes in *Ant.* 18.1.5 (§22) concludes with a reference to another Scythian tribe, the Ctistae among the Dacians, who also avoided wives and slaves and/or shared goods (although the reading of Ctistae is disputed; see Beall, *Josephus' Description of the Essenes*, 121-2 and Strabo, *Geography* 7.3.3 [§296], on whom Josephus may depend).

²⁶ Philo, *Good Person* 79; *Hypothetica* (*Praep. ev.* 8.11.4); Josephus, *Ant.* 18.1.5 (§22).

²⁷ See Schwartz, "Josephus and Nicolaus on the Pharisees," 157-71. There is a debate about the changing nature of Josephus' portrait of the Pharisees, that is, the fact that their influence is hardly mentioned in the *War* but is amplified in the later *Antiquities*. Morton Smith first interpreted this as a reflection of the lack of Pharisaic influence in the mid-first century C.E. and Josephus' pro-Pharisaic propaganda campaign toward the end of the century as their power increased ("Palestinian Judaism in the First Century," in *Israel: Its Role in Civilization* [ed. M. Davis; New York: Seminary Israel Institute of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1956] 67-81; see also the work of J. Neusner, "Josephus' Pharisees: A Complete Repertoire," in *Formative Judaism: Religious, Historical and Literary Studies. Third Series: Torah, Pharisees and Rabbis* [BJS 37; Chico, California: Scholars Press, 1982] 61-82, reprinted in *Josephus, Judaism, and Christianity* [ed. L. H. Feldman and G. Hata; Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1987] 274-92; and S. J. D. Cohen, *Josephus in Galilee and Rome: His Vita and Development as a Historian* [CSCT 8; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1979]). Schwartz believes that the Pharisees were influential leading up to the First Revolt, but that Josephus deliberately downplayed their role until it was safe to treat it more fully. At that later point when he wrote the *Antiquities*, he could utilize Nicolaus' somewhat hostile account more freely. David Goodblatt agrees with Schwartz regarding Josephus' intent, but points out that Schwartz has not proven the influence of the Pharisees in the ante-bellum period ("The Place of the Pharisees in First Century Judaism: The State of the Debate," *JSJ* 20 [1989] 12-30).

²⁸ Philo, *Good Person* 89-91; *Hypothetica* (*Praep. ev.* 8.11.18); Josephus, *Ant.* 15.10.5 (§§373-379).

terest in or lack of familiarity with the nuances of theology and ritual practice in the group.

Bergmeier does not believe that Nicolaus is responsible for so much of the economic portrait of the Essenes in Philo and Josephus. He restricts the material from Nicolaus to passages emphasizing the prophetic and divinatory skills of the Essenes. Given the proven interest of Nicolaus in communal living and the Herodian court's positive appreciation of the Essenes, this view seems too restrictive. Bergmeier believes that much of the remainder of the economic portrait derives from sources, but is wary of attributing these solely to Nicolaus. He prefers to refer instead to a Hellenistic-Jewish Essene source which celebrates the moral caliber of the Essenes and views them as exemplars of ἀρετή or virtue, and to a "Pythagorizing Essene" tradition responsible for those passages in which the Essenes are clothed in the characteristics of this Greek philosophical group.²⁹ As we shall see, both of these putative sources explain at various points the portrait of the Essene economy.

Other scholars are more skeptical that common sources are needed to explain the similarities between the accounts of the Essenes. Tessa Rajak contends that Josephus relied on his own experience of the Essenes and on a Greek philosophical and ethnographic model for describing an ideal society when he composed his account of the Essenes in *War* 2, and that in the *Antiquities* 18 he depends directly on Philo, while in general he must have known of Philo's treatment of the group.³⁰ The extant fragments of Nicolaus and Josephus' admitted reliance on him, however, render a common source more likely. Madeline Petit does not believe that Philo used written sources at all when compiling his accounts of the Essenes, but rather based his descriptions on extensive personal knowledge of the group and his desire to portray this Jewish group in terms of the model of a Hellenistic philosophical association.³¹ But the stereotypical presentation of the group, Wacholder's close comparisons of particular passages, and the similarities with Josephus' account render this conclusion unnecessary.

The correspondences between Philo's accounts of the Essenes and those of Josephus are best explained by the thesis of common sources.³² Nicolaus

²⁹ Bergmeier finds a fourth source apparently unique to Josephus in the "doxographic three-schools" source which emphasized the teachings of the groups, primarily their views of destiny. To these three "schools" of Pharisees, Sadducees, and Essenes, Josephus himself grafted the "fourth philosophy." Since this source says nothing about the Essene economy, it need concern us no further.

³⁰ "Ciò che Flavio Giuseppe Vide: Josephus and the Essenes," in *Josephus and the History of the Greco-Roman Period: Essays in Memory of Morton Smith* (ed. F. Parente and J. Sievers; SPB 41; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1994) 141-60, especially 147-8.

³¹ "Les Esséens de Philon d'Alexandrie et les Esséniens," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Forty Years of Research*, 139-55.

³² Thus also Per Bilde, although he notes that the account of the Essenes in the *War* has significant new material which may derive from a source but which none of the other works

and the other possible contenders may be suspected where there is an emphasis on communal living, an anti-slavery perspective, and where the political prerogatives under Herod are described. Where Hellenizing tendencies are observed, the situation is more difficult; it may be Nicolaus, but it may also be other Hellenizing sources as Bergmeier proposes, or the hand of Philo or Josephus themselves.³³ The fact that both Philo and Josephus treat the same sorts of topics as they describe religious-philosophical groups may be even more broadly attributed, following Gregory E. Sterling, to conventions of ethnographic description of such groups in the Greco-Roman world.³⁴

8.3 *Philo*

Philo Judaeus (c.30 B.C.E.—45 C.E.) was a leading figure in the Jewish community of Alexandria. In that position, he frequently assumed the role of apologist for the Jewish people to the Roman world. One of his chief strategies in that endeavor was to portray Jewish doctrines as compatible with Greek philosophy, and to raise up Jewish individuals and groups that particularly exemplified Greek ideals. The Essenes of Palestine provided him with just such an opportunity. As Doron Mendels has observed, Philo's presentation of the Essenes—and of the Therapeutae, for that matter—represents the Alexandrian's attempt to thrust the Jewish people into the larger Greco-Roman debate about the ideal society and the ideal way of life for the individual.³⁵ These debates were not academic, but guided other debates about legislation and social ethics in an increasingly diverse empire.

One of the ethical issues with which Greco-Roman philosophy had long contended was the proper attitude toward wealth. We have seen that this was also a central issue in the Jewish legal, prophetic and sapiential traditions.

share. These new elements could be due to either redaction or a unique source, but since they overlap with the scrolls, Bilde believes that redactional creativity is precluded ("The Essenes in Philo and Josephus," in *Qumran Between the Old and New Testaments* [ed. F. H. Cryer and T. L. Thompson; JSOTSup 290/CIS 6; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998] 64-5).

³³ Bilde would argue that the Hellenistic attributes were correctly reported because they were adopted by the Essenes themselves ("The Essenes in Philo and Josephus," 66-8), but this appears unlikely. While the group does absorb certain teachings with likely foreign origins (e.g., heightened dualism, mantic wisdom), its near xenophobia and reinforced boundaries—not only against foreigners but also against fellow Jews—argue against an easy appropriation of Hellenistic social structures. Note too that the preferred language for sectarian texts was not even the common Aramaic, but rather an archaizing Hebrew, further suggesting conservatism. Bilde is able to make the claim because he defines rather generic values as specifically Hellenistic, such as "individualism, personal choice, spiritualization, dualism, asceticism, and frugality" (p. 67). But why and how are these exclusively "recognizable Hellenistic ideals"?

³⁴ "Athletes of Virtue": An Analysis of the Summaries in Acts (2:41-47; 4:32-35; 5:12-16)," *JBL* 113 (1994) 679-96.

³⁵ "Hellenistic Utopia and the Essenes," *HTR* 72 (1979) 207-222. Josephus is also to be understood in this context.

Philo's perspective on wealth shares much in common with the sapiential tradition in particular, and with certain Stoic, Cynic, Aristotelian and Platonic ideals.³⁶ He speaks from a position of affluence, but is often hostile towards wealth (though see *Flight* 23-50). As T. Ewald Schmidt has noted, this hostility is not born out of concern for the oppressed, as it had been in the Jewish legal and prophetic traditions, nor is it a critique of wealth *per se*. Rather, Philo is opposed to the corruptive influence of wealth, and so is disposed to value any individual or group who exhibits self-control and moderation in relation to wealth and luxury.³⁷ It is the further degeneration of the soul that is to be feared rather than wealth itself, and the Essenes and Therapeutae, by exhibiting the highest morals in their economic practices, demonstrate the quality of their virtue.

8.3.2 Texts

Philo mentions the Essenes in two texts composed before 40 C.E., *That Every Good Person is Free* (12-13, §§75-91) and *Hypothetica* 11.1-18 (*apud* Eusebius, *Praeparatio evangelica* 8.11.1-18). In addition, he almost certainly composed a separate treatise on the group, to which he refers in *Contemplative Life* 1. Philo does not claim a first-hand knowledge of the Essenes, and even admits his lack of familiarity when he attempts to explain the name of the group.³⁸

8.3.2.1 That Every Good Person Is Free 12-13

In *That Every Good Man Is Free* 12-13 (§§75-91), fully two-thirds of Philo's discussion treats either the production, distribution or dedication of wealth. The economic portrait begins with descriptions of sacrificial commerce, and then moves to issues of production and acquisition of wealth within the community: occupations, modest sustenance, slave labor, and sabbath laws about work. Philo presents the values of the community, which are largely concerned with wealth, in terms of virtues familiar to his Greek-speaking audience. He then resumes his description of the day-to-day details of distribution, which work in favor of those who are no longer able to produce (the sick, the aged). After a summary comment in praise of these "athletes of virtue," Philo mentions that the Essenes were regarded as free and independent individuals by the various kings who ruled the region; while Philo does

³⁶ D. L. Mealand, "Philo of Alexandria's Attitude to Riches," *ZNW* 69 (1978) 258-64.

³⁷ "Hostility to Wealth in Philo of Alexandria," *JSNT* 19 (1983) 85-97. Schmidt opposes the tendency of scholars such as Mealand to draw too simple a correlation between socio-economic circumstance and attitudes toward wealth.

³⁸ "Certain ones among them are called by the name 'Essenes'...which, it appears to me (κατ' ἐμὴν δόξαν), while not exactly a word in the Greek language, is a name comparable to 'holiness'" (*Good Person* 75).

not explain this deference, it is possible that it included economic privileges as well as freedom from loyalty oaths and persecution.

The overarching framework that governs Philo's portrait of the Essenes is a trinity of virtues that Philo considers the group to exemplify. In §§83-84, Philo presents the three group attributes: love of God (φιλόθεος), love of virtue (φιλάρετος), and love of men (φιλόανθρωπος). As we will see, this trinity governs the proximate discussion of the group's common life in §§84-87; but it also dictates the order of Philo's entire treatment. The virtues Philo identifies, though clearly Hellenized, are not unrelated to the virtues the community espouses in its own literature, such as meekness, patience, generous compassion, goodness, intelligence, understanding, enthusiasm for justice, purity, unpretentious behavior with moderation in everything, and prudence with regard to the mysteries of knowledge (1QS IV 3-6). The Hellenistic coloring and the emphasis on virtue suggest Bergmeier's Hellenistic-Jewish-Essene source (hereafter HJE).

The presentation of the Essenes begins in §75 with the dual claim that the group's name derives from the word "holiness" and that the group's energies are completely devoted to piety: "Indeed, they are men utterly dedicated to the service of God; they do not offer animal sacrifice, but rather judge it fitting to render their minds holy." The purpose of these two claims is to portray the group as God-lovers. The reason why Philo begins with this virtue is suggested in the passage itself: the group refused to participate in the very institution through which most ancients expressed their piety, the sacrificial cult. Philo betrays some sensitivity on this point by locating this virtue first, phrasing the matter in exalted terms ("they are men *utterly dedicated* to the service of God"³⁹), and by clarifying that the group does indeed express piety, but in a different fashion. In terms of the present study, Philo corroborates the evidence of the scrolls. First, Philo's comment that the Essenes consider it more worthwhile to render holy (κατασκευάζειν ἱεροπρεπεῖς) their minds or intentions (διάνοιαι) is consistent with the sectarian notions that their disciplines functioned as atoning sacrifices and that the dedication of one's knowledge, energies, wealth, deeds and insights fulfilled the Deuteronomic command to love God with all one's heart (διάνοια),⁴⁰ soul and strength (see §3.3.1.3 above). Second, Philo's claim that the Essenes separated from the Temple is consistent with those passages in the scrolls which justify separation from the Temple in terms of its present defilement. In the nets of Belial exposition in CD IV-VI, the defilement of the Temple was clearly connected to economic abuses, such as the misdication of property to avoid economic obligations to one's kin or the poor, the offering of money tainted by violence, and the inadequate provision of Temple funds for widows,

³⁹ The attribute is rendered: τοῖς μάλιστα θεραπευταὶ θεοῦ γεγονόσιν.

⁴⁰ Codex Vaticanus corrects Deut 6:5 καρδίας to διανοίας.

orphans and the needy.⁴¹ The question of sectarian participation in the Temple is contested because the primary literature presents conflicting views,⁴² but even the Damascus Document, which presumes some ongoing participation in the sacrificial system, shares a critique of the Temple.

Philo portrays the Essene separation from human society not as misanthropy, but as philanthropy; they flee the cities because social life as constituted there is inimical to physical and spiritual health:

First it should be explained that, fleeing the cities because of the ungodliness customary among town-dwellers, they live in villages; for they know that, as noxious air breeds epidemics there, so does the social life afflict the soul with incurable ills. (§76)⁴³

This apology succeeds in portraying the Essenes not as social misfits but as healthy souls who avoid urban life because it breeds physical and spiritual disease. We do not know precisely what Philo is referring to here, but the portrait is consistent with the scrolls' own account of separating from the practices of violent gain among their contemporaries and living by a more peaceful commercial system of barter and exchange within their own "camps."⁴⁴ Furthermore, the critique of urban activity as "ungodly" corresponds to the association of vicious commerce with sin in the scrolls.

Philo then begins a lengthy treatment of the second attribute of the community, their love of virtue. Later, in §84, Philo will summarize this quality as contempt for riches, glory and pleasure, combined with an embrace of continence, endurance, frugality, simplicity, contentment, modesty and obedience. In the earlier §§76-79, the community is described in terms of these

⁴¹ Some of the scrolls or passages therein presume ongoing participation in the Temple cult (IQM II, the Temple Scroll, CD XI 17-21). Other passages indicate that the sectarians had separated from the Temple and its priests (CD IV 15-19; V 6-15; VI 12-VII 4; IQpHab IX 4-X 5; XI 12-XII 14). Still others portray the community as the new and alternative Temple (see §2.5.2 and §3.3.2 above). Josephus reports that the Essenes actually practiced animal sacrifice in lieu of the Temple rituals (*Ant.* 18.1.5 [§19]), although there is no archaeological evidence from Qumran to support this (*pace* J.-B. Humbert, "L'espace sacré à Qumrân. Propositions pour l'archéologie," *RB* 101-102 [1994] 161-211).

⁴² See J. M. Baumgarten, "Sacrifice and Worship among the Jewish Sectarians of the Dead Sea (Qumran) Scrolls," *HTR* 46 (1953) 141-59; reprinted in *Studies in Qumran Law*, 39-56; D. H. Wallace, "The Essenes and Temple Sacrifice," *TZ* 13 (1957) 335-8; B. Gärtner, *The Temple and the Community in Qumran and the New Testament: A Comparative Study in the Temple Symbolism of the Qumran Texts and the New Testament* (SNTSMS 1; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965) 16-46; J. M. Baumgarten, "The Essenes and the Temple: A Reappraisal," in *Studies in Qumran Law* (SJLA 24; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1977) 59-61; A. I. Baumgarten, "Josephus on Essene Sacrifice," *JJS* 35 (1994) 169-83.

⁴³ The translations that follow are based on the Greek texts and English translations of G. Vermes and M. D. Goodman, eds., *The Essenes According to the Classical Sources* (OCT 1; Sheffield: JSOT, 1989).

⁴⁴ Philo's reference to illness and disease is also suggestive of the concern for healing and for the work of the angel Raphael in some of the sectarian literature; but Philo may just be utilizing a rhetorical convention about city life rather than reflecting any particular familiarity with the sectarian outlook.

very attributes, suggesting that Philo is indeed describing their general love of virtue:

Some Essenes work in the fields, and others practice various crafts contributing to peace; and in this way they are useful to themselves and to their neighbors. They do not hoard silver and gold, and do not acquire vast domains with the intention of drawing revenue from them, but they procure for themselves only what is necessary to life. Almost alone among all mankind, they live without goods and without property; and this by preference, and not as a result of a reverse of fortune.⁴⁵ They think themselves thus very rich, rightly considering frugality and contentment to be real superabundance. In vain would one look among them for makers of arrows, or javelins, or swords, or helmets, or armor, or shields; in short, for makers of arms, or military machines, or any instrument of war, or even of peaceful objects which might be turned to evil purpose. They have not the smallest idea, not even a dream, of wholesale, retail, or marine commerce, rejecting everything that might excite them to cupidity.

In contrast to the city-dwellers, who acquire their wealth in ungodly ways, the Essenes procure only what is necessary to life, and that in peaceful occupations. Philo indicates that these occupations include farming and some crafts, but quite emphatically do not include any kind of commerce or the manufacture of armaments. There is nothing in the scrolls to contradict this portrait. Rather, the scrolls would appear to confirm it. To begin with, the frequent references to agricultural tithes in the Damascus Document and in the sectarian halakhic material support the contention that the sectarians farmed. The sapiential work *Instruction* is also relevant, in that it includes a section directed to the sage-farmer. Moreover, some farming implements were found at the Qumran site. The practice of some crafts is borne out by the archaeological record of the Qumran compound and caves, which at least indicates that the group produced pottery, manufactured mineral products and date honey, and copied scrolls. The emphatic exclusion of armament production from the possible industrial occupations may be related to the fact that the community's economic attitudes were partly shaped as a critique of the imperial practices of taxation, food levies, and violent pillage and symbolized through apocalyptic imagery.⁴⁶ Philo mentions that "they have not the smallest idea, not even a dream, of wholesale, retail, or marine commerce, rejecting everything that might excite them to cupidity." The scrolls also witness to the sectarians' disgust with commerce, but the rationale given is not because commerce is associated with cupidity alone; it is also associated with violence and

⁴⁵ *Contra Pliny*.

⁴⁶ The Book of the Watchers, represented among the Qumran scrolls, attributes metallurgy and armament production to the sinful revelation of the Watchers (see *1 En.* 8.1; 9.6-10). The Watchers may have represented the third-century B.C.E. Diadochoi, the Hellenistic princes who succeeded Alexander the Great, which would then be another case of the symbolization of imperial evil (G. W. E. Nickelsburg, "Apocalyptic and Myth in *1 Enoch* 6-11," *JBL* 96 [1977] 383-405).

arrogance, from which the community has suffered and which the community therefore eschews.⁴⁷

In addition to these occupations, Philo discusses the Essene attitude toward other sources of revenue. He notes that they neither hoard silver and gold nor real property. Philo does not explain these practices further, but we may presume that resources in silver and gold would allow the community to loan at interest and thereby gain additional revenues, while vast domains of land would provide profits both through their agricultural yields and through rental income. The sectarian literature criticizes these activities and is thus consistent with Philo's observation. The Damascus Document specifically forbids usury and surety (§2.4.1.1 above), while the pre-sectarian Instruction discourages it strongly.⁴⁸ In addition, the eschatological outlook in the sectarian literature presumes a future redemption that is in part economic, articulated against a society in which some individuals oppressed others by depriving them of land and assets. It even appears that entry into the community included the scrutiny and relief of economic burdens borne by the novices. The sectarian distaste for the consolidation of land and wealth and for the consequent deficiency experienced by many is entirely consistent with Philo's testimony.

Philo claims that the Essenes' "appetite" for riches is limited: they procure only what is necessary to their lives. Philo's next statement may appear to contradict this, when he claims that they live without goods and without property. That is, the Essenes procure necessities but have no accumulated goods or property. Presumably, Philo means that they procure food, clothing and shelter, but live without luxury items, moveable property or real estate. Alternatively, he may be understanding the statement "they have no property" as the lack of private ownership. In any event, this apparent contradiction is borne out in the scrolls themselves, where the sectarians are said to share some or all of their property in a common pool but can nevertheless have their property stolen and can be fined for lying about property. Philo indicates that the practice of having no property is "by preference, and not as a result of a reverse of fortune."⁴⁹ This is partly consistent with the frequent emphasis on

⁴⁷ Hippolytus of Rome (c.170–c.236 C.E.) attests to another possible impediment to commerce, namely idolatry. He reports the otherwise unattested tradition that one of the four groups among the Essenes does not "handle even a current coin, saying that they ought not either to carry, or behold, or fashion an image" (*Refutation of all Heresies* 9.26; cf. Mark 12:13-17; Matt 22:15-22; Luke 20:20-26). This passage reminds one of the defaced imperial coins found at Masada and the fact that the coins at Qumran were not similarly altered (§6.3 above).

⁴⁸ For the Damascus Document, see §2.4.1.1 above and J. M. Baumgarten, ed., *Qumran Cave 4.XIII: The Damascus Document (4Q266–273)* (DJD 18; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996). For Instruction, see §4.4.1 and J. Strugnell, D. J. Harrington, S. J., and T. Elgvin, with J. A. Fitzmyer, S. J., eds., *Qumran Cave 4.XXIV: Sapiential Texts, Part 2, 4QInstruction (Mūsār Lē Mēvīn): 4Q415 ff.* (DJD 34; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999).

⁴⁹ Philo refers to the voluntary nature of the act in *Hypothetica* (*Praep. ev.* 8.11.2).

the voluntary nature of the donation of wealth, a feature particularly apparent in the Rule of the Community; however, it contradicts the frequent references to distress in the sectarian literature which point to the near-necessity of sectarian economic relationships.

Philo considers the happiness of the Essenes and their sense of plenty to be the result of their frugal lifestyle. This rationale was not present in the scrolls. In its place, the scrolls indicate that the simple lifestyle of the group is due in part to political oppression and material deprivation, as well as to obedience to communal judgments about wealth. One statement in 4QInstruction^b explicitly denies that poverty is an ideal state of life (2 ii 20-21). Nevertheless, there are certain passages in the scrolls, particularly among the sapiential texts, that are consistent with Philo's assessment. In Instruction, for example, true contentment comes through wisdom rather than through wealth (4QInstruction^b 2 iii 8-15; §4.4.2 above).⁵⁰

After mentioning the Essenes' aversion to cupidity, Philo discusses their attitude toward slavery in §79:

There are no slaves among them, not a single one, but being all free they help one another. And they condemn slave-owners, not only as unjust in that they offend against equality, but still more as ungodly, in that they transgress the law of nature which, having given birth to all men equally and nourished them like a mother, makes of them true brothers, not in name but in reality. But for its own greater enjoyment crafty avarice (πλεονεξία⁵¹) has dealt mortal blows at this human kinship, putting hostility in the place of affection, and hatred in the place of friendship.

Interestingly, the legal portions of the sectarian rules and halakhic texts nowhere forbid slavery. In fact, some texts seem to presume that it still exists (CD XI 12; XII 10-11; KhQ1). Nevertheless, a critical attitude toward slavery is present in the Instruction tradition, which counsels the maven against practices that would lead to debt slavery at the same time that they presume he might well fall into it.⁵² The sectarians' interest in the sabbatical and jubilee years of release, their eschatological hope that the messianic future would include economic redemption, and the scrutiny of initiates that may have included a kind of proleptic redemption, all indicate a certain aversion to the relative deprivation of human beings. The sectarians also criticized wealth by violent gain, particularly in the Damascus Document and the *pesharim*, and this certainly would have included debt slavery and other forms of servitude.

⁵⁰ See also IQH^a VI 20.

⁵¹ Here Philo may depend upon the Platonic discussion of "overreaching" or avarice; see *Republic* 1.349b-350c.

⁵² Notice, however, that the document presumes that the maven may indeed sink to this state and instructs him about how to behave even in his poverty. The burden of the document is to counsel the maven no matter what circumstance of life he enters, and this is contextualized in the eschatological prologue which declares God's intent both to restore those now lacking and to reveal the true difference between the great and the small.

Philo connects the Essene hatred of slavery with the Essene belief that “avarice puts hostility in the place of affection and hatred in the place of friendship.” This renders the practice in terms of the Greek ideal of friendship, but is not inconsistent with the sectarians’ own rationale for brotherly love, based on Leviticus 19:18 (“you shall not take vengeance or bear a grudge against any of your people, but you shall love your neighbor as yourself”; see 1QS VII 8; CD VI 20–VII 1). In addition, the Damascus Document refers to the group as an association (חברה), a term which implies obligations to one another that would not otherwise obtain (CD XIV 12–19 and parallels). The mutual obligations of the group’s associates are represented in the sectarian literature not in terms of friendship, but in terms of covenant obligation.

It is likely that Philo’s discussion of the Essene opposition to slavery is amplified by influence from two directions. If he depends on Nicolaus of Damascus for this passage, he may be borrowing some of that historian’s aversion to the institution. For his own part, Philo was disgusted by the practice, not only for its violation of equality as he professes, but because of the sexual compromises it requires, to which he refers only obliquely. When Philo praises the Essene aversion to slavery because it acknowledges the “ungodly” character of the practice, he explains that slavery is ungodly because slave-owners “transgress the law of nature” which make all men brothers. What he does not say explicitly but does explain elsewhere is that this transgression is not merely a matter of making another labor for you, thus treating a “brother” as a slave, but is also a matter of making another man one’s sexual partner, thus treating a man as a woman.⁵³ Philo’s concern for the sexual abuse of slaves is remarkable, as Holger Szesnat has recently noted, particularly because Philo generally accepts slavery (*Spec. Laws* 2.67, 90–91; 3.137).⁵⁴ Thus Philo’s aversion appears to be about equality, as he professes, but it has added force because of the sexual inequalities it entails. Philo’s interest in the matter may lead him to amplify his treatment of the Essene attitude towards slavery.

After a brief interlude in §80 concerning the Essenes’ negative attitude toward philosophy, which (he scarcely notes) damages his own apologetic assertions, Philo turns to their ethical system and portrays it as their greatest strength. He positions his discussion in the literary setting of the community’s own synagogue sessions, thus illustrating that piety is the foremost of all the three virtues—love of God, love of virtue, and love of humanity. Each of these virtues is demonstrated in part through the community’s attitudes to-

⁵³ See Philo’s treatment of the subject in *Contempl. Life* 49–62, where the *symposia* of the Greeks are contrasted to the Pentecost gatherings of the Therapeutae, a group opposed to slavery (§70). Note here too that the possession of slaves (§70), as well as the sexual use of slaves (§59), are described as outside the laws of nature.

⁵⁴ “‘Pretty Boys’ in Philo’s *De Vita Contemplativa*,” *SPhilo* 10 (BJS 319; 1998) 87–107.

ward wealth. Before the three virtues are introduced, Philo notes that the sectarians refrain from work on the sabbath:

On [the seventh day] they abstain from other work and proceed to the holy places called synagogues, where they sit in appointed places, according to their age, the young men below the old, attentive and well-behaved. (§81)

The Damascus Document and 4QOrdinances^b frgs. 3–4 confirm that the sectarians took the sabbath prohibition of work seriously. They further indicate something Philo does not mention, that the interpretation of the sabbath laws was more severe than in the larger Jewish community, and was in fact one of the factors contributing to the group's separation from Jewish society.⁵⁵

In the context of the Essenes' sabbath discussions in the synagogue, Philo presents the three chief virtues that guide the group's interests:

Of their love of God they give a thousand examples by constant and unceasing purity throughout the whole of life, by the rejection of oaths, the rejection of falsehood, and by the belief that the Deity is the cause of all good, but of no evil; of their love of virtue, by contempt for riches, glory and pleasure, and by their continence and endurance, and also frugality, simplicity, contentment, modesty, obedience to the rule, stability of character, and all similar virtues; of their love of men, by kindness, equality and a communal life of which, although beyond all praise, it is not out of place to speak briefly here. (§84)

Again, Philo's choice of the group's chief virtues, his names for them and description of them, all reflect categories more proper to the Greek-speaking world and suggest Bergmeier's HJE source. Nevertheless, these are matters attested in the sectarian literature, and many of them are connected to the disposition of wealth. For example, the oaths rejected by the sectarians include any oaths required in commercial transactions as well as oaths made in connection with misappropriated or dedicated property (see §2.4.1.2 and §2.4.2.1 above).⁵⁶ In Philo, the avoidance of oaths is treated as an example of love of God; likewise, in the sectarian constitutional literature, the avoidance of oaths is due to the sanctity of the divine name (CD XV 1-6). The rejection of falsehood, characterized by Philo as an example of piety, is particularly associated with property in the penal codes of both the Damascus Document and the Rule of the Community. Under the love of virtue, Philo includes contempt for riches (ἀφιλοχρηματία), glory (ἀφιλόδοξος), and pleasure (ἀφιλήδονος), as well as other virtues associated with wealth (frugality, simplicity, contentment, and obedience to a rule). On this last virtue, "obedience to a rule," Vermes and Goodman may be "Qumranizing" the phrase, which really just

⁵⁵ Josephus, on the other hand, will mention it; see *War* 2.8.9 (§147).

⁵⁶ For oaths required in commercial transactions, note that oath clauses (namely the *stipulatio* and the *bona fide* clauses) were standard elements in documentary texts of the period; see "Appendix F, Comparative Structure of Various Types of Documentary Texts," clause 16. In addition, witnesses were required to swear oaths when witnessing the execution of documents.

refers to a respect for law (τὸ νόμιμος). Despite its conventionality, it corresponds to the heightened respect for the law in the *yahad* manifest in their radical interpretation of covenant fidelity.

Philo expends the greatest quantity of ink, however, on the last of the three virtues, the love of humanity. In this interest, he may betray his apologetic concern to counter a frequent charge of misanthropy leveled by pagan critics against the Jews by portraying an ideal Jewish group as the paragon of social virtue. Whatever his motivation, it is under the heading of this virtue that he discusses the common life (κοινωνία) of the Essenes, perhaps in dependence on Nicolaus:

Firstly, no house belongs to any one man; indeed, there is no house which does not belong to them all, for as well as living in communities, their homes are open to members of the sect arriving from elsewhere. Secondly, there is but one purse for them all and a common expenditure. Their clothes and food are also held in common, for they have adopted the practice of eating together. In vain would one search elsewhere for a more effective sharing of the same roof, the same way of life and the same table. This is the reason: whatever they receive as salary for their day's work is not kept to themselves, but it is deposited before them all, in their midst, to be put to the common assistance of those who wish to make use of it. As for the sick, they are not neglected on the pretext that they can produce nothing, for, thanks to the common purse, they have whatever is needed to treat them, so there is no fear of great expense on their behalf. The aged, for their part, are surrounded with respect and care; they are like parents whose children lend them a helping hand in their old age with perfect generosity and surround them with a thousand attentions. (§§85-88)

Philo first reports that no houses belong to individuals in the Essene community; rather, the houses are open to visiting members of the sect. Philo may illuminate what modern students of the text perceive to be a tension between common property and private property in this passage. The individual retains primary use, as it were, of the assets he brings into the community (this is, after all, the house he still lives in); but the community also enjoys the use of the asset if need requires (the case not of the associate dwelling nearby,⁵⁷ but of the visiting associate). In addition to “shared” housing, the Essenes also share a common purse for expenditures, presumably to meet their basic needs of food and clothing. Indeed, the reckoning of clothes and food as common property is the next thing Philo mentions, adding that the sharing of food extends not only to a common store but also to a common table. They are able to do this because each one contributes (προτιθήμι) his daily wages into the midst of the community for the common assistance (κοινα...ωφέλεια) of those wishing to use it. Not only does any member wishing to use the money

⁵⁷ The phrase used for the those dwelling nearby is τῷ ἀτὰ θιάσους συνοικεῖν (“dwelling together in companies”). The term θιάσος could refer to a member of a guild or religious association, but it could also refer to a member of any sort of company or association.

have a claim on it, but also and in particular those who have special needs for income are supported when illness or age have reduced their capacity to produce it themselves.

Philo's account of the common life is largely corroborated by the sectarian literature discovered at Qumran, although there are some interesting differences. Both the Damascus Document and the Rule of the Community legislate some system of shared property. In the Rule, all the initiate's income is gradually mixed, but this is not mentioned in either Philo or the Damascus Document, possibly because initiation procedures are not discussed. Rather, the covenanters have some sort of shared claim on each other's property, evidenced by the law against lying about property under oath (1QS VI 24-25; CD XIV 20-21). The Damascus Document is also close to Philo when it says that the sectarians contribute their wages to a special fund, but it is a fund for the service of the association (the care of the needy and other matters). However, in the Damascus Document it is only two days' wages per month rather than all one's wages (cf. CD XIV 12-19). Philo specifically mentions the care of the sick and one's parents. These groups are not singled out in CD XIV, but the healing of the sick is a concern in the sectarian literature, and the Damascus Document's polemic against the overdedication of property seems likely to have been grounded in a concern for legitimate claimants like one's parents (§2.4.2.1 above). In the Rule, there are no restrictions on the amount of one's contribution; it is not two days' wages, but rather all one's wealth.

In summarizing the virtues of the Essenes, Philo refers to them as athletes earning freedom for themselves as rewards for their marvelous exploits (§88):

Such are the athletes of virtue which this philosophy produces, a philosophy which undoubtedly lacks the refinements of Greek eloquence, but which propounds, like gymnastic exercises, the accomplishment of praiseworthy deeds as the means by which a man ensures absolute freedom for himself.

This is Philo at his most apologetic. He refers to the Essenes as a philosophy, after acknowledging earlier that they themselves considered philosophy useless (§80). He also uses the image of gymnastic exercises for the ethical disciplines of the group, an image that would likely have offended these most non-Gentile of Jews. The Qumran sectarians viewed their disciplines as sacrificial acts that demonstrated their covenant fidelity, not as exercises in self-control that demonstrated their freedom from desire.

Philo's main point in the entire treatise is to demonstrate the value of freedom in Jewish circles, and he takes the Essenes to be exemplars of liberty in their dissociation from all that is vile. But their freedom also appears to have had a more concrete manifestation in that it spared them the persecution of pagan powers. As Philo tells it, no matter how violent the atrocities perpetrated against the Jews by foreign kings,

[none] of them, neither the most cruel, nor the most unprincipled and false, was ever able to lay a charge against the society known as Essenes, or saints; on the contrary, they were all defeated by the virtue of these men. They could only treat them as independent individuals (αὐτονόμους), free by nature (ἐλευθέροις οὐδὲν ἐκ φύσεως), and extol their communal meals and communal life as beyond all praise and as the clearest demonstration of a perfect and completely happy existence. (§91)

In Philo's presentation, the lifestyle of the Essenes effectively exempted them from royal or imperial attention. The evidence of the scrolls contradicts this picture, in that we have frequent references, particularly in the War Scroll and the *pescharim*, to the kind of violence and economic deprivation which these entities committed against the community. But it is also possible that, with a sympathetic ruler, the communal lifestyle of the group worked to its advantage. This appears to have been the case with Herod the Great, who is reported by Josephus to have favored the Essenes by exempting them from taking an oath of loyalty to himself and to Augustus, and thus exempting them from the kind of financial penalties that would be assessed against the Pharisees, who also opposed the oath.⁵⁸ Because of its reflection of a Herodian perspective, its confluence with Josephus' testimony, and its emphasis on the common life, it is likely that this passage derives from Nicolaus.

It is plausible that other privileges were extended to the Essenes in addition to the exemption from the oath. We have no evidence, however, to confirm whether this included economic perquisites as well, such as tax exemptions, though under Herod would have been particularly beneficial.⁵⁹ Philo seems to be suggesting that in some cases the Essenes were treated as free men, which may have meant that they enjoyed economic privileges such as the right to legislate their own affairs, record commercial transactions in their own registries, collect their own deposits or levies (perhaps the half-shekel tax?), adjudicate commercial transgressions in their own courts, execute judgments against offenders, be exempt from serving as surety for others in either the tax farming system or in general commercial arrangements, and perhaps even be exempt from imperial or Jewish Temple taxes. With only Philo's apologetic account, we can only speculate that such favors might have been granted, and that they lie behind his references to the Essenes as free men (§§88, 91; cf. *Hypothetica* [*Praep. ev.* 8.11.3]).

8.3.2.2 Hypothetica (apud Eusebius, *Praep. ev.* 8.11.1-18)

Philo's second testimony to the Essenes appears in the *Apology for the Jews*,

⁵⁸ *War* 15.10.4-5 (§§365-379); Schwartz, "Josephus and Nicolaus on the Pharisees," 161.

⁵⁹ It is of interest that the hoard of silver tetradrachmas was buried at Qumran around the time of Herod's death. Did Herod allow the sectarians to collect the Temple tax for their own use, and did the sectarians understand that privilege to be in jeopardy in the years leading up to his death?

although this is likely to be identical to the *Hypothetica* he mentions earlier (*Praep. ev.* 8.6.1–7.20). In the passage Eusebius cites, Philo largely repeats earlier material. He again mentions certain features of Essene life: they live in community (§1); they are dispersed in villages and large groups (§1); they enlist because of virtue and love of humanity (§2); they enjoy unparalleled liberty because of their lifestyle of common possession (§3); they deposit their common possessions in a heap in their midst, and all enjoy the common resources (§4);⁶⁰ they live together in brotherhoods (θιάσοι, §5); they eat together (§5); they are “like” athletes (§§6-7); they are farmers and craftsmen (§§8-9); they love frugality and hate luxury (§11); they share common food and clothes (§§12-13), they care for the ill and aged (§§12-13); and they receive favors and honors (ἀποδοχαῖς καὶ τιμαῖς) from great kings (§18). Because these features emphasize the common life, they may depend upon Nicolaus.

Philo mentions some new features as well. First, he refers to the enlistment of members (ἡ προαίρεσις, §2), which recalls the terms for registration and mustering used in the Rule of the Community and the War Scroll. Second, he refers to the Essenes as volunteers (ἐκουσίοις, §2), which corresponds to the terminology used in the Rule for those who “voluntarily offer” their insights, deeds, and wealth (המנדבים). Third, he likens the Essene brotherhoods to Greek associations (ἐταίρῃαι, §5), whereas the sectarian literature prefers biblical epithets but will refer to itself as חברה (4QD^b 9 iii 3; CD XIV 16). Fourth, he states that all of their activity is for the common good (κοινοφελούς, §5), introducing a term from Greek political theory for the first time. Fifth, he discusses the diligence and hardiness of the Essene laborers and contrasts them favorably with Greek athletes, noting that the Essenes tailor the workload to the strength (capacity for production) of their members (§§6-7).

The remaining differences are more extensive, and their relationship with the sectarian literature bears closer scrutiny. The sixth difference is that Philo mentions that their occupations include shepherding and beekeeping and every kind of craft so that they never lack what is necessary for life (ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηδὲν ὄν αἱ ἀναγκαῖαι χρεῖαι βιάζονται παθεῖν), while diligently securing blameless revenue (πορισμὸν ἀνυπαίτιον, §§8-9). The concern to avoid deficiency or lack is prominent in the sectarian literature, particularly in Instruction. In 4QInstruction^d 81 + 81a 15-20, the sage appears to be set in authority over manual craftsmen or is a manual craftsman himself. This posi-

⁶⁰ Philo uses two phrases to describe that they have nothing of their own and that they have everything in common which are reminiscent of Plato’s descriptions of the ideal state (ἴδιον οὐ δεῖς οὐδέν; Plato, *Critias* 110d; *Rep.* 3.416d; 5.464d; 8.543b; *Tim.* 18b). See also Acts 4:32 and Diogenes Laertius 8.23, where ἴδιόν τε μηδὲν ἡγεῖσθαι is an attribute of the Pythagoreans. Mealand, “Community of Goods and Utopian Allusions in Acts II–IV,” *JTS* 28 (1977) 96-9.

tive appreciation for manual craftsmanship is unusual in the sapiential tradition, yet corresponds to the Philonic testimony. The reference to blameless revenue is remarkably consistent with the rationales for shared wealth present in the Qumran documents, and in particular to the frequent references to the violent gain (בצט) of people outside the community from which the covenanters must separate themselves.

Seventh, Philo specifies that daily wages are deposited in the midst of the community through the agency of a steward (ταμίνας, §10), a figure likely to be associated with the Examiner (מבקר) in the Damascus Document and the Rule. Philo further mentions that the steward is elected by the community, and that he takes care to purchase what is necessary for daily life. The reservation of purchasing responsibilities to the steward is consistent with the restrictions placed on commercial transactions in the Damascus Document by the requirement of the Examiner's oversight over such affairs (4QD^a 7 iii 1-7; CD XIII 9-19).

Eighth, we hear that the clothes held in common include a thick coat for winter and inexpensive tunics for summer, and that these may be taken from one another because "it is agreed that whatever belongs to each belongs to all, and conversely, whatever belongs to all belongs to each" (§12). Apparently Philo's portrait is overly irenic, since there is a good deal of legislation in the Rule and particularly in the Damascus Document relating to stolen property.⁶¹

Ninth, Philo embarks on a rant in which he denounces marriage, women and children as the principal threats to the bonds of communal life (§§14-17). Perhaps Philo reflects Essene beliefs here,⁶² but in the absence of like passages in the sectarian literature, we may question at least his imputation of motive if not the fact itself. While the sectarian-period skeletons at Qumran are overwhelmingly male and the site lacks material artifacts usually associated with women and children, this only demonstrates a lack of women's presence at the site and perhaps the temporary celibacy of the men who dwelt there. It cannot demonstrate either a permanently celibate male community or the misogyny that Philo asserts. A survey of the scrolls indicates that there may have been other motives for at least temporary celibacy, traceable not to the selfishness, jealousy, seductive vices and arrogance of women as Philo would have it, but rather to the desire to maintain ritual purity. In fact, the Damascus Document and the material appended to the Rule of the Community presume the presence of women and the commercial transactions attendant

⁶¹ 1QS VI 24-25 *par* CD XIV 20-21; CD IX 8-16; see §§2.4.1.2-3 above.

⁶² 4Q184, the so-called "Wiles of the Wicked Woman" is a personification of wisdom's counterpart; it depends for its governing metaphor on a negative view of some women, but not of all women (J. M. Allegro, [*DJDJ* 5] 82-5, pl. XXVIII; Strugnell, "Notes en Marge du volume V des 'Discoveries in the Judaean Desert of Jordan,'" *RevQ* 7 [1969-1971] 254-5).

upon marriage,⁶³ while only one allusion in the Damascus Document suggests a celibate group of people of perfect holiness (CD VII 6; XIX 20).⁶⁴ In fact, marriage transactions are specifically mentioned as one of the Examiner's domains of economic oversight (see §2.4.3.1 above).

In the *Hypothetica*, Philo repeats much of the information presented in *Good Person*, except that he also emphasizes the voluntary nature of the associations to a greater degree, and therefore remarks on the admission of independent individuals. In this text, Philo also focuses more attention on the celibacy of members, which from his point of view facilitates both the member's autonomy from the exigencies of family life and the members' ability to live in community without the divisive presence of women and children.⁶⁵

8.3.2.2 On the Contemplative Life

Philo's treatise, *On the Contemplative Life*, presents the exemplary way of life of the Therapeutae, who lived outside Alexandria on the Mareotic Lake. In §1, Philo alludes to another treatise, now lost, in which he presents the way of life of the more active Jewish sect, the Essenes. Vermes has championed the view that the Therapeutae are in fact part of a larger Essene movement with active and contemplative branches.⁶⁶ He considers the name "Essene" to be derived from the term for healers, $\text{N}^{\text{O}}\text{N}$, thus establishing an etymological connection to the Egyptian group. In addition, one might compare the extraordinary significance attached to the festival of Pentecost in both groups and the Levitical purity characteristically maintained by all members.⁶⁷

⁶³ Some skeletons of women and children were found in the Qumran cemeteries, but they appear to be almost all recent Bedouin burials; see §6.6 above. On the issue women's involvement in the community in general, see E. Schuller, "Evidence for Women in the Community of the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Voluntary Associations in the Graeco-Roman World* (ed. J. S. Kloppenborg and S. G. Wilson; New York: Routledge, 1996) 252-65.

⁶⁴ See Baumgarten, "The Qumran-Essene Restraints on Marriage," in *Archaeology and History in the Dead Sea Scrolls: The New York University Conference in Memory of Yigael Yadin* (ed. L. H. Schiffman; JSPSup 8; JSOT/ASOR Monographs 2; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1990) 13-24; *idem*, "Celibacy," *EDSS*, 1.122-5.

⁶⁵ See Bilde, who analyzes all the Essene accounts in Philo and Josephus in a kind of rough statistical survey of correspondences and divergences ("The Essenes in Philo and Josephus," 32-68).

⁶⁶ "Essenes—Therapeutai—Qumran," *DUJ* 52/n.s. 21 (1960) 97-115; *idem*, "Essenes and Therapeutai," *RevQ* 3 (1962) 495-504 (= *Post-Biblical Jewish Studies*, 30-36); Vermes and Goodman, "Introduction," in *The Essenes according to the Classical Sources*, 17.

⁶⁷ On the former, compare 4QD^a 11 16-18 (*par* 4QD^c 7 ii 11-12 and *Contempl. Life* 64-89. On the latter, see V. Nikiprowetzky, "Les suppliants chez Philon d'Alexandrie," *REJ* 122 (1963) 265-78; J. Riaud, "Les Thérapeutes d'Alexandrie dans la tradition et dans la recherche critique jusqu'aux découvertes de Qumran," *ANRW*, 2.20.2 (ed. W. Haase; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1987) 1189-1295; *idem*, "Les Thérapeutes d'Alexandrie et l'Idéal Lévitique," in *Mogilany 1989: Papers on the Dead Sea Scrolls Offered in Memory of Jean Carmignac, Part II: The Teacher of Righteousness, Literary Studies, Kraków 1991* (ed. Z. J. Kapera; QM 3; Kraków: Enigma, 1991) 221-40.

Others have been more cautious. Bergmeier, for example, believes that Philo took the Pythagorizing source, which described the Essenes along the shore of the Dead Sea, and adapted it to the Therapeutae.⁶⁸ Since the etymology of "Essene" does not lie in the term "healers," Vermes' argument for a single social group appears unnecessary. But this nevertheless leaves us with a group remarkably similar to the Essenes, both in terms of their own practices and in terms of their rhetorical presentation.

The similarities and differences between the Essenes and the Therapeutae need not concern us beyond reference to economic issues. Philo mentions several aspects of economic order that both groups appear to share. Both are described as frugal, and this is further depicted in both cases through the limited consumption of food and drink and the simplicity of the groups' homes and clothing.⁶⁹ Both groups organize themselves hierarchically but to some extent democratically, insofar as neither group is said to keep slaves.⁷⁰ There are, however, differences between the two groups even in the expression of these attributes. While both are frugal, only the Essenes are said to have common property.⁷¹ While both have homes, the Essene domiciles are distributed across a wider geographic area in their villages of origin and are open to Essene travelers, whereas the Therapeutae leave their original abodes and congregate in one central location in homes that remain essentially private (though there are common buildings).⁷² While both have modest clothes, for Essenes clothes are actually held in common.⁷³ Essene common meals occur daily rather than once a week on the sabbath, and include meat and wine which the Therapeutae disavowed.⁷⁴ Only the Essenes are described as truly free (a philosophical attribute) and autonomous (a political designation).⁷⁵ And only the Essene ethic is grounded explicitly by Philo in "love of men" (cf. Lev 19:18).⁷⁶

In addition to these differences on common economic elements, there are also features of each economy that are unique. To begin with, the Essenes are

⁶⁸ *Essener-Berichte*, 80.

⁶⁹ Essenes: *Good Person* 77, 84-86; *Hypothetica (Praep. ev.* 8.11.4-5); Therapeutae: *Contempl. Life* 24, 34-39.

⁷⁰ Essenes: *Good Person* 79, 81; *Hypothetica (Praep. ev.* 8.11.4, 10); Therapeutae: *Contempl. Life* 30-33, 67, 69-72.

⁷¹ *Good Person* 76, 79, 86; *Hypothetica (Praep. ev.* 8.11.4-5, 10).

⁷² Essenes: *Good Person* 76, 85; *Hypothetica (Praep. ev.* 8.11.1, 4-5); Therapeutae: *Contempl. Life* 13-24.

⁷³ Essenes: *Good Person* 86; *Hypothetica (Praep. ev.* 8.11.12); Therapeutae: *Contempl. Life* 38, 66.

⁷⁴ Essenes: *Good Person* 81, 86; *Hypothetica (Praep. ev.* 8.11.5); Therapeutae: *Contempl. Life* 30-31, 36-37, 65-75. On the diet of the Therapeutae, see R. Beckwith, "The Vegetarianism of the Therapeutae, and the Motives for Vegetarianism in Early Jewish and Christian Circles," *RevQ* 13 (1988) 407-410.

⁷⁵ *Good Person* 88-91; *Hypothetica (Praep. ev.* 8.11.18).

⁷⁶ *Good Person* 83-85; *Hypothetica (Praep. ev.* 8.11.2; cf. 8.11.16-17).

described as active, while the Therapeutae are their contemplative counterparts (§1). This general dichotomy corresponds to the thick description of Essene work and lack of commerce, and the lack of any such description for the Therapeutae.⁷⁷ Indeed, one wonders how the Therapeutae kept body and soul together at all, since they were so attentive to nursing the latter. The Therapeutae are said to abandon wealth to relatives and friends (§13), while the Essenes are said to pool theirs with each other;⁷⁸ the Egyptian group members leave family, friends, and fatherland and migrate away from cities, pursuing solitude in “gardens or lonely bits of country” (§18-20), whereas the Essenes shun cities as well but remain in their villages of origin and seek each other’s company and service.⁷⁹ Therapeutae society centers around the family, and each home has its own discrete sanctuary (§25), whereas Essene society centers (in Philo’s view) around celibate males maintaining purity and self-control but extending charity to a network of sick and elderly in a kind of extended family.⁸⁰ The Essenes alone are described as an association, with admission procedures and a common treasury.⁸¹ There is enough difference therefore between the economic arrangements of the two groups to warrant viewing them as two groups rather than as one. Moreover, the description of the Therapeutae highlights certain features of the Essene economy: the Essenes, unlike their Alexandrian counterparts, did not abandon their possessions to their families, flee relatives and villages to an isolated location, or quit their estates and employments. Rather, they remained active workers whose resources were thoroughly pooled in social structures more like associations than families. And one suspects, on the basis of comments elsewhere, that Philo is more comfortable with the Essene alternative, as in his counsel to would-be philosophers:

[One should first gain] some exercise and practice in the business of life both private and public; and when by means of the sister virtues, household-management and statesmanship, you have become masters in each domain, enter now, as more than qualified to do so, on your migration to a different and more excellent way of life. For the practical comes before the contemplative life; it is a sort of prelude to a more advanced contest; and it is well to have fought it out first. By taking this course you will avoid the imputation of shrinking from it through sheer laziness. (*Flight* 36)

Whether Philo prefers the active life, as he seems to here, or the contemplative supplications of the Therapeutae, as Valentin Nikiprowetzky has ar-

⁷⁷ See *Good Person* 76-78; *Hypothetica* (*Praep. ev.* 8.11.6-10).

⁷⁸ *Good Person* 85-87; *Hypothetica* (*Praep. ev.* 8.11.4, 10).

⁷⁹ *Good Person* 76; *Hypothetica* (*Praep. ev.* 8.11.1).

⁸⁰ *Good Person* 84, 87; *Hypothetica* (*Praep. ev.* 8.11.1, 3, 7, 13-17).

⁸¹ *Hypothetica* (*Praep. ev.* 8.11.1-2, 4-5, 10).

gued,⁸² it is at least clear that he has chosen for himself a life that combines both.

The treatise on the Therapeutae, like the lost treatise on the Essenes, presents a radical Jewish group whose somewhat utopian way of life is offered as a lesson in virtue in contrast to the vices of the Gentile world.⁸³

8.3.3 Conclusions

The testimony of Philo corresponds remarkably well with the discussion of wealth in the sectarian texts. The sectarian texts are of course more extensive, but Philo's brief descriptive accounts yield no substantial disagreements. Instead, Philo provides information we otherwise would have lacked, such as the references to the occupations of the Essenes, the steward's responsibility to procure food and clothing, and the favors bestowed upon the Essenes. The reference to royal privilege would be particularly interesting for understanding the economic advantages enjoyed by the community, but for the fact that Philo or his source Nicolaus were not interested in demonstrating these details.

8.4 Josephus

Flavius Josephus (38–c.100 C.E.) refers to the Essenes more extensively than any other ancient author whose works are still extant. Moreover, he claims that he was personally acquainted with the group (*Life* 10). It is more likely that Josephus borrowed much of his description from Nicolaus of Damascus and other sources mentioned above (§8.2).

Josephus' apologetic interests were to some extent similar to those of Philo.⁸⁴ Both men sought to inject the experience of the Jewish people into the debate about the ideal way of life so as to influence the outcome in their favor. For Josephus, however, the stakes were higher, for he had to overcome the condemnation of the Jews in the wake of the First Jewish Revolt.⁸⁵

⁸² "Les supplicants chez Philon d'Alexandrie," 241-78.

⁸³ See D. M. Hay, "Things Philo Said and Did Not Say About the Therapeutae," SBLSP 31 (ed. D. Lull; Missoula, Montana: Scholar Press, 1992) 673-83.

⁸⁴ On the apologetic nature of Josephus' works, see Sterling, *Historiography and Self-Definition: Josephus, Luke-Acts and Apologetic Historiography* (NovTSup 64; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1992); K.-S. Krieger, *Geschichtsschreibung als Apologetik bei Flavius Josephus* (TANZ 9; Tübingen/Basel: Francke, 1994); and J. S. McLaren, *Turbulent Times? Josephus and Scholarship on Judaea in the First Century CE* (JSPSup 29; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998) 48-126.

⁸⁵ S. Applebaum, "Josephus and the Economic Causes of the Jewish War," in *Josephus, the Bible, and History*, 237-64.

Daniel R. Schwartz has demonstrated that one of Josephus' techniques in this endeavor was to downplay the role of those who held real political influence, namely the Pharisees and Sadducees, and to blame rogue insurgents for inflaming otherwise sensible folk.⁸⁶ In these circumstances the Essenes, whom Josephus is wont to portray as peace-loving, philosophically-minded Jews, offer Josephus not only a Jewish example of the ideal way of life but also a ideal example of the docile Jew.⁸⁷ By portraying the Essenes as the best exemplars of Judaism, he can counter the image of the rebellious Jew so fresh in the Greco-Roman mind.

8.4.1 *Texts*

In addition to the brief reference in the *Life*, Josephus mentions the Essenes in both of his major works, *The Jewish War* and *The Antiquities of the Jews*.

8.4.1.1 The Jewish War

Josephus wrote his *Jewish War* sometime between 75 and 79 C.E., just after the First Jewish Revolt had ended. His apologetic interest is to restore Roman opinion of the Jews after the bloody and protracted rebellion, and the usefulness of the Essenes in this regard has already been discussed.

Josephus first describes the Essenes at that point in his narrative when Augustus has banished the Herodian king Archelaus to Gaul and has created a Roman province in Judea under an equestrian governor (6 C.E.; *War* 2.8.2-13 [§§119-161]).⁸⁸ In this situation, the governor Quirinius has seized Archelaus' holdings and has ordered a census for the purposes of taxation.⁸⁹ This in turn has inspired a revolt on the part of the fourth philosophy, although Josephus gives this rebellion shorter shrift here than he will in the *Antiquities*.⁹⁰

Josephus' choice to introduce the Essenes at this juncture is not due to the group's resurgence at this historical moment, as if the imposition of an imperial bureaucracy had a bearing on the community's growth or outlook. This is

⁸⁶ "Josephus and Nicolaus on the Pharisees," 157-71.

⁸⁷ On Josephus' view of the Essenes as the paragon of the Jewish way of life, see Paul, "Flavius Josèphe et les Esséniens," 130-32.

⁸⁸ A similar description of the Essenes appears in the same context in *Ant.* 18.1.2-5 (§§11-22). Certain elements are found there that do not appear in the *War*, all of which are found in Philo (the number 4,000, the agricultural occupation of the Essenes, and the rejection of slavery).

⁸⁹ Cf. Luke 1:5; 2:1-7. Luke says that at Jesus' annunciation and birth Herod the Great was king (d. 4 B.C.E.) when Quirinius was governor of Syria, a role begun in 6 C.E.; obviously, both of these cannot be true.

⁹⁰ *War* 8.1.1 (§§17-18); *Ant.* 18.1.1 (§§1-10) and 18.1.6 (§§23-25). In the *Antiquities*, the rebelliousness of the fourth philosophy serves as a literary *inclusio* warranting the excursus on the Jewish philosophies. The emphasis on their role in the *Antiquities*, and the deemphasis on it in the *War*, each serve the larger apologetic aims of their respective narratives.

of some interest since the archeological evidence of the Qumran compound indicates a new stage of occupation, Period II, that began after a brief hiatus and sometime during the reign of Archelaus.⁹¹ We know that the compound was destroyed in the First Revolt against the Romans, so that we can safely suspect animosity toward this foreign imperial power. Moreover, the sectarian literature, most of which was composed before Archelaus' reign, attests to a long tradition of economic critique against imperial and royal government. According to Shimon Applebaum, who has studied the economic causes for the revolt, there is archaeological and literary evidence from the Herodian and procuratorial periods for the very practices the sectarians criticize, such as royal and imperial seizures of land, increased commercial levies, taxes and tribute, debt foreclosure and slavery, the expansion of agricultural estates and the consequent rise in tenancy and wage labor, the distraint of Temple funds for secular purposes, and the transfer of local tax revenue to overseas projects.⁹² We might speculate therefore that the Qumran sect did experience a resurgence as part of a groundswell against the oppressive Roman presence or Herodian pressure. But if they did, Josephus would not have reported this, for it would have defeated his purpose in introducing the Essenes and it would have embarrassed his Roman patrons. In fact, Josephus' purpose in interjecting the Essenes at this point in his narrative is just the opposite. He means to contrast them to the fourth philosophy. Therefore Josephus does not even intimate that their communal way of life might have been of the nature of a protest movement. The protest movement he seeks to undermine is the fourth philosophy, a fact which will become even more clear in the parallel passage in the *Antiquities*. The Essenes for Josephus are useful because they demonstrate that the best Jews were peace-loving philosophers. At most, this portrait might have served to demonstrate the Jewish people's intrinsic ability to pursue virtue, wisdom and piety without any foreign intervention. It is also possible that Josephus sought to offer a native Jewish ideal society to his fellow Jews, still recuperating from the crushing blow the Romans had dealt to their social, economic and religious institutions.⁹³ In this regard, it is interesting that Josephus' Essenes are able to maintain covenant fidelity and piety without recourse to a Temple.⁹⁴ The thesis of a Jewish audience for the work appears unlikely given Josephus' explicit addresses to an intended Greco-

⁹¹ De Vaux, "Fouilles au Khirbet Qumrân, Rapport préliminaire," *RB* 60 (1953) 83-106; *idem*, "Fouilles au Khirbet Qumrân, Rapport préliminaire sur la deuxième campagne," *RB* 61 (1954) 206-36; *idem*, *Archaeology and the Dead Sea Scroll*; and J. Magness, "The Chronology of the Settlement at Qumran in the Herodian Period," *DSD* 2 (1995) 58-65.

⁹² See *War* 2.6.2 (§84-86). Applebaum, "Josephus and the Economic Causes of the Jewish War," 237-64.

⁹³ Rajak suggests that Josephus follows conventions of the ethnographic descriptions of ideal societies ("Ciò che Flavio Giuseppe Vide," 149-51).

⁹⁴ *War* 2.8.5 (§§128-133); cf. *Ant.* 18.1.5 (§19).

Roman audience.⁹⁵ But whomever the intended audience, the Essenes illustrate the apex of the Jewish way of life. The fact that Josephus spends more time on this group than on any of the other three “philosophies” indicates how admirably they serve his apologetic purposes.

Josephus introduces the Essenes in Book 2 of the *War* by referring to their reputation for cultivating the greatest dignity (ὁ δὴ καὶ δοκεῖ σεμνότητα ἀσκεῖν, §119). The first evidence of this cultivation is the fact that they love one another (φιλάλληλοι) more than is customary among the Jews. This opening statement accords with the sectarian’s own reference to the biblical command to love one’s neighbor and avoid grudges (Lev 19:18), a command which undergirds much of the community’s commercial law. According to Josephus, the Essenes renounce pleasure as evil, and regard continence (ἐγκράτεια) and resistance to the passions as virtue (§120). Josephus’ stylization of self-control, like that of Philo, suits the Greek world better than it does the sectarian world, and in any case may depend on Bergmeier’s HJE source. In the Qumran texts, virtue is not an individual ethical exploit but rather a communal ethical responsibility; it is less a matter of controlling oneself than of caring for others.

Josephus illustrates the Essenes’ self-control with two examples, their disdain for marriage and their disdain for wealth. The former need not concern us, for although the economic dimension of marriage is addressed in certain sectarian works, Josephus does not address it in the *War*. Josephus is less interested in women and children than in the way strangers live like brothers as one single substance or entity (οὐσία) with one common property (οὐσία, §122), a passage that may depend on Nicolaus:

They despise riches (πλοῦτος) and their communal life (κοινωνικόν) is admirable. In vain would one search among them for one man with a greater fortune than another. Indeed, it is a law that those who enter the sect shall make public (δημεύω) their property to the order;⁹⁶ so neither the humiliation of poverty nor the pride of wealth is to be seen anywhere among them. Since their possessions (κτήματα) are mingled there exists for them all, as for brothers, one single property (μίαν...οὐσίαν).⁹⁷

As in Philo, so too here the motivation for the communal life is portrayed as a philosophical virtue rather than as a matter of necessity. According to Josephus, the Essenes choose this life because they despise riches and rank. In saying that they despise riches, Josephus makes a stronger claim than Philo,

⁹⁵ *War* 1.1.1 (§3), 2 (§6), 4 (§9), 5 (§16), 8 (§22), 10 (§26), 5.2 (§110), 7.3 (§146), 6 (§152), 33.2 (§650); 2.3.1 (§42), 9.2 (§170); 5.4.2-5.8 (§§146-247); 6.9.3 (§423). Of course, the extended descriptions of the Jewish philosophies may also presuppose a Gentile audience.

⁹⁶ νόμος γὰρ τοὺς εἰς τὴν ἄρεσιν εἰσιόντας δημεύειν τῷ τάγματι τὴν οὐσίαν, ὥστε ἐν ἅπασιν μήτε πενίας ταπεινότητα φαίνεσθαι μὴθ' ὑπεροχὴν πλούτου.

⁹⁷ Beall, *Josephus' Description of the Essenes*, 43-7.

who observes merely that the Essenes love frugality and shun luxury.⁹⁸ Yet the evidence of the scrolls insists on another motivation: that people enter this community in part because this community cares for the needy in a prophetic realization of the eschatological redemption. That is, the community depends upon and symbolizes God's sufficiency and benevolence; they would be quite willing to embrace riches as long as the fundamental social-theological criterion is met—that no one who remains faithful to the covenant is denied divine blessing.⁹⁹

Despite Josephus' manifest apologetic interest on this point, the rest of his description corresponds well to the sectarian literature. Rank within the community is not based on wealth. He does not say that there are no ranks in the community, but merely that no distinctions based on wealth exist. This is borne out by the Rule of the Community, which indicates that members cast their wealth into a common pool and from that point on were ranked not on the basis of property, but on the basis of covenant fidelity (deeds and insights; see §3.4.3 above). Josephus notes that it is a "law" in the community to surrender one's property to the common entity (οὐσία). This assertion is supported most clearly in the Rule of the Community, but in both the Damascus Document and the Rule the penal codes lead off with the penalty for lying about property, which indicates that in both documents the community had a claim on individual wealth.¹⁰⁰ Josephus supplies a purpose for the surrender of property: it is so that there will be neither the humiliation of poverty nor the pride of wealth. Pride or arrogance is frequently associated with wealth and denounced in the sectarian literature from Qumran, while the humiliations of poverty—indebtedness, subservience, slavery—were scrutinized and relieved by the Examiner when an initiate joined (CD XIII 9-12). The economic extremes of luxury and deficiency were renounced through the common lifestyle and the common purse. As Josephus puts it, their possessions were mingled (τῶν δ' ἐκάστου κτημάτων ἀναμεμυγμένων) rather than identified with any particular individual, and thus these strangers became as it were brothers to each other, sharing one substance (οὐσία), a term suggestive of ἕν. The reference to the "mixing" of property recalls the sectarian concern about mixing the pure property of the covenanters with the tainted property of outsiders or apostates.

After brief references to their aversion to oil and wet skin and their preference for white clothes, Josephus introduces the stewards, whom he calls care-

⁹⁸ Philo, *Hypothetica* (Praep. ev. 8.11.11); see Beall, *Josephus' Description of the Essenes*, 43.

⁹⁹ See 4QInstruction^b 2 iii 8-15, §4.4.2 above.

¹⁰⁰ Perhaps we should imagine the less extreme form of pooled property in analogy to Epicurean practice. The Epicureans believed that contributing all one's property to a common pool actually demonstrated a lack of trust in fellow members. They preferred to maintain their own property but to put it at the disposal of the community (Diogenes Laertius 10.11).

takers of the common property (οἱ τῶν κοινῶν ἐπιμεληταί, §123). Like Philo, Josephus notes that they are elected. They assume their various positions without division or distinction (ἀδιαίρετοι); Josephus is careful to clarify that any separation within the community is not divisive but still works to the common good. The common good is larger than any one association in any given town, for the Essenes can travel between towns and rely upon their associates for hospitality (§124). As in Philo, this most remarkable testimony to mutual love is symbolized preeminently in the sharing of one's home (and presumably, one's table). Beyond the need for shelter and food, a guardian specially chosen from the order (κηδεμών τοῦ τάγματος ἐξαιρέτως), particularly responsible for outsiders, is appointed to steward (ταμιεύων) clothing and other necessities (§125). Philo mentions stewards (ταμίαι) in the same context,¹⁰¹ but seems to conflate their responsibilities with those tasks Josephus assigns to the caretakers (ἐπιμεληταί).

Josephus then proceeds to discuss the frugality and mutual commerce of the Essenes (§§126-127):

Their dress and outward behavior are like those of children whose teacher rears them in fear: they do not change their garments or shoes until they are completely torn or worn out. They neither buy nor sell anything among themselves; each man gives what he has to whoever needs it, and receives in return whatever he himself requires. And they can even receive freely from whomever they like without giving anything in exchange.

In an interesting passage consistent with the arrangements in both the Damascus Document and the Rule, Josephus reports that the sectarians neither buy nor sell anything among themselves, but rather give to whomever has need (CD XIII 12-19 + 4QD^b 9 iv 9-11; 1QS V 1-4; VI 21-23). Josephus' emphasis is on the remarkable freedom and sustenance that this lifestyle entails, but even given this apologetic interest, Josephus alludes to a feature of the economic life in community that is prescribed in the Rule, that sectarians must obey their superiors on matters of wealth (4QD^a 7 iii 1-7; CD XIII 12-19; 1QS V 1-4; VI 2-3). He says that "their dress and outward behavior are like those of children whose teacher rears them in fear," which corresponds to the sense of hierarchy and practice of economic discipline in both the Damascus Document and the Rule. At the same time, it should be noted that Josephus' emphasis on clothing is not paralleled in the constitutional literature from Qumran, although there is a rebuke in 4QRebukes Reported by the Overseer 2 ii 9-10 that may criticize the pursuit of luxury (see §5.2.2.2 above). Josephus will have more to say about the importance of obedience further on (§134).

Josephus then turns to the virtue of piety demonstrated through the daily routine of the Essenes (§§128-133). This routine includes the more explicit

¹⁰¹ *Hypothetica* (*Praep. ev.* 8.11.10).

examples of piety such as morning prayer and grace before and after meals said by a priest, but Josephus illustrates Essene piety at even greater length through activities associated with wealth: work and commensality. Each man works without interruption until the fifth hour in the morning, and returns to that work after the mid-day meal. That work may be either agriculture or the crafts over which they exert care (τεχναιῶν... ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπιμελητῶν), the same verb used for the office of the caretaker who manages the common purse. Individual work and the common meal are demarcated by purification in cold water and a change of clothing. The purificatory baths before the meal, the white linen garment worn during the meal, and the prayers said before and after the meal by the priest do more than set the meal apart from profane work. They also indicate that the meal was understood as a sacred activity akin to if not modeled on the sacred daily meal in the Jerusalem Temple which, it should be noted, is not mentioned at all in this discussion of pious behavior. The reader will recall that the dining hall of the Qumran compound is oriented on an axis in the direction of the Jerusalem Temple (see Appendix E, "Archaeological Site Plan of the Qumran Compound c.31 B.C.E."). These shared features link the Essenes with the Qumran community, and support the thesis that wealth and its most basic manifestation, food, were sacralized because this community understood itself as the ideal wilderness sanctuary.

One other feature of the meal bears mention. Twice Josephus emphasizes that the men receive equal and modest portions of food (§130):

When they are quietly seated, the baker serves out the loaves of bread in order, and the cook serves only one bowlful of one dish to each man.

and again, in §133:

To those outside, this silence of the men inside seems a great mystery; but the cause of it is their invariable sobriety and the fact that their food and drink are so measured out that they are satisfied and no more (μέχρι κόρου).¹⁰²

Josephus emphasizes several points: that each man is served the same amount of bread and the main dish or "relish" for the bread; that the dish is served in bowls, and that the food is measured out so as to satisfy but not to exceed basic needs. The equal rations correspond to the emphasis in the constitutional rules on equality in terms of wealth; ranks are preserved in the community (the priest must bless the meal, and the seated men receive their bread in order [ἐν τάξει]¹⁰³), but there are no distinctions based on wealth, such that those who produce more eat more. Rather, the only people who eat

¹⁰² For these passages, see Beall, *Josephus' Description of the Essenes*, 58-60.

¹⁰³ See IQS VI 4, 8-9, where the sectarians sit "each man according to his place" (איש כהמתו), and IQSa II 11-22, where the phrase "each man according to his glory" (איש לפי כבודו) is repeated.

less are not the poorer members, but those members who have lied about property (CD XV 20-21; 1QS VI 24-25). The penalty of a diminished food ration would only be visible in the community if equal portions were the norm. The reference to the bowls for the main dish corresponds to the archeological evidence of the simple, undecorated bowls of equal size found in the "pantry" adjacent to the dining room in the Qumran compound (Appendix E, room 13 and §6.2 above). Finally, Josephus' reference to the sobriety of the men, while dependent on the Greek ideal of self-control (ἐγκράτεια), also corresponds to the rationales articulated in the Torah and in the pre-sectarian sapiential literature. There, satisfaction in the present age tempts one to complacency in one's relationship to God (Deut 8:11-14; 4QInstruction^d 184 1-4), and therefore moderation and meditation on the mystery to come are to be sought instead.¹⁰⁴ Complete satisfaction in Instruction may come to a person, but it is guaranteed to come to the sage in the mystery yet to come. To the extent that the pure meal anticipated the heavenly meals of the eschaton, it had to be pure and adequate for all who came to eat.¹⁰⁵ In this sense, they understood the commitment to meet others' needs as a participation in the divine nature, insofar as God was ultimately the source of food and insofar as they provided material benefit to one another.

The next topic Josephus takes up extends this concern for the common good. He moves from the discussion of the provision of food to the manner of meeting other needs (§134):

On the whole, therefore, they do nothing unless ordered by the caretakers (ἐπιμεληταί). Yet two things depend on themselves: aid and pity (ἐπικουρία καὶ ἔλεος). In fact they are allowed on their own discretion to help those worthy of help whenever it is asked for, and to offer food to the needy, but as for expenditures for relatives, they cannot go out to make them apart from the guardians (ἐπίτροποι).¹⁰⁶

The caretakers or supervisors of the community are said to have all authority except over expenditures of charitable aid and pity. Interestingly, it is precisely the outlay of money or goods for the needy that the community would not restrict (CD VI 20-21; XIV 12-16; 1QS X 26). The case has been made that the covenanters were concerned to remedy the material deficiency suffered by their fellows and thus to demonstrate divine blessing. Josephus' testimony supports the view that this concern was a profound one for the community. As vexed as they were about wealth and its misuse, their relaxation of restrictions in the case of the needy is particularly notable. One realm where the supervision of finance was *not* relaxed, according to

¹⁰⁴ 4QInstruction^b 2 ii 18-2 iii 15; cf. 4QInstruction^c 2 i 17-21.

¹⁰⁵ The evidence for the sacred quality of the common meal is discussed by E. F. Sutcliffe, "Sacred Meals at Qumran?" *HeyJ* 1 (1960) 48-65.

¹⁰⁶ See Beall, *Josephus' Description of the Essenes*, 64-6.

Josephus, was the family. In marked contrast to the support of the needy, and against the customary economy of kinship networks, the Essenes could not support members of their own families without the oversight of the guardians. It is worth noting that Josephus uses a different term for these officials than he did for the general supervisors of the community. It is difficult to determine from the context whether the earlier term caretaker (ἐπιμεληταί) and present term guardian (ἐπίτροπος) were interchangeable in Josephus' mind or whether they represented two different offices. It is interesting that this solitary reference to the "guardian" is in the context of familial obligations (see the discussion of the Examiner as guardian, §7.5 above). As we have seen, the Damascus Document stipulates that the Examiner is to supervise all commercial transactions, including marriage arrangements (CD XIII 12-19 + 4QD^a 9 iii 1-10). The testimony in Josephus that *all* financial arrangements relative to one's family were supervised may help to explain the prominence of matters of property in the penal codes of the constitutional rules. Given the strong social obligations toward one's kin, the restriction of family support would have been difficult to practice and was probably frequently violated.¹⁰⁷

In §135, Josephus claims that the Essenes refrain from swearing. This disagrees with the testimony of the Damascus Document and the Rule, which indicates that an oath was sworn upon entry into the community, and that oaths were imposed by the internal courts in cases of misappropriated property (see §2.4.1.1-2 above). Josephus mentions the solemn initiatory vow soon after (*War* 2.8.7 [§139]); perhaps in §135 he is referring to oaths taken on lesser occasions, such as during court proceedings or when executing commercial transactions. He also discusses the Essene interest in the healing of diseases, which includes the use of protective roots and the special properties of stones (§136). This feature is consistent with some of the sectarian literature, as well as to the alizarin-tinged bones in some of the Qumran graves. Healing, like economic restitution, was an attribute of the reversal expected at the end of time.¹⁰⁸ The sectarians participated in both in a provisional way.

The three-year initiation of new members is the next topic Josephus engages (§§137-142).¹⁰⁹ Josephus remarks that the novices are eager (ζηλοῦσιν) to join, which corresponds to the frequent references in the Rule to the voluntary nature of the novices' commitment. As in IQS VI 13-23 but in contrast to the Damascus Document, the initiate is only gradually integrated into the

¹⁰⁷ Beall suggests that Josephus may be exaggerating here to highlight to his Gentile audience that, for the Essenes, charity neither began at home nor was limited to one's kin (*Josephus' Description of the Essenes*, 152 n. 150).

¹⁰⁸ This expectation is connected to their belief in an afterlife. Josephus reports that the Essenes were heroic under torture during the First Jewish Revolt: "They gave up their souls cheerfully, convinced that they would recover them again" (*War* 2.8.10-11 [§§153-157]).

¹⁰⁹ Beall, *Josephus' Description of the Essenes*, 73-5.

common life of the community. As Josephus puts it, the sect brings the initiate closer to their way of life, which corresponds to the reference in the Rule that the novice draws near (יִקְרַב). The first year is marked by education and the provision of a hatchet, linen loin-cloth, and a separate white garment. The second year is characterised by participation in the purificatory baths at a higher level, but not yet by complete integration. The Rule indicates that, during the second year, the novice registers his wealth in the communal ledger, but that his wealth is not yet used by the Many. The Rule also implies that the initiate shares the pure food during this year, with the pure drink reserved until complete initiation at the end of the second year. Josephus extends the initiation to three years and provides little corroborating information about the graduated entry, except to say that during this time the novice is not yet admitted into intimacy (συμβιωσις). In fact, Josephus seems to indicate that at least some of the pure and common food was not consumed until the initiate had been tested for the full three years and had taken a series of solemn oaths (§§ 139-142):¹¹⁰

But before touching the common food he makes solemn vows before his brethren. He first swears to practice piety towards the Deity; then to observe justice toward men and to do no wrong to any man, neither of his own accord nor at another's command; to hate the wicked always, and to fight together with the just. He swears constant loyalty to all, but above all to those in power; for authority never falls to a man without the will of God. And should he ever happen to be in command himself, he swears never to show insolence in the exercise of his duty nor to outshine his subordinates in his dress or by increased adornment. He swears always to love truth and to expose liars; to keep his hands pure from theft and his soul pure from wicked gain. ... In addition, he swears ... to abstain from robbery.... Such are the oaths by which they secure the fidelity of those who enter the sect.

Josephus' report of the vows related to wealth is remarkably similar to phrases and vows given in the Damascus Document and the Rule. The opening vows to practice piety toward God and justice toward humanity are the core obligations of the covenant (Deut 6:5 + Lev 19:18) repeated frequently throughout the constitutional literature and grounding the commitment of wealth. The emphasis upon doing justice and avoiding wrongdoing toward one's neighbor further reinforce these themes. The vows to hate the wicked and to pursue liars appear often in the Rule and warrant the tight commercial boundaries around the "camps." The vow to be obedient corresponds to the constitutional rules to accept the disciplines of the community in matters of wealth and to obey one's superiors in matters of work and wealth. One of the most interesting vows is the pledge to exercise authority in a manner that is neither abusive nor arrogant: should he ever exercise power, the member

¹¹⁰ Beall, *Josephus' Description of the Essenes*, 75-84. Note that Josephus refers to a three-year period of initiation, whereas the time-frame is two years in the Rule (IQS VI 13-23).

“swears never to show insolence in the exercise of his duty nor to outshine his subordinates in his dress or by increased adornment.” These vows are not mentioned in the initiation sections of the Damascus Document or the Rule, but they are similar to the wise leader’s pledge in the closing hymn of the Rule to govern with meekness and to avoid vicious gain (IQS X 19; XI 1-2).¹¹¹ Given Josephus’ apologetic interests in the work, he may be amplifying this feature in order to clarify how non-rebellious these pious people are. In addition, the humble attitude of the newly wealthy maven is advised in another sectarian text (4QInstruction^b 2 iii 8-12),¹¹² while in a halakhic text a particular individual is rebuked for “choosing the fair [neck],” an idiom which likely refers to “choosing the good life” or pursuing pleasure (4QRebukes Reported by the Overseer 2 ii 9-10).¹¹³ The sectarians prized a kind of equality that maintained ranks, but not ranks based on visible manifestations of wealth. The final oaths Josephus reports are about being truthful and exposing liars and keeping his hands pure from theft and his soul pure from wicked gain (χειρας κλοπῆς καὶ ψυχῆν ἀνοσίου κέρδους καθαρὰν φυλάξειν). These oaths correspond to the first matter introduced in the Qumran penal codes, the matter of lying about property, as well as to the extensive material in the Damascus Document about oaths in cases of misappropriated property.¹¹⁴ In addition, the reference to wicked wealth corresponds to a similar reference in the Damascus Document (הון רשעה, e.g. CD VIII 4).¹¹⁵ Finally, the use of the term pure or clean (καθαρὰν) in an oath is reminiscent of the defension clause in the documentary texts, which stipulates that the one conveying goods pledges to establish and cleanse (מרתקא, משפיה, צפילא = καθαρῶποιέω) his property from all other claims.¹¹⁶ We have already seen that the term “establish” (הקיק) occurs in the defension clause and in the initiation sections of the sectarian constitutional literature. If Josephus is correct in claiming that the initiatory oaths also included a pledge to keep one’s hands clean, both of these key elements of the defension clause would be represented in the oaths of entry, supporting the thesis that the covenant of commitment was modeled in part on commercial covenants of the time. Finally,

¹¹¹ See also IQS IX 23-25; III 15-18; VII 5.

¹¹² See §4.4.2 above.

¹¹³ *Olim* 4QRebukes of the Overseer; 4QDecrees; E. Eshel, “477. Rebukes Reported by the Overseer,” in *Qumran Cave 4.XXVI: Cryptic Texts and Miscellanea, Part 1* (ed. S. J. Pfann et al.; DJD 36; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000) 474-83, pl. XXXII; discussed above at §5.2.2.2. See also 1QH^a X 24-25, 29-30.

¹¹⁴ The penal code begins with the judgment for lying about property: CD XIV 20-21 and IQS VI 24-25 (§2.4.1.3 above). For oaths about misappropriated property, see §2.4.1.2 above. On the importance of truth (אמת) in the Qumran literature, see IQS I 11; II 24; III 18-IV 26 (esp. IV 5-6); V 3; J. Murphy-O’Connor, “Truth: Paul and Qumran,” in *Paul and Qumran* (ed. Murphy-O’Connor; London: Chapman, 1968) 179-230.

¹¹⁵ Cf. μαμωνᾶς τῆς ἀδικίας, Luke 16:9, 11.

¹¹⁶ See §7.3 above.

Josephus reports that the initiate swears to refrain from robbery (ἀφέξασθα δὲ ληστείας), a curious addition given the fact that theft has already been forsworn. Many emendations and alternative readings of the text have been proposed, but Beall believes it best to understand brigandage, since that is the meaning of the term elsewhere in Josephus (e.g., *War* 2.20.7 [§581]).¹¹⁷ This oath is unknown from the Qumran corpus, unless we are to understand the aversion to the wealth of violence as a parallel.¹¹⁸

In both Josephus' account and the constitutional literature from Qumran, the discussion of initiation is followed by the penal code or judgments of the sect (§§143-146). Josephus reports that transgressors are expelled from the order, and observes that this is effectively a death sentence, since the transgressors remain under vows not to eat with others and so have no table at all to share. He notes that the dire straits of expelled members have prompted compassion on the part of some Essenes, so that they restore those who are near death to the community. In this passage, Josephus confirms that food was a central symbol of communal identity, both within and outside the Essene group (1QS V 14-20; VII 22-25; VIII 21-25; IX 5-9). He also provides supporting evidence for the nature of capital crimes within the community. A capital crime merits expulsion from the community rather than execution, but expulsion can lead to death and so can function for all practical purposes as a death sentence (see §2.4.1.4 above).

Josephus comments on the judiciary system of the Essenes, providing an external witness to the fact that they had their own courts and did not rely on those of the Hasmoneans or Romans (§145). In their internal courts, the Essenes are reported to avoid the name of Moses (§145), which corresponds somewhat to the prohibition against swearing by the law of Moses in CD XV 1-6 (cf. CD IX 8-16; 1QS VI 27-VII 2). Obedience to others in their judgments (§146) is also a stipulation in the constitutional literature with regard to property (4QD^a 7 iii 1-7; CD XIII 12-19; XIV 12-19; 1QS V 1-4; VI 2-3, 16-23).

In the midst of his discussion of their rulings and prohibitions, he relates that the Essenes "are forbidden, more rigorously than any other Jew, to attend to their work on the seventh day" (§147). Philo also introduces this feature, but declines to mention that the Essene practice is more rigorous than that of most Jews.¹¹⁹ In *Good Person*, Philo also adduces strict sabbath observance as an example of piety, and the sabbath discussions among the Essenes provide the location for his discussion of their way of life and laws. In contrast, Josephus introduces sabbath laws as an example of legislation within the community and in so doing reflects the structure of the sectarian constitutional documents themselves. Strict sabbath legislation is paralleled in the

¹¹⁷ Beall, *Josephus' Description of the Essenes*, 85-7.

¹¹⁸ This is Beall's proposition; see 1QS X 19; 1QpHab IX 5; CD VI 15-16.

¹¹⁹ *Good Person* 81; see §2.4.2.2 above.

sectarian literature, and particularly in the Damascus Document (CD VI 18; X 14-21; XI 2, 4-5, 15).

The remainder of Josephus' description has only scattered references to financial or commercial matters. Josephus notes that the community is divided into lots based not on wealth but on the duration of their discipline (χρόνος τῆς ἀσκήσεως, §150). The Rule provides both evidence to support this and evidence to contradict it: in 1QS II 20-23, rank seems to be static, as if determined merely by length of one's participation, age (cf. 1QSa I 8), or priestly status (1QS VI 8-9; 1QSa II 11-21; CD IV 3-6), whereas in 1QS V 23-25, rank appears to be fluid, as if determined by one's behavior. Josephus credits the Essenes' longevity to their simplicity of life (§151). Although this claim is disproved by the Qumran cemetery, where many of the men appear to have died in their thirties or forties, the sectarian literature does voice the hope that righteous behavior will yield both material blessing and everlasting life (1QS IV 6-7; cf. Deut 4:40). Josephus observes that the Essenes believe in eternal life and himself speaks of this as a "liberation, so to speak, from long slavery" in unstable matter (§155). All indications are that the Essenes took matter quite seriously. Rather than denigrating the material world and viewing it as a prison (§154), they viewed the material world as a kind of eschatological workshop where the redemption and healing they hoped for could be realized in some modest way.¹²⁰ Beall is correct in judging this passage to be heavily colored by Greek thought.¹²¹ Nevertheless, there are indications in both the literature and the orderly arrangement and northward orientation of the Qumran graves that the Essenes believed in everlasting life.¹²²

Josephus also refers to certain features that are tangential to this study. He understands that there are two groups of Essenes, those who marry (§121) and those who do not (§§160-161). This dichotomy of practice appears in the scrolls as well, though the constitutional literature generally seems to presume married members. Two passages, however, are of interest on this point. 1QSa I 9-10 requires that men be twenty before marriage, thus mandating a kind of probity that coheres with Josephus' testimony. More significantly, CD VII 4-9 refers to two groups, those who walk in perfect holiness, who are promised "life to a thousand generations" (because they are celibate and will

¹²⁰ Evidence of other messianic or apocalyptic groups who sought real remedies in the present include the Bar Kokhba rebels, whose coins depicted the star of their "messiah" and tokens of the restored Temple, and whose leases forgave rents in the sabbatical year (Mur 24); and various rebels of the first century C.E. (Josephus, *War* 2.13.3 [§§258-260]: "Deceivers and imposters, under the pretense of divine inspiration fostering revolutionary changes, they persuaded the multitude to act like madmen and led them out into the desert under the belief that God would there give them tokens of deliverance").

¹²¹ *Josephus' Description of the Essenes*, 105.

¹²² See also CD III 20-VII 6; 1QS IV 6-8; 1Qsb IV 24-26; 1QM XII 1-4.

live on through children?), and those who “reside in the camps in accordance with the rule of the land and take women and beget children.”¹²³ Thus the scrolls may confirm the diversity of practice that Josephus describes. Finally Josephus mentions that one of Jerusalem’s walls near the Siloan fountain had a “Gate of the Essenes,” which suggests that either the Essenes used this gate for entering and exiting the holy city, or that some of them lived near it.¹²⁴

Perhaps the most curious point about Josephus’ depiction of the Essenes in the *War* in relation to the present study is that, while he attributes to them the manifestations of an economic protest movement, he does not portray their communal life as such. If the Essenes are to be identified with the groups who composed the Damascus Document and the Rule, then these documents reveal rationales for common life quite at odds with those praised by Josephus. But divergence of rationales is precisely what we would expect from the Jewish historian; for while he could not deviate from his source or from common knowledge regarding the observable activities of the sect, he was much freer to adapt an interpretation of these activities to the needs of the moment.

8.4.1.2 The Antiquities of the Jews

The *Antiquities* was completed c.93 C.E., and thus some two decades after the Jewish Revolt. In it, Josephus tells the story of the Jews in order to generate appreciation among Greeks and Romans for the venerability of Jewish customs. There are several minor passages that deal with the Essenes, as well as one lengthy section in Book 18. Rajak has argued that the *Antiquities* depends more heavily on the Philo than the earlier *War*, as an older Josephus sought to preserve an historical artifact (the Essenes) long after their demise.¹²⁵ Whether Josephus depends here on Philo directly or on a common source, he does not convey much information that is new apart from the briefer anecdotes, and in fact many of the details of the *War* account are lost.

In *Antiquities* 15.10.4 (§371), Josephus compares the Essenes to the Pythagoreans in a passing attempt to render them familiar to his Gentile audience.¹²⁶ The apologetic nature of Josephus’ remark becomes clear later in the *Antiquities*, when he says the exact opposite for rhetorical effect:

They are worthy of admiration unlike all who claim virtue because there was never any such standard of virtue for any of the Greeks or barbarians—not even for a short time—as has been true of them in the past and has not ceased. (*Ant.* 18.1.5 [§20]).

¹²³ Baumgarten, “Celibacy,” *EDSS*, 1.124. For the relevance of this issue to wealth, see the discussion in §7.6 above.

¹²⁴ *War* 5.4.2 (§145). See the discussion in §6.7 above.

¹²⁵ “Ciò che Flavio Giuseppe Vide,” 146-9, 159-60.

¹²⁶ See also Hippolytus of Rome, *Refutation of All Heresies* 9.27.

Notwithstanding this later disavowal, Josephus is keen to compare the Essenes to a familiar and venerable philosophic tradition in Book 15. While he does not develop his comparison to the Pythagoreans in any detail, his subsequent description suggests that he perceives affinities in the areas of esoteric teaching and common life (ἅπαντα κοινὰ), the latter of which Josephus stylizes as self-control (ἐγκράτεια). The possibility of actual Pythagorean influence on the Essenes has been probed by contemporary scholars and largely dismissed, in part because we have little evidence for a viable Pythagoreanism in Palestine during the sectarian period, and in part because of the professed sectarian aversion to foreign cultural influences (see §1.2.2.4 above). To be fair, Josephus does not claim that the Essenes were Pythagoreans, but simply that the groups are analogous.¹²⁷ In this effort, Josephus chooses well, for the Essenes and Pythagoreans were two of the few religious or philosophical groups by whom common property was practiced. Sterling has examined ancient descriptions of religious and philosophical groups and finds that, while specific practices of each group may be unique, the style of description of those practices is fairly standardized.¹²⁸ That is, certain categories of activity are mentioned regularly. In these ancient descriptions, however, the topic of common property is “standard” only for the Essenes, the early Christians, and the Pythagoreans.

Immediately after Josephus compares the Essenes to the Pythagoreans, he narrates the story of Herod’s encounter with the Essene prophet Manaemus (15.10.4-5 [§§372-379]). Josephus explains that Herod treated all Essenes “with honor” because Manaemus revealed divine matters to him. In the larger context, the particular honor or favor bestowed by the king was an exemption from taking an oath of loyalty to him.¹²⁹ The Essenes protested the oath because they avoided oaths almost entirely. This passage is reminiscent of Philo’s statement that kings, no matter how cruel, treated these men as independent individuals because of their virtue.¹³⁰

The longest account of the Essenes in the *Antiquities* occurs in 18.1.5 (§§18–22), but it is still quite a bit shorter than the treatment in *War*. 2.8.2-13 (§119–161). This may be due to the greater balance Josephus strikes in *Antiquities* in presenting all three philosophies, to a diminished need to emphasize the pacifist ideal, and to the benefits of hindsight and distance which allow him to place greater emphasis on the role of the fourth philosophy in the

¹²⁷ “[The Essenes] follow a way of life taught to the Greeks by Pythagoras” (γένος δὲ τοῦτ’ ἔστιν διαίτη χρώμενον τῇ παρ’ Ἑλλήσιν ὑπὸ Πυθαγόρου καταδεδειγμένη).

¹²⁸ “Athletes of Virtue,” 679-96. Descriptions he analyzes include Chaeremon’s description of Egyptian priests, Philo, Pliny and Josephus’ accounts of the Essenes, Arrian and Philostratus’ accounts of the Indian sages, Iamblichus’ Pythagoreans, and the summaries in Acts of the Apostles.

¹²⁹ M. Weinfeld, “The Loyalty Oath in the Ancient Near East,” *UF* 8 (1976) 379-414.

¹³⁰ *Good Person* 91.

events of 66–74 C.E.¹³¹ It is true that, throughout the *Antiquities*, Josephus is more interested in the Pharisees than he had been in the *War*, which may be motivated by political circumstances as several scholars have suggested.¹³²

In Book 18, Josephus repeats many of the same observations about wealth: the Essenes labor at farming (§19); they have no wives or slaves (a telling combination, §21), for they consider slavery unjust and marriage as leading to discord (§21); they choose virtuous men to collect and distribute revenue (τῶν προσόδων) and food (§22).

Additional and unparalleled features of this account bear further scrutiny. Josephus begins this description with the piety of the Essenes, noting that they strive for the path or revenue of righteousness (§18). The term used for the object of their effort is πρόσδοδος, which will soon be used in the plural to refer to revenue. The word can have that meaning in the singular, though since it can also refer to a “going, procession or approach,” commentators have chosen to translate the term “path or approach.”¹³³ The choice of this term with its multiple connotations allows Josephus to pun: the path of righteousness for the Essenes is paved through their use of wealth.

Perhaps playing off the pun, Josephus then observes one type of economic righteousness, that the Essenes send offerings (ἀναθήματα) to the Temple, but perform their own sacrifices (θύσιναι) among themselves because their system of purification differs from that of the Temple and they are therefore excluded from the common enclosure (ὁ κοινός τέμενος).¹³⁴ Philo also began his description of the Essenes with their piety (*Good Person* 75), but stated explicitly that they conducted no animal sacrifice at all, preferring to sanctify their minds. It is difficult to know whether Philo and Josephus contradict each other on this point. Josephus’ description could mean that the Essenes donated votive offerings to the Temple and performed certain sacrifices (pure meal, disciplines, grain offerings) among themselves, but refrained

¹³¹ Using the section numbers in the editions as the basis for comparison, in the *Antiquities*, the fourth philosophy initiates the sequence because of their revolt at Quirinius’ census (§§4-10); then in the excursus the Pharisees are treated first and are given four sections (§§12-15), followed by the Sadducees who are given two sections (§§15-16), the Essenes with five sections (§§18-22), and finally the fourth philosophy of Judas the Galilean with three sections (§§23-25). In contrast, the *War* also begins with Judas the Galilean (§§117-118), but then spends a full forty-two sections on the Essenes (§§120-161), followed by two and a half on the Pharisees (§§162-163, 166) and two and a half on the Sadducees (§§164-166). Josephus does not return to the fourth philosophy as he will in the *Antiquities*.

¹³² For the literature, see n. 27 above.

¹³³ Beall, *Josephus’ Description of the Essenes*, 114-15; Strugnell, “Flavius Josephus and the Essenes: *Antiquities* XVIII.18-22,” *JBL* 77 (1958) 106-115. For the use of the term in the singular to refer to revenue, see Herodotus, *History* 3.89; 6.46.

¹³⁴ There is a major textual problem at this point (§19). The Epitome and the Latin version reflect the negative particle οὐκ (“they do not offer sacrifices [θυσιᾶς οὐκ ἐπιτελοῦσιν]”); the Greek version lacks the negative particle. In a sense, my translation follows both traditions: the Essenes do offer sacrifices (Greek version), but do not offer them in the Temple (Epitome and Latin). See Beall, *Josephus’ Description of the Essenes*, 115-19.

from animal sacrifice.¹³⁵ Josephus acknowledges that one principle separating the Essenes from the Jewish public is their alternative system of purification, which leads to a secondary separation from the Temple. The fact that the Essenes continue to offer sacrifice among themselves is consistent with the thesis that the Qumran sect viewed itself as an alternative Temple and consequently arrogated to itself all the economic prerogatives of the cult. This is true even if, as Joseph M. Baumgarten suggests, they continued to participate to a limited extent in the sacrificial cult in Jerusalem with their own priests and with separate sacrifices.¹³⁶

Josephus also describes, in an abbreviated manner, the common life of the Essenes (§20):

The goods (τὰ χρήματά) are common to them, and the wealthy man does not enjoy the benefit of his property (ὁ πλούσιος τῶν οἰκείων) more than the one who possesses nothing at all....¹³⁷ They live among themselves and serve each other. They choose noble men to collect the income (τῶν προσόδων) and gather various products of the land, and (they choose) priests to make the bread and food.

Josephus reiterates his admiration for the equitable distribution within the community, which serves to render the categories of wealth and poverty meaningless. His reference to the service (διακονία) that Essenes render one another correlates to the frequent use of the term service (עֲבֹדָה) in the constitutional rules to describe the charitable work of the association (CD XIV 12-17) or the priestly work of the congregation (1QS III 26; cf. IV 9-10; V 14). In both the Damascus Document and the Rule, this service was understood as an alternative to the ritual service in the Temple. Josephus refers to elected agents who collect income and produce for the entire group as the receivers (ἀποδέκται), although they are likely the same officers as the stewards (ἐπιμεληταί) mentioned in *War* 2.8.3, 5-6 (§§123, 129, 134). He also says that the bakers and cooks are priests. That the cooking was a priestly responsibility, which is rather unusual, lends further credence to the thesis that the common meal was understood to be sacred.

¹³⁵ See the literature cited at nn. 41-42 above.

¹³⁶ "The Essenes and the Temple: A Reappraisal," 68-9.

¹³⁷ I have deleted here the reference to wives and slaves, since it has already been mentioned. Nevertheless it should be noted that the spurning of wives is mentioned here in the context of the common life. On the basis of *War* 2.8.2 (§§120-121), we might believe that the Essenes avoid wives because of woman's wantonness. But in this case, Philo may help us to reconstruct why wives are mentioned. In *Hypothetica* (*Praep. ev.* 8.11.14-17), Philo views women as "the sole or principal obstacle to common life," both because of their seductions and because of their arrogance with regard to their children. Moreover, the "natural necessity" of their children creates anxiety for the father and drives a wedge between him and his associates.

8.4.2 *Conclusions*

Josephus' accounts of the Essenes in the *War* and the *Antiquities* correspond closely to the sectarian constitutional literature on the matter of wealth and demonstrate a greater degree of detail (or interest?) than do Philo's descriptions, although we appear to have lost Philo's treatise on the group and in any event Josephus is likely dependent on his sources for those details.¹³⁸ Despite Josephus' apologetic interest to portray Jewish society in an irenic light, he exposes that the Essenes were separated from Jewish society over matters of sabbath law and purifications, even acknowledging that they were barred from the Temple enclosure and the sacrificial system. He indicates that they established their own economic system based on agriculture and various crafts, that they sanctified themselves through ablutions and sacred, common meals, and that they sanctified their produce through their own sacrificial system.

He marvels that no one has more than any other, and traces this to the initial surrender of property, the ongoing collection of produce, and the noble service of elected stewards and guardians. He observes that the Essenes live a frugal lifestyle and that their internal commerce requires neither cash nor reciprocal exchange. It does, however, require obedience to those more advanced in discipline and, in particular, to the guardians over matters of family expenditures. In contrast to these restrictive measures, the Essenes are free to expend at will on behalf of the needy.

The initiation procedure described by Josephus largely conforms to the evidence of the sectarian literature; although in his version the gradual integration of property is not described in detail and the time frame differs. Parallel to certain motifs in the sapiential tradition and the guidelines for the wise leader at the end of the Rule, Josephus notes that the Essenes take oaths to exercise power with humility, a status-leveling device akin to shared property.

Josephus provides corroborating evidence that the Essenes had their own judicial system and could effectively carry out capital punishment, since even apostates expelled from their order maintained their vows against commerce and table fellowship with non-Essenes. Josephus echoes Philo's comments that the Essenes renounced marriage (except for one group) and slavery, and received favors from kings due to their virtue.

Josephus' descriptions also lend credence to the thesis that the Essene attitudes toward wealth are based on covenant fidelity and an identification with the Temple. The references to the Essenes' compassion and care for the needy correspond to the emphasis on love of neighbor in the sectarian consti-

¹³⁸ Beall has come to the same conclusion in his more comprehensive comparison (*Josephus' Description of the Essenes*). He cautions that, while Josephus is basically reliable, he tends to exaggerate and presents his material in Greek rather than native Jewish forms.

tutional literature. Moreover, the Essenes sanctified themselves and their produce, they shared a sacred meal daily, and they offered their own sacrifices. Josephus discusses their sacred meal in the context not of human fellowship but of piety, further recommending an analogy to Temple practice and suggesting that love of God (piety) was defined in the group by their peculiar sacrificial enterprise and their communal table. Finally, Josephus refers to their common life as an arrangement that allowed the Essenes to serve one another, a term suggestive of cultic activity.

8.5 *Pliny the Elder*

Pliny, who died in 79 C.E., composed his *Natural History* sometime after 70 C.E. His account of the Essenes is comparatively brief. Its greatest significance lies in its reference to the geographic location of the Essenes above 'Ein Gedi and to the west of the Dead Sea, a location which corresponds to the Qumran compound (see §8.1 above).

Pliny's account is spare, and therefore so are his remarks about economic practices in the community. He mentions that the group is "unique of its kind and admirable beyond all others in the whole world" for being without women, without money (*sine pecunia*), and without interaction with others (or, as Pliny puts it, "keeping company with palm trees"). This last reference is consistent with Philo's report that the Essenes flee the towns because of "ungodliness customary among town-dwellers"; it conveys the impression that the Essenes separate from human society.¹³⁹ Pliny also remarks about the motivations of the people who join the group:

Owing to the throng of newcomers, this people is daily re-born in equal number; indeed, those who, wearied by the fluctuations of fortune, life leads to adopt their customs, stream in in great numbers. Thus, unbelievable though this may seem, for thousands of centuries a race has existed which is eternal yet into which no one is born: so fruitful for them is the repentance which others feel for their past lives!

The passage is exaggerated for rhetorical effect, in its references to the numbers of newcomers, the frequency of their arrival, and the "thousands of centuries" over which the group has existed. But certain of its phrases about the motivations of adherents resonate with the sectarian attitudes toward wealth. Pliny says that the newcomers enter because they are "wearied by the fluctuations of fortune," which suggests that some deficiency or misfortune leads them to join the community. This same motivation was proposed in the discussion of the Examiner's responsibility to scrutinize the circumstances and relieve the burdens of initiates (CD XIII 9-10; see §2.3.3 above). Further-

¹³⁹ Philo, *Good Person* 76.

more, Pliny reports that repentance for one's past life motivates one to join this community, and this leads to the growth of the community. The strong emphasis upon the scrutiny of initiates, the stylization of the disciplines of the community as atoning acts, and the concern for purity that emerge in the sectarian literature all support the notion that the group was a penitential community. Pliny's notion that overweening regret accounts for the fruitfulness of the group refers most obviously to the size of the group, but may reflect the material strength of their combined assets as well. Of interest is the fact that, unlike Philo and Josephus (and their shared sources), Pliny does refer to a particular settlement of Essenes and to the flight of its inhabitants there from their villages of origin.

8.6 *Conclusions*

Philo, Josephus and Pliny each include some reference to economic attitudes and practices when they discuss the Essenes. Philo devotes two-thirds of his description to the topic. The particular features of each author's treatment correspond significantly to the sectarian constitutional literature. This supports the consensus view that the Essenes are to be identified with the Qumran community.

In addition to the demonstrable correspondences, the secondary testimony introduces new information. Priests baked the bread and cooked the food for the daily sacred and common meal. The particular occupations of farming, beekeeping and other crafts are listed as the sources of communal income, while commerce, armament manufacture and interest income from loans and land rental are expressly renounced. Slavery is forbidden, a prohibition which corresponds nicely to the sectarian interest in eschatological redemption. The renunciation of slavery is juxtaposed to the renunciation of marriage, which suggests a correlation of the two institutions based in part, most likely, on their economic aspects. We hear that homes are shared with visiting sectarians, that produce and income are deposited with elected stewards, and that the few clothes worn are shared. Essenes were free to share whatever they liked with the needy without supervision, but were supervised in every expenditure for their families outside the community. They are ranked both in terms of the duration of their discipline and in terms of their progress in that discipline, not in terms of wealth. In addition, both Philo and Josephus indicate that the Essenes received favors from kings.

Philo and Josephus both emphasize that the Essenes choose their life as free men and do not join because they are in desperate circumstances. But on this point, these Jewish apologists or their sources may be bending the truth. Pliny corresponds more closely to the sectarian literature when he recounts that initiates join because they are "wearied by the fluctuations of fortune."

The sectarian literature refers frequently to present distress and oppression and a future reversal of fortune, all of which indicate a perception of present deprivation. It is this very deprivation which the sectarian economy was designed to remedy.

CHAPTER NINE

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Wealth in the literature and practice of the Qumran community has been defined broadly in this study to encompass not only the phenomenon of common property but also any reference to economic arrangements. This has widened the scope of analysis and has consequently provided new contexts within which to understand both the sectarian critique of and the sectarian alternative to the economy of its day. Thus “wealth” in the scrolls embraces agricultural production and distribution, the redistributions effected by war, royal and imperial taxes, and Temple contributions, financial arrangements such as usury, surety, foreclosure, debt slavery, deposit and guardianship, and finally marriage and kinship obligations. The sectarian scrolls, and especially the constitutional literature, critique economic and financial practices in all of these areas, and offer alternatives not only in the imagined eschatological future but also in the faithful remnant community of the present.

The core constitutional documents provide evidence that economic matters were significant at every stage of sectarian history and in every generic category of their rule texts. The broad distribution of economic concern is also apparent in sectarian texts outside the corpus of rules. For example, concern for inequities of income and distribution and the arrogance presumed to motivate them are prominent in the *pesharim* and the Hodayot, while the anticipated redemption with its reversal of current hierarchies of value is conspicuous in eschatological texts such as the War Scroll. While the critique of the present economy and the hope for future bounty are shared broadly across the sectarian corpus, it is in the Damascus Document and the Rule that the sect’s own alternative economy is shaped and sustained.

For this reason the Damascus Document and the Rule of the Community were scrutinized in depth at the outset. Through their economic critiques, through their legislation for an alternative community, and through their biblical allusions and idealizing tendencies, the rationales and realities behind the sectarian economy were probed. The Damascus Document targets several issues for critique, including the profanation of the sacred through irregularities in the sacrificial system, the persecution and oppression of the author’s community, the arrogance and evils of the pursuit of wealth, and the abuse of marriage to concentrate assets. The three nets of Belial—fornication, arrogance/wealth, and defilement of the Temple—provide an image that associ-

ates these practices with danger and that demonstrates their interconnectedness. The author's community is to separate from society so as to avoid becoming entangled in these nets. Their own alternative economy provides remedies to the ills of the broader society. The Examiner will scrutinize and loosen the "chains that bind" those who enter; usury and surety are completely prohibited; oaths are restricted; regular payments are made to support the needy; and all of one's finances come under the purview of the Examiner, who oversees especially those transactions where sectarian and non-sectarian economies mingle, such as marriage, divorce, and kinship obligations. In addition to these redefinitions of Torah requirements, the Damascus Document prefers stringent interpretations of religious obligations in Torah: no offering may be made that was garnered by violence, the sabbath is extended so that work and income are further restricted, and *terumah* and tithes are allocated somewhat differently. Some of these interpretations of scripture are governed by exegetical exigencies, while others are dictated by social ills. The community adhering to these unique requirements further defines itself by mandating punishments for violations of its code. The first matter treated in the list of judgments is lying about property, and many of the punishments of apostates have to do with the alienation of the errant member from the wealth and sustenance of the community. In this context, food is the most significant asset that is shared by the community. In the legislation and penal code of the group, certain ideals were discerned that grounded the distinctive practices in an alternative vision. To a large extent, these visions were borrowed from scripture; thus, the community views itself as the post-Sinai wilderness community or sanctuary from the Torah; they are Ezekiel's ideal Temple of the future; they are the remnant that remains faithful to the covenant; they realize the sabbatical and jubilee vision on a daily basis.

The Rule of the Community does not specify the objects of its economic critique as clearly as the Damascus Document, but it does amplify the rationales employed to justify the alternative economy of the sect. The most significant rationale in the Rule is covenant fidelity. In the contribution of all one's "knowledge, strength and wealth" and other similar clusters, the sectarians are redefining the Deuteronomic command to love God with one's entire heart, soul and strength. Contemporary interpretations of Deuteronomy 6:5 were discussed in order to demonstrate that the contribution of one's strength in the biblical exhortation was customarily understood to mean the contribution of one's wealth. Most individuals fulfilled this command through their participation in the sacrificial enterprise of the Jerusalem Temple. But since the Rule community had distanced itself from the central sanctuary because of disputes over its governance and its interpretation of legal and purity requirements, it had to redefine what it meant to "love God with all one's strength." Its chief strategies were to stylize faithful behavior as sacrifice, to redefine the

community as the authentic sanctuary, and to therefore require the voluntary contribution of "all one's strength" to the community itself. References to non-violent gain and honesty regarding property are juxtaposed to the biblical exhortation to love one's neighbor (Lev 19:18), thus rooting communal relations in another positive command. Furthermore, the fact that these assets were committed in the context of a covenant renewal ceremony, with its attendant invocation of covenant curses and blessings, and that this renewal took place on the great festival of the Sinai revelation, Pentecost, support the contention that the contribution of property was understood as a demonstration of radical covenant fidelity. Through the sharing of wealth, the community becomes a single entity, a *yahad*, united in fidelity and purpose, no longer torn by the greed and violence that characterize the external economy. By virtue of their covenant fidelity, they become an appropriate sanctuary for the holy spirit, and are keen to preserve that sanctity through a graduated initiation process, judicial scrutiny and severe penalties. As in the Damascus Document, the penalty for lying about property is mentioned first in the penal code, and involves appropriately not only a separation from the pure food of the community but a reduction of food—the most obvious asset of the community. This is further demonstrated when members are forbidden from "eating from the wealth" of alienated fellows.

Both of the constitutional rules betray real concerns about the efficacy of the contemporary sacrificial system. Since the Jerusalem Temple no longer serves effectively to sanctify the produce of the land, God's continued blessing of that land is in jeopardy. Specific economic abuses that defile the system of sanctification include the dedication of gifts taken by force, the "over-dedication" of property in order to retain usufruct but avoid the claims of the needy, the violation of the sabbath by working or scheming about work, the failure to offer *terumah* from fourth-year fruits and gleanings, and the Temple's unspecified theft from the widows, orphans and needy, possibly through taxation, limited redistribution, or failure to honor deposits. In creating an alternative economy grounded in a radical interpretation of the law, the sectarians propose that they can supplant the Temple as the intermediary of sanctification and thus secure atonement and prosperity for the land.

Another concern revealed in the rules is the power and justice of God. The spread of wickedness and the oppression of the righteous created real hardship for the sectarians, or at least they perceived that it did. Yet the tradition they inherited promised material blessing to those who remained faithful to the covenant. The sectarians adopted two strategies to diminish this dissonance: they imagined an eschatological triumph of divine justice, and they attempted to realize that redemption within their own economy by reliev-

ing the burdens of distressed initiates and by providing for members' daily needs.

Questions about divine justice were found to lie at the heart of the pre-sectarian Instruction as well. While the document takes up standard sapiential *topoi*, it differs from the larger tradition on two counts. First, it presumes that the sage is poor and may become poorer, and therefore offers strategies for pursuing wisdom in a variety of socio-economic circumstances. The heavy use of terms for "lack" or "need" relative to the wider wisdom tradition is relevant in this regard. Other sapiential works are generally thought to come from classes in less precarious positions closer to the ruling powers. A second difference is that Instruction opens with an cosmological prologue that presents God as the ultimate benefactor or master whose secrets lie beyond human knowledge. This assertion and the use of it to set up the parenetic material that follows function to excuse God and to offer hope to those who now suffer, for God's secrets include the mystery to come when status will be reversed. In addition, the prologue warrants meditation on that mystery as a temporary relief to deprivation. Apart from these divergences, Instruction employs many of the standard terms for wealth found in the wisdom tradition and thus demonstrates a likely conduit by which these words made their way into the sectarian rule texts. The fact that it presumes a sage engaged in marriage, family and economic relationships is somewhat at odds with the thesis of a celibate, monastic and secluded community, but this thesis is in need of revision in the face of archaeological and literary evidence to the contrary.

The sectarian literature in general confirms terms, motifs, and thematic interests found in the constitutional rules. In addition, certain other matters are more fully attested. As in Instruction and the sapiential-apocalyptic tradition, poverty is not an ideal, but rather a circumstance that requires remedy in the end times. Therefore, there are frequent references to the eschatological expectation that God will ultimately level the playing field by raising the lowly and casting the powerful into an eternal pit. The envisioned reversal included an economic redemption, whereby those now hungry would not only eat, but become fat, and those now oppressed would have their bonds loosened. Critiques of the Temple establishment and its economic persecution of the sect are clarified in the *pesharim*, and on frequent occasions the oppressive nature of international commerce and the economic consequences of warfare are illuminated. The War Scroll's symbols of swords with ears of grain in the final battle and of a table where people will grow fat after the victory suggest that the images are determined by the economic nature of the oppression suffered.

The particular sectarian interpretation of economic themes is clarified when compared to economic material in the non-sectarian literature. Of course, the Torah provides the foundation for the sectarian economy in a

unique way, as it is explicitly identified as the subject of exposition in so many of the sectarian texts. Likewise the prophets provide the warrant and the language for the sectarian critique, and the sapiential tradition provides vocabulary about wealth and vicious gain and encourages the pursuit of insight. Parabiblical and pseudepigraphic literary works found at Qumran sometimes expand on the notion of material benefit. The most important of these works for the sectarian economy are *Jubilees* and *Enoch*, which reestablish a divine time-frame characterized in part by rest, redemption, and economic justice. These works interpret the Torah in a direction extended by the sectarians, who not only will imagine an ultimate redemption and jubilee but will attempt to realize these in a proleptic fashion. Another work that likely lies closer to the sectarians in time and authorial community is the Temple Scroll. This text illuminates some of the halakhic disputes that may lie behind the separation of the Qumran sect from the Jerusalem Temple. In its expansion of Exodus–Deuteronomy, the Temple Scroll largely ignores laws about profane commerce and finances, but attends to laws about cultic commerce in its vision of the ideal sanctuary. That vision, influenced by the ideal Temple of Ezekiel, illustrates the impetus to redefine the sacrificial enterprise that will characterize the sectarians and that will determine many of their economic concerns. Some mantic wisdom texts take the notion of a foreordained outcome further than *Jubilees* or *Enoch* by suggesting that economic circumstances are not a matter of human injustice requiring divine remedy but are rather a matter of natural order. While the sectarians display deterministic thinking in their ranking of members in terms of economic (and other) deeds, there is an intriguing tension in the sectarian literature between this deterministic perspective and the emphasis on improving and judging behavior. The sectarian texts clearly borrow many of their major motifs and rationales from these prior traditions, but differentiate from them by legislating a community living by a radical interpretation of the covenant.

The archaeological evidence from the Qumran compound and vicinity displays features consistent with the thesis that a community lived there, that they were religious in nature, and that their economy, though engaged with other sites, was not characterized by commerce traditionally defined. The compound is architecturally simple, with only modest decoration and a limited use of finished stones. The group that lived there and those who visited the site used the coinage of the outside economy, but the paucity of coins and other items of commerce such as scales and weights indicates that the site was not as engaged in the local market as some would argue. Almost half the coins found were collected as a Temple tax, most likely a one-time payment the community assessed for its own purposes rather than the annual levy collected from the Herodian period on. The presence of Roman denarii in this hoard suggests at least that the typical surcharge for the less valuable

didrachma or half-shekel was imposed, and at most that the collectors were engaged in the Roman tax system. Pottery was largely produced onsite, no doubt to maintain control over the purity of the vessels, and while there are some examples of fine ware, the corpus in general is somewhat peculiar, consistent with a sectarian identification. Moreover, the pottery is simple, and the presence in particular of over a thousand identical bowls for meals is consistent with the equality of wealth, if not of absolute rank, found in the constitutional literature. The graves likewise correspond to the picture of the sectarian economy that is gained from their distinctive literature. There is some differentiation of graves, with some bodies in wood or metal coffins and others without, and one group of three graves under a surface circle of stones. There are a few sherds in the fill of a few graves, but otherwise no grave goods to speak of. The sectarian-era skeletons thus far unearthed are almost all male. The type of grave is modest—not the crudest mass grave, but not the elaborate family sepulcher of the wealthy either. The modesty of the graves is all the more remarkable because of the lack of pathology in the bones and the lack of abrasion on the teeth of many of the individuals, which disprove lives of manual labor and permanent desert habitation, respectively. The fact of secondary burial indicates what archaeological surveys in the vicinity have demonstrated—the Qumran site was a center for a more dispersed social group along the northwest coast of the Dead Sea, extending to Jericho and perhaps to Jerusalem. All of this evidence points to de Vaux's original hypothesis that this was a religious center, although it revises that hypothesis by defining the group as less centralized and the economy of the group as somewhat more open and regionally engaged.

Documentary texts from the Judean desert and elsewhere help to illuminate some of the terminology and practices of the contemporary economy against which the Qumran sect defined itself. Documents were customarily executed in the name of the prevailing power, oaths invoking the deity or deities were sworn, witnesses attended the transaction, the document was made public, and redress was sought in a system of courts. The paucity of documentary texts from Qumran indicates that the people who lived there were relatively unengaged in these procedures. In fact, the constitutional literature reveals that the sectarians restricted oaths, had different rules for witnesses, registered property in public but in their own communal accounts, and established their own judicial system. All of this suggests alienation from the larger economic and judicial system, but it also indicates that the institutions and conventions of the external economy were mimicked to an extent as the community created its own system. The few documentary texts from Qumran are in some cases anomalous in comparison to non-sectarian samples. One refers to the high priest as the prevailing power rather than to a king or emperor; another refers to sacrifices, and two follow the convention of double

deed but post the witness signatures on the recto, suggesting that the deed was never sealed to protect it. These anomalies are difficult to understand, but seem to point to greater trust in the exchange and greater interest in cultic matters. Furthermore, the so-called "Yahad ostrakon," while not actually referring to a commitment of an estate to the *yahad*, nevertheless indicates that a draft of a deed was executed at Qumran, presumably so that the community's agents could supervise the terms. It may demonstrate that members could execute transactions in the larger economy and were engaged in property transfers elsewhere. The documentary evidence from Qumran, most of which likely is from Qumran rather than Naḥal Ḥever, is consistent with the picture of the sectarian economy developed in this study. The presence of many inscribed jars and the relative lack of documentary texts and money at the site suggest that exchanges did occur, but that they were by barter rather than by exchange of money. The external documentary texts illuminate the practices the sectarians criticized, such as mechanisms for concentrating assets and for depriving claimants, while two documents indicate that the sabbatical year was practiced (Mur 18, 24) and could be linked to a messianic movement (Mur 24). Evidence was introduced to suggest that frequent sectarian references to "the pit" as a locus of evil and a habitat for corrupt men may depend on the role of the pit as a storage or collection site for commercial repayments or levies.

Secondary testimony about the Essenes, while not necessary for the definition of the sectarian economy otherwise derived from the scrolls and the Qumran site, nevertheless corroborates that definition rather remarkably. The three major witnesses, Philo, Josephus and Pliny, concur that the Essenes are notable for their communal life. Philo and Josephus in particular expand on this subject, and may well depend on Nicolaus of Damascus for this part of their portrait. The Essenes are described as farmers and craftsmen and not priests, although solitary priests are occasionally mentioned. They are said to avoid commerce and the vices associated with it, although they are engaged in a sacrificial system that is somewhat at odds with the Temple. They are reported to forswear interest and rental income. Most importantly, their common life is motivated by the virtue of love of man, and so takes the form of common homes, common clothes, shared meals and food, a fund for the sick and elderly, and the avoidance of divisive institutions such as marriage and slavery. These common items and the discussions of marriage and slavery differ somewhat from the primary evidence, but there are discrepancies on these matters even there. According to Philo and Josephus, the Essenes have mechanisms for supervising income and expenditures on family, namely the overseers, guardians, and stewards, but they are completely at liberty to give charity. Liberty in general characterizes their lives, a claim that coheres with the group's own self-designation in the Rule ("those who voluntarily offer")

and that describes certain political-economic prerogatives they enjoy. The secondary testimony to the Essene economy, though clearly marked by apologetic interests and Hellenizing tendencies, nevertheless remarks on many of the attributes of the sectarian economy found in the primary evidence, and does so in a manner largely consistent with them.

Two issues that have long vexed students of the texts have been illuminated by this study. The first is the perceived tension between private property and a community of goods, the second between an egalitarian community and the preservation of rank.

Scholars have long been troubled by the fact that the covenanters are said to contribute all their wealth, but also appear to have retained private property. While this can be explained away in the constitutional literature as the fault of multiple sources or a clumsy editor, it is less easy to explain why a single commentator like Josephus would say the same thing. The better avenue of explanation lies in acknowledging that our categories of property today do not correspond to the categories in which the sectarians thought. Whereas we think of private and public as adjectives for property, thus making the categories mutually exclusive, the ancient Jewish formulations are verbal: one "has" property to oneself or possessions "are" common to all. This kind of formulation of common property allows for a more fluid interpretation; property that "is" common can be understood to belong both to the individual and the group simultaneously. The ancient economic practice of making deposits, attested in the documentary texts from the Judean desert, provides a picture of how this private-public relationship could be arranged. The donor offers the right of usufruct to another but retains the right of ownership. This practice was suggested as an analog for the practice of shared property at Qumran. Nor is the analogy extraneous to the constitutional literature; the Damascus Document criticizes the practice of depositing one's goods with God (dedicating property) such that no other claimants could exercise their legitimate requests for support from it. It offered its own economy of shared goods as an alternative deposit arrangement, whereby one dedicated one's property to God and to others simultaneously, and retained use for one's own basic needs.

Light was also shed on the apparent paradox that this egalitarian community maintained ranks and mandated obedience to superiors, particularly in matters of wealth. It becomes clear through a close study of the texts that rank in this community is based on different standards than in the outside world, namely on insights and deeds in Torah rather than on wealth and power. A hierarchy of practice still obtains, such that those who have been faithful to the disciplines of the community longer have a higher rank. But that rank is not based on the wealth with which they come into the community, nor is it to be exercised with arrogance or conventional distinctions.

Arrogance, clothing, the private accumulation of goods, trains of clients and self-serving social benefactions are not to be the manner of those with rank in this community. Rather, they too are subject to the judgments of the Many if they exercise authority like the "heroes" or benefactors in the outside world.

The coherence of all manner of primary evidence and the secondary testimony indicate that the Qumran community not only idealized its economy or projected its ideal form into the eschatological future, but actually attempted to realize the promised redemption and past covenant in the society they created. Their ideal, and thus their provisional economy, was motivated by radical covenant fidelity and was modeled on the system of sanctification that the Temple was supposed to provide. Their economic system was thus profoundly grounded in Torah and was radically conservative in relation to other social groups. The sectarians saw themselves as a priestly people sharing goods as a witness both to divine munificence and to the possibility that humanity, or at least a remnant of it, could be redeemed.

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APPENDIX A

PARALLEL PASSAGES ON WEALTH
IN ALL DAMASCUS DOCUMENT MANUSCRIPTS

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Legend

- [] Extant space and content allows for parallel text
- Extant evidence indicates that parallel text was lacking
- [----] Manuscript is not extant, but extant space and content suggest that parallel text was lacking
- [?] Manuscript has a variant, undecipherable text
- () Word supplied for sense in English
- [סרד] Reconstructed letters
- { } Scribal correction
- כ̣ Reading possible but uncertain
- כ̣ Reading likely but not definite
- Undecipherable ink trace

Generic Category: Admonition

CD IV 12-19

ובכל השנים האלה יהיה בליעל משולח בישראל כאשר דבר אל ביד
 ישעיה הנביא בן אמוץ לאמר פחד ופחת ופח עליך יושב הארץ vac פשרו
 שלושת מצודות בליעל אשר אמר עליהם לוי בן יעקב אשר הוא תפש
 בהם בישראל ויתנם פניהם לשלושת מיני הצדק הראשונה היא הזנות השנית
 ההון השלישית טמא המקדש העולה מזה יתפש בזה והניצל מזה יתפש בזה vac

And during all these years | Belial will be sent forth against Israel, as
 God said by the hand of Isaiah the prophet, son of | Amoz, saying:
 "Panic and pit and snare against you, earth dwellers." *Blank* Its
 interpretation: | The three nets of Belial about which Levi, son of Jacob,
 spoke against them, | in which he catches Israel and makes them appear
 before them like three types of | righteousness. The first is fornication;
 the second, wealth; the third, | defilement of the temple. Who eludes one
 is caught in another and he who is freed from that, is caught | in another.
Blank

Generic Category: Admonition

4QD^a 3 ii 17-25

4QD^d 4 ii 1-4

וְכֹל אֲשֶׁר הוּבָא
 [----- בְּכַרְיָתָ לְבַלְתִּי
 הוּא אִם מִסְגֵּר { } הַדְּלַת אֲשֶׁר אָמַר
 [חַאִירֵי מוּבְחֵי חֹנֶם אִם] לֹא יִשְׁמְרוּ []
 [הַרְשַׁע לְהַבְרִיחַ] מִבְּנֵי הַשַּׁחֲחַ
 [וְלִהְנוּרָה] בְּגֵדָה וּבְחֶרֶם []
 [הַמְקַדְּשׁ וְלִנְזוּלָה] אֶלְמַנּוּתָה שְׁלֵלִים []
 [יִרְחֹקוּ] לְהַבְרִיחַ []
 [וּלְשֹׁמְרֵי] אֹהֶל []

[הַחֲרָשָׁה בְּאֵרֶץ]
 כְּפִרוּשֵׁיהֶם לְאֹהֶל יִקַּח
 בְּעָדָה אֵינִי שׁ בְּשָׁלוֹם

And everyone who was brought
 [| covena]nt so as not to []
 [-----]s a “shutter { } of
 the door,” | of [wh]om [God said, []
 [light my altar in
 vain?” | [un]less they take care []
 []
 [evil, to [se]p[ar]ate themselves from
 the sons | [] pit] and []
 []
 [because o]f vows and b[ans]
 [| Temple, (for they) ro]b
 [wid]ows as [their] prey []
 [|]they[] (And []
 [] to distinguish []
 []
 [|]
 [] the []
 []
 [|]
 []
 []

[the] ne[w] in the lan[d]
 [their requirements, to lo]ve []
 [and] to [stre]ngthen the ha[nd]
 []
 [] | each [m]an the peāce

6QD 4 2-4

CD VI 11-VII 1

vac וכל אשר הובאו

בברית לבלתי בוא אל המקדש להאיר מזבחו
 ויהיו מסנירי הדלת אשר אמר אל מי בכם יסגיר
 דלתו vac ולא תאירו מזבחי חנם אם לא ישמרו לעשות
 כפרוש התורה לקץ הרשע ולהבדל מבני השחח
 ולהגור מהון הרשעה הטמא בנדר ובחרם ובהון
 המקדש ולבוול את עניי עמו להיות אלמנות שללם
 ואת יתומים ירצחו ולהבדיל בין הטמא לשהור
 ולהודיע בין הקודש לחול ולשמור את יום השבת
 כפרושה ואת המועדות ואת יום החענית במצאת באי
 הברית החדשה בארץ דמשק להרים את הקדשים
 כפירושיהם לאהוב איש את אחיו כמוהו ולהחזיק
 ביד עני ואביון ונר vac ולדרוש איש את שלום אחיו

[הקדש]ם]
 כפרו[שיהם ול] החזיק
 [ולדרוש איש]

Blank And everyone who was brought into the covenant | so as not to enter the Temple to light his altar in vain is a “shutter of | the door,” of whom God said, “who of you will shut his door and not light my altar | in vain?” *Blank* unless they take care to act according to the requirements of the Law to the end of evil, to separate themselves | from the sons of the pit and to hold themselves sacredly aloof from the evil wealth (which is) impure because of vows and bans | and with the wealth of the Temple, (for they) rob the poor of his people: widows are their prey | and orphans they murder. And (they must also take care) to distinguish between the impure and the pure, and to make known (the difference) between | the holy and the profane, and to observe the Sabbath day according to its requirements, and the appointed times | and the day of the fast as it was found by those who entered the new covenant in the land of Damascus, | to offer up the holy things according to their requirements, to love each man his brother as himself, | and to strengthen the hand of the poor and destitute and proselyte, *Blank* and to seek each man the peace | of his brother.

{ thin]gs according to
 [their] require[ments]
 [| to] strengthen[]
 [|] and
 to seek each man {

Generic Category: Admonition

CD-B XIX 5-11

וכל המאסים במצות ובחקים להשיב גמול רשעים עליהם בפקד אל את הארץ
 בבוא הדבר אשר כתוב ביד זכריה הנביא חרב עורי על רועי ועל גבר עמיתי
 נאם אל הק את הרעה ותפוצינה הצאן והשיבותי ידי על הצוערים והשומרים
 אותו הם עניי הצאן אלה ימלטו בקץ הפקדה והנשארים ימסרו לחרב בבוא
 משיח אהרן וישראל

But (over) all those who hate the precepts | and the statutes, he will pay back the recompense of the wicked against them, when God visits the earth, | when there comes the word which is written by the hand of Zechariah, the prophet: "Wake up, sword, against | my shepherd, and against the male who is my companion," says God, "wound the shepherd and the flock will be scattered | and I shall turn my hand upon the little ones." Those who are faithful to him are the poor ones of the flock. | These shall escape in the age of the visitation; but those that remain shall be delivered up to the sword when there comes the messiah | of Aaron and Israel.

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*Generic Category: Admonition*4QD^a 3 iv 1-64QD^d 6 1-2

[ביום אשר]
 []
 []
 [כול מוררים]
 [ויתנן וללו בדרכין]
 [זמרה]
 [ושנו לא איש את רעהו]
 [בשר ויגשו]
 [בעינו ובחרו]
 []
 [ללכת]

[הרשעה ונקום]
 []
 [בשאר בשרו]

[] the day when [
 [-----]
 [-----]
 [] and
 all bitter plagues [
 [-----]
 []
 [wal]lowed in the w[ays of] fornication [
 [] | and each [hat]ing his neigh-
 bor. []
 and drew near | [
 [] chose | [
 [-----]
 [] walking

[wicked [wealth, each] aveng
 [ing
 [] his near
 relation, []

CD-A VIII 2-12

הוא היום אשר יפקד אל ----- היו
 שרי יהודה ----- אשר תשפוך
 עליהם העברה כי יחלו למרפא וידקמום
 כל מורדים מאשר -----
 לא סרו מדרך בוגדים ויתגוללו בדרכי
 זנות ובהון רשעה ונקום וניסור איש
 לאחיו ושנא איש את רעהו ויתעלמו איש
 בשאר בשרו וינשו לזמה ויתגברו להון
 ולבצע ויעשו --- איש הישר בעיניו ויבחרו
 איש בשרירות לבו ולא נזרו מעם
 ----- ויפרעו ביד רמה ללכת בדרך
 רשעים אשר אמר אל עליהם חמת תנינים
 יינם וראש פתנים אכזר התנינים הם מלכי
 העמים ויינם הוא דרכיהם וראש הפתנים
 הוא ראש מלכי יון הבא לעשות בהם נקמה

This is the day | when God will visit
 ----- the princes of Judah,
 for -----
 ----- you will pour out
 the wrath upon them, | for they
 shall be sick with no healing, and
 all bitter plagues shall pierce them
 (?), -----
 ----- for they did not depart
 from the way of | traitors but rather
 wallowed in the ways of fornication
 and in wicked wealth, each aveng-
 ing and bearing grudges | against his
 brother and each hating his neigh-
 bor. And each ignored his near
 relation, | and drew near for incest.
 And they strove mightily for wealth
 and vicious gain, and each man did
 what was right in his own eyes, | and
 each chose according to the wanton-
 ness of his heart, and did not re-
 move himself from the people
 -----, And they let
 loose the haughty hand, | walking in
 the way of the evil, about whom
 God says against them, "their wine
 is serpents' venom | and the head of
 cruel, harsh asps." The serpents are
 the kings of the peoples and the
 wine | their paths and the asps' head
 is the head of the kings of Greece,
 which comes to do | vengeance
 among them.

CD-B XIX 15-24

הוא היום אשר יפקד אל כאשר דבר היו
 שרי יהודה כמשיגי נבול עליהם אשפך
 כמים עברה -----
 ----- כי באו בכרית תשובה
 ולא סרו מדרך בוגדים ויתעללו בדרכי
 זנות ובהון הרשעה ונקום וניסור איש
 לאחיו ושנא איש את רעהו ויתעלמו איש
 בשאר בשרו וינשו לזמה ויתגברו להון
 ולבצע ויעשו את איש הישר בעיניו ויבחרו
 איש בשרירות לבו ולא נזרו מעם
 ומחטאתם ויפרעו ביד רמה ללכת בדרכי
 רשעים אשר אמר אל עליהם חמת תנינים
 יינם וראש פתנים אכזר התנינים --- מלכי
 העמים ויינם הוא דרכיהם וראש פתנים
 הוא ראש מלכי יון הבא עליהם לנקם נקמה

This is the day when God will visit,
 as he says, "The princes of Judah
 will be like those who move | the
 boundary, upon them he will pour
 out his fury like water." -----

 For they entered the covenant of
 conversion, | but did not depart
 from the way of traitors but rather
 wallowed in the ways of fornication
 and in wicked wealth, | each aveng-
 ing and bearing grudges against his
 brother and each hating his neigh-
 bor. And each ignored | his near
 relation, and drew near for incest.
 And they strove mightily for wealth
 and vicious gain, and each man | did
 what was right in his own eyes, and
 each chose according to the wanton-
 ness of his heart, and did not re-
 move himself from the people |
 and from their sins. And they let
 loose the haughty hand, walking in
 ways of evil, about whom |
 God says against them, "their wine
 is serpents' venom and the head of
 cruel, harsh asps." The serpents | are
 the kings of the peoples and the
 wine their paths and the asps' head
 is the head of the | kings of Greece,
 which comes against them to carry
 out vengeance.

Generic Category: Admonition

CD-B XX 6-10

ובהופע מעשיו כפי מדרש התורה אשר יתהלכו בו אנשי תמים הקדש אל ה' יאות איש עמו בהון ובעבודה כי אדרוהו כל קדושי עליון וכמשפט הזה לכל המאס בראשונים ובאחרונים אשר שמו גלולים על לבם וישמ וילכו בשרירות לבם vac אין להם חלק בבית התורה

But when his deeds are evident, according to the interpretation of the law in which | the men of perfect holiness walk, no one should agree with him in wealth or service, | for all the holy ones of the Most High have cursed him. And (proceed) according to this judgment for all those who despise, among the first | as among the last who have placed idols on their heart ~~and have placed~~ and have walked in the stubbornness of | their heart. There is for them no share in the house of the law.

*Generic Category: Admonition: Catalogue of Transgressors*4QD^e 2 ii 3-10

אל מקור] ∞ []
 []אל []ק∞ []
 []מחא להרים [את הקודשים?]
 []לתת לבני אהרון המשעת ה[ביעית]
 [] [ראש]ית כל אשר להם ומעשר בה[מחם מן הבקר]
 [] והצון ופדו[י הבה]מה השמאה ופדוי בכ[ור]
 [] הצון וכסף הערכים לפדוי נפשם [וכל]
 [] אין להשיבה וחומשה עליה או []

to the source [] and] to
 []]
 []c]ancel[s lifting up] [] to the
 sons of Aaron the planting of the fo[urth year | the first]t of all they
 possess and the tithe of [their] an[imals] | and the flock and the
 ranso[m the firstlings? of] unclean [anim]als and the ransom of the first-
 [born of man?] | the flock, and the valuation money for the
 ransom of their spirit, and [] | cannot be returned, together
 with the additional fifth (assessed?) against them, or ...

Generic Category: Laws: Skin disease, fluxes, agriculture, marriage, commerce

4QD^b 4 8-11

[מורה]	[בברית]°
[ל אל יהוה] ה[ו]א א[ת]	[ש ואל יחיצ]ב
[ב]ערוכות ואת כספו בנשך ואת אוכלו בתרביח אל ית[ן]	[ה] בהבל כי °°°°

[] in the covenant [? |]
 [] and let him not stand [] let him not give |]
 [as su]rety, and his money for usury, and his [fold for
 increase, let him not give |] for vanity because
 []

Generic Category: Laws: Skin disease, fluxes, agriculture, marriage, commerce

4QD ^a 6 iii 6-10	4QD ^b 6 3-7
[] אשר זרעה אין בה [] ופרט []	[] אשר זרעה אין בה תרומה []
ובעוללתו עד עשרה ג' (גרים) --- ובנק []	[----- vac]
[] ופר' תבואתו אם []	[]
[] מ' של (ו) שים ש' []	[] נק' פ' אחד משלושים וכול' []
[] מש א'ח' בשרפ' ה' []	[] הש'דה או קדה בשרפ' ונפרט []
	[] ואם תלקוט נפש אחת []

[] which does not yield its seed
 [] broken-off
 (berries, nor does it yield) | its single
 grapes up to ten be[rries.] -----
 And for the sha[king] |
 [fruit] of its produce, if []
 [] th[ir]ty []
 []
 [] by fire,

[] wh[ic]h does not yield its seed
 has neither *terumah* | []
 []
 [] *Blank* |
 [] its
 [shaki]ng is one out of thirty, and all
 | [] field [] or
 scorched by fire, but []
 [] was broken
 off, [] And] if one person
 gleans []

 4QD^e 3 ii 13-21

והיא אשר זן [רעה] אין בה תרומה []
 ובעוללה עד עשר ג' [גרנים] ----- וב[נקוף
 הזית] [שלמה היא נקפה] 000 []
 [-----] [עו ואם רפוס
 השדה אין] [מסאה לבית
 סאה מעשרה בה ואם תלקוט] []
 אחת ממנו ביום אחד תרומה בה עשרון
 [חלות התרומה לכל בתי
 ישראל אוכלי לחם] [להרים
 אחת בשנה עשרון אחד תהיה האחת] []
 [לפני] השלמו לישראל אל [י-ים איש]

(a field) which does not yield its [seed] |
 has neither *terumah* nor broken-off
 (berries),] (nor does it yield) its single
 grapes up to ten berries.] ----- |
 [And for] the shaking of the olive []
 [] it is intact, its
 shaking is [] | []
 [], but if the field was muddied or
 [] | [] one
seah per *bet seah* [] | []
 [] there is tithe in it. And if | []
 leans one [*seah*] from it in one day the
terumah from it shall be | [one] *'isaron*.
 [] loaves of *terumah*, it is
 for all homes of Israel when they eat of the
 bread | [] | to lift up *terumah*
 once a year. One *'isaron* shall be each
 (loaf) | [before] its completion by Israel, let
 no one raise (his hand to eat of the bread...)

Generic Category: Laws: Skin disease, fluxes, agriculture, marriage, commerce

4QD ^d 8 i 2-3	4QD ^e 3 iii 19	4QD ^f 2 4-7
		{ ואכל איש } [ומן הגנה טרם ישלחו] [הכזה]ים אח ידם [לברך] לריאשונה [בית] לאיש ימכור ובחסן [ה ואז ינקה] [ק] [] [ואת ה] [] [שדה] [המערב ב] [יחד] שלוש פעמים
[] [ה ב] [] [שלוש פעמים]	[ממשפטי היחד] [של] [ש]	Let [no?] man eat [] [] and from the garden before [the priests stretch forth their hand [to ble]ss first. [] [] house (belongs ?) to the man, he may sell and with [] [] and then will he be clean! [] [] [] and the [] m mixed field [] [] community three times
[] [] th ree t imes	from the judgments of the com[munity] [th]ree	

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Generic Category: Laws: Skin disease, fluxes, agriculture, marriage, commerce

4QD^b 7 1-13

4QD^d 9 1-3

ואהב לו]

] ימים]

] וזה פרוש]

] בכם]

] ואם לוא השניגה]

וארם]

] ואל]

] אל]

] ב]

] ואשר]

] משגה]

] ואל]

] שור]

] האררה אשר אמר]

] כיא הוא כלאים]

] *vacat*]

and he loves him [

interpretation [] | and this is the
with money]

] | and if he cannot at[tain

] | and man, [] God [

|

|

|

|

|

to wander

] which makes the blind

] curse which is said |

] | an ox [] wearing

] *kil²ayim*, | [

] for that is

] *Blank*

4QD^e 5 14-17 + 10 1-2

4QD^f 3 1-10

<p>[וַיִּזְכַּר] [אֵל] [וַיְבַרְכֵהוּ וַאֲם אֶת בְּתוּלָתוֹ אִישׁ] [לֹאִישׁ] [אֶת מִשְׁפַּט הָאָרְצָה] [הוֹכֵן לָהּ] [כִּי הָיָה] [יַחֲדָיו] vac</p>	<p>[בַּכֶּסֶף] [אֱלֹהִים] [הִשְׁגִּיהַ דַּיּוֹ לְהַשִּׁיב לוֹ] והַגִּישְׁתָּהּ [שְׁנֵת הַיּוֹבֵל] [וְאֵל יַעֲזוֹב לוֹ כְּלָל] [עֹונוֹתָיו vac אֶל יְהוָה] [כִּי תוֹעֵבָה הִיא] vac ואֲשֶׁר [אָמַר] כִּי [לֹא תוֹנוּ אִישׁ אֶת עַמּוּהוֹ] vac וְזֶה פְרוֹשׁ [בְּכֹל אֲשֶׁר הוּא יוֹדַע] [אֲשֶׁר מֵצֵא] vac [וְהוּא יוֹדַע] אֲשֶׁר הוּא מוֹעֵל בּוֹ בְּאָדָם [וּבַהֲמָה וְאֵם] [לֹאִישׁ אֶת כֹּל מוֹמִיהַ יִסְפֵּר לוֹ] לִמָּה יִבְיֵא [עַלִּיו אֶת מִשְׁפַּט] אִמְרֵי מִשְׁנֵה עוֹר [בְּדֶרֶךְ] וְגַם אֵל יִתְנֶה לֹאֲשֶׁר לוֹא הוֹכֵן לָהּ [כִּי] שׂוֹרֵד וְחֹמֵר וְלְבוֹשׂ צִמְרֵ [וּפְשָׁטִים יַחֲדָיו] vac</p>
---	---

<p>[] and also (he should) not []</p> <p>beast. And if a man [gives his] daug[hter] to a man, []</p> <p>the judgment</p> <p>of the curse []</p> <p>[]</p> <p>prepared for her, for that []</p> <p>together. Blank</p>	<p>[] with money</p> <p>attain [his] sufficiency [] and the [Jubilee] year approaches? [] and God will release h[im from a]ll his iniquities. <i>Blank</i> Let not []</p> <p>[] in common, for it is an abomination. <i>Blank</i> And concerning what He said, []</p> <p>[] your neigh]bor, you shall not defraud one another." <i>Blank</i> And this is the interpretation [] everything that he knows that is found in it [] give [] and he knows that he is wronging him, whether about man or beast. And if []</p> <p>[] man, let him recount all her blemishes to him, lest he bring upon himself the judgment []</p> <p>[] said (of the one) that "makes the blind to wander in the way." Moreover, he should not give her to one who is not prepared for her, for []</p> <p>[] ox and ass and wearing wool and linen together.</p>
---	---

Generic Category: Laws: ?

4QD ^a 7 iii 1-7	4QD ^b 8 3-7
לפני []	לפני []
למבקֹר אשר []	למבקֹר אשר []
[] ל [] vac	על המִחנה []
את []	את []
ל []	ל []
דואהֹם מֹם []	לישֹׁראֵל []
ל [] מִעֵשֶׂם []	
enter [ ] | before the	before []
[Examiner] [ ] | to the	{ [ ] | [ ]
Examin[er w]ho is over the camp.	[Examin]er who is over the camp
Blank [ ] |	[ ]
[] he will seek from his	[]
hand [ ] | [ ]	[ ]
[] the one who hate[s the]	[] who hat[es
[To]rah [ ] |	[ ] Is[ra]el []
[] d[ee]ds []	
[ ] | he []	

*Generic Category: Laws: Initiation into Community*4QD^e 6 i 20-21

CD XV 1-6

ישבע וגם באלף ולמד וגם באלף ודלת כי אם שבועה
 הבנים באלות הברית vac ואת תורת משה אל יזכור כי
 [] vac [] ואם ישבע ועבר וחלל את השם vac
 [] ואם באלות הברית ישביעוהו השפטים vac אם עבר אשם
 [הוא] הוא והתודה והשיב ולא ישא חטא וימות vac והבא
 [] בברית לכל ישראל לחוק עולם את בניהם אשר יגיעו
 לעבור על הפקודים בשבועת הברית יקימו עליהם

He will (not) swear either by the Aleph and the Lamed or by the Aleph and the Daleth, except for the oath of youths | by the curses of the covenant. *Blank* Neither should one mention the law of Moses, for [*Blank* | *Blank* And if he swears and transgresses, he profanes the name. *Blank* And if by the curses of the covenant the judges | [adjure him], *Blank* if he transgresses, he is guilty and will have to confess and return (what he took) but he shall not be liable for sin | and (shall not) die. *Blank* Whoever enters the covenant for all Israel, for an eternal law they shall establish upon their sons, | who have reached (the age) to pass among those mustered, the oath of the covenant. *Blank*

Generic Category: Laws: Initiation into Community

4QD^a 8 ii 1-7

4QD^e 6 iii 13-15

[]
 [] גם המִשְׁפָּט הַ
 [] חמִיִּשִׁת כִּסְף עֵרְכוּ vac
 [] להִמְשִׁיט vac [] לְשֹׁפֵט צַדִּיק
 [] אַחֲרֵי הַ
 [] הוּא עֵד אֲשֶׁר יִסֹּר וְשִׁלֵּם הַאֲוֹנֵס
 [] דִּבֶּר אִמְתָּ עִם רַעְיָהּ וְעַד []
 [] מִבֵּי [] כִּמוּהָ כִּי לֹ
 vac [] הַקִּיִּם

[]
 [] לְשֹׁפֵט [] צַדִּיק []
 [] לְשֹׁפֵטִים
 [] [] [] [] [] [] []
 [] וְשִׁלֵּם הַאֲוֹנֵס אִם
 [] לֹא דִבֶּר אִמְתָּ עִם רַעְיָהּ עַד אֲשֶׁר
 [] כִּי לֹא
 vac [] אִמְתָּ [] הַקִּיִּם אִתָּהּ

[] also |
 the judgment []
 []
 [] one fifth | its
 assessed value [] to
 cause a judgment [to the judges]
 Blank | to judge righteously
 after [] it is taken by force |
 until [] he is chastised and the []
 [] makes restitution, []
 [] speak | the truth with his neigh-
 bor and until []
 [] equal to it, for he did not es[ta-
 blish []

[] judges
 ----- to judge [righteously] []
 []
 [] the op-
 pressor makes restitution, if he did
 not speak the t[ruth w]ith his neigh-
 bor ---- until []
 [] for he did not estab-
 lish []
 Blank [] t[ruth].

Generic Category: Laws: Communal Organization

4QD ^b 9 i 4-8	4QD ^e 6 iv 2-3
אי[ש אשר י]ש[ביע]ע[ל	[---]
[]	[אשר ישב[י]ע]
[]	[]
י[דו לו -----]וכ[ל	[ידו לו]
[]	[נ[דע]
יש[ביע ב]ע[ליו	[]
[]	[בשבו[עת ה]אלה
[כו[ל אשם]	[]
[]	[]
[ל[ב[ר מא]ל [] ה[[]

<i>Blank</i> []	[-----]
[]	[]
[m]an who causes	[w]ho causes
(another) to swear i[n] | [ ]	(another) to swe[ar]
[]	[]
[] his	[] his
[ha]nd [anything	hand [save] him. | [ ]
| [ ]	[ known []
[]	[]
[ow]ner	[]
shall cause to be pron[ounced]	[]
[ | ] and he who hears it, if he	[o]ath
knows []	[]
[Any] guilt | [ ]	[ ]
[]	[]
[]	[]
[]	[]
[] besid[es the r]am	[]

5QD 1 3-5

CD IX 8-16

[] על השבועה אשר [vac]
 על []
 [] פני השדה א[שר]
 [] ל[ו]ן vacat וְכֹל
 הא[נ]ובד

vac על השבועה אשר אמר לא
 תושיעך ידך לך איש אשר ישביע על
 פני השדה אשר לא לפני השפטים
 או מאמרם הושיע ירו לו ----- וכל
 האובד ולא נודע מי נגבו ממאד
 המחנה אשר נגב בו ישביע בעליו
 בשבועת האלה והשומע אם יודע הוא
 ולא יגיד ואשם vacat כל אשם מושב
 אשר אין בעלים והחודה המושב לכהן
 והיה לו לבר מאיל האשם הכל vacat
 וכן כל אבדה נמצאת ואין לה
 בעלים והיתה לכהנים כי לא ידע
 מוצאה את משפטה אם לא נמצא לה
 בעלים הם ישמרו

Concerning oaths: As to that
 which []
 []
 [] | in the open field,
 th[at]
 []
 [] | hi[m]. Blank And anything
 lo[st]

Blank Concerning oaths: As to that
 which | He said, "Let not your
 hand save you," a man who causes
 (another) to swear in the open field,
 | that is not in the presence of the
 judges or by their word, has let his
 hand save him. --- And anything
 lost | and it is not known who stole
 it from the abundance of the camp
 in which it was stolen, its owner
 shall cause to be pronounced | this
 oath, and he who hears it, if he
 knows and does not tell, shall bear
 guilt. Blank | Blank Any guilt resti-
 tution when there is no owner, the
 one making restitution shall confess
 to the priest | and it shall belong to
 him, besides the ram of the guilt
 offering. Blank {Everything} And
 in the same way, every lost object
 which has been found and has | no
 owner, will be for the priests, for he
 who found it does not know the
 judgment in its regard; | if its
 owner is not found, they shall keep
 it.

Generic Category: Laws: Communal Organization

4QD ^a 8 iii 3	4QD ^c 6 iv 12-15	CD IX 22- X 3
<p>[ועל ה[הוֹן] שני עדים נאמנים] --- ועל פי עד אחד לה[בדיל יקו]בל [עד] לשופטים להמית על פיהו א[שר] לא מלאו ימו לעבור [א]ת אל vac אל יאמן איש על רעהו לעד ע[ו]בר דבר מן המצוה [ביד רמה] vac [ל]שוב</p>	<p>[ועל ה[הוֹן] שני עדים נאמנים] --- ועל פי עד אחד לה[בדיל יקו]בל [עד] לשופטים להמית על פיהו א[שר] לא מלאו ימו לעבור [א]ת אל vac אל יאמן איש על רעהו לעד ע[ו]בר דבר מן המצוה vac []</p>	<p>ועל ההון יקבלו שני עדים נאמנים ועל vac אחד להבדיל השהרה ואל יקובל עוד לשופטים להמית על פיהו אשר לא מלאו ימו לעבור על הפקודים ירא את אל vac אל יאמן איש על רעהו לעד עובר דבר מן המצוה ביד רמה עד זכו לשוב vac</p>
<p>[]wealth [] two reliable witnesses, | ----- but by the mouth of one witness to separate [] [] [] [] judges to put someone to death by his mouth, | unless he has reached the age to pass [] [] God. Blank A man shall not be believed a g a i n s t [his] neighbor [] [] transgresses a word from the commandme[n]t [] [] hand [] [] repen- tance. Blank [] Blank</p>	<p>[]wealth [] two reliable witnesses, | ----- but by the mouth of one witness to separate [] [] [] [] judges to put someone to death by his mouth, | unless he has reached the age to pass [] [] God. Blank A man shall not be believed a g a i n s t [his] neighbor [] [] transgresses a word from the commandme[n]t [] [] hand [] [] repen- tance. Blank [] Blank</p>	<p>And concerning wealth they [shall receive two | reliable witnesses, <i>Blank</i> but ----- on one ----- ----- to separate (him from) the purity. No wit- ness shall be received | by the judges to put someone to death by his mouth, unless he has reached the age to pass | among those that are mustered (and) fears God. Blank A man shall not be believed against his neighbor | for a witness who transgresses a word from the commandment with a haughty hand, un- til he is cleansed by repentance. <i>Blank</i></p>

Generic Category: Laws: Communal Organization

4QD ^e 6 v 1-4	CD X 14-21
[]	על השבת לשמרה כמשפטה vac אל יעש איש
[מלאכה]	ביום השישי מלאכה מן העת אשר יהיה נלגל
[הו]א אשר אומר]	השמש רחוק מן השער מלואו כי הוא אשר אמר
[]	שמור את יום השבת לקדשו וביום השבת
[]	אל ידבר איש דבר נבל ורק אל ישה ברעהו
[]	כל אל ישפוכו על הון ובצע אל ידבר בדברי
[ה]מלאכה וה]עבודה]	המלאכה והעבודה לעשות למשכים vac אל יתהלך
	vac איש בשדה לעשות את עבודת חפצו השבת vac
	Concerning the sabbath, to guard it according to its judgment. <i>Blank</i> No one should do |
w]ork | ]	work on the sixth day, from the time when the
[]	disc of the sun is | at a distance of its diameter
[thi]s is what he s[aid,]	from the gate, for this is what he said, "Guard
[ | ] on the	the | sabbath day to keep it holy." And on the
day of the sabbath, no	day of the sabbath, no one should say a | use-
one [] a useless or stupid	less or stupid word. He should not hold any-
word. | [ ]	thing against his neighbor. He should not pour
[]	out regarding wealth or gain. | He should not
[w]ork or of the s[ervice	speak about matters of work or of the service
	to be carried out on the following day. | <i>Blank</i>
	No one is to walk in the field to do the service
	of his interest | (on) the sabbath. <i>Blank</i>

Generic Category: Laws: Communal Organization

CD XI 2
אל ישלח את בן הנכר לעשות את חפצו ביום השבת
He shall not send out the son of a foreigner to do his interests on the day of the sabbath.

Generic Category: Laws: Communal Organization

4QD ^f 5 i 1-2	CD XI 4-5
אל יתערב איש מרצונו] ----	vac אל יתערב איש מרצונו בשבת vac
----- Let no [man] associate [according to] his [pleasure]	<i>Blank</i> Let no man associate according to his pleasure | on the sabbath. <i>Blank</i>

Generic Category: Laws: Communal Organization

4QD ^a 9 i 1	4QD ^e 6 v 18-19	4QD ^f 5 i 10	CD XI 15
[]	[]	[]	אל יחל איש vac
[]	[]	[]	את השבת על הון
[בשבת]]	ובצע בשבת -----	ובצע בשבת -----	ובצע בשבת vac
[]	[]	[]	<i>Blank</i> No one
[]	[]	[]	should profane
[]	[]	[]	the sabbath by
[]	[]	[]	the sabbath by
[]	[]	[]	sabbath by
[]	[]	[]	wealth or vicious
[]	[]	[]	wealth or vicious
[]	[]	[]	gain on the sab-
[]	[]	[]	gain on the sab-
[]	[]	[]	gain on the sab-
[]	[]	[]	bath. ---
[]	[]	[]	bath. ---
[]	[]	[]	bath. ---
[]	[]	[]	vac
[]	[]	[]	<i>Blank</i>

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*Generic Category: Laws: Communal Organization*4QD^a 9 i 16-174QD^b 9 iii 2-4

לשפ[ן]ך דם	}		
[	}	{	בעב[ור]
	}	[	יש[א] א[י]ש] מ[ה]ונם []
ישא[] א[י]ש	}		א[ש]ר
	}		בע[צ]ת חכר
	}	[	vac א[י]ש[ר] א[ל]
	}		[טוהו]ר[י] ל[ג]וים

{	sh led the blood | {	}	
{		}	for the sa[ke]
{		}	
{	<a m[an]> [take	}	[] a man [take a]way [] of their
		}	wealth, [so] | that {
		}	[coun]sel of
		}	the association of [I]srael. <i>Blank</i> {
		}	[]
		}	[c]lean [] to

4QD^f 5 i 21 // 5 ii 2-4

CD XII 6-11

[---- אל ישלח איש את ידו לשפוך]
 []
 []
 [יגדפו]
 []
 [ב]עבור []
 []
 [ת]את []

vac אל ישלח ---- את ידו לשפוך רם
 לאיש מן הגוים בעבור הון ובצע
 vac וגם אל ישא ---- מהונם כל בעבור
 אשר לא יגדפו כי אם בעצת חבור
 ישראל vac אל ימכר איש בהמה ועוף
 טהורים לגוים בעבור אשר לא
 יזבחו vac ומגורנו ומנחו אל ימכר
 להם בכל מאדו ואת עבדו ואת אמתו
 אל ימכור להם אשר באו עמו בברית
 אברהם vac

----- He is not to stretch out his
 hand to shed []
 []
 [|]
 []
 [] | blas-
 [pheme]
 []
 []
 [] | |est
 []
 []
 []
 [] | and

Blank He is not to stretch out his
 hand to shed the blood of one of the
 foreigners | for the sake of riches
 and vicious gain. *Blank* Neither
 should he take away any of their
 wealth, so that they do not | blas-
 pheme, except with the counsel of
 the association of Israel. *Blank* No
 one should sell an animal | or a
 clean bird to the foreigners lest they
 sacrifice them. *Blank* And from his
 granary | and from his press he
 should not sell them anything of his
 excess. And his servant and his
 maid-servant he should not sell | to
 them, for they entered the covenant
 of Abraham with him. *Blank*

Generic Category: Laws: Communal Organization

4QD ^b 9 iv 6-9	CD XIII 9-12
<p>[] [מדהו]בם כרעה עדרו ית[] [ה]יות עשוק ורצוץ [] למעשיו ושכלו [וכוח]] נחלתו בגורל vac [הא]ר</p>	<p>וירחם עליהם כאב לבניו וישקד לכל מדהובם כרועה עדרו יחר כל חרצובות קשריהם לבלתי היות עשוק ורצוץ בעדתו vac וכל הנוסף לעדתו יפקדהו למ[ע]שיו ושכלו וכוחו וגבורתו והגו וכתבוהו במקומו כפי נחלתו בגורל הא[ר] vac</p>
<p>[] [] [in all] their [distr]ess like a shepherd for his flock. Let him loos[e] [the]re be one oppressed and crushed [] [] [] for his deeds and his insight and his [-----] [] [] his [in]- heritance in the lot of lig[ht]. <i>Blank</i></p>	<p>Let him have mercy upon them as a father for his sons and show con- cern (for them) in all their distress like a shepherd for his flock. Let him loose all chains that bind them lest there be one oppressed and crushed in his congregation. <i>Blank</i> And everyone who joins his con- gregation he shall examine him for his deeds and his insight and his strength and his might and his wealth, and they shall inscribe him in his place according to his in- heritance in the lot of light. <i>Blank</i></p>

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Generic Category: Laws: Communal Organization

4QD^a 9 iii 1-10

4QD^b 9 iv 9-11

[יעש]
 [דבר כי אם] אשר
 במחנה [וְלוֹ יִשְׁגּוּ וְכִן
 לְכוּל לִדְבָרָהּ] וְהָיָה
 בְּעֵצָה וְכִן יִבֶן
 לְמִגְרָשׁ וְהָיָה יִיסֵר
 אֶת בְּנֵיהֶם [וְטָפְסָם
 בְּרוּחַ עֲנִיָּה וּבְאִתְּ
 הַבֵּת] אֵל יִשׁוּר
 לְהֵם [בְּאִף
 וְעַבְרָה עַל פְּשְׁעֵיהֶם
 וְאֵת אֲשֶׁר אֵינְנוּ]
 [] מִשְׁפָּטֵיהֶם []

[אל vac]
 [לְהֵבִיא אִישׁ אֵל
 הַעֲרָה] []
 [מְכוּלָּ] []
 אֵל אֵל

Blank Let no []
 [] bring a man into [the con-]
 [gre]gation []
 []
 None of [thos]e []
 [] of God shall

do [any]thing []
 [] | except []
 [] | wh[o] is in the cam[p;]
 [] | so that they do not err.
 Likewise for anyone who tak[es]
 [a wife,] | let it be with counsel, and
 so shall he guide one who [di-]
 [vorces.] | And he shall instruct
 their sons (and daughters?) | and
 their children [in a spi]rit of hu-
 [mi]lity and lov[ing-kindness.] |
 Let him not keep a grudge against
 th[em] with wrathful an[ger]
 [] | be[cause] of their failings, and
 against one who is not | []
 their judgments.

Generic Category: Laws: Communal Organization

4QD^a 10 i 5-13

4QD^d 11 i 1-3 + 14

--- [וזה סרך הרב]ים [להכין כול] שני
 [----- לממוע]ט וינתן [] המבקר
 והשופטי, [] ית[נ]ו בעד פצ[נ]עים י[חזקו]
 בעד[ה] עני והאביון [] אשר יכרע חל[א]יש אש[ר]
 ינוגע ולאש[ר] ישבה לזי נכר [] אש[ר]
 אי[ן] ל[ה] גואל ולנער אשר אין [ו]ל[ו] <דורש
 ולכול [] ולזו יכרת בית החבר מידם ---
 זה פרוש [] וא[ל] לה יסדות אוש[ן]י הקהל
 --- וזה פרוש [] יש[פ]טו במ
 ----- עד כמוד משיח אהרון וישר[א]ל []
 [] ממנ[ח]ה וחסת []
 vacat []

וא[ל]ה יס[ד]ות הקהל
 --- וזה פרוש[ן] [ב]ם
 [] א[ה]רון וישר[א]ל []
 vacat []

----- [] this is the rule for the Man[y] to
 provide for all | []
 [] two[] leas[t] -----, and
 they will be given [] the Ex-
 aminer and the judge[s]. | []
 [g]ive for the woun[d]ed []
 [] support the [po]or and the
 destitute , | [] w]ho is bowed
 down and the man who is afflicted, the one
 captured by a foreign people | []
 [] wh]o h[as] n[o] redeemer, the youth who
 has no one to care for him, and all | []
 [] so that the house of
 the association will not be cut off from a-
 mong them. ----- And this is the ex-
 plication | []
 [th]ese are the foundation walls of the as-
 sembly. ----- And this is the explication
 of | [] judg]ed
 until the ----- rise of the Messiah of
 Aaron and Israel, | []
 [] me]al and sin-offerings []
 Blank

[And th]ese
 are the foun[dation as-]
 sembly. ----- And this is the
 explication of | []
 []
 [A]aron and Israel, | []
 []
 Blank

CD XIV 12-19

וְזֶה סֵדֶר הַרְבִּים לְהַכִּין כָּל חֲפְצֵיהֶם שֶׁכֶּר שְׁנֵי
 יָמִים לְכָל חֹדֶשׁ לְמַמְעַשׂ וְנָתַנו עַל יַד הַמְּבַקֵּךְ
 וְהַשׁוֹפְטִים מִמֶּנּוּ יִחַנו בְּעַד [פּוֹצְעִים וּמִמֶּנּוּ יִחְזִיקוּ
 בְיָד עֲנֵי זָבִיבִין וְלִזְקֵן] 00 [וְלֹאִישׁ אֲשֶׁר
 יִנְגַּע וְלֹאִשֶׁר] יִשְׁבֶּה לְגֹי נֹכֵר וּלְבַתּוּלָה אֲשֶׁר
 אֵינָן לָהּ גְּוֹאֵל [וְלִנְעֹרָה אֲשֶׁר אֵינָן לָהּ דֹּרֶשׁ
 כָּל עֲבוּדֵי תַּחְבֵּר וְלֹא] 000 [וְזֶה
 הַזֶּה פְּרוֹשׁ מוֹשֵׁב הֵן] 0000 [קִּהֵל
 זֶה פְּרוֹשׁ הַמְּשַׁפְּטִים אֲשֶׁר] vac
 [מִשִּׁיחַ חֲאֵהֲרֹן וְיִשְׂרָאֵל וַיִּכְפֹּר
 עֹנָם] 00

Blank And this is the rule for the Many to provide for all their concerns: the wages | of two days at least for/in each month, and they will be given into the hand of the Examiner and the judges. | From it they will give for [the wounded, and from it they will strengthen the hand of the poor and --- destitute, the old man [|] [] and the man who is affli[ct]ed, the one captured by a foreign people and the virgin who | has n[o] re[deemer; the] youth who has no one to care for him, and all the service [of] the association, so that | [] not [] [] *Blank* And this is the explication of the dwelling of the [|] [as-] sembly. *Blank* And this is the explication of the judgments by which [|] [Messi]ah of Aaron and Israel, and he will atone their iniquity [

Generic Category: Laws: Communal Organization

4QD ^a 10 i 14	4QD ^d 11 i 4-5	CD XIV 20-21
	[]	[והאיש אשר קר בממון]
	[]	[והוא יודע ומ]
[והברילו]הו מן הט[הרה]	[מן הטהרה]	[]
	[ששלים יום]	[ונענש ימים ששה]
	[]	[The o]ne who [l]ies
	[]	about money know-
[separat]ed	[]	ingly shall be []
from the pu[rity] |	from the purity | [ ]	[ ] | [ ]
	[]	[]
	[] sixt[y]	[pu]nished for six days.

Generic Category: Laws: Communal Discipline

4QD ^b 9 vi 1-5	4QD ^e 7 i 11-13
[]	[והאיש אשר]]
vacat שו[ב] עור	[]]
המשפ[ט]	[]]
[]	[והשיבו לאיש]]
[]	[ו]אשר יקר[ב] לזנות]
[]	[ו]ל[וא ישו]ב עור]
	vacat]
[] One wh[o ] | ]	Bl[a n k] who despises the
[]	judgment of the Many shall depart
[] retur]n no more. Blank | [ ]	and []
[ ]	[ ] | his food contrary to the
[judgme]nt and shall return it to the	judgment and shall return it to the
man | [ ]	man fro[m] he took it. Blank
[] one who approaches to fornicate | [ ]	And one who approaches | to for-
[]	nicate with his wife contrary to the
[] retur]n n[o]	judgment shall depart and return no
more.	more. Blan[k]

Generic Category: Expulsion Ceremony; End of Work

4QD ^a 11 14-16	4QD ^d 16 12-15
<p>ויצא המשתלח והאיש אשר יוכל מהונם ואשר ידרוש שלומו המשתלח ואשר יאות עמו ונכתב דברו על פני המבקר ---- כחרת ושלים משפטו</p>	<p>[וי]צא [] [ו]אשר [] ----] vac? כח[רת]</p>
<p>And the one being expelled shall go away. And the one who eats from their wealth, or who inquires about his welfare of the one being expelled, or who agrees with him, shall have his action inscribed by the Examiner permanently, and his judgment will be complete.</p>	<p>[] go away. [] [] [] [w]ho [] [perma]nently []</p>

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APPENDIX B
 PARALLEL PASSAGES ON WEALTH
 IN ALL RULE MANUSCRIPTS

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1QS Section: First
Generic Category: Introduction

1QS I 11-15

וכול הנדבים לאמתו יביאו כול דעתם וכוחם והונם ביחד אל לברר דעתם באמת
 חוקי אל וכוחם לחכן כחם דרכיו וכול הונם כעצת צדקו ולוא לצעוד בכול אחד
 מכול דברי אל בקציהם ולוא לקדם עתיהם ולוא להחאחר מכול מועדיהם ולוא
 לסור מחוקי אמתו ללכת ימין ושמאול

All those voluntarily offering (themselves) to his truth will bring all their knowledge and their strength | and their wealth into the Community of God in order to refine their knowledge in the truth of God's statutes and marshal their strength in accordance with his | perfect ways and all their wealth in accordance with his just counsel. They shall not stray from any one | of all God's words concerning their ends; they shall not advance their (appointed) times nor shall they retard | any one of their feasts. They shall not veer from the precepts of his truth in order to go either to the right or to the left.

1QS Section: First
Generic Category: Covenant Initiation and Renewal

4QpapS^c III 3-4

1QS III 2-3

ודעתו | וכוחו והונו | לוא יבואו | בעצת
 יחד כ|יא בסאון רשע | מחרשו וגא|ולים
 בש|י|בחו

ודעתו וכוחו והונו לוא יביאו בעצת
 יחד כיא בסאון רשע מחרשו וגואלים
 בשובתו

His knowledge | and [his] strength
 [and his weal|th] shall n[ot] ente[r]
 into the council of the Community
 bec[ause (they are?) with] wick[ed]
 tread | from his ploughing and
 (there are?) defilement[s] in his
 dwell[li]ng (or conversion?).

His knowledge and his strength
 and his wealth shall not enter
 into the council of the Community
 because (they are?) with wicked
 tread from his ploughing and
 (there are?) defilements | in his
 dwelling (or conversion?).

IQS Section: Second
Generic Category: Introduction

4QS ^d I 2-3	4QS ^b IX 2-4	IQS V 1-4
<p>ולברל מעדת אנשי העול ולהיות יחד בתור[ה] ובהון ומשיבים על פי ----- ----- ----- הרבים ----- ----- לכול ----- דבר לתורה ולהון ----- ענוה ----- ולעשות וצדקה ומשפט ואהבת[] [] [וה]צנע לכת בכל דרכיהם</p>	<p>ולהברל מעדת אנשי [] [] [] [] על פי ----- ----- ----- הרבים ----- ----- לכול ----- דבר לתורה[] [] [] ----- [] חסד [] והצנע לכת בכול דרכיהם</p>	<p>להברל מעדת אנשי העול להיות ליחד בתורה ובהון ומשיבים על פי בני צדוק הכהנים שומרי הברית 'על פי רוב אנשי היחד המחזקים בברית על פיהם יצא תכון הגורל לכול דבר לתורה ולהון ולמשפט לעשות אמת יחד וענוה צדקה ומשפט ואהבת חסד והצנע לכת בכול דרכיהם</p>
<p>And they shall be separated from the congregation of men of unrighteousness in order to be ---- a community in Torah] and in wealth, and answer according to ----- ----- ----- the Many ----- ----- ----- ----- for every affair | involving Torah and wealth ----- ----- and in order to do ----- humility and righteousness and judgment, and [] love [and h]umble walking in all their ways.</p>	<p>And they should be separated from the congregation of m[en] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] | according to ----- ----- ----- the Many ----- ----- ----- ----- for every affair involving Torah [] [] -----] and in order to do ----- humility and righteousness and judgment, and compassionate | love and humble walking in all their ways.</p>	<p>----- They should be separated from the congregation of | men of unrighteousness in order to become a community in Torah and in wealth, and answer according to the sons of Zadok the priests, the guardians of the covenant, and according to the multitude of men | of the Community, those who keep hold of the covenant. According to them the measure of the lot shall go out for every affair involving Torah and wealth and judgment, ----- in order to do truth as one and humility, | and righteousness and judgment, and compassionate love and humble walking in all their ways.</p>

1QS V 14-20

ואשר לוא יחדך עמו -----
 בעבודתו ובהלוי פן ישיאנו עוון אשמה
 כיא ירחק ממנו בכול דבר כיא כן כתוב
 מכול דב שקר תרחק ואשר לוא ישוב
 איש מאנשי היחד על פיהם לכול
 תורה ומשפט ואשר לוא יוכל מהומם כול
 ----- ולוא ישחה ולוא יקח מידם
 כול מאומה אשר לוא במחיר כאשר
 כתוב חדלו לכם מן האדם אשר נשמה
 באפו כיא במה נחשב הואה כיא
 כול אשר לוא נחשבו בבריתו להבריל
 אותם ואת כול אשר לו ולוא ישען איש
 הקדש על כול מעשי הבל כיא הבל
 כול אשר לוא ידעו את בריתו וכול
 מנאצי דברו ישמיד מחבל וכול
 מעשיהם לנדה לפניו וטמא בכול הונ(ו)ם

Regarding him, no one should be-
 come one with him in his service or
 in his wealth lest he lend him |
 guilty iniquity; rather he should re-
 main far from him in everything, for
 thus it is written: 'From everything
 that is false you shall remain far.'
 And regarding them no one from the
 men | of the Community shall re-
 spond according to them in any
 Torah or judgment. And regarding
 him he shall not eat -----

----- from any of their wealth,
 and he shall not drink, and he shall
 not take from their hand anything at
 all, | which is not with a price, as it
 is written: 'Shun the man whose
 breath is in his nostrils, for with what
 is he reckoned?' For | all who are
 not reckoned in his covenant will be
 separated, they and all that is theirs.
 The man of holiness shall not de-
 pend on any works | that are worth-
 less, for worthless are all who do not
 know his covenant. And all who
 spurn his word he will annihilate
 from the world, and all their deeds
 are for impurity | before him, and
 (they are) unclean in all their wealth.

1QS Section: Second

Generic Category: Rules of Communal Organization

4QS ^d II 6-7	1QS VI 2-3	4QS ⁱ line 3
<p>וישמעו [לגדול למלאכה ולהון] [יזאכלו יחד] יברכו ויחד יעצו</p>	<p>וישמעו הקטן לגדול למלאכה ולממון ויחד יואכלו ויחד יברכו ויחד יעצו</p>	<p>[וישמע] הקטן לגדול למלאכה ולהון] [] []</p>
<p>[They] shall obey, [ ] [ ] | to the great, for work and for wealth. ----] [e]at, and [to-] [geth]er they shall bless, and together [they] shall give counsel.</p>	<p>They shall obey, the small to the great, for work and for money. And together they shall eat, | and to- gether they shall bless, and together they shall give coun- sel.</p>	<p>He [] obey, the small to the great, for work and for wealth.] [] [] [] [] []</p>

¹ The scribe has transposed *kap* and *'alep*, and the error has not been corrected.

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*1QS Section: Second**Generic Category: Covenant Initiation and Renewal*

 4QS^b XI 12-13

ב[טֹהַר הַרְבִּים עַד] א[שֶׁר]]
----- ל[ו] שְׁנָה תְּמִימָה]
יִשְׂאֵל לֹ	-----]

[]
touch] the pure (food) of the Many until]
[]
[I] to [him] of a complete year. -----]
----- []
will be questioned []

1QS VI 16-23

4QS^a 3 1

ובקרבו לעצת היחד לוא יגע בטהרת הרבים עד אשר
 ידרושהו לרוחו ומעשו עד מלאאת לו שנה תמימה וגם הואה
 אל יתערב בהון הרבים ובמלאאת לו שנה בתוכ היחד ישאלו
 הרבים על דבריו לפי שכלו ומעשיו בתורה ואם יצא לו
 הגורל לקרב לסוד היחד על פי הכהנים ורוב אנשי בריתם
 יקר(י)בו גם את הונו ואת מלאכתו אל יד האיש המבקך על
 מלאכת הרבים וכתבו בחשבון בידו ועל הרבים לוא יוציאנו
 אל יגע במשקה הרבים עד מולאת לו שנה שנית בתוך אנשי
 היחד ובמולאת לו השנה השנית השנית יפקודהו על פי הרבים
 ואם יצא לו הגורל לקרב ליחד יכתובו בסרך תכנוו בתוכ
 אחיו לחורה ולמשפט ולשורה ולערב את הונו ויה עצתו ליחד
 ומשפטו

[עצתו ליה]

When he approaches to the council of the Community, he must not touch the pure (food) of | the Many until he is sought out concerning his spirit and his deeds until the completion to him of a complete year; neither should he mix with the wealth of the Many. | When he has completed a year within the Community, the Many will be questioned about his duties, concerning his insight and his deeds in Torah. And if the lot goes out to him | to approach the council of the Community according to the priests and the multitude of the men of their covenant, they shall make his wealth and his possessions approach the hand of the man (who is) | the Examiner over the possessions of the Many. And they shall be entered into the reckoning in his hand but they shall not go out for the Many. He must not touch the drink of the Many until | he completes a second year among the men of the Community. And when this second year is complete he will be examined by command of the Many. And if | the lot results in him joining the Community, they shall enter him in the Rule according to his rank among his brothers for Torah, for judgment, for purity and for mixing his wealth. And his counsel will be | for the Community, and his judgment.

And] his counsel
 will be for the
 Com[munity

IQS Section: Second

Generic Category: Rules of Communal Discipline

1QS VI 24-25

4QS^a 3 2-4

ואלה המשפטים אשר ישפטו כם במדרש
 יחד על פי הדברים אם ימצא כם איש
 אשר ישקר בהון והואה יודע ויבדילהו
 מחוכ שהרת רבים שנה אחת ונענשו את
 רביעית לחמו

אשר ישפטו []
 על פי] -----
 ב]מון והוא יודע והב[דילוהו] []
 ונענש] []
 רבי]עית לח[מו] []

The^{se} are the judgments by which they shall judge in an inquiry of the community, according to the words. If there is found among them a man who has lied | about wealth, and he knows it, they shall separate him from the midst of the pure (food) of the Many for one year, and he shall be punished one fourth of his bread.

[] which they shall judge ----- according to [] |] money, and he knows it, they shall separate [] |] [] punished| one fou|rth of his br[ead.]

IQS Section: Second

Generic Category: Rules of Communal Discipline

1QS VII 6-8, Scribe A

1QS VII 6-8, Scribe B

ואם בהון היחד יתרמה לאברו
 ושלמו ?
 Blank | Blank | Blank |
 ואם לוא חשיג ידו לשלמו ונענשו

ואם בהון היחד יתרמה לאברו
 ושלמו { } ברושו
 Blank | Blank | Blank |
 ואם לוא חשיג ידו לשלמו ונענשו
 ששים יום

And if with the wealth of the community he acts treacherously achieving a loss, he shall restore it ? | Blank | Blank | Blank | And if by his hand he cannot restore them, he will be punished.

And if with the wealth of the community he acts treacherously achieving a loss, he shall restore it { ... } | in its original (amount). Blank | Blank | Blank | And if by his hand he cannot restore them, he will be punished for sixty days.

1QS Section: Second

Generic Category: Rules of Communal Discipline

4QS ^c II 4-9	1QS VII 22-25, Scribe A	1QS VII 22-25, Scribe B
[]	?	{ } יכול איש
[בעצ[ת] היחד]	?	אשר יהיה בעצת היחד
[עד מלאות לו -----]	?	{ } על מלאות ---
[-----]	vac ?	vac { } עשר שני
[]	ושבה רוחו לבגוד ביחד	ושבה רוחו לבגוד ביחד
[מלפנ[י] הרבים ללכת]	יוצא מלפני הרבים ללכת	יוצא מלפני הרבים ללכת
[]	בשרירות לבו לוא ישוב	בשרירות לבו לוא ישוב
[]	אל עצת היחד עוד ואיש	אל עצת היחד עוד ואיש
[מ[א]נשי היחד אשר]	מאנשי היחד אשר יתערב	מאנשי היחד אשר יתערב
[]	עמו בטהרתו או בהונו	עמו בטהרתו או בהונו
[]	אשר[] הרבים	אשר[] הרבים
[והיה משפטו]	והיה משפטו כמודו לשלח	והיה משפטו כמודו לשלח
[]	?	{ } And every
[]	?	man who has been in
[council] of the Com-	?	the council of the
munity ----- until the	?	Community { }
completion to him!	?	for the fullness
[ ----- ]	| ? vac	of ten years | { } vac
[]	and his spirit turns to	and his spirit turns to
[]	do treachery against	do treachery against
[]	the Community, and he	the Community, and he
[]	goes out from before	goes out from before
[]	the | Many to walk in	the | Many to walk in
[]	the stubbornness of his	the stubbornness of his
[]	heart, he shall never	heart, he shall never
[]	return to the council of	return to the council of
[]	the Community, and	the Community, and
[]	the man from the men	the man from the men
[]	of the Commun[ity]	of the Commun[ity]
[]	[w]ho mixes | with him	[w]ho mixes | with him
[]	in his pure (food) or in	in his pure (food) or in
[]	his wealth whi[ch]	his wealth whi[ch]
[]	[] the Many, and	[] the Many, and
[]	his judgment shall be	his judgment shall be
and his judgment shall	like his, he shall be	like his, he shall be
be | [ ]	sent a[way]	sent a[way]

IQS Section: Fourth
Generic Category: Introduction

4QS ^d VII 6-9	IQS IX 5-9
<p>בית ----- בעת ההיא יברלו vac אהרן לקודש לכל]ו[[]----- [ליש]אל ההלכים בת[ים]ם בני אָהרֹן [ימש]לו [במשפט ובהון ----- vac והון] ההולכ[ים בתמים אל יתערב הונם עם] הון[] [הר]מיה אשר לא הזכנו [] [] להתהלך בתמים</p>	<p>בַּעַת הַהֵיאוּהָ יִבְרִילוּ אַנְשֵׁי הַיְחִיד בֵּית הַקֹּדֶשׁ לְאַהֲרֹן לְהוֹחֵד קֹדֶשׁ קֹדֶשִׁים וּבֵית יָחִיד לְיִשְׂרָאֵל הַהוֹלְכִים בְּתַמִּים רַק בְּנֵי אַהֲרֹן יִמְשְׁלוּ בַּמִּשְׁפָּט וּבַהוֹן וְעַל פִּיהֶם יֵצֵא וְהַגּוֹרֵל לְכוֹל תְּכוּן אַנְשֵׁי הַיְחִיד vac? וְהוֹן אַנְשֵׁי הַקֹּדֶשׁ הַהוֹלְכִים בְּתַמִּים אֵל יִתְעַרֵּב הוֹנָם עִם הוֹן אַנְשֵׁי הַרְמִיָּה אֲשֶׁר לֹא הִזְכַּרְנוּ דְרָכָם ----- וּלְלַכֵּת בְּתַמִּים דְּרַכְךָ</p>
<p>In this time they ----- ----- shall be separated ----- (as) a house of Aaron for a sanc- tuary, for all [ ] | | ----- ----- -----[for Is]rael, (for) those who are walking in per^fectio[n.] [] sons of Aaron [] ru]l[e] in judgment and in wealth ----- ----- ----- vac And regard- ing the wealth of [ ] | | ] [ ] walk]ing in perfection: they shall not mi[x] the wealth of [] delce[it] who have not cleans[ed ] [ ] | | [ ] r]f] to walk in</p>	<p>In this time the men of | the Com- munity shall separate themselves (as) a holy house for Aaron, ----- ----- to be united as a holy of holies, and a house of the Community for Israel, (for) those who are walking in perfection. | Only the sons of Aaron will rule in judgment and in wealth, and ac- cording to them will the lot go out for every regulation for the men of the Community | vac? And regard- ing the wealth of the men of holi- ness who are walking in perfection: they shall not mix their wealth with the wealth of the men of deceit who | have not cleansed their way to separate from evil and to walk in perfection of the way.</p>

1QS Section: Fourth

Generic Category: Guidelines for the Wise Leader

4QS ^e IV 2-6	4QS ^d VIII 5-8	4QS ^b XVIII 4-7
<p>vac? ואלה תכונין הדרך למשכיל [] עם [] [] שנאתו עולם עם [] [] ברוח [] הסתר לעזוב למו [] דון ----- ועמל כפים [] [] לפני הרודה [] בו ולהיות איש מקנא [] ועתי להם [] [] ובכל [] משלה [] כאשר []</p>	<p>vac ואלה תכוני הדרך למשכיל [] בעתים [] [] שנאתו שנאת עולם עם אנשי [] השחת ברוח הסתר ולעזוב למו [] הון ובצע [] [] למושל בו ועונה לפני הרודה [] בו ולהיות איש מקנא לחוק [] ועתי ליום [] לעשות [] [] ובכל [] [] ממשלו כאשר [] [] וכל [] [] הנעשה בו ירצה בנרבה וזולת [] רצון []</p>	<p>[vac ואלה [] [] שנאתו [] [] שנאת עולם [] [] --- ועמל כפים []</p>
<p>vac? And these are the re- gulations [] way for the Instructor [] [] together with his hat[red. Ever-] lasting [] against [] a spir[it of concealment. ----- He shall le[ave] | to them wealth ----- [] [and labor of hands [] [] [] [] before the one who dominates him. And he sh[all be] | a man zealous [] [pre]pared for the da[y [] [] [] in ev[er]y send- ing for[th [] and in ev[er]y[thing [] [] als []</p>	<p>vac And these are the re- gulations of the way for the Instructor in [] [] tim[es], | [ ] [ ] his hatred. Ever- lasting hatred against the men of the pit in a spirit of concealment. And he shall leave to them wealth and violent gain | [ ] han[ds [] [] [] [rules over him and (like) [] one oppressed before the one who dominates him. | And he shall be a man zealous for the statute and prepared for the day of [] , (ready) to d[o] [ ] | [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] every[thi]ng over which he rules als [] [] all that happens to him he will de- light with free will and desire the will of [God.</p>	<p>[And (t)h[ese | [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [his hatred. Ever- lasting hatred [ ] [ | ] the m[an [] [] [] [] and la]bor of han[ds [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] [ ] | who domin[ates</p>

1QS IX 21-24

4QS^f I 1-2

vac ואלה חכוני הדרך למשכיל
 בעתים האלה לאהבתו עם
 שנאתו שנאת עולם עם אנשי
 שחת ברוח הסתר לעזוב למו
 הון ---- ועמל כפים כעבד
 למושל בו וענוה לפני הרודה
 בו ולהיות איש מקנא לחוק
 ועזו ליום נקם לעשות רצון
 בכול משלח כפים ובכול
 ממשלו כאשר צוה וכול
 הנעשה בו ירצה בנדבה וזולת
 רצון אל לו

[] בכול משלוח
 [] הנעשה
 [] וכול

vac And these are the regulations of the way for the Instructor in these times, for his love together with his hatred. Everlasting hatred | against the men of the pit in a spirit of concealment. ----- He shall leave to them wealth ----- and labor of hands like a servant to the one who rules over him and (like) one oppressed before | the one who dominates him. And he shall be a man zealous for the statute and prepared for the day of vengeance, (ready) to do (God's) will in every sending forth of the hands | and in everything over which he rules as he commanded. And (in) all that happens to him he will delight with free will and desire the will of God.

[] in everly send-
 ing forth | []
 []
 []
 [] And (in) all that
 happens

*IQS Section: Fourth**Generic Category: Guidelines for the Wise Leader*

4QS ^d X 6-8	4QS ^b XX 6-7	IQS X 17-19
[] גמול [] []	[] [] []	לוא אשיב לאיש גמול רע
[] [] []	[] [] []	בטוב ארדף גבר כיא את אל
ישלם [] []	משפט כול חי והואה []	משפט כול חי והואה ישלם
		לאיש גמולו לוא אקנא ברוח
		רשעה ולהון חמס לוא תאודה
		נפשי וריב אנש שחת לוא
		אתפיש עד יום נקם
	[I shall] n[ot] [] []	I shall not return anyone
| an [evil] [] []	[] [] []	an evil reward; I
reward; [] []	[] [] []	with goodness I shall
[] [] []	[] [] []	pursue the man
[] [] []	[] [] []	For to God (belongs) the
[] [] judgment	[] [] []	judgment
[] [] of every living being,	[] [] []	of every living being,
makes good and it is he []	[] [] []	and it is he who makes good
		to man his recompense.
		I shall not be zealous for the
		wicked spirit, I
		and for wealth of violence
		my soul shall not crave,
		and the dispute of the men of
		the Pit
		I shall not engage until the day
		of vengeance.

4QS^f IV 4-8

לוא אשׁיב] לאיש גמול רע
 לשוב א[ררף] גבר כ[י] את אל
 [] כול חי הוא ישלם
 לאיש גמול] לוא אקנא [ב]רוח
 [] רשעה ולהון חמ[ס]
 נפשי ור[יב] [שח[ת] ל[ח]א
 אחפוש ע[ד] נק[ם]

I shall not re[turn] | anyone
 an evil reward; |
 for goodness []
 [] the man
 F[or] to God []
 []
 | of every living being,
 ---- It is he who makes good
 to ma[n] his [recom]pense.
 I shall not be zealo[us] []
 wicked | []
 and for wealth of viole[nce]
 my soul []
 and the dis[pute] [] | | of
 the pit
 I shall n[o]t engage un[til] []
 [] vengea[nce].

*IQS Section: Fourth**Generic Category: Guidelines for the Wise Leader*

1QS XI 1-2

ולהשיב ענוה לנגד
 רמי רוח
 וברוח נשברה
 לאנשי מטה
 שולחי אצבע
 ומדברי און
 ומקני הון

...to reply with humility
 against to the haughty of
 spirit,
 and with a broken spirit to
 the men of the yoke, I
 those who point the finger
 and speak evil,
 and acquire wealth.

APPENDIX C

OUTLINE OF THE RULE OF THE COMMUNITY (1QS)
 BASED ON PARAGRAPH MARKINGS

Legend for Paragraph Types

Minor = Small *paragraphos* symbol in text (↯), usually accompanied by an interval for the remainder of the line and sometimes by an indentation of the following line.

Intermediate = One or more lines of text left blank to separate sections, sometimes preceded or followed by a *paragraphos*.

Major = Large *paragraphos* symbol in text (↴, ↵, or ↶), usually followed by indentation of first line.

The 1QS citation will be given first; if intervals are clearly extant or absent on other manuscripts, this will be noted.

<i>¶ Type</i>	<i>Citation</i>	<i>Annotated Outline</i>
NA	I 1-20	General introduction: purpose of the community, beginning of ritual, people's response to God's works of truth
Minor	I 21-II 10	Priests report God's goodness; Levites enumerate Israel's sin, people respond "Amen, Amen" and bless God Priests bless those of God's lot, Levites curse those of Belial's lot, people respond "Amen, Amen" to blessings and curses
Minor	II 11-18	Priests and Levites curse backsliders in community, people respond "Amen, Amen"
Minor	II 19-III 12	"Thus shall they do all the years of Belial's reign" Order of "crossing over into covenant" so that all know their place in eternal council (unchanging ranks foster humility and righteous intention) Stubborn of heart shall not enter in, because atonement in God's council requires upright and humble spirit

<i>¶ Type</i>	<i>Citation</i>	<i>Annotated Outline</i>
Intermediate	III 13–IV 1	Instructions for the Master (משכיל) regarding the community's dualistic world view (<i>the introduction of the Prince of Light and the Angel of Darkness at III 18: small paragraphs but no interval</i>)
Minor	IV 2-8	Ways of the spirits of light in world Principles of the spirit for the sons of truth [God's] visitation will be for healing, peace, long life, multiplication of progeny with all everlasting blessings, endless joy in everlasting life, crown of glory and resplendent attire in eternal life
Minor	IV 9-14 4QpapS ^c V 6	Principles of the spirit of deceit [God's] visitation will be afflictions, terror, shame, suffering, misery, no remnant or rescue
Minor	IV 15-26 4QpapS ^c V 13	Battle between the two spirits; one acts according to one's share/inheritance (נחלה) of either Future time of vindication, when evil will be purged from humanity
Major	V 1-13 4QS ^d has none of the intervals in IQS V 1–VI 8	“This is the Rule for the men of the community who separate from the sons of evil and form a community in Torah and property” Decisions by lot about everything concerning Torah, property, and judgment No stubbornness of heart tolerated, but rather circumsised inclination toward forming a foundation of truth for Israel, a community of the eternal covenant, atoners, judges Oaths upon entrance to community according to authority of Sons of Zadok and the many Separate from men of deceit who have brought curses of covenant on selves

<i>¶ Type</i>	<i>Citation</i>	<i>Annotated Outline</i>
Minor	V 13-25	How the person of holiness must exclude unclean persons and their works How one enters the covenant: examination of spirits by authorities, registration of new member, obedience by rank (rank may change after subsequent evaluation) [cf. II 19–III 12] Admonition in merciful love
Minor	V 25–VI 8	Behavioral prescriptions: no angry words, procedures for accusations, obedience of lesser to greater with respect to work and money; shared activities (meals, benedictions, counsel) Priests' role in counsel, meal Necessity of one in every 10 members to study Torah continually Order of nighttime vigilance (read Book, study judgment, recite benedictions)
Minor	VI 8-23	Rule for sessions of the Many: order of seating, order of content and speaking, manner of speaking, examination of new members, regulations of entrance (gradual assimilation of property)
Intermediate	VI 24–VII 25 4QS ^b 3 1	Precepts by which to judge cases: lying re property, improper treatment of fellow, blasphemies, intentional lie, deceit or neglectful act, neglectful waste of communal property (2-3 lines empty) grudge, revenge, foolishness, speaking out of turn, sleeping during meetings, exposing oneself, improper laughter, slanderer, grumbler against authority, reversion to stubbornness of heart (possible re-initiation), treachery toward community (<i>several corrections in section</i>)
Major	VIII 1-5	Council of community constituted by 12 men and 3 priests; characteristics of men
Minor	VIII 5-10	Community as eternal plant and other metaphors drawn from temple

¶ Type	Citation	Annotated Outline
Minor	VIII 10-12 4QS ^e II 19	Separation of those established in the principles as holy Discovery of things concealed from Israel must be revealed in community (<i>section heavily corrected</i>)
Minor	VIII 12-19 4QS ^d VI 6 4QS ^e III 2 no vac	Separation of community from men of deceit to wilderness to prepare the way of the Lord (citation of Isa 40:3): = study of Torah, revelation through prophets Strangers from statutes must be purified by renewal of ways before being enlisted
Minor	VIII 20–IX 2	Behavioral prescriptions: if one transgresses word of Torah, there is no return to the community; if negligent, then subject to restrictions and judgment regarding return
Major	IX 3-5 4QS ^d VII 3 (minor)	“When, according to all these norms, these [people] become in Israel a foundation of the Holy Spirit,” they will atone for guilt so that God’s favor for the land may be obtained without sacrifice
Minor	IX 5-11 4QS ^d VII 5 has no vacat 4QS ^d VII 7 (=1QS IX 8)	“At that time the men of the community shall separate themselves (as) a House of Holiness for Aaron” Lots cast regarding all norms Do not merge property with men of deceit, do not depart from counsel of Torah to follow stubborn heart Judgment as from the first judgments of the community, until the coming of the prophet and the Messiahs of Aaron and Israel
Intermediate	IX 12-19 4QS ^e III 6 no vac	“These are the statues by which the Master (משכיל) shall walk”: learn all understanding, separate and weigh sons of righteousness; do not argue with men of pit; guide the chosen, instruct them so they may walk perfectly

<i>¶ Type</i>	<i>Citation</i>	<i>Annotated Outline</i>
Minor	IX 19–X 5 4QS ^d no vac 4QS ^d VIII 4 4QS ^d VIII 5	“That is the time to prepare the way to the wilderness” He shall instruct them regarding all that must be performed, separate himself from the deceitful (<i>interval without paragraphos</i>) “These are the norms of the way for the Master”: hate men of pit, conceal truth from them, leave them property and labor, be zealous for statutes, ready for day of vengeance, perform God’s will, praising God in accord with appointed times/seasons
Minor	X 6–XI 15 4QS ^d no vac 4QS ^f V 4-5 2 vac; flaw?	Praise offered to God in the first person, mouth as instrument, offering of lips as sacrifice
Minor	XI 15-22	“Blessed are you Lord”; petitions of restitution, praise of God’s greatness

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APPENDIX D

ARRANGEMENT OF THE RULES OF COMMUNAL DISCIPLINE
IN 1QS VI 24–VII 25

<i>Cf.</i>	<i>1QS</i>	<i>Act</i>	<i>Consequence</i>	<i>Duration</i>
Lev 19:11 (13?)	VI 24-25	1. Lies (ישקר) about הון (4QS ^g ממון) inten- tionally (יודע)	from pure יבדילהו food of Many נענש $\frac{1}{4}$ bread	1 year 1 year
	VI (27)	2. Takes law into own hand by:	נענש [מובדל]	1 year 1 year
	VI 25-26	a. responding to fellow with a stiff neck		
	VI 26	b. speaking to him with shortness of temper		
	VI 26	c. letting go the יסוד of his associate by speaking against the neighbor who is registered before him		
Lev 19:12	VI 27–VII 2	3. Dishonors authority a. mentions anything in the Name (השם)... and dishonors it (קלל) for any reason while reading the Book or saying benedictions (intentionally)	הברילהו ולוא ישוב עור על עצת היחד נענש	permanent 1 year
	VII 2-3	b. dishonors priest reg- istered in book and he speaks in wrath (unintentionally)	מובדל על נפשו from pure food of Many נענש	6 months
Lev 19:11	VII 3-4	4. Lies (יכחש / יכחס) in- tentionally	נענש	6 months

<i>Cf.</i>	<i>IQS</i>	<i>Act</i>	<i>Consequence</i>	<i>Duration</i>
	VII 4-5	5. Insults fellow בלי משפט intentionally	נענש מוברל	1 year
	VII 5	6. Acts treacherously a. speaks with deceit or does treachery to fellow intentionally	נענש	6 months
	VII 5-6	b. acts treacherously to fellow	נענש	3 months
	VII 6-7	c. acts treacherously with דון החרד to its loss	restore it at original value (ברוש) if he cannot, נענש	60 days (supralinear add.)
Lev 19:18		7. Begrudges / takes vengeance		
	VII 8	a. bears grudge against fellow ישו () לרעהו אשר לוא () גמשפט	נענש	1 year** (orig. 6 mos)
		b. takes revenge for himself (לנקם)	נענש (וכן)	1 year
		8. Speaks improperly		
	VII 9	a. speaks foolish word		3 months
	VII 9-10	b. speaks during fellow's speech		10 days
		9. Acts improperly at session of Many		
	VII 10	a. lies down and sleeps at assembly of the Many	(וכן)	30 days
	VII 10-11	b. goes away at session of Many without counsel	נענש	30 days
	VII 11	c. falls asleep $\leq 3x$ at assembly	נענש	10 days
	VII 11-12	d. goes away while Many are standing		30 days

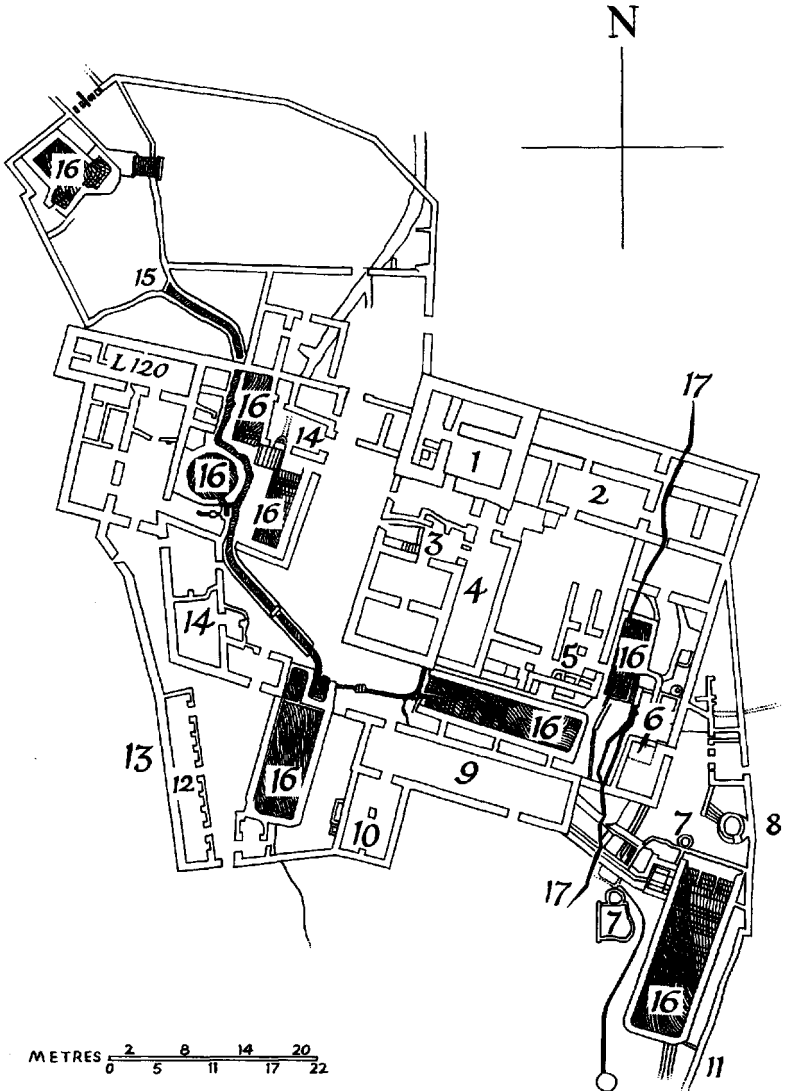
<i>Cf.</i>	<i>IQS</i>	<i>Act</i>	<i>Consequence</i>	<i>Duration</i>
		10. Gestures improperly		
	VII 12	a. walks naked without being a man/forced	נענש	6 months
	VII 13	b. spits in midst of assembly of Many	נענש	30 days
	VII 13-14	c. causes penis to come out from under garment, or it has holes so his genitals can be seen	נענש	30 days
	VII 14-15	d. laughs in folly, makes voice heard	נענש	30 days
	VII 15	e. stretches out his left hand in order to lie on it	נענש	10 days
		11. Slanders (ילכ רכיל)		
Lev 19:16	VII 15-16	a. slanders a fellow	הברילהו from pure food of Many	1 year
			נענש	1 year
	VII 16-17	b. slanders the Many	לשלח הואה מאהם ולוא ישוב עור	permanent
		12. Murmurs		
	VII 17	a. murmurs against יסוד היחד	ישלחהו ולוא ישוב עור	permanent
	VII 17-18	b. murmurs against fellow אשר לוא במשפט	נענש	6 months
		13. Leader acts treacherously		
(Jer)	VII 18-23	a. Spirit shakes מיסוד היחד to deal treacherously with truth and to walk in stubbornness of heart	נענש	2 year probation

<i>Cf.</i>	<i>IQS</i>	<i>Act</i>	<i>Consequence</i>	<i>Duration</i>
	VII 18-23	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • if he returns: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - first year - second year - both years? • return procedure 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - must not touch pure food of Many - must not touch pure drink of Many; may נגע pure food of Many - must sit behind all the men of the community - Many asked re affairs - if they allow יקרבהו, he is נכתב בחכמו, may join in משפט 	
(Jer)	VII 24-25	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> b. 10 year + member of Council of Community whose spirit backslides (?) c. whoever mixes (יחערב) with him his pure food or בהונו 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> לוא ישוב אל עצה היחד עור היה משפטו כמודו לשל[ח] 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> permanent permanent

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APPENDIX E

ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITE PLAN OF THE QUMRAN COMPOUND
c. 31 B.C.E.



Legend

- | | |
|---|---|
| *1. Tower | 10. Pantry |
| 2. Kitchen | 11. Wall separating settlement
from cemetery |
| 3. Stairs leading to the 2nd-story
room identified by excavators
as scriptorium | 12. Stables |
| 4. Room identified by
excavators as scriptorium | 13. Retaining wall along west-
ern edge of plateau |
| *5. Dyer's shop | 14. Workshops, grain storage |
| †6. Laundry | *L120. Location of hoard of Tyrian
tetradrachmas |
| 7. Pottery | 15. Main canal |
| †8. Potters' kilns | 16. Large cisterns and <i>miqva'ot</i> |
| *9. Meeting/dining hall | 17. Fissure from earthquake |

* Silver coin(s) found in room

† Silver coin(s) found in room above this numbered room

After the rendering by H.-M. Couasnon in J. T. Milik, *Ten Years of Discovery
in the Wilderness of Judaea* (London: SCM, 1963) facing p. 48.

APPENDIX F

COMPARATIVE STRUCTURE OF VARIOUS TYPES OF DOCUMENTARY TEXTS

Legend

Numbers in a given column indicate the order in which the clauses generally occur in that type of document, although there is a great deal of variation.

<i>Clause</i>	<i>Deed of Sale</i>	<i>Registration of Land</i>	<i>Deed of Gift</i>	<i>Deed of Purchase</i>
0. Statement of registration	0	0		
1. Date	1	1	1	1
2. Place	2	2	2	2
3. [Witnesses,] Parties and Transaction	3	3	3	3
4. Independence clause				
5. Property/Notice of Transaction or Issue	4	4	4	
6. Boundaries	5	6	5	
7. Description of the Property	6		6	
8. Sum/Value	7	5		4
9. Terms of gift, repayment			7	5
10. Receipt	8			
11. Ownership/Right of execution clause	9		9	7
12. Defension clause	10			
13. Guarantee	11		8	6
14. Exchange/Registration of document	12		10	
15. Summons to appear				
16. <i>Stipulatio, bona fide</i>	13	7		8
17. Subscription	14		11	9
18. Signatures	15	8	12	10

<i>Receipt</i>	<i>Deposit</i>	<i>Promissory Note</i>	<i>Rental Contract</i>	<i>Slave Conveyance</i>	<i>Marriage Contract</i>	<i>Act of Renunciation</i>	<i>Waiver of Claims</i>	<i>Summons</i>
1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
2	2	2		2	2		2	2
3	3	3	2	3	3	2	3	3
						3		
	4							4
							4	
4	5		4	4	4	4		
5			5					
	7			5	5			
				6	7			
				7			6	
	6	4	3	8	6			
					8	5	5	
								5
			6	9	9		7	
6					10		8	6
	8	5	7	10	11	6	9	7

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APPENDIX G

TRANSCRIPTIONS OF PLATES

Plate II. The “Yahad” Ostrakon (KhQOstrakon 1)²

[	בשנת שתיים ל־	1	In year two of the [
[	בירחו נתן חני בן	2	in Jericho, Ḥōnî son of [] gave
[	לאלעזר בן נחמני	3	to ʿElʿazar son of Naḥmānî []
[	את חסדי מחולנ]	4	Ḥisday from Ḥōlōn[]
[	מהיום הזה ל>ע>ולָם	5	from this day to perpetui[ty]
[	וּאֶת־תְּחֻמֵּי הַבַּיִת וְ	6	the boundaries of the house and []
[	וְהַתְּאֵנִים הַזֹּאתִים	7	and the figs, the ol[ives (?),]
[	וּכְמִלְתּוֹ ל־	8	when he fulfills (his oath) to []
[	זֶהְנִי]	9	and Ḥōnî (?) []
[	לוֹ אֶת הַחֵטְרִי	10	to him Ḥis[day (?)]]
[	וְאֵת]	11	and the []
[	וּבִידֵי]	12	And into the hand of Ḥ[]
[	לְזֶנֶן]	13	[]
[	מִן חֲסֵדֵי עֶבֶד הָנִי	14	Ḥisday servant of Ḥ[ōnî (?)] from]
[	חֲלוֹן]	15	Ḥōlōn []

bottom margin

² The transcription is my own and is based on the photograph on Plate II, with reference to the edition of F. M. Cross and E. Eshel, “1. KhQOstrakon,” in *Qumran Cave 4.XXVI: Cryptic Texts and Miscellanea, Part 1* (ed. S. J. Pfann et al.; DJD 36; Oxford: Clarendon, 2000) 497-507, pl. XXIII.

Plate III. Mur 24. Rental Contracts, Col. B³

[ב]עשרין לשבט שנת שת"ם]	1	[On] the twentieth of Shevat, year tw[o]
[ל]גאֵלת ישראל על יד שמעון	2	[of the] liberation of Israel, by the authority of Simon,
{ בן כוסבא נסיא ישראל }ל {ב}מ}	3	son of Kosiba, prince of Israel [in the ca]
[במחנה]ה שיושב בהרד[ים]	4	[in the camp, who resides in Herodi[um.]
[אלעזר] בן השלני אמר	5	[ʔElʕazar] son of the Shilonite said
[ל]הלל בן גרים אני מרצוני	6	[to] Hillel son of Garis: "I of my own free will
[חכרתי ה]מך מן קצת עפר	7	[have rented] your [sh]are of a piece of land
[שיש לי ב]עיר נחש בחכיר	8	[which is mine] in tenancy in the town of Nahash.
[חכרתי מן ש]מעון [נ]סיא	9	[I have rented it from Si]mon, the [p]rince
[ישראל את חמש] [שנים]		[of Israel, for five [years.]
[אם העפר]	10	If I do not cultivate and [the land]
שלא עוסה ות	11	it will return and be lost
שהזה והורד ונפסד את	12	entirely. I have rented your share from
הכול חכרתי המך מן היום		today
עד סוף ערב השמטה א[ת]	13	until the end of the eve of the remission.
		The
[חכיר]ך שאהא שוקל לך ה[כ]ה	14	rent I will weigh out for you he[r]e,
[כול] שנה ושנה חנשין יפוח	15	every year, wheat of good quality
ושמנה סאין	16	
[ו]נקיות ארבעת [כ]ורין מעשרת	17	and pure: four kor and eight seah (which will be) subject to tithe.
[] 18 []		
[] 19 []		[] treasury in He[ro]dium
[] 20 []		
[] 21 []		
[] 22 []		

³ Transcriptions for Plates III–V are based on the photographs there, with reference to the edition of J. T. Milik, "24. Contrats de fermage, en hébreu (an 133)," in *Les grottes de Murabba ʕat*, vol. 1, *Texte* (ed. P. Benoit, O. P., Milik, and R. de Vaux, O. P.; DJD 2, 2a; Oxford: Clarendon, 1961) 122–34, pls. XXXV–XXXVII.

Plate IV. Mur 24. Rental Contracts, Col. D

בעשרין לשבט שנה שת[ים]	1	On the twentieth of Shevat, year
		tw[o]
לנאלת ישראל על יד שמעון	2	of the liberation of Israel, by the
		authority of Sim[on],
[נש[י]א [י]שרא[ל]	3	{ p[ri]n[ce] of [I]srae[l],
שיושב [בהרו]ד[ים] נקלה בן	4	who resides [in Herod]d[ium].
		[Niqla, son of]
יהונתן אמר	5	Jonathan says, ["
[	6	[
[	7	[
[	8	[
[	9	[
עוסה	10	[If I do not] cultivate
את עפר	11	[] the land
את הכל	12	[] entirely.
[חכרתי]	13	I have ren[te]d []
[ערב השמשה]	14	the eve of the [remission]
שוקל לך הכה [כול] שנה ושנה	15	weigh out for you here [every]
חנשין		year, wheat
יפות ונקיות ששה כורין [ושל]וש	16	of good quality and pure: six kor
		[and thr]ee
[שוקל [על] גג אוצר]	17	[] weigh out [o]n [the roof of the
		treasury ⁴ of the]
נסיא ישראל ב[ה]רד[ים] כ[ול] שנה	18	prince of Israel [in] Herodium
		every year
[ושנה] וקנים עלי לעמה ככה	19	[] And it is va[li]d (and) bind-
		ing [upon me] according to the
		terms.
נקלה בן יהונתן על נפשה כתב	20	Niqla son of Jonatha[n] has written
		[f]or himself.
[	21	[

⁴ Milik reconstructs on the basis of col. C, line 17. In his note there, he observes that the idiom is explained by the architecture of public granaries in the ancient world, especially in Egypt, where large, round silos were built with an opening at the top for pouring the grain (*DJD* 2, pp. 128-9).

Plate V. Mur 24. Rental Contracts, Col. E

לש[בֹּט שְׁנַת שְׁתַּיִם] לְגַאֲלַת	1	[of Sh]levat, year tw[o] of the liberation of
[יִשְׂרָאֵל עַל יַד שְׁמַעוֹן בֶּן כּוֹס] בָּא	2	[I]srael, by the authority of Simon, son of K[osi]ba, prince of
נְסִיא	3	[I]srael in the camp, who resides in Herodium.
[יְהוּדָה בֶּן רַבָּא אָמַר לְהֵלֵל בֶּן גַּרִּיס	4	Judah, son of Rabba, said to Hillel son of Garis,
אֲנִי מְרַצְוִנִי [ח]כְּרַתְּ הַיּוֹם אֶת	5	“I, of my own free will, [hav]e rented your share today, the
הָעֵפֶר שֶׁהוּא שְׁלִי בַח<נ>רְחִי בְעִיר	6	land which I own in te<n>ancy in the town of
נַחֲשׁ שֶׁחִכְרַתְּ מִשְׁמַעוֹן נְסִיא יִשְׂרָאֵל	7	Nahash, that I rented from Simon, prince of Israel.
חֵפֶר* הָלוּ חִכְרַתִּי הַמֶּךְ מִן הַיּוֹם	8	This land I rented your share from today
עַד סוֹף עֶרֶב הַשְּׂמִטָּה שֶׁהֵם שְׁנַיִם	9	to the end of the eve of the remission, which are complete
שְׁלֹמוֹת שְׁנַיִ [מ]כֹּסֶה חֲמֵשׁ חִכְרִי*	10	years, fiscal years, five. Rent
[שֵׂאֵה] אֶמְדַּד לְךָ ב[ה]רְדִיס חֲנֻשִׁין	11	I [wil]l measure to you at [Her]o-dium, wheat
[שְׁלוֹשָׁת כּוֹרִין וְלַחֲךְ]	12	[] thr[ee] kolr and a let[ek] subject to
[תֵּאלָה] [מַעֲסֵרָה]	13	[tithe] this [tithe]
[וְזִקִּים]	14	[] and it [is] vallid
[]	15	[]
[]	16	[]
[]	17	[]

* The initial *taw* is an abbreviation of the accusative marker, אֶת, and is prefixed to the direct object.

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Plate VI. P. Yadin 16 verso, Registration of Land (Babatha Archive)⁵

עבדו בר מקימו שהד	1	‘Abdu son of Muqimu, witness
מנחנתא בר אמרו שהד	2	Manthanta son of Amru, witness
עודאל בר אנ/דו/ריזן שהד	3	‘Awd ² el son of ?, witness
יוחנא בר עבדעבדת מכותא שהד	4	Yohana son of ‘Abd ⁶ obdat Makhoutha, witness
שהרו [בר] מגדיו שהד	5	Shahru son of ?, witness

⁵ Transcriptions for Plates VI–VII are from the edition of N. Lewis (Greek text) and Y. Yadin and J. C. Greenfield (Nabatean Signatures), “16. Registration of Land,” *DBKP*, 65-70, pls. 13-14.

Plate VII. P. Yadin 16 recto, Registration of Land (Babatha Archive)

Inner Text

- 1 ἐγγεγραμμένον καὶ ἀντίβεβλημένον ἀντίγραφον πιτακίου ἀπογραφῆς
2 προκειμένης ἐν τῇ ἐνθάδε βασιλικῇ, καὶ ἔστιν ὡς ὑποτέτακται.

Outer Text

- 3 ἐγγεγραμμένον καὶ ἀντίβεβλημένον ἀντίγραφον πιτακίου ἀπο-
4 γραφῆς προκειμένης ἐν τῇ ἐνθάδε βασιλικῇ, καὶ ἔστιν ὡς
5 ὑποτέτακται· ἐπὶ Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος θεοῦ Τραιανοῦ Παρθικοῦ
6 υἱοῦ θεοῦ Νέρουα υἱοῦ Τραιανοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ ἀρχιερέως
7 με-
8 γιστου δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ δωδέκατον ὑπάτου τὸ τρίτον, ἐπὶ
9 ὑπάτων Μάρκου Γακουρίου Γαλλικανοῦ καὶ Τίτου Ἀτειλίου Ῥούφου
10 Τιτι-
11 ανοῦ πρὸ τεσσάρων νωνῶν Δεκεμβρίων, κατὰ δὲ τὸν τῆς νέας
12 ἐπαρχείας Ἀραβίας ἀριθμὸν ἔτους δευτέρου εἰκοστοῦ μηνὸς Ἀπελ-
13 λαίου ἐκκαίδεκάτῃ ἐν Ῥαββαθμῶσι πόλει. ἀποτιμήσεως
14 Ἀραβίας ἀγομένης ὑπὸ Τίτου Ἀνελίου Σεξστίου Φλωρεντείου
15 πρεσβευτοῦ Σεβαστοῦ ἀντιστρατήγου, Βαβθα Σίμωνος Μαωζηνῆ τῆς
16 Ζοαρηνῆς περιμέτρου Πέτρας, οἰκοῦσα ἐν ἰδίῳ ἐν αὐτῇ Μαωζα,
17 ἀπογράφουμαι ἃ κέκτημαι, συνπαρόντος μοι ἐπιτρόπου Ἰουδάνου
18 Ἐλαζάρου κώμης Αἰνγαδδῶν περὶ Ἰερειχοῦντα τῆς Ἰουδαίας οἰ-
19 κούντος ἐν ἰδίῳ ἐν αὐτῇ Μαωζα· κῆπον φοινικῶνος ἐν ὀρίοις
20 Μαωζων λεγόμενον Αλγιφιαμμα σπόρου κρειθῆς σάτου ἐνός
21 κάβων τριῶν τελοῦντα φοῖνικος συροῦ καὶ μείγματος σάτα δεκα-
22 πέντε πατητοῦ σάτα δέκα στεφανικοῦ μέλαν ἐν λεπτὰ τριάκον-
23 τα γείτονες ὁδὸς καὶ θάλασσα, κῆπον φοινικῶνος ἐν ὀρίοις Μα-
24 ωζων λεγόμενον Αλγιφιαμμα σπόρου κρειθῆς κάβων ἐνός < > τελοῦν-
25 τα τῶν γεινομένων καθ' ἔτος καρπῶν μέρος ἡμισυ γείτονες
26 μοσχαντικῆ κυρίου Καίσαρος καὶ θάλασσα, κῆπον φοινικῶ-
27 νος ἐν ὀρίοις Μαωζων λεγόμενον Βαγαγαλά σπόρου κρειθῆς
28 σάτων τριῶν τελοῦντα φοῖνικος συροῦ καὶ νοαρου κόρον ἕνα
29 πατητοῦ κόρον ἕνα στεφανικοῦ μελαίνας τρεῖς λεπτὰ πρι-
30 ἀκοντα γείτονε[ς κληρονόμοι Θησαίου Σαβακα καὶ
31 Ἰαμτ Μανθανθου, κῆπον φοινικῶνος ἐν ὀρίοις Μαωζων
32 λεγόμενον Βηθφααραια σπόρου κρειθῆς σάτων εἴκοσι τελοῦν-
33 τα φοῖνικος συροῦ καὶ νοαρου κόρους τρεῖς πατητοῦ κόρου[ς]
34 δύο στεφανικοῦ μελαίνας ὀκτώ λεπτὰ τεσσαράκοντα πέντε γεί-
35 τόνες Θαμαρῆ Θαμοῦ καὶ ὁδός. ἐρμηνεῖα ὑπογραφῆς· Βαβ-
36 θα Σίμωνος ὄμνυμι τύχην κυρίου Καίσαρος καλῇ πίστει ἀπογε-
37 γράφθαι ὡς προεγράψαται. Ἰουδάνης Ἐλαζάρου ἐπιτροπέυ[σ]α καὶ
38 ἔγρα-
39 ψα ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς. [2nd hand] ἐρμηνεῖα ὑπογραφῆς τοῦ ἐπάρχου· Πρεῖ-
40 σκος ἔπαρχος
41 Ἰππέων ἐδεξάμην τῇ πρὸ μιᾶς νωνῶν Δεκεμβρίων ὑπατίας Γαλλι-
42 κλανοῦ [καὶ Τιτιανοῦ].

Inner Text

¹Verified exact copy of a document of registration ²which is displayed in the basilica here, and it is as appended below.

Outer Text

³Verified exact copy of a document of ⁴registration which is displayed in the basilica here, and it is as appended ⁵below. In the reign of Imperator Caesar divi Traiani Parthici ⁶filii divi Nervae neros Traianus Hadrianus Augustus pontifex ⁷maximus tribuniciae potestatis II consul III, in the ⁸consulship of Marcus Gavius Gallicanus and Titus Atilius Rufus ⁹Titianus four days before the nones of December, and according to the compute of the new ¹⁰province of Arabia year twenty-second month ¹¹Apellaios the sixteenth, in the city of Rabbath-Moab. As a census of ¹²Arabia is being conducted by Titus Aninius Sextius Florentinus, ¹³legatus Augusti pro praetore, I, Babtha daughter of Simon, of Maoza in the ¹⁴Zoarene [district] of the Petra administrative region, domiciled in my own private property in the said Maoza, ¹⁵register what I possess (present with me as my guardian being Judanes ¹⁶son of Elazar, of the village of En-gedi in the district of Jericho in Judaea, ¹⁷domiciled in his own private property in the said Maoza), viz. within the boundaries of Maoza a date ¹⁸orchard called Algiphiamma, the area of one sowing one saton ¹⁹three kaboi of barley, paying as tax, in dates, Syrian and mixed fifteen ²⁰sata, “splits” ten sata, and for crown tax one “black” and thirty sixtieths, ²¹abutters a road and the Sea; within the boundaries of Maoza a date ²²orchard called Algiphiamma, the area of sowing one kabos of barley, paying ²³as tax a half share of the crops produced each year, abutters ²⁴moschantic estate of our lord Caesar and the Sea; within the boundaries of Maoza ²⁵a date orchard called Bagalgala, the area of sowing ²⁶three sata of barley, paying as tax, in dates, Syrian and Noaran (?) one koros, ²⁷“splits” one koros, and for crown tax three “blacks” and thirty ²⁸sixtieths, abutters heirs of Thesaaios son of Sabakas and ²⁹Iamit son(?) of Manthanthes; within the boundaries of Maoza a date orchard ³⁰called Bethpaaraia, the area of sowing twenty ³¹sata of barley, paying as tax, in dates, Syrian and Noaran(?) three kaboi, “splits” two ³²koroi, and for crown tax eight “blacks” and forty-five sixtieths, ³³abutters Tamar daughter of Thamous and a road. Translation of subscription: I, ³⁴Babtha daughter of Simon, swear by the genius of our lord Caesar that I have in good faith ³⁵registered as has been written above. I, Judanes son of Elazar, acted as guardian and wrote ³⁶for her. [2nd hand] Translation of subscription of the prefect: I, Priscus, prefect ³⁷of cavalry, received [this] on the day before the nones of December in the consulship of ³⁸Gallicanus and Titianus.

Plate VIII. X \dot{H} ev/Se 32 + 4Q347. X \dot{H} ev/Se papDeed F ar + 4Qpap Account of Money⁶X \dot{H} ev/Se 32. X \dot{H} ev/Se papDeed F arA. Yardeni, *DJD* 27, 107

[]	לכסלו שנת חמנה ב	1
[]	ברת לוי מן נידן	2
[]	מסמרא כפ רב	3
[]	חד מן ביתרסה	4

C. Murphy

[]	לכסלו שנת חמנה נרן	1
[]	יריבות לויין נילסין	2
[]	מסמרא כפ רב	3
[]	חד מן ביתרסה	4

[On the ... of Kis]lev, year eight, at []	1
[]..., daughter of Levi, from ... []	2
[]the nail(?), saddler/saddle/shoemaker ... []	3
[]...one of ... []	4

[On the ... of Kis]lev, year eight, at []	1
[]lawsuits(?) borrows the property []	2
[]from Simya ? []	3
? [] witness/ testimony	4

4Q347. 4Qpap Account of Money

A. Yardeni, *DJD* 27, 107⁷

[]	חד מן ביתרסה	4
[]	פלגות שבאן	5
[]	שוחפות	6
[]	...	7
[]	... one of ... []	4
[]	half the good []	5
[]	...my/our partnership... []	6
[]	...?... []	7

C. Murphy

[]	חד מן ביתרסה	4
[]	פלגות שבאן	2
[]	שוחפות	3
[]	...	4
[ ]	.....?... [ ]	1
[]	half the good []	2
[]	...?... partnership... []	3
[]	...?... []	4

⁶ The transcription is based on the photograph on Plate VIII, with reference to the edition of A. Yardeni, "X \dot{H} ev/Se 32. X \dot{H} ev/Se papDeed F ar (+ 4Q347)," in *Aramaic, Hebrew and Greek Documentary Texts from Nahal Hever and Other Sites, with an Appendix Containing Alleged Qumran Texts (The Seiyāl Collection)* (ed. H. M. Cotton and Yardeni; DJD 27; Oxford: Clarendon, 1997) 106-107, fig. 19, pl. XXI.

⁷ Note that line 4 of Yardeni's transcription of \dot{H} ev/Se 32 = line 4 of her transcription of 4Q347, since she views these two fragments as part of the same manuscript.

Plate IX. 4Q344. 4QDebt Acknowledgement ar⁸

[	]	o[	]	1	[]
[	]	לש היום חייג פניג	]	2	[	] today [
חסף	]	עמי אנה אלע[ו]ר בר חסף	]	3	[	] with me, I, ³ El ^c azar son of Joseph
///////	]	שבעה	]	4	[	] ? seven
[	]	ממה לו צומ	]	5	[]
השלמתא מן נכסי ודי אקנה	]	ל קבל >ד <ך	]	6	[	] the payment from] my [pr]operty and whatever I will acquire, according to that.

7 א לעזר בר חסף על נפשה להב[ה]
 8 חוסף

7 El azar, son of Joseph, for himself wrot[e.]
 8 [] Jose[ph]

⁸ The transcription is based on the photograph on Plate IX, with reference to the edition of Yardeni, "344. 4QDebt Acknowledgement" (*DJD* 27) 289-91, fig. 29, pl. LVI.

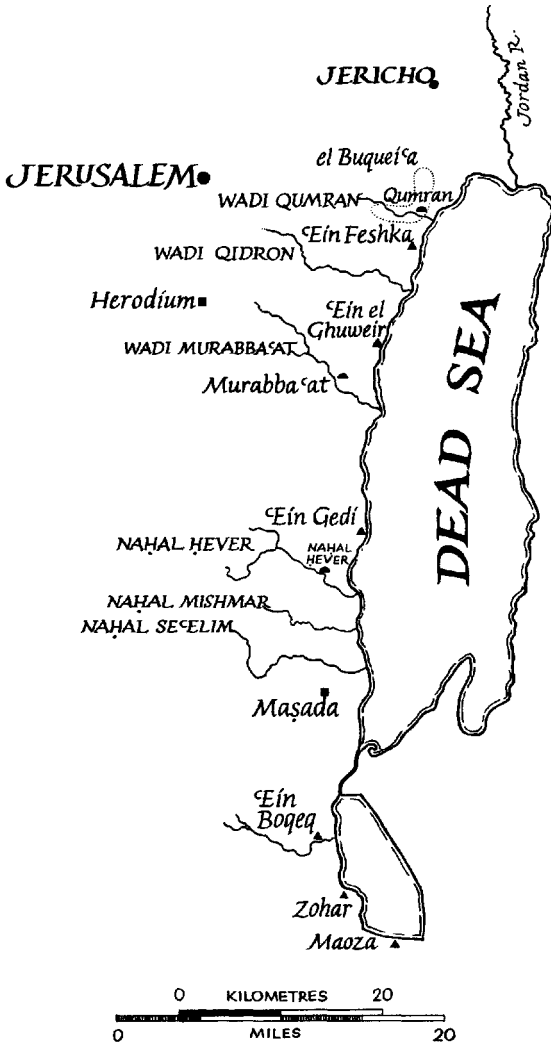
Plate IX. 4Q345. 4QDeed A ar or heb⁹

			<i>Recto, Inner Text</i>	
[	בִּסְּ בַּלּוּל שְׁנַת	1	On the [] of Elul, y[ear]
[	וְעִיָּא הוּא	2	? he []
[	מִסְּ לִּי	3	? []
[	לִּי לִּי	4	? []
[	בַּכֶּסֶף דִּי	5	in silver 30 []
[	יֵשׁוּעָא אָמַר אִיךְ	6	Yeshua ^c said, as ? []
[	נִי	7	? []
[	נִי	8	? []
[	סְטִיָּא	9	? []
			<i>Recto, Outer Text</i>	
[	בִּסְּ בַּלּוּל	10	On the ? [of Elul]
[	יִי	11	? []
[	מִן יֵעִ	12	? []
[	וְדֵעַ עֵי	13	? []
[	שִׁטְר מִי	14	deed ? []
[	לִי	15	? []
[	וְדֵי	16	? []
[	יִי לִי	17	? []
[	לִי	18	? []
			<i>Verso</i>	
[	הוֹשֵׁעִיָּא בְּרִי	19	Hosha ^c yah son of [] for him- self [wrote]	
	יֵשׁמָעֵאל בְּרִי שִׁימְעוֹן ¹⁰	20	Yishma ^c el son of Shi[m] ^c on, at his word.	

⁹ The transcription is based on the photograph on Plate IX, with reference to the edition of Yardeni, "345. 4QDeed A ar or heb" (*DJD* 27) 292-5, fig. 29, pl. LVI.

¹⁰ If there is only a *mem* missing in this name, the bottom fragment must be moved closer to the fragment directly above it on Yardeni's Plate LVI, as it has been on Plate IX of this volume. This means that Yardeni's lines 15 and 16 on the recto are one and the same line. Line 15 of the above transcription reflects the conflation.

APPENDIX H
THE DEAD SEA REGION



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to be dispossessed, become
destitute (*nif'al*)
- Israel
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to give glory
glory
priest
priesthood
strength
to provide, establish, secure (*hif'il*)
silver
hand(s)
see also יד
hand to hand
to cover, ransom, atone
atonement
noble, successful one
heart
see also שרירות לב
to join, be grafted to (*nif'al*)
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Greek Terms

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ἀγαπάω	to love	121-2 n.39, 124
ἀναδέχομαι	to stand surety, be responsible for	46
ἀνάθημα	votive offering	441
ἀνανέωσις	renewal, exchange (clause)	368 n.25
ἄξιος	worthy	11 n.30
ἅπαντα κοινά	(having) everything in common	440
ἀπογράφομαι	to register oneself	535 ll. 15, 35
ἀποδέκτης	receiver	376, 442
ἀπόστολος	one sent out, apostle	75
ἀρετή	virtue	408
αὐτονόμος	independent	420
ἀφιλήδονος	contempt for pleasure	417
ἀφιλόδοξος	contempt for glory	417
ἀφιλοχρήματος	contempt for riches	417
βασιλεύς	king	346
βουλή	council	399 n.109
δημιεύω	to make public	429
δημόσιον	public building, archive	368
διακονία	service	442
διάνοια	mind, intent	121-2, 411
δουλεύω	to serve	124
ἐγκράτεια	self-control	429, 433, 440
ἐκουσία	volunteers	421
ἔλεος	pity	433
ἐλεύθερος	free	420
ἐπιμελητής	chief executive, caretaker	5, 15, 376, 431, (cf. 432), 433-4, 442
ἐπικουρία	aid, charity	433
ἐπισκοπέω	to oversee, examine	375
ἐπίσκοπος	overseer	6-7, 87 n.164, 374-6
ἐπιτρόπος <i>see</i> <i>also</i> נִשְׂרָפָה	guardian	87 n.164, 375-6, 433-4, 535 l.15 (cf. 1.35)
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θησαυρός	treasury	375 n.50
θίασοι	(religious) associations	14, 418 n.57, 421
θίασος	associate (<i>n.</i>)	418 n.57
θυσία	burnt offering, sacrifice	441
ἴδιος	private property	535 ll.14, 17
ἱερεύς	priest	15
ἴστημι	to set up, establish	365, 366 n.14
ἰσχύς	strength	121-2 n.39, 122
καθαροποιέω	to cleanse	436
καθαρός	clean	436
καρδία	heart	121-2 n.39, 411 n.40
κέρδος	gain, profit	436
κηδεμών	guardian, caretaker	376, 431
κλοπεία	theft	436
τὸ κοινόν	what is shared, common	13-14, 431
κοινός	common (<i>adj.</i>)	441
κοιωνέω	to share, have a share	142 n.101
κοινωνία	fellowship	8, 154, 418
κοινωνικός	in communion with (+ <i>dat.</i>), communal life	429
κοινοφελής	of common utility, the common good	421
κτῆμα	piece of property, possession	429-30, (cf. 535 l.15)

ληστεία	robbery, brigandage, piracy	437
λόγος	account	368-9 n.26
μαμωνᾶς	money, mammon	156 n.137, 436 n.115
νόμιμος	observant of the law, having respect of the law	417-18
νόμος	law, usage, custom	429
οὐσία	substance, property, entity	429-30
παραθήκη	deposit	368 n.26, 378
πεινία	poverty, need	429
πλεονεξία	overreaching, greed, arrogance	415
πλούσιος	wealthy man	442
πλοῦτος	wealth, riches	429
πορισμός	a providing, procuring, revenue	421
πράξις	execution (clause)	381 n.71
προαίρεσις	a choosing, elisting, registration	421
προίξ	dowry, gift	368 n.26
πρόσοδος	path, approach, income, revenue	441-2
προσφορά	dowry, offering	368 n.26
προτίθημι	to set before, to contribute	418
σταθόντες	to establish	46
σύμβιωσις	living with, companionship, intimacy	435
σύνεσις	comprehension, intelligence	121 n.39
τάγμα	fixed assessment, property, goods	429 n.96
ταμίας	treasurer, steward	13, 376, 422, 431
ταμιεύω	to steward	376, 431
τάξις	order, rank	126 n.57
φιλάλληλος	of mutual affection, love of one another	429
φιλόανθρωπος	loving others, humane, benevolent	411
φιλάρετος	lover of virtue	411
φιλόθεος	loving God, pious	411
φορολογία	tax, tribute	184 n.89, 188, 382 n.75
χρῆμα	possession	442
ψυχή	soul	121-2 n.39
ὠφέλεια	assistance, services, profit, advantage	418

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PLATES

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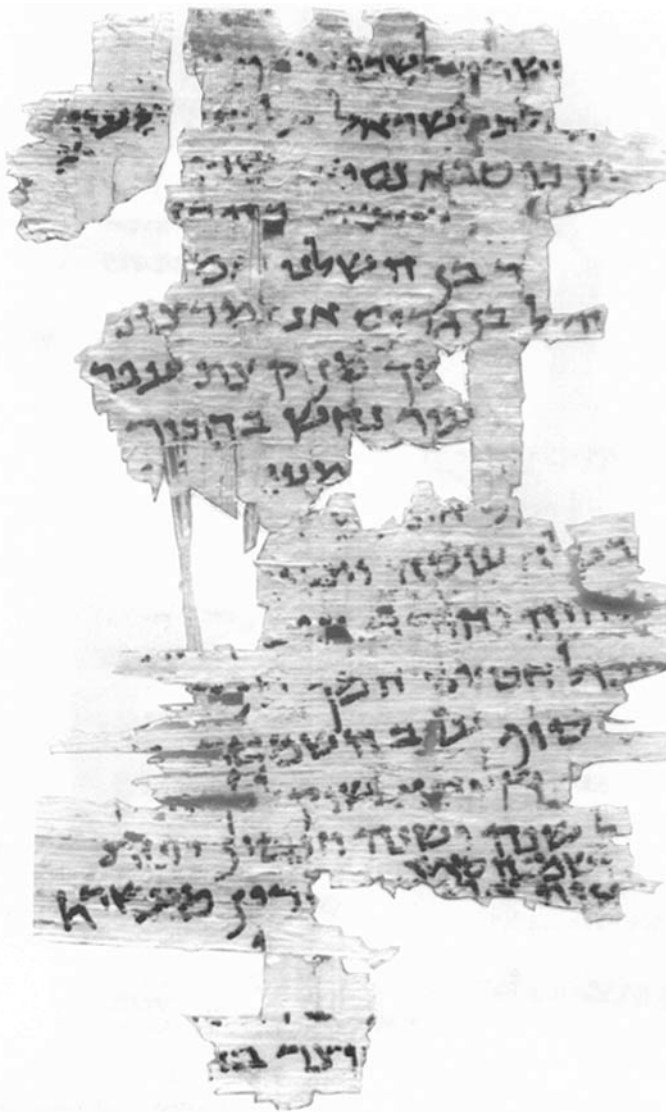
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Plate I. Qumran Locus 89, Bowls in Situ



Shrine of the Book, Israel Museum
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Plate II. The "Yahad" Ostracon (KhQOstracon 1)

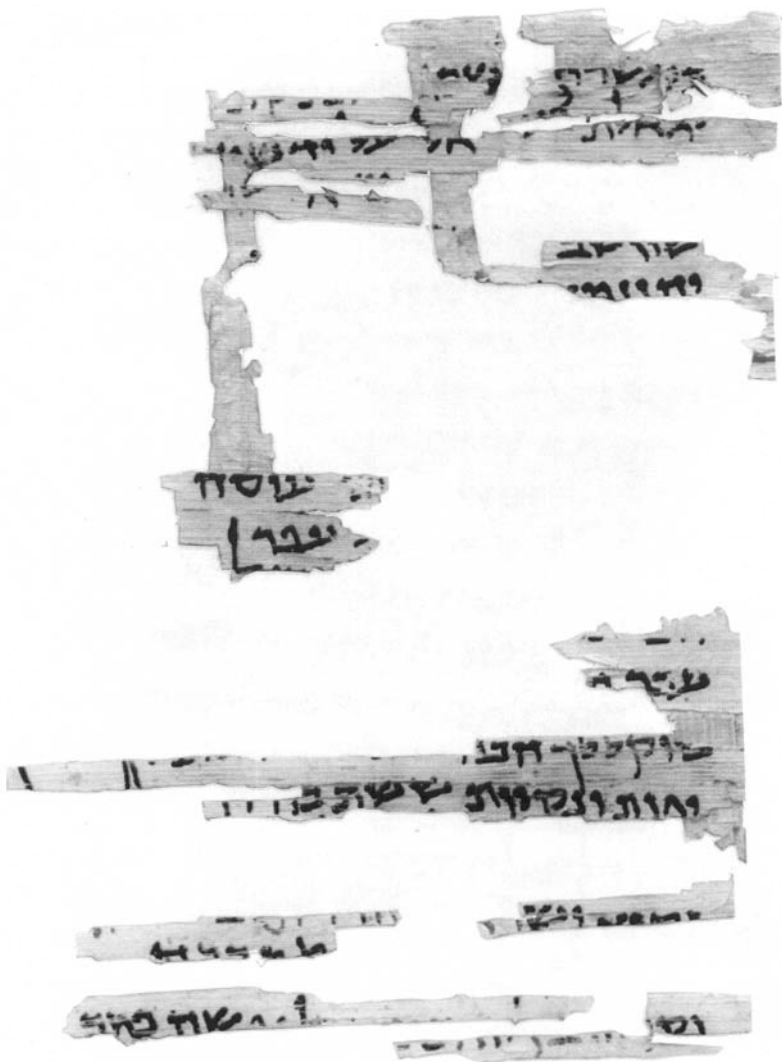


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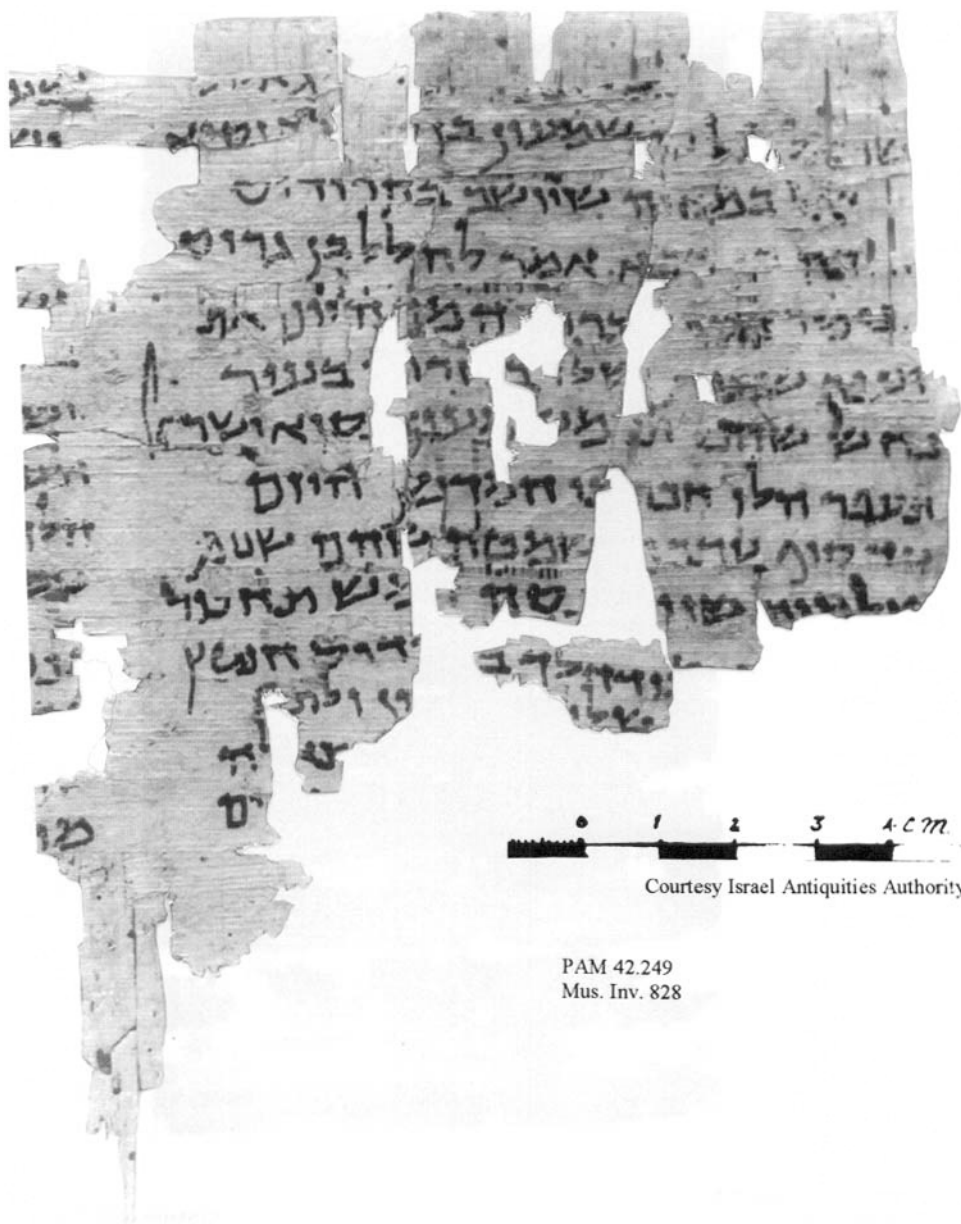
Plate III. Mur 24. Rental Contracts, Col. B



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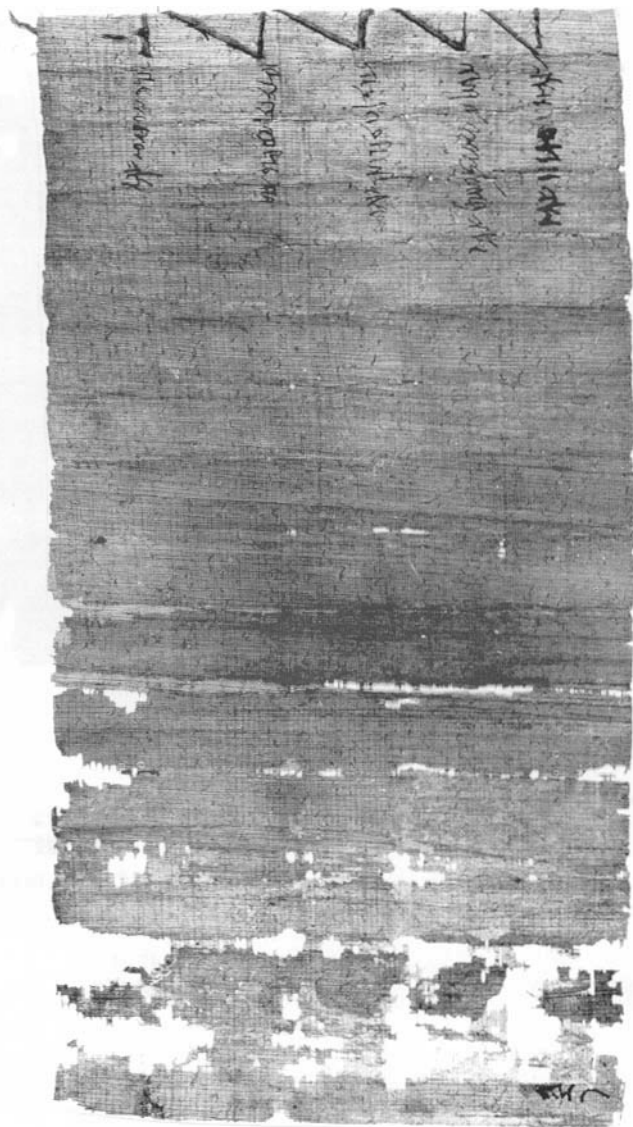
Plate IV. Mur 24. Rental Contracts, Col. D



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Plate V. Mur 24. Rental Contracts, Col. E

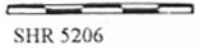


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Plate VI. P. Yadin 16 verso, Registration of Land (Babatha Archive)

Handwritten text in a cursive script, likely a registration of land. The text is arranged in approximately 25 horizontal lines. The script is dense and difficult to decipher due to its cursive nature and the condition of the parchment. The text appears to be a legal document, possibly a land deed or a registration record, as indicated by the caption. The parchment shows signs of age, including some staining and wear, particularly at the bottom of the page.

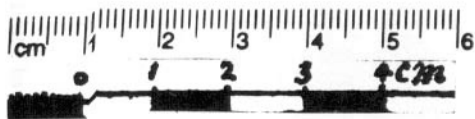


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Plate VII. P. Yadin 16 recto, Registration of Land (Babatha Archive)

XH_{ev}/Se 32 recto
IAA 445135
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Scale



Scale
4Q347
PAM 43,406
Mus. Inv. 184



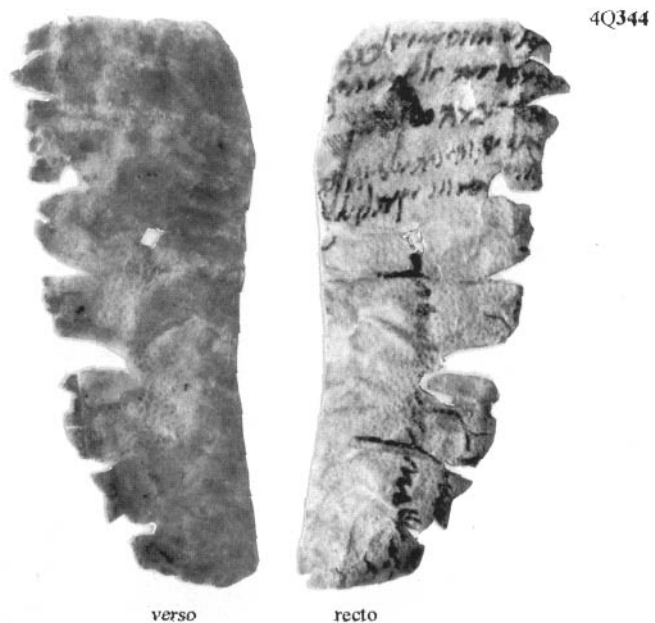
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Plate VIII. XH_{ev}/Se 32 + 4Q347. XH_{ev}/Se papDeed Far + 4Qpap Account of Money



verso

recto



verso

recto

recto: PAM 43.404
verso: PAM 43.405
Mus. Inv. 602



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Plate IX. 4Q344 and 4Q345. 4QDebt Acknowledgement ar and 4QDeed A ar or heb



verso
PAM 43.405



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