Defining Identities: We, You, and the Other in the Dead Sea Scrolls

Proceedings of the Fifth Meeting of the IOQS in Groningen

Edited by

FLORENTINO GARCÍA MARTÍNEZ

AND MLADEN POPOVIĆ

BRILL

Defining Identities: We, You, and the Other
in the Dead Sea Scrolls

Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah

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PREFACE

The Fifth Meeting of the IOQS was celebrated in Groningen 27–28 July, 2004, at the same time that the SBL European meeting was held there. Fifteen years after its founding meeting in Groningen (in 1989) the IOQS was coming back again to the place where it was born. The founding meeting was dedicated to explore the relationship of "the texts of Qumran and the history of the community," and it was operating with the categories current at the time. The proceedings were published in three issues of the *Revue de Qumrân* (*RevQ* 14/54 [1989] and 14/55 and 56 [1990]). The other IOQS meetings focused on special groups of texts: "texts newly published" (Paris 1992), "legal texts" (Cambridge 1995), "sapiential, liturgical and poetical texts" (Oslo 1998) and "apocryphal, pseudepigraphical and parabiblical texts" (Basel 2001). Coming back again to Groningen it seemed fitting to look again at the group or groups behind several compositions preserved in the Qumran collection with the insights gained by literary, historical, and social-sciences approaches now operating within the field.

The topic chosen was "Defining Identities: Who is the Other? We, You, and the Others in the Dead Sea Scrolls." The meeting intended to explore issues of self-definition of Jewish groups in relation to, or in reaction towards other groups within Judaism ("sectarian" identity, inner-Jewish discourses and polemics), but also to inquire into the development of Jewish identity vis-à-vis other non-Jewish persons, groups or peoples as reflected in the Scrolls. And in fact, the meeting focused on the identity formation of the group or groups represented in the Scrolls, on the relationship with others, and on otherness as reflected in the Dead Sea Scrolls, particularly in the introductory panel on which Maxine Grossman, George Nickelsburg, and Carol Newsom addressed the central issue.

The meeting, hosted by the Theological Faculty of the University of Groningen as was the founding meeting, was very well attended, including several of the founding members of the IOQS. During the Business meeting Eibert Tigchelaar was chosen to succeed Florentino García Martínez as Executive Secretary of the IOQS.

The present volume contains a selection of the papers discussed, arranged in the order in which they were read at the meeting.

The Editors

CULTIVATING IDENTITY:
TEXTUAL VIRTUOSITY AND "INSIDER" STATUS

Maxine L. Grossman
University of Maryland

Sectarian identity formation takes place in light of a peculiar contradiction. From an ideological perspective, sectarian movements claim to be radically distinct from the rest of mainstream culture. Sectarians are God's chosen ones, who follow his proper path and have access to his divine knowledge. They understand that the people outside their community have fallen away from this knowledge, and consequently they are careful to separate themselves—metaphorically, and at times in physical ways as well—from that dangerous taint. Sociologists treat this separatist ideology as a distinctive marker of sectarian movements, accompanied perhaps by a voluntaristic tendency (members choose to participate, rather than being expected to do so by birth or social convention),[1] an intensity of belief and practice, an exclusivist self-understanding,[2] and some degree of tension with (or outright rejection of) mainstream culture and its values.[3]

The problem with this ideology of sectarian exclusivity is found in the other half of the sociological definition of sects: that they develop

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[1] This element is key to Max Weber's definition of sects as voluntary communities whose members share a view that they are uniquely religiously qualified (thus, his designation, "believers' churches"). See M. Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (orig. publ. 1904–5; trans. T. Parsons; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1958), 144–45, 254–55 n. 173.

[2] The criteria of intensity and exclusivism are aspects of Ernst Troeltsch's classic sociological definition of sects, which he contrasts with mainstream religious groups ("churches") and small groups marked by novel or alien views ("cults"). See E. Troeltsch, *The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches* (orig. publ. 1912; trans. O. Wyon; New York: Harper, 1960).

[3] Bainbridge finds the emphasis on exclusivism and intensity unnecessarily negative. He introduces the concept of "tension" with mainstream culture as a useful marker of sectarianism; from this viewpoint, higher-tension groups are those that have more problems with mainstream values and practices, while lower-tension groups (although possibly still sectarian) may be able to engage with the mainstream more successfully. See R. Stark and W.S. Bainbridge, *A Theory of Religion* (New York: Peter Lang, 1987) and the updated discussion in W.S. Bainbridge, *The Sociology of Religious Movements* (New York: Routledge, 1997), 21–25, 38–42.

as intensified versions of a shared mainstream culture and not as alien movements imported into it.[4] As products of a larger culture, sectarian movements partake of a common heritage of texts and traditions, even as they reject the larger culture's understanding of that heritage. In this light, sectarian exclusivism is revealed to be somewhat fragile. Members of a sect might claim to have exclusive textual knowledge, but they make that claim against the backdrop of a common culture in which other people might make very different claims with those same texts.[5] Sectarian assertions that they are the only people to follow God's path similarly compete with outside assertions to the contrary. And sectarian distinctiveness presents a problem of its own: if sectarian insiders are different from the misguided masses, then how is this difference determined, and how is it confirmed?[6]

The tension between the assertion of sectarian distinction and the reality of a shared common heritage serves as a reminder that identity is not a static concept. Individuals and communities are constantly in the process of defining themselves, with respect to others and in terms of their own categories of value.[7] Notions of "insider" and "outsider" are important not merely because members of an insider group *are* different from the people they think of as outsiders, but because they *cultivate* such differences. The sectarian need to lay claim to a shared cultural

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[4] For discussions of "cults" in this context, see Troeltsch, *Social Teaching of the Christian Churches*; Bainbridge, *Sociology of Religious Movements*, 24.

[5] In the context of ancient Jewish sectarianism, see G.J. Brooke, "Shared Intertextual Interpretations in the Dead Sea Scrolls and the New Testament," in *Biblical Perspectives: Early Use and Interpretation of the Bible in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (eds. M.E. Stone and E.G. Chazon; STDJ 28; Leiden: Brill, 1998), 35–57. Brooke concludes that the use of common clusters of scriptural references in the scrolls and the New Testament may reflect the character of the shared scriptural backdrop, rather than direct influence of scrolls texts on New Testament writers. See also J. Trebolle Barrera, "The Authoritative Functions of Scriptural Works at Qumran," in *The Community of the Renewed Covenant: The Notre Dame Symposium on the Dead Sea Scrolls* (eds. E.C. Ulrich and J.C. VanderKam; CJAS 10; Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1994), 95–110, for a sociologically-influenced discussion of textual diversity in ancient Jewish scripture.

[6] On the problems of identifying an ancient Jewish sectarian and the issue of sectarian distinctiveness in Second Temple Judaism, see A.I. Baumgarten, "He Knew that He Knew that He Knew that He was an Essene," *JJS* 48 (1997): 53–61.

[7] Recent critical discussions of gender identity and sexual orientation offer an opportunity for thinking about identity as "performative." Judith Butler addresses precisely these questions in *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (New York and London: Routledge, 1990); see also her clarifying follow-up discussion in *Bodies That Matter: On the Discursive Limits of "Sex"* (New York and London: Routledge, 1993), 1–23.

tradition—while simultaneously articulating an identity of separation from the mainstream and unique status as God's chosen ones—shows the importance of identity formation (even if the sectarians might deny that need or refuse to recognize it when presented with it).[8]

Participants in a sectarian community associated with the Dead Sea Scrolls would have had many opportunities to develop, assert, and confirm their insider sectarian status.[9] Explicitly collective practices, including Sabbath and festival celebrations, communal meetings, and rituals connected with the confession of sins, all might provide opportunities for increased group cohesion, and sectarian calendrical assumptions would provide complementary evidence for distinction from the mainstream. Everyday observance of sectarian halakhic norms, too, might remind individuals of their place in the group and their distinction from those outside it.[10] In less specific ways, a shared theological understanding of the cosmos, its history, and the place of the community in that larger narrative also would provide a sense of context for a sectarian participant.

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[8] Exclusive claims to Torah-knowledge in the Damascus Document fit this model. See, for example, CD 3:12–16, where sectarian ordinances are described as "God's commandments" for Israel; CD 4:8 seems to recognize the presence of interpretation but acknowledges only one proper understanding of Torah. This rhetorical pattern of exclusive truth-claims (or assertion of unitary interpretation) continues through the text.

[9] On constructions of sectarian identity, see C.A. Newsom, *The Self as Symbolic Space: Constructing Identity and Community at Qumran* (STDJ 52; Leiden: Brill, 2004); Newsom, "The Case of the Blinking I: Discourse of the Self at Qumran," *Semeia* 57 (1992): 13–23; and Newsom, "Apocalyptic and the Discourse of the Qumran Community," *JNES* 49 (1990): 135–44. Much has been written on sectarianism and the scrolls community or communities. See esp., E. Regev, "The *Yaḥad* and the *Damascus Covenant:* Structure, Organization and Relationship," *RevQ* 21/82 (2003): 233–62; J.M. Jokiranta, "'Sectarianism' of the Qumran 'Sect': Sociological Notes," *RevQ* 20/78 (2001): 223–39; A.I. Baumgarten, *The Flourishing of Jewish Sects in the Maccabean Era: An Interpretation* (JSJSup 55; Leiden: Brill, 1997); S. Walker-Ramisch, "Graeco-Roman Voluntary Associations and the Damascus Document: A Sociological Analysis," in *Voluntary Associations in the Graeco-Roman World* (eds. J.S. Kloppenborg and S.G. Wilson; London and New York: Routledge, 1996), 128–45; P.R. Davies, "The 'Damascus' Sect and Judaism," in *Pursuing the Text: Studies in Honor of Ben Zion Wacholder on the Occasion of his Seventieth Birthday* (eds. J.C. Reeves and J. Kampen; JSOTSup 184; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1994), 70–84; and S.J.D. Cohen, *From the Maccabees to the Mishnah* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1987), 124–37. Note also J. Duhaime, "Relative Deprivation in New Religious Movements and the Qumran Community," *RevQ* 16/62 (1993): 265–76.

[10] The composition of 4QMMT (either as a halakhic letter or as a treatise written in that style) fits into this larger sectarian discourse. See M.L. Grossman, "Reading 4QMMT: Genre and History," *RevQ* 20/77 (2001): 3–22.

This essay will explore another possible avenue for insider status-construction, connected with textual interpretation and scriptural language. It is a commonplace of scrolls scholarship to say that the sectarian scrolls are permeated with a consciousness of scripture.[11] Sectarians would have experienced this scriptural language and ethos in a variety of ways. In individual or communal study sessions, informal consideration or public interpretive performance, "sitting in their homes or going on their way," sectarian insiders would have cultivated a knowledge of scripture and a shared body of textual interpretations and commonplace expressions. One aspect of their insider status, for this reason, might lie in their familiarity with that interpretive canon, and in their virtuosity with respect to it.[12] From a sectarian perspective, the ability to understand a text—to *really know* what it is saying—would separate a sectarian from an outsider, and a higher-ranking sectarian from a new volunteer. Understood in this way, textual interpretation becomes not only a marker of insider status but also a process for its formation, confirmation, and internalization.[13]

Texts like the Hodayot, the Community Rule, and the Damascus Document are full of scriptural quotations, expansions, paraphrases, and interpretations, representing special understandings of shared

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[11] Scholars differ in their definitions of "sectarian" texts. I use this term to refer to texts with an exclusivist communal perspective, although I think we must recognize degrees of exclusivism. We should also be aware of the potential for social and textual development over time and the possibility that our textual evidence will point to multiple communities that were related to one another through a history of sectarian schism. The examples in this paper are all drawn from the Damascus Document, which has an intersecting but complicated relationship to the other sectarian texts. On sectarian texts, see C. Hempel, *The Laws of the Damascus Document: Sources, Tradition and Redaction* (STDJ 29; Leiden: Brill, 1998), 18–20; E.G. Chazon, "Is *Divrei ha-me'orot* a Sectarian Prayer?" in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Forty Years of Research* (eds. D. Dimant and U. Rappaport; STDJ 10; Leiden: Brill and Jerusalem: Magnes, 1992), 3–17; and C. Newsom, "'Sectually Explicit' Literature from Qumran," in *The Hebrew Bible and its Interpreters* (eds. W. Propp, B. Halpern, and D.N. Freedman; BJSUCSD 1; Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 1990), 167–87.

[12] See G.J. Brooke, "'The Canon within the Canon' at Qumran and in the New Testament," in *The Scrolls and the Scriptures: Qumran Fifty Years After* (eds. S.E. Porter and C.A. Evans; JSPSup 26; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), 242–66.

[13] On interpretive authority and the issue of ongoing revelation in the community/ies associated with the scrolls, see C. Hempel, "Interpretative Authority in the Community Rule Tradition," *DSD* 10 (2003): 59–80; A.I. Baumgarten, "The Zadokite Priests at Qumran: A Reconsideration," *DSD* 4 (1997): 137–56; and S.D. Fraade, "Interpretive Authority in the Studying Community at Qumran," *JJS* 44 (1993): 46–69.

traditional texts. But these scriptural references are not static, either. They retain a sort of potential energy, which can be released in an audience's experience of the text and which contributes, in a variety of ways, to the construction of insider identity.[14]

The examples for this discussion are taken from the first fully-extant sermonic passage of the Damascus Document (CD 1:1–2:1).[15] At its most visible level, this is a text that pays attention to distinctions between insiders and outsiders, but underlying that surface reading are traces of other conversations, each of which has the potential to contribute to a sectarian's construction of insider identity.[16]

At a most basic, narrative level, the Damascus Document distinguishes between righteous covenanters and the wicked who have gone astray. Speaking with authority, the text directs itself to an audience that has knowledge and understanding, is righteous and knows God (1:1). We learn from the text that God is angry with all humanity, but especially with those who have rejected him (1:2–3). We learn that Israel lost its land and Temple because of this rejection, but that God redeemed a remnant of Israelites and priests, who understood themselves as guilty and transgressive and who repented of their transgressions (1:3–10). Appreciating their effort at repentance, God sent them a Righteous Teacher and helped them to understand what would happen in the endtimes to those traitors who strayed from the path (1:10–12). We also learn from the text about a breakaway group, led by a Man of

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[14] On audience-oriented approaches to sectarian texts, see M.L. Grossman, *Reading for History in the Damascus Document: A Methodological Study* (STDJ 45; Leiden: Brill, 2002).

[15] This passage is preceded in the 4QD material by fragmentary evidence for an introduction and an additional sermonic text; see 4Q266 1 i-2 i; 4Q267 1; and 4Q268 1. Textual references are drawn from the edition of J.M. Baumgarten and D.R. Schwartz, "Damascus Document (CD)," in *Damascus Document, War Scroll, and Related Documents* (eds. J.H. Charlesworth et al.; vol. 2 of *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations*, eds. J.H. Charlesworth et al.; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1995), 4–57. The 4QD material can be found in J.M. Baumgarten (ed.), *Qumran Cave 4.XIII: The Damascus Document (4Q266–273)* (DJD 18; Oxford: Clarendon, 1996).

[16] For discussions of scripture as a unifying element in the text of the Damascus Document, see J.G. Campbell, *The Use of Scripture in the Damascus Document 1–8, 19–20* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1995); and O.J.R. Schwarz, *Der Erste Teil der Damaskusschrift und das Alte Testament* (Diest: Lichtland, 1965). Philip R. Davies also discusses the text's unified literary character; see P.R. Davies, *The Damascus Covenant: An Interpretation of the "Damascus Document"* (JSOTSup 25; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1983), 61–72, for a reading of CD 1:1–2:1. For an annotated text of CD 1:1–2:1 that identifies dozens of scriptural references and allusions, see Campbell, *The Use of Scripture*, 56.

Mockery, who misdirected his followers, leading them to invert and subvert God's true wishes (1:12–15). In transgressing the covenant, these followers make themselves liable to its curses and the vengeance of the sword (1:17). Ultimately, the text asserts, those people who seek, choose, and scrutinize the wrong things are a provocation to the people who know better, and in the end they will provoke God's divine wrath and will be laid waste (1:18–2:1).

For an insider audience, this text offers much that is important: recognition of their struggle to follow the right path; the promise that the wicked will be punished in due time; and the reassurance that God does have a plan and that they are a part of it. The sermonic form is ideal for insider identity-construction: it draws "you," the audience, into personal contact with a speaker, who offers insight and righteous truths. It places a reader side by side with other insiders—indeed, all those who "know righteousness"—and evokes the atmosphere of collectivity. Even for a participant encountering the text in the context of private study, this sense of collectivity might provide a feeling of support. For a new member of the community, or for a child of a member, coming up through the ranks, this text might hint at promises of things to come. For an old veteran, the words of the text might resonate with memories of actual experiences in the community's history, but also with past readings, sermons by other community members, and experiences of truths revealed.

And this is just the beginning. For an audience with the right training and expectations, this text can be seen to offer much more than its surface narrative first implies.

An interesting example of the sort of insider conversation that this text might engender can be found in the second half of the admonition—roughly CD 1:12 to 2:1. In these eleven lines of text—or, more accurately, grouped in the first and last few lines of this eleven-line section—we find one explicit reference to cattle, one explicit reference to a biblical passage about cattle, and several further uses of language that allude at some distance to cattle. Some of these images are clear in the text, while others are hidden in secondary references. In CD 1:13, for example, we learn that the followers of the Man of Mockery are those who stray from the way. The text of CD continues with a direct quotation from Hos 4:16: "like a straying heifer, thus strayed Israel." Near the end of the admonition (at CD 1:19) we hear of the wicked as those who "choose the fair neck," which is another reference

to heifers in Hosea: Ephraim, in Hos 10:11, is the fair-necked heifer whom God rejects.[17]

A good follower of the prophets might be expected to catch these references. But a truly astute audience also might pick up several others. "Straying from the way" itself appears in both the Exodus (32:8) and the Deuteronomic (9:12) accounts of the construction of the Golden Calf. The fair-necked heifer of Hos 10:11 may itself remind a listener of the opening lines of that prophetic chapter, which complain of Israel's idolatry, including the worship of calves at Beth Aven. And, when this admonition ends with a reference to the "kindling" of "the anger of God," this last is an expression found again in proximity to accounts of the Golden Calf (Exod 32:10; at slightly more remove, Ps 106:40).

For a reader or hearer who makes these connections, picking up on direct and indirect scriptural references *and* the thematic ribbon that runs through them all, the primary message of the text is now enlivened and exemplified by a secondary level of communication. With cleverness, subtlety, and a fair degree of scriptural "play," this audience might link the congregation of traitors—or any other opposition force—to the many cattle of Hosea and beyond. From this perspective, outsiders become the original rebellious Israelites, makers of the golden calf, and the transgressive idolators alive in the literary or mythic time of Hosea's prophecies.

The insider who recognizes these references and links them together has demonstrated both technical skill and an understanding of how the game is played. This success brings with it a sense of mastery and also of connection: to the teachers who showed the sectarian how to interpret, to the text itself, and to shared experiences within the community.[18] If, for example, the cattle in this text are significant *as such*, then

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[17] On the significance of Hosea as an intertext to this portion of CD, see Campbell, *The Use of Scripture*, 30, 62–63, 66; Schwarz, *Der Erste Teil der Damaskusschrift*, 7–8; and B. Fuß, *'Dies ist die Zeit, von der geschrieben ist…': Die expliziten Zitate aus dem Buch Hosea in den Handschriften von Qumran und im Neuen Testament* (Aschendorff: Münster, 2000). See also the textual notes and references to scripture in Baumgarten and Schwartz, "Damascus Document (CD)," 13, 15; L. Ginzberg, *An Unknown Jewish Sect* (New York: Jewish Theological Seminary, 1976), 5–7; S. Schechter, *Documents of Jewish Sectaries* (orig. publ. 1910; New York: Ktav, 1970), 63–64; C. Rabin, *The Zadokite Documents* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1954), 2–6.

[18] An alternate formulation, framed in terms of "literary competence," is presented by Campbell (drawing on the work of J. Barton), in *The Use of Scripture*, 43–44.

this text may point to a highly specific, referential conversation about idolatry or improper sacrifice. Such a referential conversation would be directed to an insider audience, and—reciprocally—an audience that was able to understand the reference could thereby understand itself in insider terms. Sectarians become insiders by learning to think and reason like insiders. But in successfully thinking like insiders, they also come to *feel* that identity in very intense ways.[19] And this emotional component—internalizing the intellectual experience—is an important aspect of identity-building.[20]

We should note that not every sectarian will pick up on every nuance implicit in a text.[21] A novice insider might recognize the basic references, in the process of developing familiarity with texts and comfort with interpretive practices. A more experienced reader might understand how certain textual references relate to communal history and might begin to treat the interpretive process with a sort of second-nature comfort. The master interpreter will be able to make novel connections, face interpretive challenges with aplomb, and easily see both what a text has "always" said and also what it can be made to say, in response to any new concerns (and of course a sectarian might understand these two categories in overlapping ways).

What is at stake here is not a case of "perfect" comprehension, which requires a reader to recognize a finite set of meanings implicit in the text. In fact, authorial intent and original textual meaning may be the least of a sectarian reader's worries in this context.[22] What matters more

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[19] This model of identity-formation is articulated in T.M. Lurhmann, *Persuasions of the Witch's Craft: Ritual Magic in Contemporary England* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1989). Luhrmann argues that the experience of participating in a religious community (in this case, a community of British ceremonial magicians) leads people to develop specialized ways of thinking and feeling that become increasingly opaque to outsiders. I thank Jonathan Seidel for directing me to this source.

[20] In their discussions of religion, both Emile Durkheim and Clifford Geertz address the issue of emotion as an element of religious experience. See E.D. Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life* (orig. publ. 1912; trans. K.E. Fields; New York: Free Press, 1995); and C. Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays* (New York: Basic Books, 1973). On internalized emotion as an element in constructions of identity, see also Luhrmann, *Persuasions of the Witch's Craft*.

[21] I thank Lawrence Schiffman and Hanan Eshel for pushing me to clarify my discussion of these issues.

[22] Again, see Grossman, *Reading for History*. We should note, as well, that the fact that an interpretation is possible does not ensure that a reader will make that interpretation. As Ruth Clements shows in her current research on images of Isaac as martyr in Christian artwork, the potential for other interpretations (e.g., Isaac as "type" of Christ)

is the sectarian's ability to grasp and internalize a set of communal norms for legitimate textual interpretation. The building blocks for mastery of textual interpretation may include a store of knowledge (key texts and their interpretations), the ability to link those texts together meaningfully, and the capacity to work within the assumed rules of interpretation. Control over these skills contributes to a community member's development of a personal sense of insider status.

The more detailed a text and the more intricate its interpretation, the more potential there is for a sectarian to build a sense of mastery in the experience. Another reading of our admonition reveals an intricate logic to some of the interlocking scriptural references in the text.[23] The "straying heifer," in CD 1:13, as we have seen, comes from Hos 4:16. The first verse of that chapter of Hosea (4:1) asserts that God has a *riv*, a dispute, with the inhabitants of the land. Such a dispute is referenced in CD 1:2, but it may also stem from a similar passage in Jeremiah (25:31), where we learn a few verses earlier (in 25:16) that God will send a sword among the people. The sword is mentioned twice in this admonition—in CD 1:4, where it reflects the Babylonian conquest, and again in 1:17, where it reflects the punishment that will come to the transgressors in the endtimes—and these references bring to mind not only Jeremiah but also Ps 78, where God delivers Israel to the sword, and Lev 26, in which we learn about the curses of the covenant that will be carried out with the sword of vengeance. The sword of vengeance of the covenant from this passage in Leviticus appears explicitly in CD 1:17–18, closely followed by a reference to those who seek smooth things and choose illusions, from Isa 30:10. The very next verse of Isaiah identifies these seekers as those who turn aside from the proper way, while a later verse (Isa 30:20) promises the faithful that they will see their teacher, hear his words, and know the proper path on which to walk. This last, of course, is the theme of CD 1:11, but more generally of the admonition as a whole.

The rapid-fire presentation of this last example should suggest an important aspect of interpretive mastery. Most audiences will be able to get something out of the text: its basic argument, some scriptural connections, a sense of the overall agenda and its importance for sectarian

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does not require that those interpretations will be made. I thank Ruth Clements for sharing these observations.

[23] Again, see Campbell, *The Use of Scripture*, 56.

claims. But some of the people reading or hearing this text will follow it with vibrant awareness; to them it will make sense in complex and dynamic ways. To hear or read this admonition and to feel its various scriptural references interlock with one another, to understand the narrative level of the text, along with its scriptural citations, and to pick up on the sidelong references as well, is to understand it as perfect and whole, and as a complex truth-matrix. We should have no doubt that such an experience could leave sectarians with a confirmed, internalized self-consciousness of their own insider status.

Nor must the interpretive process necessarily be one of high drama for it to contribute to a sectarian's sense of insider status. The quality of connecting with a text and finding new things in it with each experience of it can also work at a rather prosaic level. The theme of drunkenness, for example, appears as a point of reference in the background of many of this admonition's scriptural choices: God's dispute against all flesh in Jeremiah (25:31) is prefaced by a reference to the wine cup of God's anger, from which the nations will drink and be made to stagger. Hosea's reference to the straying heifer (4:16) is bracketed by references to the sins of Ephraim, which include drinking to excess (Hos 4:11, 18). A reference in the very next line of CD to the Man of Mockery takes us to Isaiah (28:14), where the chapter begins (at 28:1) with reference to the "drunkards of Ephraim." This Mocker is understood as one who "sprinkles" (or preaches) "lying waters," perhaps bringing to mind Mic 2, in which the prophet imagines a sprinkler of lies, who preaches of wine and strong drink.

What is suggested by these examples—both the convoluted and the more straightforward—is that textual interpretation can contribute to the development of insider identity in ways that are dynamic and reinforcing. Some experiences of a text may be prosaic and ordinary; some may be intellectually exciting; some may allow a sectarian to experience increased fellowship with other community members. Some experiences will be consistent and repetitive, for example liturgical cycles or regular patterns of study. Others may be more idiosyncratic or personal, or related to specific events and people. These experiences, both memorable and ordinary, fold into a larger process that leads, over time, in ways both gradual and sudden, to a sectarian's development of a notion of self-within-community. From this perspective (and of course this is only one of the many ways in which sectarian identity develops), sectarian identity is formed through textual understanding: a sectarian is by definition one who understands the text, and who has the insights,

memories, and connections to prove it. Sectarians understand Hosea, Deuteronomy, and God's plan for humanity, not because of some one-time revelation, and not even because they are among the righteous, but because they have an intimacy and familiarity with texts that builds, in layer upon layer, to a sense of personal identity and connection with the larger sectarian community.

A final methodological note may be of use in concluding this discussion. In his anthropological definition of religion, Clifford Geertz presents religions as systems of symbols—actions, objects, ideas, stories, and the like—that together have a powerful and lasting effect on people, both emotionally and in their practical behavior. The power of religion lies in its ability to create a sense of reality, so that the ideas embraced by participants—the texts they read, the interpretations they make, the actions they engage in—come to seem, as he puts it, "uniquely realistic."[24] If we follow Geertz's logic here, what we may find in the sectarian scrolls (and the scriptural and other texts against which they were read) is a collection of the ideas that made the community's world uniquely real to them. And perhaps by reading those texts in terms of the experiences that sectarians might have had with them, we can help to understand how—in constant, ever-changing ways—they built for themselves unique insider identities that allowed them to see themselves as radically different from the not-so-very-different people who stood outside their sectarian world.

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[24] Clifford Geertz, *Interpretation of Cultures*, 90.

CONSTRUCTING "WE, YOU, AND THE OTHERS"
THROUGH NON-POLEMICAL DISCOURSE

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One of the notable characteristics of the human species is its proclivity for group formation. At the experiential level, the member of a group has a sense of what Bruce Lincoln calls "affinity and estrangement."[1] These are the dispositions that construct social boundaries and create a sense of belonging, the affective states that constitute a "we" that is somehow separate from "others." The most fundamental social group, of course, is the kinship group, and evidence exists that human beings have a biologically based inclination to favor those to whom they are most closely linked genetically. In complex societies, however, this same tendency toward group formation also expresses itself in numerous associations that unite an assortment of persons who are not closely linked by kinship. In those cases forms of symbolic construction substitute for the biological foundation in creating the necessary dispositions of affinity and estrangement. The range of these symbolic constructions is virtually infinite, involving both verbal and nonverbal practices. Sometimes these constructions are subtle; in other cases they may be explicit and emphatic.

For a sectarian community, such as the Yahad of Qumran, the task of group formation was a highly self-conscious enterprise. Intentional differentiation between "we" and "others" is most clearly marked in polemical formulations that distinguish between "children of light" and "children of darkness" or the "habitation of the wicked" and the "council of holiness." Although this polemical language has a crucial role to play in the construction of the identity of "us" and "them" in the Yahad's worldview, I want to direct attention here to the important but often overlooked role of non-polemical discourse in creating the dispositions of affinity and estrangement.

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[1] I borrow the terms from B. Lincoln, *Discourse and the Construction of Society: Comparative Studies of Myth, Ritual, and Classification* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), 9–10.

To understand the crucial role of non-polemical discourse it is help-ful to consider the social nature of language itself, a topic central to the work of the Bakhtin circle.[2] One of their claims is that language is always socially stratified and socially stratifying. By listening to subtle differences in language, one can map the sub-communities within a society. This mapping of sub-communities can be traced along any number of different lines—economic class, region, relative urbaniza-tion, religion, occupation, gender, age cohort, and so forth. These social dialect groups will talk about a different range of topics, use a differ-ent but overlapping stock of words, and often give slightly different nuances of meaning to the same words. Also, the stylistic features of their speech, their speech genres, and even some of their grammatical forms will be different.

Some of the social dialect groups one can identify by this kind of analysis may be loose and transient speech communities. But the cultiva-tion of social dialects plays an important role in the identity formation of more stable and long-lived groups. "Speaking the same language" creates deep affective bonds. Anyone who has ever left a linguistic com-munity knows how satisfying it is to talk again with someone from that community. By speaking in one's distinctive social dialect, one reinforces his or her identity and group consciousness, no matter the subject of the conversation.

The situation is more complex than this analogy suggests, however, because people always speak a variety of social dialects. Bakhtin provides an instructive illustration when he describes the "illiterate peasant . . . [who] nevertheless lived in several language systems: he prayed to God in one language . . ., sang songs in another, spoke to his family in a third and, when he began to dictate petitions to the local authorities . . ., he tried speaking yet a fourth language (the official-literate language, 'paper' language)."[3] These different dialects are correlated with different identities and different social groups. Bakhtin's peasant was a worshiper in a religious community, a comrade at the tavern, the paterfamilias in his family, and a citizen of a nation. For the most

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[2] See, in particular, M. Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination* (trans. C. Emerson and M. Holquist; Austin, Texas: University of Texas Press, 1981) and V.N. Voloshinov, *Marxism and the Philosophy of Language* (trans. L. Matejka and L.R. Titunik; New York: Seminar Press, 1973).

[3] Bakhtin, *Dialogic Imagination*, 295–96.

part people move unconsciously among these different dialects and corresponding identities, but it is always possible that a person will be called into more active ideological identification with one of the social dialects and indeed use it as a means by which to scrutinize other ways of speaking and being.[4]

For obvious reasons, a sectarian community is particularly likely to cultivate a distinctive social dialect that will give its members an identity as part of that linguistic community which will in subtle ways estrange them from people who "don't talk like us." Unfortunately, we do not have access to the ways Qumran sectarians actually talked. No tape recordings of their conversations were found among the scrolls. Yet from the beginning of Qumran scholarship, the elusive but distinctive style of the various sectarian writings has been noted. Admittedly, no two Qumran compositions possess exactly the same linguistic profile, and each text would share many socio-linguistic features with non-Qumran texts. This is scarcely surprising. Social dialects do not have sharp boundaries. Even in living language communities, individuals speak distinct idiolects. Nevertheless, it is likely that the texts composed by members of the sectarian movement do preserve samples of the social dialect cultivated at Qumran. And scholarship has only begun to conduct the socio-linguistic analysis of Qumran sectarian literature and to analyze what it can suggest about the ways in which identity and community formation took place.

Two documents suggest themselves as particularly appropriate for such analysis: the Community Rule and the Hodayot. Although the precise nature of the Community Rule is uncertain, it is probably best understood as a guide composed for the community's teacher, the Maskil, who was charged with a crucial role in the admission, instruction, and advancement of the members of the society.[5] The various sections of the document are apparently "samples" of different types of teaching materials, though the document as a whole is not without a rhetorical structure.[6] Thus issues of identity formation are significant to the presumed purposes of the Community Rule. The Hodayot, especially

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[4] Bakhtin, *Dialogic Imagination*, 296.

[5] See, e.g., G. Vermes, *The Complete Dead Sea Scrolls in English* (New York: Penguin Press, 1997), 97; P.S. Alexander, "The Redaction-History of *Serekh ha-Yahad*: A Proposal," *RevQ* 17/65–68 (1996), 439; C.A. Newsom, *The Self as Symbolic Space: Constructing Identity and Community at Qumran* (STDJ 52; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 101–3.

[6] Newsom, *The Self as Symbolic Space*, 105–7.

those compositions designated the Hodayot of the community, are of interest because they are prayers composed in the first-person singular. However these prayers came to be composed, collected, and used, the first-person singular style suggests that they formed templates of some sort for patterns of experience cultivated by the sectarian community. The various means by which both of these texts served to reshape the individual and his language and to cultivate the sentiments of affinity and estrangement necessary for group formation are discussed at greater length in my recent book, *The Self as Symbolic Space: Constructing Identity and Community at Qumran*. Here I wish to illustrate with a few examples how nonpolemical language is used for such purposes.

The first eleven lines of the Community Rule offers an excellent example of how the community recast the idioms of common Judaism into their own distinctive forms of speech. In doing so, they constructed the Yahad as the "we" over against the "others" of the rest of the Jewish people. The Rule begins, not with exclusively "insider" language, but rather with a sophisticated rhetorical movement that takes the language of the broader linguistic community of Judaism and gradually transforms it into the distinctive accents of the sectarian community. The passage contains a dense network of scriptural allusions and echoes, that is, the language that belongs both to "us" and to "others."[7] Even so, the syntax and style of the passage is distinctively Qumranic, though no single stylistic feature is unique to Qumran. One notes the long series of infinitive clauses, the stylistic preference for polar terms (good/bad; love/hate) and paired terms (heart/soul/; good/upright), and an involved syntax in which qualifying phrases are piled up, one after another. Habits of speech are also habits of the mind, and I would argue that aspects of the ideology of Qumran are in fact reflected even at the level of syntax and style. Thus, even when the content of the passage is what every Jew could endorse, the sectarian simply speaks differently.

The other noteworthy thing about the passage involves its semantics. The passage divides into two parts that mirror one another, lines 1–7a and 7b–11. Several formal literary devices articulate this structure.[8] Semantically, in lines 1–7a all of the expressions are what I would

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[7] See P. Wernberg-Møller, "Some Reflections on the Biblical Material in the Manual of Discipline," *ST* 9 (1955): 40–66, at 41 n. 1.

[8] Newsom, *The Self as Symbolic Space*, 111–13.

call the ordinary, unmarked language of common Judaism. However, with the sentence that begins in line 7b ("and to bring in all who volunteer freely") the specifically sectarian diction is introduced. To a significant extent what had first been expressed in common language is now restated in sectarian terms. Thus "to love what he has chosen" (ll. 3–4) becomes "to love all the children of light" (l. 9), and "to hate what he has rejected" (l. 4) becomes "to hate all the children of darkness" (l. 10). Similarly, "to do what is good and right before Him as he commanded by Moses and by all his servants the prophets" (ll. 2–3) is glossed as "to walk before Him in perfection [according to] all that he has revealed with respect to the times appointed for them" (ll. 8–9). To make a sectarian one must remake his language. If one teaches him to speak differently, he will no longer be at home among those who speak a different social dialect.

The Yahad constructed new identities for its members by teaching them to speak in ways that were subtly but significantly different from the ways in which others spoke, or, if they joined the community as adults, in ways that were different from those that they had used before. Very little is more closely identified with one's own self than speech. As a physical process, speech engages the body, but it is also an activity of the mind. In speaking, one actively takes up a subject position within a discourse. Thus ownership of the discourse, and the identity that comes from it is strongly enhanced through the activity of speaking in its terms and accents. Thus it is important to look not only at texts that model new ways of speaking, like the beginning of the Serek ha-Yahad, but also to look at those speech practices by which individual sectarians themselves learned to make such speech their own.

In the Serek ha-Yahad there are a significant number of references to speech practices that would have served just such purposes. The most significant are the examination for membership (1QS 5:20–21; 6:13–16) and the annual examination to determine one's ranking in the community (5:24). Frustratingly, the text says little about how the examination was carried out. The examination for membership was apparently public, for the person "stands before the Many" and is questioned concerning "his insight," "his spirit," and "his deeds with respect to Torah" (6:15, 17, 18). It is less clear whether the annual examination was public, but the criteria are similar. Unfortunately, no account is given of the content or style of the examination, although I would suspect that the vocabulary and style with which the individual was to give an account of himself would be similar to the vocabulary and

grammatical style of the Serek ha-Yahad. In any event, the individual had to learn how to speak about himself in ways that were approved by the community. Becoming increasingly adept at this articulation resulted in enhanced status. In this way a person internalized the identity of a member of the community by learning to represent himself in the distinctive social dialect of the sect.

The issue of how discursive practices serve to confer identity upon a person who is entering into a well defined community has been of interest to anthropologists, and the study of the formation of sectarian identity in the Yahad may be illumined by such approaches. A particularly helpful series of studies is presented by Dorothy Holland and her associates in *Identity and Agency in Cultural Worlds.*[9] One member of that team studied the formation of identity in Alcoholics Anonymous. While a modern self-help group may seem a long way from the world of Qumran, some of the processes of identity formation are not that dissimilar. The research of Holland's group focused on how new members of Alcoholics Anonymous developed new identities by learning to tell their personal story (i.e., how one became an alcoholic and how one eventually decided to seek help) according to the normative model. The personal story in AA has certain standard elements: a characteristic plot, specific turning points, and even certain preferred terms and expressions. Newer members first listen to older members tell their stories. When new members begin to articulate their own stories, they will be challenged and corrected by older members if they deviate from the norms of the structure and paradigmatic events for the personal story. Through this process, the anthropologists argue, the person "becomes an alcoholic."[10] That is to say that the identity of alcoholic is owned through learning to tell one's own story in these terms.

Despite many obvious differences, the practice of the personal story in Alcoholics Anonymous is highly suggestive for the way in which the Hodayot may have functioned at Qumran in relation to the acquisition of a new identity. We know little, unfortunately, about the actual use of the Hodayot at Qumran. I find most plausible the suggestion originally made by Bo Reike that Qumran practice may have been similar to what Philo describes concerning the banquets of the Therapeutae, in which

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[9] D. Holland et al., *Identity and Agency in Cultural Worlds* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1998).

[10] Holland et al., *Identity and Agency*, 66.

after the banquet, the leader would recite a hymn in praise of the deity, either of his own composition or one that had been written by someone else. Then others would similarly stand and recite such hymns.[11] Even if this is not the case for Qumran, I think most of the theories concerning the origin and use of the Hodayot of the community would be more or less compatible with what I am suggesting about their function in terms of identity formation. What is important is that the Hodayot are first-person singular speech. A person who listened to such first-person speech recited by others, who learned how to compose such a piece for himself, or who even took up and read such a piece as his own prayer would be drawn into a self-understanding shaped according to the patterns embedded in the Hodayot. A pre-formed prayer that one appropriated for one's own would function in relation to the speaker in ways similar to the work of a creed ("I believe in God the Father") or a pledge of allegiance ("I pledge allegiance to the flag"). These speech acts strategically obscure who the speaking subject is. The ambiguity about exactly *whose* words these are (the author's? mine?) make them a powerful instrument in the formation of identity.[12]

Like the Serek ha-Yahad, the Hodayot are a fascinating recasting of traditional materials into a distinctively sectarian form that negotiates the transformation of a nonsectarian into a sectarian identity. Although the Hodayot borrow much from Israelite psalms, they change the syntax of religious speech. Whereas the Israelite thanksgiving psalm was correlated with the complaint psalm, at Qumran there are only thanksgivings. Lament motifs are used in the Hodayot, but those motifs are always contained within a structure of speech that begins "I thank you, O Lord" or "Blessed are you, because..." Thus there is only one normative stance from which to speak. Moreover, whereas in Israelite psalmody the speaker is an active agent in his own story, crying out to God for help, the Hodayot remove moral agency from the speaker's self account. The speaker becomes primarily a witness to the deity's gracious redemptive power.

The Hodayot are often described as didactic, which they are. Even more important than the theological content, however, is the fact that

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[11] B. Reike, "Remarques sur l'histoire de la form (Formgeschichte) des textes de Qumran," in *Les manuscrits de la mer Morte: Colloque de Strasbourg 25–27 Mai 1955* (ed. J. Daniélou et al.; Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1957), 38–44.

[12] Newsom, *The Self as Symbolic Space*, 198–202.

the Hodayot also provide normative patterns of emotional experience that are practiced and appropriated by the one who recites Hodayot. A number of these patterns can be identified, but one of the most striking makes use of a sharp shift in point of view. First the speaker describes the powerful knowledge he has of divine mysteries (e.g., 1QH^a 5:9–19; 9:7–20), a knowledge that puts him in an exalted circle. Then abruptly, the perspective shifts and the speaker describes himself as he appears from a God's-eye-view. These are *Niedrigskeitsdoxologie* passages in which the nothingness and corruption of the speaker's human condition is emphasized (e.g., 1QH^a 5:19–22; 9:21–23). The same emotional pattern can be identified also in the Maskil's hymn that concludes the Serek ha-Yahad (1QS 10:1–11:22). The *frisson* produced by the transition from the exaltation of heavenly mysteries to utter abnegation is analogous to that produced by standing on a mountain cliff, simultaneously exalted and terrified by the heights and depths of the overwhelming environment. Both are examples of the sublime. Since the experience cultivated in the Hodayot crucially involves stimulating the sense of disgust at the speaker's humanness, I call it the cultivation of the "masochistic sublime." This emotional pattern is quite different from what one finds in biblical psalmody and seems to be a distinctive pattern of subjectivity. A person who recites such first-person prayers, for whom this becomes his own language becomes different from others outside the sect in a profound way.

In other ways, too, the language a sectarian learns to speak and the sentiments he learns to hold by listening to or reciting the Hodayot render alien alternative languages of piety. One can observe this by taking a passage in which the Hodayot describe God's gracious redemption of the speaker and the speaker's own moral incapacity and setting it alongside texts such as Psalm 119 and Sirach 15:11–16. As is typical of the Hodayot, in 1QH^a 4:17–25 there is a relentless consistency in the way in which all moral initiative is attributed to God and utter moral incapacity is attributed to the speaker, even as the speaker largely uses the inherited moral vocabulary of Second Temple Judaism. If one immerses oneself in this carefully shaped discourse, the language of a composition like Psalm 119 sounds alien. A very different quality of self speaks in the psalm. In the psalm the speaker foregrounds himself in the language, saying "I do this" or "I do that." The very number of verbs of which "I" is the subject is striking. The speaker's inward gaze results in a brash self-recommendation as he unashamedly names his moral accomplishments.

Ben Sira fares even worse. Ben Sira asserts that "it was [God] who created humankind in the beginning, and he left them in the power of their own free choice. If you choose, you can keep the commandments, and to act faithfully is a matter of your own choice. He has placed before you fire and water; stretch out your hand for whichever you choose" (Sir 15:14–16; NRSV). Whereas Ben Sira says that God placed persons in the hand of their free will (*yetser*), the speaker of 1QH[a] 7:16 says that "the inclination (*yetser*) of every spirit is in your hand." Whereas Ben Sira says, "If you choose (*tahaphots*)," the hodayah says that it is God's choosing (*baharta*) that first makes obedience possible (1QH[a] 4:21). By contrast to the hodayah's subtle analysis of how the moral life is possible for one who lacks moral autonomy, Ben Sira's advice appears as the equivalent of the shallow slogans "Just do it" or "Just say no." Not only Ben Sira's language but also the persona that his language creates for him would have seemed flawed to someone shaped in the Yahad. The comparison I have suggested here is purely heuristic. It is not intended to show how a sectarian actually read Sirach or Psalm 119 but simply to illustrate how immersion in a particular discourse of piety can render alien and even repellant other possible forms of piety.

The community we have come to know as the Yahad cultivated sentiments of affinity for the group and estrangement from other groups in a variety of ways. In this brief essay I have attempted to suggest that as scholars examine these various mechanisms, we need to pay as much attention to the non-polemical discourses of the community as we do to the explicitly polemical language of "we" and "they."

POLARIZED SELF-IDENTIFICATION IN THE QUMRAN TEXTS

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In an article published in 1999 in the *Festschrift* for Heinz Wolfgang Kuhn,[1] I took up the issue of Qumran sectarianism and argued that a group of texts evidently authored in the *yahad* or a closely related group reflects a world view that "portrays [the author's] group as the sole and exclusive arena of salvation and thus sees those who are not members of that community as cut off from God's favor and bound for damnation."[2] My purpose was not to enter the tangled sociological debate regarding the definition of the term "sect," but to highlight a more or less common community self-understanding that characterizes these texts and a few others that were not authored in the *yahad*.

In a response to this article, Carol Newsom suggested that it would be useful set this world view and de facto definition in a continuum that takes into consideration texts whose world view and self-understanding were not as narrow as the Community Rule, the Damascus Document, the Pesharim, the Hodayot, parts of 1 Enoch, and the Book of Jubilees.[3]

To some degree, my argument rested on language in these texts in which one defined *oneself* or one's group with a view toward *others*, who were perceived as polar opposites. In keeping with the topic of this conference, I will summarize my previous findings and make a few observations about two other texts in the Qumran corpus whose identification of self and others diverges from the texts I previously examined. I must paint with very broad strokes.

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[1] G.W.E. Nickelsburg, "Religious Exclusivism: A World View Governing Some Texts Found at Qumran," in *Das Ende der Tage und die Gegenwart des Heils: Begegnungen mit dem Neuen Testament und seiner Umwelt: Festschrift für Heinz-Wolfgang Kuhn zum 65. Geburtstag* (eds. M. Becker and W. Fenske; AGJU 44; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 45–67. Reprinted in *George W.E. Nickelsburg in Perspective: An Ongoing Dialogue of Learning* (eds. J. Neusner and A.J. Avery-Peck; JSJSup 80; 2 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 1:139–61.

[2] Pages 46 and 140 respectively of the original article and its reprint.

[3] Carol A. Newsom in Neusner and Avery-Peck, *Nickelsburg in Perspective*, 162–68.

1. TEXTS OF THE *YAHAD*

a. *The Community Rule*

Polarized language of self-definition takes at least two forms in the *serek ha-yahad* in its form in 1QS. The community transforms biblical covenantal language about Israel to refer exclusively to itself. The *yahad* alone, is Israel, the community of the new covenant. Thus in the liturgy in 1QS 1–2, the priests pronounce blessings on the members of the group, but call down the curses of the covenant on the outsiders and on those who do not sincerely subscribe to the *yahad*'s Torah, which has been revealed to the sons of Zadok (1QS 5:8–9). Thus, theologically and sociologically, the group's self-definition transforms biblical language and conceptions by applying them exclusively to themselves. All other Israelites are what the *yahad* is not—outside the bounds of divine mercy and blessing. In short, the existence of the community of the new covenant with the true, revealed Torah requires by definition the existence of its negative counterpart: other Israelites who have not renewed the covenant and are not privy to, and do not observe the Torah revealed to the leaders of the *yahad*.

This polarization is systematized in the section on the two spirits (1QS 3:13–4:26). The members of the *yahad* are "the children of light," whom the Prince of Lights leads on the right way of obedience to the Torah, as opposed to non-*yahad* people, who are "the children of darkness," whom the Prince of Darkness leads on the way of disobedience; and this polarization is built into the structure of the cosmos. That is, the whole of humanity is construed in polarized terms. We, the true believers (speaking theologically) and the members of the covenant community (speaking sociologically), are what everyone else is *not*. Moreover, the polarization is as radical as it can be religiously: the "ares" and the "are-nots" are partisans of God and anti-God.

b. *The Damascus Document*

The Admonitions of the Damascus Document set the foundation of the covenant community within the history of humanity, which is summarized in polarized terms (CD 2:14–4:12). From the time of the Watchers, God's creation has consisted of those who "walk" on the right "paths" and those who "stray." The scheme of the two ways is evident, and 4Q266 1a–b 1 may indicate that this is associated with the polarity of the children of light and the children of darkness. Differ-

ent from 1QS, CD portrays the Watchers as the principal non-human cause or exemplars of rebellion (CD 2:17–19), perhaps following the Enochic myth that makes them the breeders of the demonic world (1 Enoch 6–16).[4] The covenant given to Israel through Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob eventually goes *kaput* (CD 3:2–12), and the emergence of the covenant of the new community is set in a polarized context (3:12–4:12). The Teacher of Righteousness, who knows God's way, and those to adhere to his interpretations are pitted against the Scoffer, the slippery interpreters, and those who stray from the path by following them (1:1–21). As in the *serek ha-yahad*, eternal blessings and curses follow. Noteworthy in the Damascus Document is the eschatological setting of the community's foundation.

c. *The* Pesharim

This eschatological perspective governs the *pesharim*, which depict contemporary events as the fulfillment of prophetic prediction. As in the Damascus Document, a polarized worldview governs the presentation of historical events and personalities. The Habakkuk Commentary—however we interpret the actual historical details—features the Teacher of Righteousness, the inspired interpreter of the Torah and the prophets (1QpHab 8:1–3; 7:1–5), and "the Man of Lies" (2:1–2; 5:11), "The Dripper of Lies" (10:9) and "The Wicked Priest" (8:8; 9:9; 11:4; 12:2, 8). Polarity is written bold-face. There is the priest who speaks for God and the wicked priest (9:9–12; 11:4–6), the inspired true expositor and the lying oracle (2:1–3; 5:10–12). Along with these go their respective communities: the Teacher of Righteousness and the men of truth, who observe his right, revealed Torah and believe in the covenant (8:1–3), and "the Dripper of Lies," who founds a community by means of deceit (10:9–12). Thus, the polarized language of opposites runs like a thread through the document and governs its portrayal of contemporary events. "We and our leader are not what the others and their leader or leaders are."

The Nahum Commentary portrays the dark side of this polarity in its polemical broadsides against the slippery interpreters, "who with their deceitful teaching, their lying tongue and perfidious lips lead many astray" (4QpNah 3–4ii8). The author does not focus on the true

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[4] For this interpretation, see G.W.E. Nickelsburg, *1 Enoch 1: A Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch, Chapters 1–36; 81–108* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2001), 269–74.

community as opposed to the rest, but on the broad-sweeping effects of the false teachers, whose evil identity is clear to the one who understands right Torah.

d. *The Hodayot*

The polarity of true and false teachers is especially explicit in the Hodayot, particularly in the composition in 12[4]:5–13[5]:4). Again, in identifying himself, the author must identify others as foils to himself; they are "what I am not," and vice versa. In order properly to express who or what one is, one must bring one's opposite into the picture. The author is the recipient and dispenser of revelation. He whose face God has brightened with the divine covenant enlightens the face of the many and pours the drink of knowledge (1QH^a 12:5–6, 23–25, 27–29). This receipt and transmission of revealed knowledge is counterpoised by a critical account of the author's opponents, who ridicule and belittle him (12:8–22). They change the Torah, giving vinegar rather than the drink of knowledge (12:10–11). They claim to have their own visions (12:20). The text is a compendium of religious polemical terminology that labels one's opponents as deceivers and liars: deceitful interpreters, who lead others astray and whose actions evidence folly; interpreters of falsehood and seers of deceit, who exchange the Torah for smooth things and who go astray; prophets of falsehood, who draw others into error; men of deceit and seers of error. The author's teaching, moreover, takes place in the context of a community—those who are sought by me, who were united together in your covenant and listened to me, who walked in the way of your heart and ordered themselves before you in the council of your holy ones (12:23–25).

The hymns of the community among the Hodayot deal with the issue of polarization in a different way. The community is the realm of salvation. To enter the community is to be raised up from destructive Sheol, the sphere of death, to heaven and eternal life (1QH^a 11[3]:19–24; 19[11]:3–14).[5] While the hymns do not focus on opponents who are what I am not, the community is what the world external to the community is not.

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[5] H.-W. Kuhn, *Enderwartung und gegenwärtiges Heil: Untersuchungen zu den Gemeindeliedern von Qumran* (SUNT 4; Göttingen: Vanderhoeck & Ruprecht, 1966), 44–64, 78–88; G.W.E. Nickelsburg, *Resurrection, Immortality, and Eternal Life in Intertestamental Judaism* (Expanded Edition HTS 56; Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2006), 188–93.

To summarize: the authors of this group of texts understand themselves and their community not simply in positive terms—who or what they are—but define themselves with reference to who or what they are not. The component parts of this polarized worldview, moreover, belong to the divine and demonic realms, and the consequences of this situation are life and death, salvation and damnation. God and Belial, the children of light and the children of darkness, revealed truth and falsehood—it is with this white and black palette that these authors construct their portrait of reality. White can be seen as such only when it is shown to be the opposite of black, and there are no middle tones.

2. Two Non-*Yahad* Texts

In order to clarify further my portrayal of this world view, I will engage in my own exercise in comparison, with some observations and questions about two other texts from the Qumran corpus whose approach to the issue of self-identification is *not* that of the *yahad* texts.

a. *The War Scroll*

In the War Scroll, "the children of light" and the "children of darkness" are Israel as a whole (more or less) and the nations, respectively, and the terms "(God of) Israel, "nation," and "covenant" relate to Israel as a whole over against the gentiles.[6] This raises questions about the chronological and social origin and development of the terms "children of light" and "children of darkness" and about the function of the terminology in this document, and indeed of the document as a whole. How were this document and this terminology in it construed in a community that distinguished itself as the true Israel from those outside the community and thus outside the covenant and whose Community Rule employed "children of light" and "children of darkness" to epitomize this distinction?

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[6] *Israel*: 1:9–10 (God of I.); 2:7 (all the tribes of I.); 2:9; 3:13; 5:1; 6:6 (God of I.); 10:8 (God of I.); 10:9 (your nation I.); 12:16; 13:1– 2 (God of I); 13:13 (God of I.); 14:4 (God of I.); 15:1; 15:13 (God of I.); 16:1 (God of I.); 17:7 (covenant of I.); 17:8; 18:3 (God of I.); 18: 6 (God of I.); 19:8. *Nation*: 1:5, 12; 3:13; 6:6 (the holy ones of his nation, perhaps an exception); 10:9 (your nation I.); 10:10 (a nation of holy ones of the covenant); 12:1, 8 (the nation of his holy ones); 12:15; 13:7, 9; 14:12; 18:7; 19:7. *Covenant*: 1:2; 10:10; 12:3; 13:7; 14:8, 10; 17:7, 8; 18:7, 8.

b. *A Hymn of the Pious and Righteous (11QPs^a 18)*

This text is noteworthy because of its plethora of terms for the author's "group."

They are: "the multitude of the upright" (Syriac Psalm 11:1), "the faithful" Syr. Ps 11:4), "the good ones" (18:1, 14), "the pure ones" (18:1), "the righteous" (18:10), and "the assembly of the pious" (18:10). These religiously positive terms suggest to the reader, and imply for the author I think, the existence of those who are their opposites: namely, "the perverse," "the unfaithful," "the evil," "the impure," "the sinners," and those who are "not pious." And one may suppose that the Qumranites read the psalm within that frame of reference. Yet the psalm lacks the polemical use of a plethora of such antithetical terms. We hear first of "the simple" or "naive" and those "lacking in judgment," who are to be the object of instruction by the righteous (11QPs^a 18:2, 4–5), and then only briefly of the wicked and haughty, who are, at least in part, the social rather than the religious enemies of the righteous (18:13). The psalm's descriptive emphasis is positive. These are the things that the righteous and pious do: they praise God, they mediate on the Torah as they eat and drink in community (18:10–12). They instruct those who are not at their level of religious insight and accomplishment (18:2, 4–5) rather than degrade them and vilify teachers of a different persuasion.

Thus these two texts from the Qumran corpus—the one using polarizing language to distinguish between Israel and the *gentiles*, and the other identifying the author and his group as the righteous and pious *without* focusing on those who are their religious polar opposites—help to place in perspective the *yahad* texts, which are saturated with polarizing language that identifies the group and its teachers not in their own right, but in contradistinction to individuals, groups, and teachers of different persuasion and practice.

3. FOUR GENERALIZING OBSERVATIONS

A later form of the kind of polarizing tradition I have described—whether or not it is historically connected with the *yahad*—is found at many points in the New Testament. These texts claim that the church is the sole arena of salvation, which has been constituted by eschatological revelation not about right Torah, but about Jesus, the final and unique agent of God's activity in the world. Its openness to the

gentiles notwithstanding, the church is an exclusivistic Jewish sect with a construction of reality that has much in common with the *yahad*.

While it is often claimed that ancient Judaism—in contrast to Christianity—was characterized by orthopraxy rather than orthodoxy, the *yahad* texts reveal a Judaism that does not fully fit this generalization. Of course, the religion of the Qumranites centered around the observance of the Torah, but the polemics against false teachers in some of the pesharim and in the Hodayot parallel in a curious way later christological debates about the right and wrong understanding of the person of Jesus and his relationship to God. This is especially obvious if one recognizes the functional parallel between Torah in Jewish religion and Jesus in Christian religion. For the Qumran Jews, Orthopraxy requires *orthodidaskalia* in contrast to *heterodidaskalia*.

I have described polarization in the *yahad* as a *religious* phenomenon realized in a social context. However, as is evident in Gordon Allport's seminal work, *The Nature of Prejudice*,[7] and as has become clear, for example, in the political life of the United States, polemical polarizing self-identification is a broad human phenomenon that is not restricted to religious groups—though the high stakes and the values that often drive this polarization have a dimension that Paul Tillich would probably describe as religious.

Much that I have said may suggest that I am a theological reductionist. However, as has been emphasized by the work of H. Richard Niebuhr, Gordon Allport, Werner Stark, Bryan Wilson,[8] and many who are sitting in this room, we can properly understand human conduct and the ideas that often drive it only when we consider their psychological dimensions and social context.

4. A Concluding Unscientific Postscript

There remains one body of textual evidence that does not integrate easily into my thesis about the sectarian mentality of the Hodayot and

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[7] G.W. Allport, *The Nature of Prejudice* (abr. ed.; Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1958).

[8] H.R. Niebuhr, *The Social Sources of Denominationalism* (New York: Meridian Books, 1957); W. Stark, *The Sociology of Religion: A Study of Christendom, Vol. 2: Sectarian Religion* (5 vols.; London, Routledge and Keegan Paul, 1966–72); B.R. Wilson, *Religious Sects: A Sociological Study* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1970).

the Community Rule. In the Hodayot, where a teacher and leader of
the community can contrast himself with lying and perverse teachers,
and where a sectarian can praise God from having brought him into
the community and thus rescued him from death and damnation, in at
least five compositions, the authors confess that they stand in solidarity
with a humanity that is clay, dust, and ashes.[9] In the Community Rule,
at the end of a text that describes humanity as consisting of polar
opposites, the *maskil*, the human leader of the children of light describes
himself as belonging to a common humanity in need of salvation (1QS
11:9–15a; 20b–22).

A satisfying solution to these theological tensions would requires a
detailed exegetical discussion that compares the sectarian proclivities of
the Hodayot and 1QS with these evident disparities. Here I can make
only a few suggestions.

In at least two of the Hodayot, these passages describe the condition
of the sectarian before he enters the community, where he receives
divine knowledge and is brought into communion with the angels (1QH[a]
19[11]:1–14; 11[3]:19–23). In these cases, the authors' deprecating
descriptions of their humanity nicely serve their sectarian worldview.
This is what I was; this is what I have become. One thanks God for
having rescued him from the hoard of humanity bound for perdition.
Nonetheless, it is my impression that the rhetoric in question may also
pertain to the author's present condition (11[3]:23b–25; 18[10]:5–7).
This appears also to be the case in the hymn of the *maskil* in 1QH[a]
20[12]:4–35.[10] Although one is the recipient of revelation, as dust
and clay one is constantly in need of divine help and strength (lines
24–35).[11]

The same situation obtains in the material ascribed to the *maskil* at
the end of 1QS. Although one has access to divine enlightenment, one
remains a "son of man," "born of woman," shaped from dust and clay,
and in need of divine mercy and help. It is noteworthy that the editor
of 1QS should include material with this kind of anthropology in a text
that earlier divides humanity into two opposing groups, belonging to
God and to the Prince of Darkness, and the tension between the two

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[9] 1QH 9[1]:21–26; 11[3]:23–25; 18[10]:3–7; 19[11]:3–14; 20[12]:24–35].

[10] For the word *maskil*, cf. 4Q428 12ii3.

[11] The same motif continues in 1QH 21, whatever its relationship to the previous
composition.

anthropologies should not be minimized. Moreover, we should note, Qumranic ideas about rank notwithstanding, this ambiguous status (delivered and standing among the angels, but clay and dust, and in danger and thus need of divine help) is ascribed both to the "ordinary" sectarian (1QH^a 11[3], 19[11]) and to the *maskil*. At the very least, we may see in this tension a religiosity that wisely and realistically seeks to temper high and optimistic sectarianism with an honest assessment of the dangers associated with unmitigated "self-righteousness." The topic is worthy of fuller and more precise study, and one may find some help in the Pauline corpus (e.g., Romans 7; 1 Cor 3:18–4:5; 2 Cor 4:7–12; Phil 3:2–16) and in the "parody" of Abraham's righteousness in the Testament of Abraham.

"OLD" AND "NEW" ISRAEL IN THE BIBLE AND THE QUMRAN SCROLLS: IDENTITY AND DIFFERENCE

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The topic of "Israel" in the Qumran texts embraces issues of both identity and difference. The language of many of the scrolls, and especially those that describe or represent a sectarian community, emphasizes identity with Israel and at the same time difference from it. The sect is the true "Israel" and the historical Israel, its social parent, is not. In the case of the Scrolls, in fact, there are three "Israels" in play: the sect; the discredited entity of the past, a nation punished by exile; and a continuing, equally discredited entity, the contemporary Jewish society outside the sect. The last two can in fact easily be merged or their identities blurred through typology. However, the legitimacy of the sect, the true "Israel," depends not just on differentiation but on a *continuity* of identity with the discredited "Israel" of the past.

This ambiguity of identity and difference over "Israel" is best illustrated in the *Damascus Document*. Here the connection between what I shall for convenience call the "old" and the "new" Israel is one of both continuity and rupture: the old "Israel" was brought to an end, but it continues in the form of a remnant. This continuity is asserted in 1:4, where God "caused a remnant to survive" (*hš'yr š'yryt*), and in 3:13–14 again: "but with those who held fast to the divine commandments, who were left over (*nwtrw*) of them, God established his covenant *with Israel*, even for eternity, by revealing to them the hidden things over which *Israel* had gone astray." The double use of "Israel" here in first a negative then a positive sense, to denote the old then the new, underlines the identity, the continuity. Yet, this new "surviving" Israel also describes itself as refounded through a *new* covenant, with its own divine revelation and with a new founder, and thus claims to be not so much an Israel *recovered* as an Israel *reborn*. Hence in 6:2: "But God remembered the covenant of the *r'šwnym*, and raised from Aaron "men of understanding" and from Israel "men of wisdom." The continuity here is less tangible—remembrance—and the language suggest a new start rather than a continuation. Even the term *r'šwnym*, which is hard

to translate and understand, seems to be a way of avoiding the term
"Israel"; while "first" implies "second": a rupture rather than a con-
tinuation. I am not suggesting two distinct or contradictory presenta-
tions within the document here, but rather an attempt to preserve an
ideologically useful and important ambiguity: the sect is Israel and it
is not.

The transition from "old" to "new" Israel, or the replacement of one
Israel by another, follows punishment and exile (CD 1:6, "Nebuchadnez-
zar"; 3:10–11, "given up to the sword") and therefore clearly invokes
the scriptural history. Some time after the Persians replaced the Neo-
Babylonians, Judean immigrants from Babylonia established themselves
as the rightful bearers of the identity of "Israel" by virtue of being a
"remnant" who alone had remained faithful; according to the books of
Ezra and Nehemiah, they swore a new covenant and adopted the "law
of Moses" (Neh 8–10). The definition of "Israel" accepted by those
who wrote and read the book(s) of Ezra and Nehemiah is also a group
preserved from the ruins of "old Israel," and bound to Israel's god by
law and covenant. They term themselves "children of the exile" (*bny
hgwlh*: Ezra 4:1; 6:19–21; 10:6–7 etc.), insisting on continuity, perhaps
because the geographical and chronological rupture between the two
entities was so evident. (Paradoxically, in these texts the rupturing exile
becomes in fact proof of Israelite identity.)

In the *Damascus Document* we encounter a related strategy. First, like
the prayer in Nehemiah 9, CD dwells at length on the sinful history of
old Israel before it describes its new covenant. Next, exile is the place
and the experience of both continuity and rupture. The *bny hgwlh* can
be paralleled with the *šby yśr'l* who "went out from the land of Judah
and lived in the land of Damascus" in CD 6:5. In both stories, exile
is the moment of either transition or rebirth, the moment that defines
the new Israel over against the old one. So important is the experience
of exile that included in both texts is a presentation of genealogies and
names. In Ezra and Nehemiah these are enumerated in Ezra 2 and 8
and Neh 12, while in CD 4:4–6 we have an enigmatic lacuna:[1]

> Behold, the *prwš* of their names, by generations, the times they lived,
> the number of their sufferings, the years of their exile and the *prwš* of
> their deeds.

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[1] The relevant text is unfortunately not preserved in the Qumran manuscripts D.

Third, we have a lawgiver or rather law-interpreter in both texts: Ezra in the biblical story and an "Interpreter of the Law" in CD 6:7. Ezra, of course, does not merely bring the law but has it *interpreted* to the people who hear it (Neh 8:8).

These remarkable, detailed parallels must be due either to direct modelling of D on Ezra and Nehemiah, or to some ideological matrix, or to a shared historical tradition that informed both texts. If the D account is indeed meant to be understood in relation to the story of Ezra-Nehemiah, then is a retelling of that story or a substitute, meant to refute it? One early interpretation of CD 6:7 was that the stories related to the same events and that the "Interpreter of the Law" in D was one or other of the biblical characters.[2] It is hard to see how the two could be identified, since D apparently rejects the validity of the "Israel" that Ezra and Nehemiah initiated. D also denies that the exile is over, the claim of a "restoration" in Ezra and Nehemiah being rejected. However, the "restoration" of Judah under the Persians is really a scholarly rather than a biblical concept: Ezra's speech in Nehemiah (9:36–37) suggests something different.

> Behold, we are slaves today: in the land that you gave our ancestors to enjoy its fruit and its benefits we are slaves in it: it yields a good surplus for the kings you have set over us because of our sins.

So the punishment for sins continues here too, and the account is ideologically not far removed from that of D. Indeed, the eschatological undertone in Ezra's speech cannot be overlooked here: there is an implied hope that the slavery will one day be averted when the sins are finally forgiven—again, as also in D, whose narrative at this point looks forward to the teaching of righteousness in the "end of days" (6:11).

Other commentators have suggested that the story of the foundation of the sect is placed in a different set of circumstances from Ezra and Nehemiah, and thus the Babylonian exile is simply part of Israel's history and the sect's prehistory.[3] Yet the accounts in D of the

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[2] Ezra was suggested by A. Jaubert, "Le Pays de Damas," *RB* 65 (1958): 214–48; Nehemiah by I. Rabinowitz, "A Reconsideration of 'Damascus' and '390 Years' in the 'Damascus' ('Zadokite') Fragments," *JBL* 73 (1954): 11–35; see P.R. Davies, *The Damascus Covenant: An Interpretation of the "Damascus Document"* (JSOTSup 25; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1983), 123.

[3] H. Stegemann, *Die Entstehung der Qumrangemeinde* (Bonn: priv. publ., 1971), 131–45, suggests that the exile only forms a background, and does not belong to the origins of the community proper, which begin in the Hellenistic period.

history of old Israel reach the exile and then immediately pass over
to the new covenant. Whether or not there may be a chronological
gap, there is no *ideological* one: the old, dead covenant is replaced by
the "Damascus" one, and there is no other mentioned in between. So
either the Ezra-Nehemiah episode (and covenant) is bracketed out, or
the Ezra-Nehemiah episode is overwritten with an alternative account.
That overwriting might be typological, applying a "canonical" format
to the birth of this new "Israel," without denying the historical facticity
of the episode, or it might represent a denial that such a covenant was
ever really made, that there ever was any other "new Israel." The fact
that no copy of Nehemiah was found at Qumran may be significant,
and indeed, even the one manuscript of Ezra contains only fragments
of the first part of that book, i.e. no part of the Ezra story itself (which
does not begin until chapter 8). It is possible that this fragment does
not represent the Masoretic shape of Ezra-Nehemiah.[4] Is this omission
accidental? Is it linked to the virtual absence of Chronicles (4QChr
could well be from a textually variant manuscript of 2 Kings)? What
does the absence of any reference to either Ezra or Nehemiah in the
Qumran corpus suggest in this respect?

   Incidentally, it is ironic that the "ancient Israel" of modern schol-
arship, and especially of archaeology, the Israel of the Iron Age, the
"pre-exilic" Israel, is an Israel than the scriptures themselves, as much
as the Qumran manuscripts, condemn for its sins. It is not to be glo-
rified or emulated. Perhaps now and then individuals achieved near-
perfection, but in total it was represented as a history of sin, failure
and punishment. It is not the "old Israel" but the "new Israel(s)" that
matter for early Judaism. This fact should provide the starting point
for all assessments of biblical historiography.

   I shall return presently to the Ezra and Nehemiah story, since it may
have a closer historical relevance to the Qumran texts than it usually
thought. But first the "Israels" of the *Damascus Document* require closer
examination. While D, like Ezra and Nehemiah, condemns the old
Israel from which it has been reborn or has survived, unlike them

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[4] 4QEzra (4Q117) was first published by E. Ulrich, "Ezra and Qohelet Manuscripts
from Qumran [4QEzra and 4QQoh[a,b]]," in *Priests, Prophets and Scribes: Essays on the Forma-
tion and Heritage of Second Temple Judaism in Honour of Joseph Blenkinsopp* (eds. E. Ulrich et al.;
JSOTSup 149; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1992), 139–57 (see also E. Ulrich et al. [eds.],
Qumran Cave 4.XI: Psalms to Chronicles [DJD 16; Oxford: Clarendon, 2000], 291–94).

it also addresses a third "Israel," namely that community or those communities outside the Damascus group. In the setting of Ezra and Nehemiah, such a group is present, or rather, such groups are present, but in disguise, as Samarians or "people of the land." These groups are not called "Israel" (even if historically they might have called themselves "Israel" and probably did, with a better historical claim than the immigrant "Judeans").[5] But in D, representing a sect within a larger body calling itself not only Judah, but "Israel," the question of identity and of difference cannot be so easily disposed of. There is an existing parent body that has to be termed "Israel" at times, for there is no alternative to the name. The Isaiah-Amos midrash in CD 7:10–21 implies for this wider Israel a different kind of continuity with "old Israel": this contemporary Israel is just like the old Israel, following its own ways and rejecting the laws of God.[6] However, for the most part the comparison is implicit in D, which is content only to claim that the contemporary "Israel" outside has been led to wander from the true path during the "period of (divine) anger" (*sc.* the present era). Thus in 4:13: "Belial shall be unleashed on Israel." This broader "Israel," at any rate, looms uncomfortably over the D group, since while D can refer to the members of the "Damascus covenant" as "Israel" in 3:13 and 19, more commonly in the *Admonition* we find a qualified usage, such as *šby yśr'l* (4:2; 6:5; 8:16) or "Aaron and Israel" (1:7; 6:2; 10:5; 14:19; 20:1; cf. 12:23–13:1). In the *Laws*, we find the group named "Israel" alone in 16:15, "all Israel" in 15:5, "children of Israel" in 14:5, while we find "cities of Israel" in 12:19; but "*habur* of Israel" in 12:8, and "seed of Israel" in 12:22. These last phrases probably also stand in apposition, but the frequent avoidance of the unadorned "Israel" may hint at a certain reluctance to court ambiguity.

Such ambiguity, or at least scholarly uncertainty abut the meaning, is evident in CD 20, which uses "Israel" three times, in lines 16, 23, 26, and it is uncertain in each case whether the term applies to the

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[5] The capital of Judah in the neo-Babylonian period was Mizpah, in the territory of Benjamin, formerly a part of the kingdom of Israel; the major sanctuaries were also in Benjamin—Gibeon, Mizpah, but especially Bethel, associated with Jacob/Israel. On the issues arising from this political and religious configuration, see O. Lipschits and J. Blenkinsopp (eds.), *Judah and the Judeans in the neo-Babylonian Period* (Winona Lake, Idiana: Eisenbrauns, 2003).

[6] Baumgarten has a nice summary of this treatment in his critical edition of D. See J.M. Baumgarten (ed.), *Qumran Cave 4.XIII: The Damascus Document (4Q266–273)* (DJD 18; Oxford: Clarendon, 1996), 7.

sectarian community or those outside it; contextually both are possible. The decision here depends on whether we are dealing with a secondary layer representing the followers of the "teacher" who are turning on those (members of the parent community) who did not follow him. If so, and if, as the majority of scholars believe, these followers constitute the *yahad*, then the "Israel" here is the (sectarian) Israel of D, and the passages provide a useful resource to examine how identity and differ- ence within Israel are treated in S texts—to whose usage of "Israel" we now turn.

In the Community Rule the pattern of usage is actually little different from D. In 1QS 1:22–23, in the blessing and cursing sequence, "Israel" and "children of Israel" are used apparently to denote the members of the *yahad*; in 2:22 "each man of Israel" refers to members of the *yahad*. In col. 5, this equation is blurred a little: 5:5 "a foundation of truth for Israel" in 5:6 "Aaron and Israel"; but in 5:22 "majority (?) (*r[.]b*) of Israel" and 6:13 "a volunteer [*myndb*] from Israel" we have a clear equation of Israel and sect. In col. 8, however, which is widely regarded as one of the earliest sections of the composition,[7] "Israel" is always qualified: "in Israel," "for Israel," "from Israel" and whether the term denotes the whole of Jewish society or an existing sectarian grouping is unclear. In the dualistic passage (3:13–4:26) we have just one occurrence of "god of Israel" (3:24); elsewhere he is "god of knowledge."

But there is an important difference between D and S here. In 1QS, there is no overt issue over the name or identity of "Israel." The term seems free of any polemical resonance. Whether the *yahad* presents itself here as a core of the larger Israel or as a new Israel, or sometimes one and sometimes the other, can be debated, but the text does not bother itself with asking or answering "who is Israel?" Where the documents of the *yahad are* concerned with identity and difference, they are addressing not Israel as a whole, "Jewish society," but the group that they have abandoned, or rather, as they see it, has abandoned them. And I suggest that there are passages referring to this group—which, as I have argued for many years, should be identified with the "Damascus" sect—as "Israel," both because it was a self-des- ignation of that group but also in order to associate it, as Israel, with

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[7] See e.g. J. Murphy-O'Connor, "La genèse littéraire de la Régle de la Communauté," *RB* 76 (1969): 528–49; S. Metso, *The Textual Development of the Qumran Community Rule* (STDJ 21; Leiden: Brill, 1997), esp. 117–18 (8:1–15 only).

the wider rejected Israel in an undifferentiated "other." For even if historically the *yahad* is a splinter group, it developed an ideology that set it against the outside world as a whole, embracing its mother-sect, all other Jews and Gentiles together.[8]

To discover rhetoric directed against its parent sect, we need to turn to those passages in D that betray the community of the Teacher, especially CD 1 and 20. In 1:7 "Israel and Aaron" probably denotes not Jewish society as a whole, but a parent "new Israel"; and in 1:13ff. the "Israel" addressed by the "spouter of lies" is I think the membership of that new Israel, comprising those of it who did not follow the "teacher,"[9] since, according to D, contemporary Israel has backslid from its beginning, ands cannot be led astray (again) by such a character. In CD 20, the context is sometimes if not always inner-sectarian, and hence the "Israel" referred to is again probably the parent community of the *yahad*.[10]

In short, "Israel" is not really a polemical issue for the members of the *yahad*, not a category in which their own identity is being fought. But there is a third set of usages of "Israel" in the so-called "eschatological" writings (1QM, 1QSa). Here the ambiguity in Israel's identity disappears. As both texts now read,[11] at a time when the wicked Israel has been destroyed, the sectarian and the future Israel will become the same. The issue of identity or difference melts away at the eschaton.

One further Qumran text that needs considering is 4QMMT, where the interpretation depends on whether the text reflects a group which already sees itself as a new Israel, i.e. is "pre-sectarian."[12] In particular,

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[8] My guess is that the *pesharim*, in depicting the "teacher" as opposed to a "wicked priest," is presenting itself as a primary sect, while the "liar" (present in D), is a sectarian opponent. But whether these texts have any historiographical motive is doubtful (the Matthean birth narrative, which also uses biblical texts to construct fictitious events, like magi, a star, a massacre of children, and a flight to Egypt, is a close, though not exact, parallel).

[9] There is a neat contrast brought out in CD 1 between "teacher" as "rain" (*moreh* also means "rain" (see Hos 10:12: *wyrh ṣdq lhm*) and a "scoffer" (*ʾyš hlṣwn*) who "dripped lying (*kzb*) waters" (CD 1:14–15).

[10] I have rehearsed the arguments in my 1983 analysis (see n. 2), to which I must simply refer; I find no reason to abandon it, for there has been no comparable literary-critical analysis since.

[11] I am not taking it for granted that the Rule of the Congregation was originally created with an eschatological import. See C. Hempel, "The Earthly Essene Nucleus of 1QSa," *DSD* 3 (1996): 253–69.

[12] For a presentation of the opposing views, see L.H. Schiffman, *Reclaiming the Dead*

what do we make of 4Q394 8 iv 11–12: "Jerusalem is the head of the camps of Israel"? The "camps" in other Qumran texts are either describing the Pentateuchal organization (2Q21) or its revival (the M texts passim; 1QSa 2:15) or are without context (1QSb 29 3 and 1Q31 2 3) or cryptic 4Q249 (twice?). Or they describe sectarian settlements, as in D. It seems most plausible that 4QMMT presupposes D's pattern of organization. The use of "Israel" at the very end of the text is fairly crucial here: "It shall be reckoned to you as righteousness when you do what is upright before him, for your good and for Israel." If the text constitutes a challenge to variant *halakhot*, the addressee would seem to represent Jewish or Judean society as a whole (and so the majority view, following Schiffman). But on the view that it is an "internal" document (Fraade), "Israel" may represent the sect.

It is of course dangerous to try and over-systematize or over-interpret linguistic usage. But there is a provisional conclusion that I suggest does justice to the evidence, or most of it. The term "Israel" can apply to any one of three entities: the old Israel, the contemporary Israel or the "new" Israel of a sectarian community. Only D texts seem particularly concerned to contest "Israel" as an identity marker; this is probably because that community's parent is a historical "Israel." The *yahad* is less interested in who is Israel; indeed, it is not greatly bothered about outsiders at all, especially when they are classified into a dualistic scheme. The *yahad* does not have a particularly strong understanding of itself as a "new Israel." Indeed, if one read 1QS3–4, one might doubt whether it thought of itself as an "Israel" at all, since temple and torah and covenant play no systemic role in this discourse. According to this ideology, the *yahad* is less a "new Israel" than a new humanity, predestined and chosen from creation.

Finally, we return to Ezra-Nehemiah and *their* story (or stories) of the new Israel. It is usually accepted that this account is broadly historical. But there are good reasons to doubt that.[13] The chronological difficulties

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Sea Scrolls: The History of Judaism, the Background of Christianity, the Lost Library of Qumran (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1994), 83–95 and S. Fraade, "To Whom it May Concern: 4QMMT and Its Addressee(s)," *RevQ* 19/76 (2000): 507–26. As with 1QSa (possibly), and both S and D, we may be reading texts whose purpose and audience has changed over time, a point made at length by M.L. Grossman, "Reading 4QMMT: Genre and History," *RevQ* 20/77 (2001): 3–22.

[13] These have been set out in my "Scenes from the Early History of Judaism," in *The Triumph of Elohim: From Yahwisms to Judaisms* (ed. D.V. Edelman; CBET 13; Kampen: Kok Pharos, 1995), 145–82.

of the account are well known: did these two apparently contemporary heroes actually meet each other? It is suspicious that Ben Sira (49:13) knew of Nehemiah, and likewise the writer of 2 Maccabees (in a fairly length account: 1:18–36), but neither mentions Ezra. Ben Sira recalls that Nehemiah rebuilt Jerusalem; 2 Maccabees that he arranged for the altar fire to be returned (and that the liturgy was led by the priests). Putting aside questions of historicity, we can compare Ezra, Nehemiah and D as three separate (and rival) stories of new Israels, each with its own hero. Two of those stories were combined in one book, with the heroes joining forces (however briefly at the crucial moment); the third account stood apart. Three foundation legends of a new Israel born in exile. Are they far apart in date?

I am not positing an Ezra sect or a Nehemiah sect, perhaps not even a specific group behind each of these stories—though it is tempting to assign Ezra to the Pharisees and Nehemiah to the Sadducces—no priest, but renewer of the temple altar and a hero of Ben Sira (who also did not like Samari(t)ans, either).

Historicity is not my point here, but the legends of old and new Israels. Behind three figures claimed as founders of the new Israel lie disagreements about how the new Israel began and what it should be like. And, with Ezra and Nehemiah combined, the stories are not that different: exile, law, covenant, interpretation of the law—these common features suggest a widespread understanding of the contours of Jewish origins. Perhaps the "Damascus" sect and those whose hero was Ezra[14] at one point shared their notion of "Judaism." Were the "Seekers of Smooth Things" those who espoused Ezra's story.[15]

As for the *yahad*, its texts seem to suggest that it abandoned such legends about the origins of "Israel" and developed its sectarian consciousness along lines suggested by its parent's predestinarian tendencies (see CD 2:2–12) which have their own background in sapiential and especially Enochic (mantic-wisdom) traditions, where the major categories are knowledge and ignorance, wisdom and folly, spiced with a notion of pre-election and a post-mortem or post-historical theodicy; this

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[14] The law-reading and covenant ceremony in Nehemiah fit better with the mission of Ezra, the "scribe of the law" and it is probable that this episode was originally part of his story, before being used to bring the two main characters together.

[15] It was once the fashion to believe that Essenes and Pharisees both descended from a parent stock of *Hasidim*. My observations here might seem to buttress that notion, even though I do not accept the existence of *Hasidim* as a distinct group.

is sometimes called "apocalyptic."[16] Why, in a group born (as it seems) of an extreme devotion to the law of Moses, do we find such a strong influence of manticism and such a radical reassessment of the category of "Israel?" Has it to do with the nature of the differences between the two sects—their origins, their parent groups? Since the *yahad* could not present itself realistically as a new Israel, did it deliberately come to accept a different ideology for its own self-understanding, presenting itself as a completely different kind of "Israel"—one as different from its ultimate parent as Christianity?[17]

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[16] On the evolution of wisdom into apocalyptic as illustrated by 4QInstruction, see A. Lange, *Weisheit und Prädestination: Weisheitliche Urordnung und Prädestination in den Textfunden von Qumran* (STDJ 18; Leiden: Brill, 1995); T. Elgvin, "Wisdom and Apocalypticism in the Early Second Century BCE: The Evidence of 4QInstruction," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls Fifty Years after Their Discovery: Proceedings of the Jerusalem Congress, July 20–25, 1997* (eds. L.H. Schiffman, E. Tov, and J.C. VanderKam; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2000), 226–47; see now M.J. Goff, "The Mystery of Creation in 4QInstruction," *DSD* 10 (2004): 163–86.

[17] This paper was written before the appearance of S. Hultgren, *From the Damascus Covenant to the Covenant of the Community* (STDJ 66; Leiden: Brill, 2007), which addresses many of the issues covered here.

EMERGING COMMUNAL LIFE AND IDEOLOGY
IN THE S TRADITION*

Charlotte Hempel
Brimingham

Introduction

The Community Rule is a key text in any quest for identity in the Dead Sea Scrolls. However, the picture of community painted by this text is exceedingly complex chiefly because of the complex literary development and multiple attestations of the S tradition. What I would like to do today is dissemble those parts of the S tradition that deal with the council of the community (עצת היחד) as described in 1QS 6:2c–4a // 4QS^d 2:7–8 // 4QS^i lines 3b–5a and 1QS 8:1–7a // 4QS^d 6:1–2 // 4QS^e 2:9–16 as well as a number of stray elements of that tradition elsewhere in S, in 4Q265, and in the Damascus Document.

The Evidence of the S Manuscripts[1]

In the course of a study on diversity and development in the S tradition,[2] I was struck by the way in which council of the community terminology is used in S. On the one hand it is used frequently alongside and apparently synonymously with *harabbim*, whereas at other times the

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  [1] In what follows I have relied on the editions of the Hebrew text by E. Qimron for the text of 1QS ("Rule of the Community [1QS]," in J.H. Charlesworth et al. (eds.), *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations: Rule of the Community and Related Documents* [PTSDSSP 1; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1994], 6ff.) and P.S. Alexander and G. Vermes for the text of the 4QS manuscripts (*Qumran Cave 4.XIX: Serekh Ha-Yaḥad and Two Related Texts* [DJD 26; Oxford: Clarendon, 1998]). English translations are my own.

  [2] "The Literary Development of the *S* Tradition—A New Paradigm," *RevQ* 22/87 (2006): 389–401.

language occurs by itself without references to the many. This has
often been noted in discussions of the question whether the council
in 1QS 8 refers to an elite group or to the community as a whole.[3]
It struck me as worthwhile to have a closer look at those passages in
S that speak exclusively of the council of the community in the hope
of teasing out characteristics of this exclusive usage that distinguish it
from the usage alongside *harabbim.* It seems likely, furthermore, that the
exclusive usage of one set of terms is traditio-historically earlier than
the merging of the two, a suspicion that is confirmed by the highly
developed communal organization reflected in the merged terminology
over against the relatively primitive communal set-up reflected in the
exclusive use of עצת היחד.[4]

EMERGING COMMUNAL LIFE IN 1QS 6

In column 6 of 1QS we find a number of miscellaneous pieces of
communal rules. This material has been the focus of a number of very
recent studies.[5] Thus, John Collins argues that the term יחד, even in
passages like 1QS 6:2–4, refers to an "umbrella organization."[6] His view
represents a much more restrained version of the somewhat extreme
suggestion by Hartmut Stegemann that יחד is a designation for "the
main Jewish union in late Second Temple times" or "a confederation

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[3] More is to be said on this debate below. For bibliographical references see n. 27
below.

[4] For a different assessment of the relationship between both terms see recently
E. Regev, "The *Yaḥad* and the *Damascus Covenant*: Structure, Organization and Rela-
tionship," *RevQ* 21/82 (2003): 233–62. On reading his analysis one is left wondering
whether the texts that speak of the council of the community and the *rabbim* ostensibly
as synonyms (an observations shared by Regev though qualified with "at first glance,"
239) paint the picture he describes or are made to fit an admittedly neat and ingenious
synthesis. Despite our differences of interpretation I greatly appreciate his close and
careful readings of the texts at hand.

[5] I am very grateful to Professors John Collins and Sarianna Metso for allowing me
to refer to their contributions to the forthcoming *Festschrift* for Michael Knibb which I
am co-editing with J. Lieu. Bibliographical details are give ad loc. below.

[6] J.J. Collins, "Forms of Community in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Emanuel: Studies
in Hebrew Bible, Septuagint, and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honor of Emanuel Tov* (eds. S.M. Paul
et al.; VTSup 94; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 97–111, esp. 99. See also idem, "The Yaḥad
and 'The Qumran Community,'" in *Biblical Traditions in Transmission: Essays in Honour
of Michael A. Knibb* (eds. C. Hempel and J.M. Lieu; JSJSup 111; Leiden: Brill, 2006),
81–96.

of all existing Jewish groups."[7] Both share a desire to move away from a narrow understanding of the term יחד.[8] Eyal Regev has recently suggested an interpretation of 1QS 6 that is rather similar to the position put forward by Collins: local councils of the community form part of a larger organization, the meeting of the *rabbim*.[9] Sarianna Metso proposes that 1QS 6:1–8 is an interpolation that was included into the Serek to provide guidance to travelling members of the community while they are visiting outlying settlements, possibly the camps as described in the Damascus Document.[10] Like Collins, and unlike the view proposed here with reference to 1QS 6:2–4 in particular, Metso presupposes a larger and more developed organization that forms the framework behind the primitive scenario outlined here.

As I have spelt out more fully in an article on interpretation at Qumran,[11] I regard 1QS 6:2c–4a // 4QS^d 2:7–8 // 4QS^i 3b–5a as the most primitive communal set-up described in S.

> And together (יחד) they shall eat, and together (יחד) they all pray, and together (יחד) they shall exchange counsel (√ עצה). And in every place where there are found ten people from the council of the community (מעצת החיד [=היחד]) a priest shall be present. (1QS 6:2c–4a)

What is described here is a very basic level of social interaction between likeminded Jews. I see no need to presuppose that the highly developed communal structure described elsewhere in S co-existed with the primitive scenario outlined here. Instead, it seems more likely to me that some very early and primitive material continued to be handed on and cherished by the tradents of S. The influence of this primitive material on the development of the tradition is indicated by the fact that all of the activities mentioned here are the cornerstones, the seeds,

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[7] H. Stegemann, "The Qumran Essenes: Local Members of the Main Jewish Union of Second Temple Times," in *The Madrid Qumran Congress: Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls, Madrid 18–21 March, 1991* (eds. J. Trebolle Barrera and L. Vegas Montaner; STDJ 11; Leiden: Brill, 1992), 1:83–166, quotations from 138 and 155 respectively.

[8] See also F.M. Cross, *The Ancient Library of Qumran* (3d ed.; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995), 70–71.

[9] Regev, "The *Yaḥad* and the *Damascus Covenant*."

[10] S. Metso, "Whom Does the Term Yaḥad Identify?" in *Biblical Traditions in Transmission*, 213–35. See also S. Metso, "Methodological Problems in Reconstructing History from Rule Texts Found at Qumran," *DSD* 11 (2004): 315–35, esp. 322–25.

[11] C. Hempel, "Interpretative Authority in the Community Rule Tradition," *DSD* 10 (2003): 59–80, esp. 61–68.

of much of the detailed and elaborate procedures found elsewhere in
S such as sharing food and exchanging counsel.[12] Thus, access to the
טהרת הרבים is an important step towards full membership according to
the protracted admission process laid down in 1QS 6:13b–23 // 4QS[b]
11:8, 11–13 // 4QS[g] 3:1, and making one's counsel (עצה) available to
the community is the culmination of the same process (cf. 1QS 6:23 //
4QS[g] 3:1). However, in 1QS 6:2c–4a we do not yet have *rabbim* termi-
nology or any concept of the pure food and drink of the community.
We can imagine quite well how this kind of primitive set-up might have
given rise to the more sophisticated procedures over time. Strikingly
however, we already have in 1QS 6:2c–4a the repeated adverbial use of
יחד and even an occurrence of עצת היחד. I therefore propose not only
that the small scale practicalities outlined here go back to a primitive
stage in the development of communal identity in S, but that this is
also where we have the roots of the emerging עצת היחד terminology.[13]
It is interesting that we already have a reference to the council of the
community in such a small scale context as a place of ten.[14] Moreover
both 1QS 6:2c–4a and the classic account of the council of the com-
munity in 1QS 8:1–7a // 4QS[d] 6:1–2 // 4QS[e] 2:9–16 share:

– the exclusive use of council of the community language (without הרבים);
– the small scale setting;
– an interest in the ratio of lay members and priests;
– as well as a lack of concern for the genealogical background of the
  priestly component (cf. a priest/three priests over against a preference
  elsewhere for designations such as sons of Zadok or sons of Aaron).

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[12] The centrality of the activities mentioned in 1QS 6:2–4 for much of the remainder
of S has also been recognized by M. Klinghardt, *Gemeinschaftsmahl und Mahlgemeinschaft:
Soziologie und Liturgie frühchristlicher Mahlfeiern* (TANZ 13; Tübingen: Francke, 1996), 229.
However, his analysis goes much further than I am prepared to go in making the meal
and subsequent symposium the focal point of the Communal Rule. His analysis of the
Rule as a collection of statutes of one or more religious associations is illuminating,
although he seems at times to read too much into the text of S. For instance, there is
nothing in the text that suggests the communal meeting described in 1QS 6:8b–13a
took place after a meal or in 1QS 7:10 that the offence of lying down to sleep during
the meeting occurred in the context of a "*Gelagesituation*," 233.

[13] On the question of the significance of עצת היחד terminology in 1QSa see now
the astute remarks by Collins, "Forms of Community," 109.

[14] Both Metso ("Whom Does the Term Yaḥad Identify?") and Collins ("The Yaḥad
and 'The Qumran Community'") draw attention to the partitive *min* in the statement
(מעצת החיד [=היחד]). This does indicate that the overall membership of the community
was larger, but the figure of ten still indicates a small-scale setting.

An important difference is, of course, the idealistic, cultic, and theologically charged concerns that come to the fore in 1QS 8 over against the more down to earth realism we have in 1QS 6:2c–4a.

This hypothesis of a close relationship between the earliest layer of 1QS 6 and the earliest layer of 1QS 8 as complimentary pieces of evidence that shed light on the earliest periods of communal life might gain support from the intriguing remains in 4Q265 7 6.[15] There after the Sabbath rules and immediately preceding the council of the community material, we come across the fragmentarily preserved expression אל ימ]. In 1962 Milik tentatively proposed to restore the verb: אל ימ]ש(?).[16] In his *editio princeps* of this text of 1999, Baumgarten takes up Milik's restoration without the question mark and supplements the text further as follows: אל ימ]ש כהן מבונן בספר ההגי במקום [עשר.[17] In his notes on the restoration Baumgarten refers to CD 13:2, although comparable phrases occur also in 1QS 6:3–4 and 1QS 6:6. If Milik's tentatively proposed restoration were correct, not to mention Baumgarten's much more extensive restoration, this passage would add welcome grist to my mill in as much as it would provide us with an ancient witness that offers an explicit link between the two passages on the council of the community in 1QS 6 and 8. However, despite the obvious attractiveness of Milik's restoration for my hypothesis and its endorsement by Doering in his book on the sabbath,[18] I would like to offer a cautious note. Since the immediately preceding statement (i.e. the reference to a distance of thirty *ris* from the sanctuary in 4Q265 7 6) may still belong to the sabbath rules,[19] the phrase in question in the second half of this line may constitute yet another formally coherent אל plus jussive clause which could equally be reconstructed along the lines אל ימ]רא

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[15] I am grateful to Dr. Lutz Doering (London), Prof. Larry Schiffman (New York) and Prof. Joseph Baumgarten (Baltimore) for sharing their insights—and in Lutz's case also a number of bibliographical references—with me in the course of our discussions of this intriguing and fragmentary passage and its immediate context.

[16] M. Baillet, J.T. Milik, and R. de Vaux (eds.), *Les 'Petites Grottes' de Qumran* (DJD 3; Oxford: Clarendon, 1962), 188. I owe this reference to Lutz Doering.

[17] J.M. Baumgarten et al. (eds.), *Qumran Cave 4.XXV: Halakhic Texts* (DJD 35; Oxford: Clarendon, 1999), 69.

[18] L. Doering, *Schabbat: Sabbathalacha und -praxis im antiken Judentum und Urchristentum* (TSAJ 78; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1999), 220.

[19] So L.H. Schiffman, "Some Laws Pertaining to Animals in Temple Scroll Column 52," in *Legal Texts and Legal Issues: Proceedings of the Second Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies, Cambridge 1995* (eds. M. Bernstein, F. García Martínez, and J. Kampen; STDJ 23; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 167–78, esp. 176–77.

(CD 11:12) // אל ימ[ך (4QD[f] 5 i 7), a prohibition that occurs in the Damascus Document as part of the sabbath code and forbids driving on one's servants on the sabbath.[20]

In sum, it seems advisable to be somewhat cautious as far as the restoration of 4Q265 7 6 is concerned. There is one consideration, however, that might offer some support for Milik's and Baumgarten's restoration of the text. The crux in discussions of 4Q265 has always been its heterogeneous character and the intriguing way in which this text strings together a wide variety of *topoi*. These features are nowhere so clearly laid bare as in fragment 7, and Baumgarten has highlighted "the difficulty of finding the connecting thread" here.[21] On having looked at this material again it seem possible that the red thread that runs through the last two thirds of this fragment is the topic of quantities and numbers. Such a concern can be identified as follows:

4Q265 7 5 two thousand cubits
4Q265 7 6a thirty stades
4Q265 7 6b [ten (members of the community)]
4Q265 7 7 fift[een men]
4Q265 7 11 fir[st] week
4Q265 7 13 [eighty days]
4Q265 7 15a seven days
4Q265 7 15b th[irty three days].

I have marked the restored part of the passage in question in italics above. Thus, altough it is wise not to build too much on the fragmentary remains of line 6b, the suggestion that quantities and measures of some kind are the red thread, the associative[22] link, in the bulk of this

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[20] For a full discussion of the textual evidence and the meaning of the prohibition see Doering, *Schabbat*, 190–193. For a different translation of 4QD[f]'s text see J.M. Baumgarten (ed.), *Qumran Cave 4.XIII: The Damascus Document (4Q266–273)* (DJD 18; Oxford: Clarendon, 1996), 180–83, where he translates "do not contend (?) with his slave…" and suggests that we are dealing with a prohibition of "secular confrontations on the Sabbath."

[21] J.M. Baumgarten, "Scripture and Law in 4Q265," in *Biblical Perspectives: Early Use and Interpretation of the Bible in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (eds. M.E. Stone and E.G. Chazon; STDJ 28; Leiden: Brill, 1998), 25–33, at 28.

[22] The term "associative" is helpfully applied to the Laws of the Damascus Document by Baumgarten in his introduction to his *editio princeps* where he refers to the "Topical and Associative Arrangement of Laws," DJD 18.14.

fragment offers some support for Baumgarten's reconstruction of the reference to the groups of ten.

AN EMERGING COMMUNITY IDEOLOGY IN 1QS 8

A number of features present in the various manuscripts of S that preserve material from 1QS 8 strongly point in the direction of a gradual expansion and reworking:[23] we note particularly the high level of activity by Scribe B especially in lines 8–10 of 1QS 8[24] and the absence of the sizeable chunk of text, i.e. the equivalent of 1QS 8:15–9:11, from 4QS[e].[25] As far as the latter is concerned I am convinced by Metso's case to consider the shorter version of 4QS[e] as the more original.[26]

I share the view of those scholars who have emphasized that because of the usage of the expression council of the community elsewhere in S, it is best taken here to refer to the community in an incipient stage rather than an inner council.[27] On my reading of the evidence, 1QS 8:1–7a

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[23] For a synchronic reading and an analysis of the rhetorical movement of 1QS 8:1–9:11 see now C.A. Newsom, *The Self as Symbolic Space: Constructing Identity and Community at Qumran* (STDJ 52; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 152–65. See also Collins's recent discussion of this material in "Forms of Community," 105–7.

[24] Cf. the helpful summary and bibliography in S. Metso, *The Textual Development of the Qumran Community Rule* (STDJ 21; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 7 and her own analysis ibidem, 95–105. Note also the recent remarks by E.J.C. Tigchelaar, "The Scribe of 1QS," in *Emanuel*, 439–52, esp. 451.

[25] The evidence of 4QS[e] led C.-H. Hunzinger to speak of a "lockere Verankerung dieses Abschnittes innerhalb der Sektenschrift," "Beobachtungen zur Entwicklung der Disziplinarordnung der Gemeinde von Qumrān," in *Qumran-Probleme* (ed. H. Bardtke; Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1963), 231–47, 244.

[26] See S. Metso, "The Primary Results of the Reconstruction of 4QS[e]," *JJS* 44 (1993): 303–8. For details on the views of those who prefer to think of the longer text of 1QS as the more original see ibidem, 304. See also *Textual Development*, 72.

[27] For the latter view see, e.g., J.M. Baumgarten, "The Duodecimal Courts of Qumran, Revelation and the Sanhedrin," *JBL* 95 (1976): 59–78 (reprinted in idem, *Studies in Qumran Law* [SJLA 24; Leiden: Brill, 1977], 145–71), J.T. Milik, *Ten Years of Discovery in the Wilderness of Judaea* (SBT 26; London: SCM, 1959), 100. The former position was first outlined by E.F. Sutcliffe, "The First Fifteen Members of the Qumran Community: A Note on 1QS 8:1ff.," *JSS* 4 (1959): 134–38, who is followed by many subsequent scholars. See e.g. J. Maier, "Zum Begriff יחד in den Texten von Qumran," *ZAW* 31 (1960): 148–66, esp. 149, P. Wernberg-Møller, *The Manual of Discipline: Translated and Annotated with an Introduction* (STDJ 1; Leiden: Brill, 1957), 122–123; and A.R.C. Leaney, *The Rule of Qumran and Its Meaning* (NTL; London: SCM, 1966), 211–12. J. Pouilly, slightly differently, takes עצת היחד to mean "le programme de la Communauté," *La Règle de la Communauté de Qumrân: Son évolution littéraire* (CahRB 17; Paris: Gabalda, 1976), 20–21.

constitutes the original core of the council of the community passus in 1QS 8–9.[28] I have arrived at this judgment on the basis of a number of considerations. On a very basic literary level the line of argument made by this text is smooth and comes to a logical climax with the reference to the judgment of the wicked in line 7. What follows in lines 7b–8a introduces the new metaphor of the fortified city (based on Isa 28:16)[29] after an identification of the council with the temple in previous lines. This subtle change of metaphors was noted by Georg Klinzing in his fine study of this material from the early 70ies entitled *Die Umdeutung des Kultus in der Qumrangemeinde und im Neuen Testament*[30] which we will have cause to mention again below. Finally, as was noted already by Brownlee, the passage employing the metaphor of the fortified city is set apart from its context on either side by a significant amount of empty space in both lines 7 and 8.[31] After 1QS 8:8b we begin a pattern of formally repetitive statements about the council with a significant heightening of the cultic rhetoric as well as a number of widely recognized interpolations that presuppose a rather well-established community.[32] This pattern of repetition and gradual expansion that I suggest on the level of three passages (i.e. 1QS 8:1–7a; 8:8b–10a and 9:3–6)[33] is

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[28] The classic and most influential examination of the literary growth of the Community Rule by J. Murphy-O'Connor attributed 1QS 8:1–16 and 9:3–8 to the earliest layer or Manifesto of the document, cf. J. Murphy-O'Connor, "La genèse littéraire de la Règle de la Communauté," *RB* 76 (1969): 528–49. This was revised by J. Pouilly who argued for the secondary character 8:10–12, cf. Pouilly, *Règle de la Communauté*. In this assessment of 1QS 8:10–12, Pouilly followed A.-M. Denis, "Évolution de structures dans la secte de Qumrân," in *Aux origines de l'Église* (eds. J. Giblet et al.; RechBib 7; Louvain: Desclée de Brouwer, 1965), 23–49. This revised form of Murphy-O'Connor's analysis has been accepted by many. In a detailed study of the earliest layer of the Community Rule, C. Dohmen proposed that the original manifesto comprised 1QS 8:1–7a,12b–15a and 9:16b–21, cf. C. Dohmen, "Zur Gründung der Gemeinde von Qumran (1QS VIII–IX)," *RevQ* 11/41 (1982) 81–96. More recently Metso has argued on the basis of the evidence of 4QS[d] and 4QS[e]: "The earliest form of the introduction of 1QS column VIII thus consisted of 1QS VIII,1–13a + 15a," see Metso, *Textual Development*, 118. See also Metso, "Primary Results," 304–5.

[29] Cf. W.H. Brownlee, *The Dead Sea Manual of Discipline* (BASORSup 10–12; New Haven: ASOR, 1951), 33.

[30] (SUNT 7; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1971).

[31] Brownlee, *Dead Sea Manual of Discipline*, 33.

[32] The repetitive and secondary character of 1QS 8:7b–10a and 9:3–11 is highlighted also by Dohmen, "Gründung der Gemeinde," 85–86, 89–91. He perceptively describes 9:3–11 as a "Nachbildung" with a pronounced cultic *Tendenz* (90).

[33] 1QS 8:16b–9:2 is commonly recognized as secondary, see Metso, *Textual Development*, 72 and the earlier literature referred to there. With reference to 1QS 9:3–11 Metso has also observed that it "appears to be a duplicate of the beginning of column

already apparent in the development of the formula "when these exist in Israel".[34] As clearly illustrated by the synoptic table of the different attestations of the formula in *DJD* 26 and as argued convincingly by Alexander and Vermes, the original formula was "When these exist in Israel" which was subsequently supplemented to read "When these exist as a community in Israel" or "When these exist *as a community* in Israel **according to** all **these rules**."[35] The additions do not always occur together, and I have highlighted in various ways the different elements the longer formulae may include. The original form of the formula which presupposes the emergence of a group in Israel with no reference to previous rules is found in the passage here identified as the earliest version of the council of the community statement. Thus, we observe a movement towards expansion in these formulae just as we observe successive elaboration of the passages as a whole. A further new element in a number of later passages in 1QS 8–9 is a repeated emphasis on separation, cf. 1QS 8:11, 13; 9:5, 9.[36]

Perhaps the strongest support for taking 1QS 8:1–7a as the nucleus of this column is the presence of a formally compatible structure elsewhere in S as well as in 4Q265. One of the chief conclusions of Klinzing's traditio-historical analysis is the identification of a shared tradition in 1QS 8:4–8; 8:8–10; 9:3–6 and 5:4–7.[37] My own argument differs from Klinzing in a number of respects and also includes the

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VIII," *Textual Development*, 72 and "Primary Results," 304–5. My own view is that there is a clear difference between the idealistic tenor of 9:3–6 and the more realistic flavour of 9:7–11. For a discussion of 1QS 9:7–11 // 4QS[d] see C. Hempel, "The Community and Its Rivals According to the Community Rule from Caves 1 and 4," *RevQ* 21/81 (2003): 47–81, esp. 61–63.

[34] For a discussion of the significance of the development of this formula for our understanding of the development of the text see also Metso, "Primary Results," 305. On the successive growth of the formula see also Dohmen, "Gründung der Gemeinde," 83.

[35] Cf. Alexander and Vermes, DJD 26.113. The inclusion of ליחד as part of the quotation from 1QS 9:3 is, however, in error.

[36] See also Klinzing, *Umdeutung des Kultus*, 53. The readings of the 4QS manuscripts which attest these references to separation (i.e. 4QS[d] and 4QS[e]) differ only once from the text of 1QS in 1QS 9:5 // 4QS[d] 7:6 where the former has an unexpected *hipʿil* or a full spelling of the *nipʿal* imperfect יבדילו and the latter reads an unambiguous *nipʿal* imperfect יבדלו. For discussions of the reading of 1QS 9:5 see Brownlee, *Dead Sea Manual of Discipline*, 35 n. 9; E. Qimron, *The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (HSS 29; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986), 19; and Wernberg Møller, *Manual of Discipline*, 133.

[37] Klinzing, *Umdeutung des Kultus*, 50–93. A helpful synoptic table is included on p. 70.

evidence of 4Q265 which was not available to him.[38] A key difference in our analyses concerns the close relationship I perceive between 1QS 8:1–4a and 8:4b–8a over against Klinzing's distinction between both passages. He notes that the former contains organizational matters as well as general ethical admonitions.[39] The evidence of 4Q265 provides further evidence for a close connection of the council of the community issue with the temple imagery and the atoning function. This argument holds only, of course, if we consider the evidence of 4Q265 as that of an independent witness. I believe it is and I will say a little more on this below.

Moreover, the bulk of what Klinzing calls general ethical guidelines is firmly based on Mic 6:8, and a glance at the context of this verse in Mic 6:6–8 reveals that the verse quoted in 1QS is the culmination of an extended passage dealing with the importance of these ethical guidelines over and above the cult ("With what shall I come before the Lord…Will the LORD be pleased with thousands of rams, with tens of thousands of rivers of oil?…What does the LORD require of you but to do justice, and to love kindness, and to walk humbly with your God," NRSV).[40] Similarly, the reference to a "broken spirit" is taken from Ps 51:19 (Hebrew).[41] Again, it is extremely illuminating to take into account the immediate context of this allusion in vv. 18–19 (Hebrew, English vv. 16–17), which are rendered by the NRSV as follows: "For you have no delight in sacrifice; if I were to give a burnt offering, you would not be pleased. The sacrifice acceptable to God is a broken spirit…" And it is this intrinsic link between the quotation from Mic 6:8 and the allusion to Ps 51:19 and the subsequent attribution of an atoning function to the council that would explain why both the quotation from Mic 6:8 and a variation of the atonement motif are found again in close proximity to one another in 1QS 5, and in even closer proximity in the shorter and probably more original version

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[38] For the edition of 4Q265, see Baumgarten et al., DJD 35.57–78. For an introduction with bibliographical references on the debate so far see C. Hempel, *The Damascus Texts* (CQS 1; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000), 89–104.

[39] Klinzing, *Umdeutung des Kultus*, 52. Although he takes 1QS 8:2–4 and 1QS 8:4 to have originated separately, he allows for the possibility that they may have been combined prior to their combination here as the parallel structure in 1QS 5 indicates.

[40] As recognized by C.M. Murphy, *Wealth in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the Qumran Community* (STDJ 40; Leiden: Brill, 2002), 42.

[41] So Brownlee, *The Dead Sea Manual of Discipline*, 31. The phrase occurs again in 1QS 11:1 and 4Q393 1–2 ii 7.

Table: Glimpses of an Evolving Tradition[42]

	1QS 5:3b–7 // 4QS[d/b]	1QS 8:1–7a // 4QS[d] // 4QS[e]	1QS 8:8b–10a //4QS[d]// 4QS[e]	4Q265 7 7–10
Make-up of the Council of the Community		x	x	
Quotation of Micah 6:8	x	x		
Council or community established	x	x		x
Plant imagery[43]		x (not S[e])[44]		[x]?[45]
Israel and Aaron motif	x	x	x (var.)[46]	?
Expiation[47]	x (not S[d/b])	x	x (not S[e])	x
Judgment[48]	x (not S[d/b])	x	x (not S[e])	x

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[42] Some elements of this evolving tradition have also been incorporated into the final psalm in 1QS 11:7–9 which includes references to an emerging council of the community, a holy building, and an eternal plant, cf. Klinzing, *Umdeutung des Kultus*, 74–75. Echoes of this tradition are further present in 1QSa 1:3 where we have references to his council, wickedness, atonement, and the land.

[43] On this imagery see P. A. Tiller, "The Eternal Planting in the Dead Sea Scrolls," *DSD* 4 (1997): 312–35 and G.J. Brooke, "Miqdash Adam, Eden, and the Qumran Community," in *Gemeinde ohne Tempel: zur Substituierung und Transformation des Jerusalemer Tempels und seines Kults im Alten Testament, antiken Judentum und frühen Christentum* (eds. B. Ego et al.; WUNT 118; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1999), 291–93, esp. his apposite closing statement: "The cultic connection is part of the very woop and warf of the tapestry of images which are held together around the metaphor of planting" (293).

[44] 4QS[e] reads "eternal [j]udgment." Alexander and Vermes draw attention to the superlinear correction of the same word in 1QS 8:5 and plausibly suggest the possibility of a misreading caused by an attempt to copy an imperfect manuscript, DJD 26.143.

[45] The editor restores a reference to the eternal plant in line 8, cf. Baumgarten et al., DJD 35.70. Though not much can be built on the restoration, except perhaps to note that the presence of a number of shared elements of the council tradition with 1QS 8:1–7 makes it appear plausible.

[46] 1QS and 4QS[d] refer to "a most holy dwelling for Aaron," whereas 4QS[e] has "a m[o]st holy refuge," cf. Alexander and Vermes, DJD 26.144.

[47] For a discussion of atonement in the Dead Sea Scrolls see E.P. Sanders, *Paul and Palestinian Judaism* (London: SCM, 1977), 298–305.

[48] In 1QS 5 the judgment is here and now ("they shall declare guilty all those who transgress the statutes") whereas in both passages in 1QS 8 and in 4Q265 7 the eschatological judgment of the wicked is referred to.

attested by 4QS[b,d]. On my reading of the evidence the main elements of this evolving tradition on the emerging community may be summed up in the table included above.

Having established the earliest core of the council of the community tradition in 1QS 8:1–7a we can now identify the key concerns expressed in this passage.

Firstly, as far as the make up of the council is concerned we note a shift away from the pragmatic stance of 1QS 6:2–4 where it is required that a gathering of ten[49] must include a priest. This is replaced by the theologically motivated figures of twelve laypeople (representing the twelve tribes) and three priests (representing the three tribes descended from Levi, cf. Num 3:17).[50] Whereas the set-up in 1QS 6 has a pragmatic ring to it, the present passage is theologically motivated,[51] and rather than describing events as they were at the time seems to give us an author's view of how things should have been.[52] We also observe the lack of concern for the genealogical background of the priests, an issue that receives considerable stress elsewhere in 1QS // 4QS.[53] Both 1QS

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[49] The traditional quorum for a congregation also attested in *m. Sanh.* 1:6.

[50] So already Milik, *Ten Years of Discovery*, 100.

[51] On the theological character of the description of the community in 1QS 8:1–10 see A.-M. Denis, "Évolution de structures," in *Aux orinines de l'église*, 41 and Metso, "Whom Does the Term Yaḥad Identify?." Regev's doubts about the feasibility of restricting the numbers of an emerging community in such a way are laid to rest if one recognizes the theological character of this account, cf. "*Yaḥad* and the *Damascus Covenant*," 237 n. 10.

[52] Dohmen's description of the incipient group as a symbolic group points in the right direction. He notes the predominance of symbolism, while still thinking in terms of real events: "Vielleicht handelte es sich am Anfang um eine kleine symbolische Gruppe, die stellvertretend für die ganze Bewegung diese harte Lebensweise übernehmen sollte," "Gründung der Gemeinde," 83. See also Metso, *Textual Development*, 123.

[53] Cf., for instance, 1QS 5:2–3, 9 and 1QS 5:21; 9:7. On the significance of the textual differences between 1QS and 4QS[b]/4QS[d] on this issue see P.S. Alexander, "The Redaction-History of *Serekh ha-Yaḥad*: A Proposal," *RevQ* 17/65–68 (1996), 437–53; A.I. Baumgarten, "The Zadokite Priests at Qumran: A Reconsideration," *DSD* 4 (1997): 137–56; M. Bockmuehl, "Redaction and Ideology in the Rule of the Community (1QS/4QS)," *RevQ* 18/72 (1998): 541–60; J.H. Charlesworth and B.A. Strawn, "Reflections on the Text of Serek ha-Yahad Found in Cave IV," *RevQ* 17/65–68 (1996): 403–35; P. Garnet, "Cave 4 MS Parallels to 1QS 5:1–7: Towards a *Serek* Text History," *JSP* 15 (1997): 67–78; C. Hempel, "Comments on the Translation of 4QSd I,1," *JJS* 44 (1993): 127–28; eadem, "The Earthly Essene Nucleus of 1QSa," *DSD* 3 (1996): 253–69; eadem, "Interpretative Authority"; M.A. Knibb, "Rule of the Community," in *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (eds. L.H. Schiffman and J.C. VanderKam; New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 793–97; R. Kugler, "A Note on 1QS 9:14: the Sons of Righteousness or the Sons of Zadok?" *DSD* 3 (1996): 315–20; Metso, *Textual Development*, 74–90, 143–149; G. Vermes, "Preliminary Remarks on Unpublished

6:3–4 // 4QS and 1QS 8:1 // 4QS testify to a time when those inner-priestly disputes were not an issue yet, an observation that corresponds well with Kugler's persuasive assessment of priesthood at Qumran.[54]

Secondly we have an emphatic statement about adhering perfectly to all that has been revealed from all of the Torah. The implied concern of this statement seems to be the degree of adherence rather than limited access to a set of revelations.[55]

This is followed by the quotation from Mic 6:8. As I have argued above, the context of this quotation in Mic 6:6–8 already contains a strong cult critical statement. This is elaborated upon with a number of comparable ethical statements partly derived from Isa 26:3 and Ps 51:19. As noted above, the latter allusion also refers to a cult-critical passus of Ps 51. Finally, the reference in 1QS 8:3b // 4QS^e to "making up for trespasses by practicing justice" (ולרצת עוון בעושי משפט) adds an explicitly cult-critical note to the implicit allusions that already set a similar tone in previous lines. The notion of the council of the community replacing the cult is developed further in 1QS 8:4b–7a // 4QS$^{d/e}$.[56] However, the language used is rather mild and inclusive. Note, for instance, the reference to remaining faithful in the land (1QS 8:3a) and the council's function of making expiation for the land (1QS 8:6). These statements do not reflect a group that had withdrawn or indeed considered it desirable to withdraw from society at large.[57] Remarkable also is the universalistic tone of 1QS 8:4 which refers to conduct with everyone (להתהלך עם כול) and the rule of time (תכון העת), both notions close to the Maskil material in 1QS 9:12ff.—so close in fact that they strike me as almost out of place here.[58] I am not sure I would agree

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Fragments of the Community Rule from Qumran Cave 4," *JJS* 42 (1991): 250–55; idem, "The Leadership of the Qumran Community: Sons of Zadok-Priests-Congregation," in *Geschichte—Tradition—Reflexion: Festschrift für Martin Hengel zum 70. Geburtstag, Band I Judentum* (eds. H. Cancik, H. Lichtenberger, and P. Schäfer; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1996), 375–84.

[54] R. Kugler, "Priesthood at Qumran," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment* (eds. P.W. Flint and J.C. VanderKam; vol. 2; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 93–116.

[55] I noted a similar attitude with respect to the people of injustice and their lack of commitment to the hidden things according to 1QS 5:11–12, cf. Hempel, "Community and Its Rivals," 57.

[56] For two recent discussions of the community without a temple, see the contributions by L.H. Schiffman and G.J. Brooke in *Gemeinde ohne Tempel*.

[57] On "landclaims" in the Damascus Document see M.L. Grossman, *Reading for History in the Damascus Document: A Methodological Study* (STDJ 45; Leiden: Brill, 2002), 179.

[58] Note 1QS 9:12: אלה החוקים למשכיל להתהלך בם עם כול חי לתכון עת ועת.

with Metso that the material at hand is part of an introduction to the Maskil material in 1QS 9:12ff.[59] Instead I prefer to think of both blocks of material as having emerged independently on the basis of a number of distinct emphases in both. Put very briefly, the cultic language of the council of the community tradition seems to give way to a much more sapiential dictum in the statutes for the Maskil. I am however quite prepared to acknowledge refinements to this broad thesis as indicated by 1QS 8:4 where we see a clear connection between both blocks of material.

The dictum of 1QS 8:1–7a is by and large biblical, the ideal is an ideal Israel.[60] "The wicked" (רשעים) are present in this ideal world (1QS 8:7) and will be judged, but we have no reference to a particular group of opponents or any form of advocated separation. In short, I would be loath to connect this earliest statement on the council of the community in 1QS 8:1–7a to any pre-conceived notions about the Teacher of Righteousness and various macro-political events that have often been seen to lie behind this material.[61]

The formally repetitive passages about the council in 1QS 8:8b–10a and 1QS 9:3–6[62] gradually became more explicit about the rejection of the temple, even though an element of this notion is already present in the earliest layer.[63]

In essence 1QS 8:1–7a testifies to an emerging ideology, a vision of a community characterized by strong idealism and cultic concerns. It

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[59] Metso, *Textual Development*, 123, 144.

[60] On this issue see J.J. Collins, "The Construction of Israel in the Sectarian Rule Books," in *Judaism in Late Antiquity: Part 5: The Judaism of Qumran: A Systemic Reading of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Volume 1* (eds. A.J. Avery-Peck, J. Neusner, and B.D. Chilton; Leiden: Brill, 2001), 25–42.

[61] So, e.g. already Sutcliffe, "First Fifteen Members," 138. See also Murphy-O'Connor, "Genèse littéraire," 531. The Teacher is mentioned in connection with the council of the community in some of the *pesharim* where we also find a strong element of polemic and threats against the council. The situation described in the *pesharim* seems, therefore, quite removed from the optimism and idealistic tone in the present passage.

[62] The latter passage is part of the long section missing from 4QS[e], cf. Metso, "Primary Results," eadem, *Textual Development*, 71–73. Note Newsom's reference to 1QS 9:3–11 as a "recapitulation" of 1QS 8:1ff. and her list of overlapping terminology, *The Self as Symbolic Space*, 164–165. John Collins also speaks of 1QS 9:3–11 in terms of a reformulation and duplication of 1QS 8:4b–10, "The Yahad and 'The Qumran Community,'" in *Biblical Traditions in Transmission*.

[63] This observation seems to be shared by Newsom to a degree when she notes "references to sacrificial terminology…are elaborated…in 9:4–5," *The Self as Symbolic Space*, 165.

seems unlikely that it ever matched a historical reality that just happened to consist of the theologically conducive number of twelve plus three. A much more realistic scenario of a small-scale council of the community as it may have started to emerge in practice is described in 1QS 6:2–4. As far as 1QS 8:1–7a is concerned, the cultic frame of reference, which has often been noted,[64] and the cult-critical tenor of the passus point in the direction of a dissident priestly movement although there is no indication of any political rivalries or competing claims to high priestly office. This dissident priestly movement perceived itself as representing the land and its people. This group probably constituted the forebears of the group that is more narrowly defined and segregated elsewhere in S. The former position is not that far removed from some of the strongest criticism of the wrong kind of cult in the Bible, cf. esp. Isa 1:10ff., Amos 5:21–24, and Mic 6:6–8. An important new development attested here is the association of this elevation of ethical virtues over and against cultic obedience with a particular group within the land. This development is taken even further in 1QS 5 where the atonement is made possible by a particular group within the land on behalf of a particular community within the land which leads me to my next section.

The Effects of Expiation Restricted to the Community
(1QS 5 // 4QS^D/B)

As noted already by Klinzing parts of 1QS 5 resemble the earliest layer of 1QS 8 with some significant modification. To this we may now add that 4QS^d and b testify to a shorter text that narrows the gap between the quotation from Mic 6:8 and the Aaron and Israel motif. Curiously however, these manuscripts also lack the references to atonement and judgment that are otherwise widely attested in compatible texts. A noteworthy difference between 1QS 5 and 8, that has been pointed out by Murphy-O'Connor and others is that whereas both passages speak of expiation, the former restricts those granted expiation to community members whereas the latter passage speaks in biblical and more inclusive terms of expiation for the land.[65]

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[64] Cf. Murphy-O'Connor, "Genèse littéraire," 529. See also Maier, "יחד" in den Texten von Qumran," 165.
[65] Cf. Murphy-O'Connor, "Genèse littéraire," 535. See also Dohmen, "Gründung

The Evidence of 4Q265

The presence in 4Q265 of a self-contained passage on the council of the community indicates that we are dealing with an independent floating tradition. Questions of the literary nature and genre of 4Q265 are still very much unsolved although I think it is fairly clear that the text preserves independent traditions of some familiar material. Note for instance the only occurrence of the combination המבקר על היחד in 4Q265 4 ii 6.[66] The evidence of 4Q265 with regard to the council of the community tradition is complex, and because of the text's fragmentary character difficult to interpret. However, a number of observations can be made with a degree of confidence.

Firstly, 4Q265 mirrors the evidence of S by using the terminology council of the community both synonymously with *harabbim* in 4 ii 3–4 in the context of admission into the community, as well as by itself (exclusive usage) in the context of setting out the make-up and purpose of this council of the community in idealistic and cultic terms in fragment 7. As is indicated by the evidence of S, it seems likely that the council of the community terminology originated independently of the *rabbim* terminology, and that the two became merged at some stage. The *rabbim* terminology is found in very developed texts, as far as the complexity of the organization is concerned, whereas the exclusive use of council of the community language in S and 4Q265 is found in small scale, less rigidly organized, idealistic, and cultic contexts.

Secondly, as far as scope is concerned, the material on the council of the community in 4Q265 resembles the section in 1QS 8:1–7a that I identified above as the earliest representation of the council of the community tradition. Both passages start off with a description of the make up of the council consisting of fifteen members and end with a reference to judgment. However, because of its fragmentary nature we cannot be certain whether 4Q265 included either the plant imagery

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der Gemeinde," 83, M.A. Knibb, *The Qumran Community* (Cambridge Commentaries on Writings of the Jewish and Christian World 200 BC to AD 300 2; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 131. B. Gärtner notes the difference (27), but subsequently focuses exclusively on the resemblances between both passages, *The Temple and the Community in Qumran and the New Testament* (SNTSMS 1; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965), 30.

[66] Note that just two lines after this unusual designation the fragment attests the more familiar title המבקר על הרבים.

or the Aaron and Israel motif or something altogether different in the missing part of 4Q265 7 8. Given the constancy of the Aaron and Israel motif across the board, see the Table "Glimpses of an Evolving Tradition" above, a restoration along these lines seems reasonable.[67]

Thirdly, 4Q265 rather curiously combines terminological elements from 1QS 8:1–7a (the council of the community shall be established; will of God; to atone for the land) with features known only from 1QS 8:8b–10a (cf. the references to the sweet odour and an end of injustice).[68] Interestingly, and further attesting the fluidity of the traditions, the reference to the end of injustice is lacking both from Scribe A in 1QS 8:10 and probably also from 4QSᵉ 3:1.[69]

On the basis of this complex picture it seems likely that 4Q265 constitutes a literarily dependent yet more developed version of the original council of the community tradition from the one preserved in 1QS 8:1–7a. Some of its developments are, moreover, also found in the second and more developed form of the tradition preserved in 1QS 8:8b–10a.

The Evidence of the Damascus Document

We come across rudiments of a similar tradition to the one attested in 1QS 8:1–7a in the Damascus Document (CD 1:7–8 // 4QDᵃ 2 i 11–12 // 4QDᶜ 1 14–15). We note the following correspondences of topics and terminology:

– the early period of an emerging movement
– plant imagery
– Israel and Aaron motif[70]

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[67] See also n. 45 above.

[68] 1QS 8:10 reads ואין עולה. 4Q265 7 10 has וספה במשפט קצי עולה

[69] Cf. the notes on the readings of this line in Alexander and Vermes, DJD 26.145. On the superlinear additions in 1QS 8:10 and 1QS 8:12–13 as "additions-gloses" over against smaller corrections that may have followed a manuscript, possibly 4QSᶜ, see É. Puech, "Remarques sur l'écriture de 1QS VII–VIII," *RevQ* 10/37 (1979): 35–43, esp. 42–43.

[70] Two separate studies of the poetry of CD 1 have, however, both argued that the original text lacked the reference to Aaron in CD 1:7, cf. M. Boyce, "The Poetry of the *Damascus Document* and Its Bearing on the Origin of the Qumran Sect," *RevQ* 14/56 (1990): 615–28 and P.R. Davies, *The Damascus Covenant: An Interpretation of the "Damascus Document"* (JSOTSup 25; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1983), 232–33. For a discussion of this material see also Grossman, *Reading for History*, 146–47. If the

– the land (ארץ, cf. 1QS 8:3, 6 // 4QS^e 2:11, 15 and CD 1:8 // 4QD^a
   2 i 12 // [4QD^c 1 15])
– iniquity (עוון, cf. 1QS 8:3// 4QS^e and CD 1:8 // 4QD^a 2 i 12 //
   4QD^c 1 15).[71]

These shared linguistic features point to a common milieu. I have
argued elsewhere that the first stage of community origins in CD 1
goes back to and describes the emergence of the pre-Teacher group.[72]
An interesting difference between both passages is the lack of reference
to expiation in this part of the Damascus Document. This lack of ref-
erences to atonement in CD 1 is more than made up for in CD 3–4
where we find an intriguing series of references to atonement by God
in the context of the community's origins or founding members. The
relevance of CD 3–4 in discussions of 1QS 8 was again already picked
up by Klinzing.[73] Especially revealing in its relationship to 1QS 8 is CD
4:6–7 "<the fir>st holy <ones> for whom God made expiation, who
declared the righteous righteous and the wicked wicked."[74] An obvious
and fascinating difference between what is said about atonement in
CD 3–4 and 1QS 5 and 8 is the named responsible party: God in the
former versus the council of the community in the latter. Even if God
would have been considered the ultimate source of atonement even
in 1QS 5 and 8, theologically speaking, the difference in expressing
things is noteworthy.

Conclusions and Outlook

Some of the primitive and small scale communal scenarios described
in 1QS 6 deserve to be read without presuppositions derived from the
overwhelming majority of communal rules in S that describe a much

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reconstruction of the original text by Boyce and Davies is correct, then the overlapping
motif of Israel and Aaron would be present only in the final stage of this text. The Israel
and Aaron motif occurs again in a context of community foundation in CD 6:2–3.
    [71] The term recurs again in the context of community origins in CD 3:18.
    [72] See C. Hempel, "Community Origins in the Damascus Document in the Light of
Recent Scholarship," in *The Provo International Conference on the Dead Sea Scrolls: Technological
Innovations, New Texts and Reformulated Issues* (eds. D.W. Parry and E. Ulrich; STDJ 30;
Leiden: Brill, 1999), 316–29.
    [73] See Klinzing, *Umdeutung des Kultus*, 75–80.
    [74] See also CD 3:18 and 4:9–10. I am inclined to agree with Davies, *Damascus Covenant*,
99, that the first are here "the founder members of the community covenant."

more evolved and complex level of organization. On my reading of these isolated statements they originated independently of S and reflect the life of the forebears of the *yahad*. Those forebears were, furthermore, not concerned with separation and the establishment of rigid boundaries between themselves and Israel at large. The only visible element of separation was the small-scale gathering of some like-minded people to eat, pray and take council. It is quite possible that this was the kind of thing one did in middle class Second Temple Judaism, and this scenario might, therefore, describe only one group of many that engaged in these kinds of gatherings.[75] To some degree my position overlaps with the views expressed recently by Collins, Metso, and Regev.[76] A big difference is that all three, admittedly in very different ways, presuppose the existence of a framework, a central organization to have existed alongside these small groups.

I argued for some kind of a relationship between the material in 1QS 6:2–4 and 1QS 8:1–7a based on several overlapping traits (exclusive use of council of the community language, small numbers, concern with the ratio of priests and lay persons). I emphasized the recognizable shift towards the theological, cultic and ideological in the latter material. 1QS 6:2–4 offers a more credible historical scenario of emerging communal life. Finally, I advocated the identification of a moderately dissident priestly group behind the particular development of prophetic critiques of the cult in 1QS 8:1–7a while stressing the lack of references in the text to any high priestly rivalries. Finally the repeated references to atonement by God in CD 3–4 in a community emergence context may point to the presence of a recognizable cultic/theological layer in D and S that might deserve further investigation. An exceedingly interesting avenue for further investigation is the relationship of the material discussed here to 4QMMT which is conciliatory and low-key on polemics and of course also priestly and cultic in outlook. 4QMMT does contain a famous reference to separation but no indication of replacing the cult with ethical virtues along the lines of Mic 6—in fact, quite the opposite is true. The finer points of cultic halakhah seem to be the issue at hand.

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[75] On this see the reflections of Johann Maier who asked already in 1960: "ob das Wort יחד nicht schon vor der Qumrangemeinde irgendwo einen festen 'Sitz im Leben' gehabt hat" even referring in this context, though rather too tentatively, to 1QS 6:2, "יחד in den Texten von Qumran," 165.

[76] See nn. 4, 6, and 10 above.

WHOM DOES THE TERM YAḤAD IDENTIFY?

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At the heart of the question regarding the social structure and organization of the Essene movement lies the problem of the relationship of three central documents found among the Dead Sea Scrolls: the Damascus Document (D), the Community Rule (S), and the Rule of the Congregation (Sa).[2] Fairly early in Qumran scholarship, a sort of consensus was formed—no doubt influenced by Josephus' and Pliny's reports on the Essenes—that the Community Rule describes the life of the community at Qumran, identified with the *yaḥad*, whereas the Damascus Document was addressed to the members of the larger Essene movement living in the *maḥanot*, or camps, in towns and villages throughout Palestine. The relationship of the third document, the Rule of the Congregation, to these two, has been perplexing, for its regulations, while seemingly describing a future, messianic time, bear uncanny resemblance to rules for everyday practice included in both the Damascus Document and the Community Rule. To complicate the picture further, a more recently published manuscript, 4Q265,[3] "Miscellaneous Rules," dealing with ordinary legislation, similarly combines features from both the Damascus Document and the Community Rule.

Introduction

In this paper, I seek to find clarity regarding the identity and organizational structures of the groups behind the Dead Sea Scrolls, and more

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[1] This article was originally prepared to honor Michael Knibb, and is first published in his Festschrift, *Biblical Traditions in Transmission: Essays in Honour of Michael A. Knibb* (eds. C. Hempel and J. Lieu; JSJSup 111; Leiden: Brill, 2006), 213–35.

[2] Acknowledging that this statement presupposes that these three documents are products of the Essene movement, the following discussion takes place within the broad framework of the Essene hypothesis. It needs to be emphasized, however, that the relationships between these documents and the historical realities behind them are highly complex, as I point out below under "Methodological reservation."

[3] J. Baumgarten, "265: 4QMiscellaneous Rules," in *Qumran Cave 4.XXV: Halakhic Texts* (eds. J.M. Baumgarten et al.; DJD 35; Oxford: Clarendon, 1999), 57–78.

specifically, regarding the identity of the *yaḥad*. The special impetus
for this paper was given by John Collins's recent article "Forms of
Community in the Dead Sea Scrolls."[4] Collins deals with the question
of how the term *yaḥad* should be understood within the context of the
Essene movement and the Dead Sea Scrolls and, engaging in discus-
sion with studies indicating significant parallels between the commu-
nities described in the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Hellenistic voluntary
associations,[5] argues that the term *yaḥad* should not be identified with
an individual community such as the Qumran settlement, but should
be understood as an umbrella term for smaller groups, such as those
of ten members referred to in 1QS 6:3. The specific community cen-
tered at Qumran, in his view, should be viewed not as *the yaḥad* but as
an elite group *within* the *yaḥad*—a "'council of holiness' who withdrew
to the desert to walk in perfection of the way" (cf. 1QS 8:10–14).[6]
Although the relationship between the Community Rule and the
Damascus Document is not at the center of Collins's discussion, he
postulates within the Essene movement yet a third form of community
organization, that comprising the *maḥanot* described in the Damascus
Document. He has elaborated his theory in a forthcoming article.[7] To
be sure, the type of a characterization of the *yaḥad* he suggests is not
totally novel; similar ideas with varying details have been presented,
e.g., by Hartmut Stegemann and Eyal Regev.[8]

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[4] J.J. Collins, "Forms of Community in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Emanuel: Studies in Hebrew Bible, Septuagint, and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honor of Emanuel Tov* (eds. S.M. Paul et al.; VTSup 94; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 97–111.

[5] M. Weinfeld, *The Organizational Pattern and the Penal Code of Qumran Sect: A Comparison with Guilds and Religious Associations of the Hellenistic-Roman Period* (Göttingen: Vanden-hoeck & Ruprecht, 1986); M. Klinghardt, "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* (eds. M.O. Wise et al.; Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences 722; New York: The New York Academy of Sciences, 1994), 251–70.

[6] Collins, "Forms of Community," 107.

[7] I want to thank professor Collins for kindly sending me a copy of his "The *Yaḥad* and the 'Qumran Community,'" now published in *Biblical Traditions in Transmission: Essays in Honour of Michael A. Knibb* (eds. C. Hempel and J.M. Lieu; JSJSup 111; Leiden: Brill, 2006), 81–96, and for his helpful comments on this paper.

[8] H. Stegemann, "The Qumran Essenes: Local Members of the Main Jewish Union in the Late Second Temple Times," in *The Madrid Qumran Congress: Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls, Madrid, 18–21 March, 1991* (eds. J. Trebolle Barrera and L. Vegas Montaner; STDJ 11; Leiden: Brill, 1992), 1:83–166; E. Regev, "The *Yaḥad* and the *Damascus Covenant*: Structure, Organization and Relationship," *RevQ* 21/82 (2003): 233–62. See also M. Wise, M. Abegg Jr., and E. Cook, *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A New Translation* (New York: HarperSanFrancisco, 1996), 123–26, 133–34.

Steps to be Taken

At the center of the question as to whether *yaḥad* could be an umbrella term for smaller Essene communities, comprising the groups of at least ten members mentioned in 1QS 6:1c–8a, there lies a number of passages dealing with community organization, and more specifically with meetings of the community members.[9] In light of Collins' theory, of particular interest are the passages in 1QS 6:1c–8a and 8:1–13, and their relationship to comparable passages in various rule texts describing community organization. These passages seem interrelated, yet there are clear dissimilarities between them. As I try to sort out the relationships between these passages I will focus especially on the question of how the term *yaḥad* should be understood in relation to the groups of ten (esp. in 1QS 6:3 and CD 13:1), the *maḥanot*, and the community council mentioned in 1QS 8:1, described as consisting of "twelve men and three priests."[10] For the purpose of clarity, I will contrast the relevant passages, pointing out similarities and differences in vocabulary and paying special attention to the aspects of type and place of meeting, members present, and authority and hierarchy in decision-making. I am particularly interested in the relationships between these passages and how they function in their contexts.

Methodological Reservation

At the outset of this analysis I find it necessary to state a methodological reservation: Since the passages are often thematically very similar, we may suspect that they have undergone redaction in light of each other, perhaps changing the details of the settings from which they originated, and also to have undergone reworking in the contexts in which they were inserted. This realization, in my view, sets limits to the extent to which we can approach these passages simply as historically accurate

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[9] 1QS 6:1–8; CD 12:22–13:7; CD 10:4–10; 1QSa 2:11–22; 1QS 6:8–13; CD 14:3–12; CD 14:12–18; 1QS 8:1–12; 4Q265 7 7–10; 4QpIsaᵈ 1.

[10] This council is referred to as "council of holiness" by Collins ("Forms of Community," 107). The word "holy" (קודש) is not used as an attribute to the council in 1QS 8:1 where the group of twelve men and three priests is mentioned, but the wording עצת הקודש occurs later in 8:21. Also, in 1QS 8:11 we read: "they shall be set apart as holy within the council of the men of the community."

descriptions of actual circumstances within the Essene movement. Also, I think it is overly optimistic to expect these passages necessarily to fit nicely in a single coherent system—after all, the community at Qumran alone, and probably also Essene settlements elsewhere in Palestine, of which we have no archeological remains preserved, existed well over one hundred years.[11] Moreover, the organizational terms served not only to denote the social structures of the community, but also to give expression to the theological self-understanding of the community. This self-understanding was very idealistic and, as I have argued elsewhere, quite often "sociological clarity was less the goal of the Essene writers than theological impact."[12] A final difficulty is posed by the question regarding the function of documents such as the Community Rule and the Damascus Document. Rather than as manuals or lawbooks that would have authoritatively regulated community life and actively determined judicial cases, these documents may well have served as records of past judicial decisions and archives of community traditions, important for education of members but less so for the decision-making in the community, which probably rested more on the oral authority of the *rabbim* and the community leaders than on written traditions.[13] Thus, it is questionable as to what degree these texts would have been up to date at any given moment.

Groups of Ten

Relevant Passages Listed

I will start with passages describing the smallest of the organizational units mentioned in the texts, i.e., the group of ten, and the relationships of these passages to other passages describing community meetings.

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[11] In addition, a number of scholars have carried out extensive analysis to distinguish clues in the textual material pointing to a parent movement behind the communities described in the Dead Sea Scrolls. See e.g., Charlotte Hempel's overview in "Community Origins in the Damascus Document in the Light of Recent Schorlaship," in *The Provo International Conference on the Dead Sea Scrolls: Technological Innovations, New Texts, and Reformulated Issues* (eds. D.W. Parry and E. Ulrich; STDJ 30; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 316–29.

[12] S. Metso, "Qumran Community Structure and Terminology as Theological Statement," *RevQ* 20/79 (2002): 429–44, esp. 430.

[13] I have elaborated on this in "In Search of the *Sitz im Leben* of the Community Rule," in *The Provo International Conference*, 306–15.

A total of four passages in three documents (S, D, Sa) mention the quorum of ten. According to a passage in the Community Rule (1QS 6:1–8), a minimum of ten members, one of which has to be a priest, is required for meetings in places of מגוריהם, usually translated as "their dwelling-places" (1QS 6:2).[14] In the Damascus Document, the same requirement of a quorum of ten that includes one priest is applied to the meetings that take place in המחנות, "the camps" (CD 12:22–13:7).[15] In a second passage in the Damascus Document, "the judges of the congregation" shall be ten in number, "four from the tribe of Levi and Aaron, and six from Israel" (CD 10:4–10).[16] In the Rule of the Congregation, the procedure governing the messianic banquet is applied to every meal in which "at least ten men are gathered together" (1QSa 2:22).[17] Thus, the quorum of ten is mentioned in several parts of the rule corpus, and it is natural to ask, in what relationship these passages stand to each other: Are at least some of them describing identical community meetings, or was the quorum of ten applicable to various settings?

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[14] In 4QS material, fragmentary parallels for 1QS 6:1–8 are preserved in 4QS[d] 2:6–10 (par. 1QS 6:1–7); 4QS[g] 2a–c 2–5 (par. 1QS 6:2–5); 4QS[i] 1–5 (par. 1QS 6:1–4), see P.S. Alexander and G. Vermes (eds.), *Qumran Cave 4.XIX: Serekh Ha-Yaḥad and Two Related Texts* (DJD 26; Oxford: Clarendon, 1998), 98–102, 176–77, 199–200.

[15] Fragmentary parallels are preserved in 4QD[a] 9 ii (only a few letters extant from par. CD 13:4–5); 4QD[b] 9 iv 1–3 (par CD 13:5–7) ; 4QD[f] 5 ii 20–21 (only a few letters extant from par. CD 13:5–6).

[16] Fragmentary parallels are preserved in 4QD[a] 8 iii 4–9 (par. CD 10:4–10); 4QD[e] 6 iv 15–19 (par. CD 10:4–10). The mention of ten judges is particularly interesting, for the majority of judicial bodies mentioned in the Scrolls reflect the duodecimal system, see J.M. Baumgarten, "The Duodecimal Courts of Qumran, Revelation, and the Sanhedrin," *JBL* 95 (1976): 59–78 and idem, "Judicial Procedures," in *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (eds. L.H. Schiffman and J.C. VanderKam; New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 455–60. Noting that ten is the quorum for judges in CD 10:4–6 as well as for community members in 1QS 6:3–4, Baumgarten ("Judicial Procedures," 456) writes: "The passage [CD 10:4–10] does not define the nature of the cases that fall under the jurisdiction of the court of ten. It has been suggested that the quorum may be derived from the ten elders in *Ruth* 4.2, although [they] were apparently convened on an *ad hoc* basis. According to the Rule of the Community (1QS 6:3–4) ten was also the minimum quorum for a functioning unit of the sect, including deliberations 'for their counsel on any matter'."

[17] Material parallel to 1QSa 2: 17–22 is also preserved, although extremely fragmentarily, in the cryptic 4QSE[f,g,h], see S. Pfann, "Cryptic Texts," in *Qumran Cave 4.XXVI: Cryptic Texts and Miscellanea, Part 1* (eds. S. Pfann, P. Alexander et al.; DJD 36; Oxford: Clarendon, 2000), 562, 568, 571.

1QS 6:1–8: An Interpolation in the Context of the Serek?

Many commentators have pointed out that in the context of the Community Rule, the passage mentioning the group of ten in 1QS 6:1c–8a is unusual in its setting and thus may be an interpolation.[18] Five points support this view: First, nowhere else in the Serek is a group of ten mentioned. Secondly, the term מגורים occurs in this passage, though it occurs nowhere else in the Community Rule.[19] Thirdly, in this passage the term "priest" (איש כוהן) is used in the singular; elsewhere in the Community Rule, the word is always in the plural, and it seems that the presence of a multitude of priests is presumed in any given situation. A fourth feature that sets this passage apart is a minute one, but potentially very significant: only here is the preposition before the term 'council of the community' מן "from": "In every place where there are ten men from the council of the community" (מעצת היחד); elsewhere in the Serek, one gets the impression that when the members gather, they are *in* the council of the community.[20] Fifthly, according to this passage, *any* priest was permitted to function as head of community deliberations, whereas elsewhere in S (in the community assembly described in 1QS 6:8b–13a) procedural authority rested with the "*mebaqqer* at the head of the *rabbim*" (האיש המבקר על הרבים).[21] Thus, an argument can be made that the passage may have originated in a different setting, described that which happened somewhere else than in the community behind the Serek, and then may have been secondarily borrowed and inserted into the Serek.

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[18] A.R.C. Leaney, *The Rule of Qumran and Its Meaning: Introduction, Translation and Commentary* (New Testament Library; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1966), 180; M.A. Knibb, *The Qumran Community* (Cambridge Commentaries on Writings of the Jewish and Christian World 200 BC to AD 200 2; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 115; S. Metso, *The Textual Development of the Qumran Community Rule* (STDJ 21; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 115–116 and 134–135; C. Hempel, "Interpretative Authority in the Community Rule Tradition," *DSD* 10 (2003): 59–80, esp. 67–68.

[19] Etymologically, this term is derived from the root גור meaning "to dwell as a client," and in the Hebrew Bible, it often has the connotation of exiles (see e.g. Gen 17:8; Exod 6:4; Ezek 20:38). This connotation may well have affected the word choice of the Essene writer, but most commentators have translated here the term neutrally as a "dwelling" or a place of sojourn."

[20] The מן in 1QS 8:21–23 is of no relevance here, for the sentence belongs to a penal code and speaks about excluding a member from the community: "Every man of them who transgresses a word from the law of Moses presumptuously or negligently shall be sent away from the council of the community (מעצת היחד) and shall never return."

[21] Nonetheless, in both 1QS 6:1–8 and 6:8–13 priests had hierarchical precedence in the seating order.

1QS 6:1–8: Literarily Distinguishable or Not?

Collins, while analyzing this passage, points out that the entire Serek "is composed of small literary units that were combined," and argues that "the passage in 1QS 6 is no more distinct literarily than other pericopes in the Rule." He continues: "Neither can it be said that the regulations in 1QS 5–9, or in the Serek as a whole, mirror the circumstances of a larger Essene settlement rather than those of the small local communities of towns and villages."[22] Putting aside for a moment the question of the social setting of the Serek as a whole, I must respectfully disagree regarding the literary character of 1QS 6. Though it is true that the Serek is a composite document and includes passages that differ both in vocabulary and in genre, the organizational terminology in sections regulating community life in 1QS 5–7—if 6:1c–8a is removed—seems to be envisioning a relatively a consistent community structure and hierarchy and a sizeable community. Quite apart from the questions of either the function of this passage in the Serek, or the social setting of the passage, the fact that at least five features of this passage find no parallel elsewhere in the document is significant in my view, and do distinguish this passage literarily from the rest of the community regulations listed in the Serek.

Do Other Mss from Cave 4 Indicate Whether 1QS 6:1–8 is an Interpolation?

Already in the early stages of the analysis of the Community Rule it was suggested that 1QS 6:1c–8a forms an interpolation. The last sentence of the passage referring to the *rabbim* can be seen as a resumptive clause created by the redactor to tie the material together with what went before, and also as a bridge to the rules for the session of the *rabbim* (1QS 8:8b–13a) that follow.[23] A counterargument might be that the passage is also included in 4QSᵈ, which generally has preserved a more original version of the Serek than 1QS.[24] The fact that no manuscript

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[22] Collins, "The *Yaḥad* and the 'Qumran Community,'" 87–88.

[23] The *rabbim* is mentioned in 1QS 6: 1a at the end of the rule for reproof. With the sentence in 6:7b–8a ("And the *rabbim* shall watch together for a third of all the nights of the year to read the book, to study the law, and to pray together") the editor also linked the passage in 6:1b–7a to the rules for the session of the *rabbim* (1QS 8:8b–13a) that follow.

[24] 4QSᵈ 2:6–10 (par. 1QS 6:1–7). The passage is preserved only fragmentarily, and its end appears to have been shorter in 4QSᵈ. The view that 4QSᵇ·ᵈ have overall preserved a more original version of the text than 1QS is supported by studies by, e.g.,

evidence of a form of the Serek is preserved that would not include this passage is seen as problematical by Collins and as undermining the idea of insertion.[25] In my view, there is methodologically no problem in relying on internal textual clues in the absence of manuscript evidence, nor in presuming that the passage in question was inserted into the composition at a very early stage. There is no reason to presume that 4QS[d] would have preserved the very *Urtext* of the Serek. A considerable amount of analysis in our field of scholarly study is based on the assumption that it is possible to detect literary seams and redactional layers in texts using the standard criteria of literary-critical study. Thus, though the Serek is a composite work, 6:1–8 seems to be an interpolation literarily distinguishable from the rest of the Serek.

If 1QS 6:1–8 is an Interpolation, what was the Rationale for its Inclusion in S?

One can look for a reason for the passage's inclusion in the Community Rule from its context. Immediately following 1QS 6:1c–8a are the rules for the session of the *rabbim* (הסרך למושב הרבים), i.e. for the general assembly of the community (1QS 6:8b–13a). A number of lexical similarities between the passages can be detected: Both sections use the word תכון in denoting the rank of members, and ordinal numbers (לרשונה, בשנית) occur in both passages designating the order of the members (6:5; 6:8). Both sections use רעהו איש את (6:2; 6:10) to regulate how the members should behave toward each other; and both use the same syntactical pattern to regulate decision-making: וכן ישאלו וכן ישאלו למשפט ולכול עצה ודבר אשר יהיה לרבים/(6:4) לעצתם לכול דבר (6:9). The council of the community, עצת היחד, is mentioned in both passages (6:3; 6:10), but there is a clear difference in the contexts in which the term is used: the participants of the meetings in the places of מגורים are *from* the council of the community (מעצת היחד), while the participants in the session of the *rabbim* appear to be in the council of the community, for according to 1QS 6:10, this is the body to whom each member in the in the session "offers his knowledge."

J.T. Milik, "Numérotation des feuilles des rouleaux dans le scriptorium de Qumran (Planches X et XI)," *Sem* 27 (1977): 75–81, esp. 78; G. Vermes, "Preliminary Remarks on Unpublished Fragments of the Community Rule from Qumran Cave 4," *JJS* 42 (1991): 250–55, esp. 255; Metso, *Textual Development*, esp. 74–90. This view has also been accepted by Collins, "The *Yaḥad* and the 'Qumran Community,'" 87.
    [25] Collins, "The *Yaḥad* and the 'Qumran Community,'" 87–88.

Thus, regarding the relationship between these two passages and their social settings, a lot rests on the interpretation one gives to the term מנורים, and the significance one attaches to the preposition מן preceding עצת היחד in 1QS 6:3. Following A.R.C. Leaney and M. Knibb,[26] it would seem logical to suggest that 1QS 6:1c–7a and 1QS 6:8b–13a describe communities of two different scales: whereas the latter passage, the rule for the session of the *rabbim* taking place *in* the council of the community, describes circumstances of a large Essene settlement, such as that at Qumran, the former passage, the rule for the places of מנורים, describes meetings in smaller Essene settlements, perhaps in towns and villages of Palestine.[27] Before delving into the different possibilities for the function of 1QS 6:1–8 in the context of the Community Rule, an important parallel in D needs to be discussed.

Groups of Ten in the Context of the Damascus Document

The Damascus Document provides "a rule for those who live in camps" (CD 12:22–13:7), and a quorum of ten is required there, too. A verbal parallel involving the use of the word מקום can be detected: 1QS) ובכול מקום אשר יהיה שם עשרה אנשים (CD 13:2)/ובמקום עשרה 6:3). As in 1QS 6:1–8, the presence of a priest is required, but a special requirement for the priest is stated in CD 13:2: He has to be knowledgeable of the book of HAGU. If the priest does not fulfill this requirement, a qualified Levite, or the Overseer can take the place of

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[26] See n. 18.

[27] While discussing the social setting of 1QS 6:1–8 in relation to its surrounding material, and especially to 1QS 6:8–13, Collins ("The *Yaḥad* and the 'Qumran Community,'" 86) argues that 6:8–13 "refers to an assembly rather than a community. It may refer to people who live apart but come together to discuss communal matters, in the manner of 'the assembly of all the camps' in the Damascus Document....it gives no indication of the location. Such an assembly may have taken place at Qumran, but this is never specified in the Scrolls." Admittedly, there is nothing in the text of 1QS 6:8–13 that explicitly excludes the idea that people living apart come together to discuss communal matters, but neither is there anything in the text that would require this interpretation. The passage could equally well be interpreted as a regular community meeting taking place in a permanent large Essene settlement. Collins is right, of course, that the description of the session of the *rabbim* in 1QS 6:8–13 gives no indication of the location, but the fact that the membership present is said to consist of the priests, the elders, and the rest of the people does indicate that the locale in question is large, certainly something other than a place of מנורים, in which availability of a single priest might have been a matter for concern.

the priest in certain deliberations. Hempel notes about this passage in
the Damascus Document: "It seems unlikely that all of these authority
figures mentioned here operated simultaneously in any real community.
Rather, the material on the authority structure in the camp appears
to have undergone development perhaps reflecting changes in the
actual authority structure of a community." In her view, the absence
of priestly and levite figures in the passages that immediately follow
(CD 13:7–14:18) indicate "that at some point in the development of the
Laws the figure of the overseer seems to have become the dominant
authority in the camp."[28]

Groups of Ten: A Common Source Behind 1QS 6:1–8 and CD 12:22–13:7?

Might 1QS 6:1–8 have originated in a setting more like D than S? As
we further compare the passage of the Serek mentioning the quorum
of ten (1QS 6:1–8) with the similar passage in CD 12:22–13:7, it can
be asked whether the "man who studies the law" in 1QS 6:6 should
be identified with the overseer in CD 13:5–6 who is capable of instruc-
tion "in the matters of law," or whether he should be identified with
the "priest knowledgeable in the book of HAGU" mentioned earlier
in CD 13:2. To be sure, it is not entirely clear whether the "man who
studies the law" in 1QS 6:6 is even one and the same with the priest
mentioned only two lines earlier in the same passage (1QS 6:4). Thus,
although it does not seem possible to obtain full clarity regarding the
identity of the officials, there do exist terminological affinities between
the two passages, 1QS 6:1–8 and CD 12:22–13:7, which suggest that
1QS 6:1–8 may have originated in the same circles as CD 12:22–13:7,
and that it was brought into the composition of the Serek from a source
different from the sources for surrounding material in 1QS 5–7.[29]

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[28] C. Hempel, *The Damascus Texts* (CQS 1; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000), 40.

[29] Commenting on 1QS 6:3 and CD 12:23–13:2, C. Hempel (*The Laws of the Damas-cus Document* [STDJ29; Leiden: Brill, 1998]) writes: "The most likely explanation for this overlap between 1QS 6,3 and CD 12,23–13,2 is the preservation of communal legislation drawn from the traditions of the parent movement of the Qumran com-munity in both cases" (111).

GROUPS OF TEN: THE FUNCTION OF 1QS 6:1–8 IN THE COMPOSITION OF THE COMMUNITY RULE

As we now turn to the question of the function of 1QS 6:1–8 in the Community Rule, we shall see that there is no consensus regarding the interpretation of this passage; at least five different views have been presented in the most recent literature alone.

(1) Charotte Hempel in her article of 2003 discusses this passage, focusing on the question of the interpretative authority in the Community Rule tradition. She sees in this passage a three-stage development, at the heart of which is 1QS 6:1c–3a that "gives the impression of going back to the earliest and simplest beginnings of communal life, if it can be called that, where small numbers of individuals congregated together to eat, pray, and take counsel together." In her view, two passages both mentioning the ten were then added: 6:3b–6a "elaborates on the taking counsel (שאל עצת [nipʿal]) and eating (אכל) aspect by giving the priest a central role and offering more elaborate guidelines;" 6:6b–8a "elaborates on the prayer (ברך) aspect and adds a strong emphasis on the study of the Scriptures." Hempel's idea that 1QS 6:1c–8a "contains some rather early and organizationally primitive material"[30] is worth considering, although I am not quite sure about the presence of multiple redactional layers in the passage. I am hesitant to separate the statements about eating, praying, and taking counsel into different layers, since in the light of the analogy of the Hellenistic communal meals pointed out by Klinghardt and Collins, it is unlikely that eating, praying, and taking counsel should be understood as three activities separate from each other and something to be commented upon separately, but rather as elements of a single meeting to be discussed as a unit.[31]

(2) Eyal Regev takes 1QS 6:1–8 as a description of a "council of the *yaḥad*," which he describes as "a local community within the *yaḥad* organization." He interprets 1QS 6:1–8 as a regulation that "applies to several very small and scattered communities of at least ten members," and sees the *yaḥad* as a group composed of such of small communities.[32] While one can easily agree with Regev that 1QS 6:1–8 describes

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[30] Hempel, "Interpretative Authority," 67.

[31] M. Klinghardt, *Gemeinschaftsmahl und Mahlgemeinschaft: Soziologie und Liturgie frühchristlicher Mahlfeiern* (TANZ 13; Tübingen: Francke, 1996), 229–230; Collins, "Forms of Community," 103.

[32] Regev, "The *Yaḥad* and the *Damascus Covenant*," 235–36.

communities of a small scale, the problem of Regev's argument is that the ten men in 1QS 6 are not said to *form* a council of the community, but they are *from* the council of the community. In other words, the ten do not constitute the council but are only a part of it; the preposition used in the text is מן. Moreover, as many scholars have pointed out, in several parts of the Community Rule, עצת היחד is spoken of as reference to the totality of the members of the community (1QS 3:2; 5:7; 6:10, 13, 16; 7:2, 22–24), pointing rather in the direction that עצת היחד should be identified with היחד, not a small group within it.[33] Admittedly, an exception is found in 1QS 8:1 where the council of the community is said to consist of twelve men and three priests (I will discuss this passage below), but even there עצת היחד is not identified with a quorum of ten members.

(3) John Collins takes 1QS 6 as an integral part of the Rule and concurs with Regev in that 1QS 6 attests to smaller groups within the *yaḥad*. The *yaḥad*, in his view, should be understood as an 'umbrella organization of these smaller groups.'[34] Collins does not agree, however, with another view of Regev that these small groups would have formed 'councils' of the community; in Collins's view, the term עצת היחד is synonymous with היחד. While I agree with Collins that a small group of ten should not be identified with עצת היחד, I view the role of 1QS 6 within the composition of the Rule differently. As argued above, the passage is unique in the composition of the Rule, and may well form an interpolation that in its outlook originated in a community closer to a *maḥaneh* described in D than to a *yaḥad* described in S. Collins, however, sees the groups of ten described in S as distinct from the *maḥanot* described in D, envisioning two Essene orders, both of which lived in small communities throughout Palestine, but differed from each other in regards to ownership of property and probably also marital status.[35] In the light of this theory, the large community living at Qumran, and the material in the Rule that seems to presume the presence of large membership at any given moment, requires an explanation. (I will return to Collins's discussion of this question shortly.)

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[33] Especially, 1QS 5:7–20 and 6:13–23 dealing with the admission of new members seem to use term היחד עצת synonymously with היחד (see esp. 5:7, and cf. 6:13 with 6:18, 23). The identification of עצת היחד with היחד in 1QS 5:7 is also accepted by Hempel ("Interpretative Authority," 75) and Collins ("The *yaḥad* and the 'Qumran Community,'" 88–89).

[34] Collins, "Forms of Community," 104.

[35] Ibidem.

(4) I have raised the possibility that the reason for including the interpolation of 1QS 6:1–8 in the composition of the Serek was to provide a rule of conduct for the members of the *yaḥad* (i.e. members *from* the council of the community, מעצת היחד) while they were visiting areas outside large Essene settlements such as the one at Qumran, and would have been in contact with Essenes living in towns and villages and lodging in settlements small enough that gathering the quorum of ten would have been an issue.[36] With the unusual term מנורים, derived from the root נור, "to dwell as a client," the writer may have wanted to communicate that for *yaḥad* members, these were temporary lodges, not permanent ones. The idea of temporariness can be seen as further strengthened by the writer's use of the words כול הנמצא איש את רעהו "whoever encounters another" (1QS 6:2), right after after the word מנוריהם. This choice of words may have been influenced by Judges 17:7–8 that describes a Levite travelling from his former place, Bethlehem, "to live wherever he could find a place" (לנור באשר ימצא).

In the light of the reports by Pliny and Josephus, this kind of scenario is not unthinkable. Pliny locates a major Essene settlement near the Dead Sea, "remarkable beyond all the other tribes of the world, as it has no women and has renounced sexual desire, has no money, and has only palm-trees for company."[37] Josephus, on the other hand, describes the life of Essenes living in towns of Palestine and spares no words describing their hospitality:

> They have no one city, but settle in large numbers in every town. On the arrival of any of the sect from elsewhere, all the resources of the community are put at their disposal, just as if they were their own; and they enter the houses of men whom they have never seen before as though they were their most intimate friends. Consequently, they carry nothing whatever with them on their journeys, except arms as a protection against brigands. In every city there is one of the order expressly appointed to attend to strangers, who provides them with raiment and other necessaries.[38]

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[36] Metso, *Textual Development*, 135.

[37] Pliny, *Nat.* 5.73. A convenient brief summary of the relationship of this passage to its parallels in the writings of Synesius, Philo and Josephus is available in D.W. Palmer, "Pliny the Elder," *Dictionary of New Testament Background* (eds. C.A. Evans and S.J. Porter; Downers Grove, IL: InterVarsity Press, 2000), pp. 807–808. See also G. Vermes and M.D. Goodman, *The Essenes according to the Classical Sources* (Sheffield: JSOT, 1989).

[38] Flavius Josephus, *J.W.* 2.124–125. Translation by T.S. Beall, *Josephus' Description*

Todd Beall has noted a connection with this passage of Josephus and the statement in CD 14:13–15, according to which a two-day wage of each month is to be given to the overseer and the judges, to provide for the poor and needy and other afflicted persons in the community (הקהל). Beall writes: "While not specifically mentioning visiting Essenes, this passage does indicate that officials of the community were assigned the task of providing for the welfare of certain needy groups."[39]

A problem with this interpretation of 1QS 6:1–8 is that when understood literally, the members of the group of ten referred to in 1QS 6:3 are all said to belong to the council of the community, i.e. the *yaḥad*.[40] There is no mention of members of *maḥanot* being present although, as argued above, the group described in 1QS 6:1–8 is very similar to the description of *maḥanot* in CD 12:22–13:7. Thus, we should envision a group of ten *yaḥad* members traveling together or, alternatively, individual *yaḥad* members getting together while encountering each other on a journey.[41] On the basis of the similarity with the *maḥaneh* communities described in D, it is tempting to think that the places for such encounters would have been *maḥaneh* communities in towns and villages of Palestine, but the text does not explicitly state that.

(5) In light of these similarities between S, D, and the ancient historians, F.M. Cross's analysis of 1QS 6:1–8 in relation to CD 12:22–13:3 is highly interesting. He writes:

> It is possible, but not probable, I think, that more than one community could have been termed the *yáḥad*. In the Damascus Document, for example, the term *yáḥad* seems to be used only of the old community, the 'Community' of the founder [see יחד in CD 20:1, 14, 32], while the term 'camp' is regularly used of the various settlements, the units of the inclusive *ʿedāh*, 'congregation.'

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[39] Beall, *Josephus' Description of the Essenes*, 50.

[40] I would like to thank Jutta Jokiranta for pointing this out to me and for her many perceptive comments on my paper.

[41] A third less likely possibility is, though there is no archeological evidence, that there were in different parts of Palestine Essene communities that required of its members an equally high degree of purity and separation as described in the Community Rule, thus multiple *yaḥad* communities. According to this hypothesis, 1QS 6:3 could describe a few members from one *yaḥad* community traveling and visiting another *yaḥad* community.

He elaborates on this point:

> The standard quorum of ten applies to the 'camp', *CD* 12.22–13.3. In 1QS 6.2–8 one may recognize in prescriptions for a quorum of ten, etc., provision for more than a single *yáḥad*. I think that in fact, however, in the development of Essenism, the term *maḥaneh* replaced *yáḥad* for all but the desert settlement.[42]

Thus, like Hempel, Cross reckons with the possibility that 1QS 6:1–8 would have preserved an early piece of community legislation, and he finds community development as the explaining factor for the anomaly of a group of ten being associated with "the council of the *yaḥad*" instead of the "*maḥanot*."

In sum, the short passage in 1QS 6:1–8 poses a dilemma that interpreters have tried to solve basically in two ways. Either 1QS 6:1–8 is integral to the Community Rule and the *yaḥad* consisted of small communities, analogous but not identical to the *maḥanot*, thus postulating two Essene orders each of which lived in towns and villages throughout Palestine (Regev and Collins). Or 1QS 6:1–8 is an interpolation in 1QS that originated in early stages of the Essene movement in circles that organizationally seem to have been quite similar to the *maḥaneh* communities described in D (Cross, Hempel, and Metso). Since the Serek has preserved material mirroring various stages of community development, the passage in 1QS 6:1–8 may derive from an earlier stage in the Essene movement, have been incorporated into 1QS as a time-honored set of directives, and thus not mirror the same circumstances as the surrounding material in 1QS 5–7. The Community Rule in general seems to envision an Essene settlement considerably larger and more isolated than the *maḥanot* described in D.[43]

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[42] F.M. Cross, *The Ancient Library of Qumran* (3d ed.; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1995), 71.

[43] In addition to the discrepancies noted above, the passages related to the rabbim in S and D highlight the differences in social structure in the communities behind S and D. According to the Serek, the session of the *rabbim* (מושב הרבים; 1QS 6:8–13) is associated with the council of the community (עצת היחד), while in the Damascus Document, the regulations for the *rabbim* (סרך הרבים; CD 14:12–18) are included in the rule for the session of all the camps (סרך מושב כל המחנות; CD 14:3–18). The vocabulary of these two passages points in the direction of a different social outlook: First, in the session of the *rabbim* taking place in the council of the *yaḥad* (1QS 6:8–13), the membership is divided into the three categories of priests, elders, and the rest of all the people, while in the session of all the camps described in the Damascus Document, the members are divided into the four categories of the priests, Levites, Israelites, and the proselytes, and it is explicitly said that this is the order in which they can be addressed in the meeting of the *rabbim*. Secondly, according to CD 14:12–18, the *rabbim* is to take care of the

Different Types of Essenes

Scholars are in agreement that the Essene movement consisted of differently organized groups. Traditionally, largely on the basis of Josephus' and Pliny's reports, they have reckoned with only two different orders in the Essene movement.[44] Collins, however, proposes that within the Essene movement, there were three "different forms of community: the camps of married people attested in CD, the 'cell groups' of ten or more that we find in the Community Rule without reference to women and children, and the elite 'council of holiness' who withdrew to the desert to walk in perfection of the way."[45] We have already discussed the first two groups. The idea of an elite group within the *yaḥad* remains to be discussed.

The Desert Community: An Elite Group within the Yaḥad?

Collins compares the desert community (at Qumran?) to an elite group *within* the *yaḥad*, a "'council of holiness' who withdrew to the desert to

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business of the entire association (בית החבר/החבר), including "their wounded . . . the poor and needy, and the [sickly] elder, the man with a skin-disease, whoever is taken captive by a foreign nation, the girl without a near kinsman, the boy without an advocate." In contrast, in the Community Rule, there is no mention of proselytes or the Israelites, nor the kind of indigent groups listed in CD 14:14–16, including the youth and especially the females. Thirdly and importantly, the term *maḥaneh* is used nowhere in the Community Rule, and conversely, the term *yaḥad* is not used of the community in the Damascus Document (though manuscript B uses היחד in CD 20:1, 14 and 32 as a possible alternate for היחד). These three points indicate that these two groups—the *rabbim* in the council of community described in S, and the *rabbim* in the session of all the camps described in D—would not have been identical. (Regev ["The *Yaḥad* and the *Damascus Covenant*," 260] too concludes that "the *rabbim* in D are quite different from the *rabbim* is S!" [emphasis his].) Considering the exclusive makeup of the community behind the session of the *rabbim* described in S, I would argue that a permanent large Essene settlement would be a more likely setting than towns and villages throughout Palestine for the session of the rabbim described in S.

[44] The umbrella term for the totality of all Essene communities, i.e., the designation that the members of the Essene movement themselves used, may not be extant in the rule texts but preserved only in the pesharim. J.C. VanderKam ("Identity and History of the Community," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment* [eds. P.W. Flint and J.C. VanderKam; vol. 2; Leiden: Brill, 1999] 487–533, esp. 490–97) suggests that behind the name Essene lies the form עשין (יןʿ reflecting the Aramaic ending), found for example in Pesher Habakkuk in the phrase עושי התורה, "in contexts where it certainly appears to be a self-designation" (496) (1QpHab 7:10–12; 8:1–3; 12:4–5).

[45] Collins, "Forms of Community," 107.

walk in perfection of the way."[46] He bases this view on his interpretation of the material in 1QS 8:

> 1QS 8:1, "In the council of the community (there shall be) twelve men
> and three priests," can be read in either of two ways. The twelve men
> and three priests can be taken to constitute the council of the community.
> This again can be understood in either of two ways. Either they constitute
> an elite council within the community or they constitute the original core
> of the movement (if the council is simply the *yaḥad* itself)....But it is also
> possible to take the verse to mean that the twelve men and three priests
> are a special sub-group *within* the council of the *yaḥad* (= the *yaḥad* itself).
> This is in fact how they are understood in 1QS 8:10–11: "When these
> have been established in the fundamental principles of the community
> for two years in perfection of way, they shall be set apart as holy within
> the council of the men of the community." They are not, then, a council
> in the sense of an administrative or executive body. Rather, they are an
> elite group set aside for special training.[47]

The Question of the Textual Evidence for the Elite Community

The idea of an elite group *within* the council of the community (עצת
היחד, which Collins identifies with היחד itself), however, is problematical in the light of a similar passage following a little later. In 1QS
9:5–6 we read:

> At that time the men of the community (אנשי היחד) shall separate them
> selves (יבדילו) as a holy house for Aaron, that they may be united (להיחד)
> as a holy of holies, and as a house of community for Israel (בית יחד
> לישראל), as those who walk in perfection (ההולכים בתמים).

First, the ones described as "holy of holies" are the men of the community, not a special group within the community. Throughout the Serek,
this term, אנשי היחד, is used of the general membership of the *yaḥad*.
Secondly, the expression בית יחד, used as an equivalent to the men of
the community, likely refers to the entire *yaḥad* (see 1QS 5:6). Thirdly,
in several parts of the Serek it is stated that walking in perfection is
expected of all members of the *yaḥad*,[48] not of only some that would
form an elite within the *yaḥad*. Thus, the language of "perfection" or
"holiness" does not seem to be an indicative of a special status within

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[46] Collins, "Forms of Community," 107, and "The *Yaḥad* and the 'Qumran Community,'" 91.

[47] Collins, "The *Yaḥad* and the 'Qumran Community,'" 90 (emphasis mine).

[48] 1QS 1:8; 2:2; 3:9; 8:9, 10, 18, 20, 21; 9:2, 5, 6, 8, 9, 19.

the *yaḥad*, but a quality required of the entire *yaḥad*. Moreover, the statement in 1QS 8:10–11 regarding "two years" after which members would be "set apart as holy," is more natually understood as a reference to the period of two years of probation that is required of all new community members (cf. 6:13–23), as Knibb suggests,[49] rather than as a reference to an elite group within the *yaḥad*.

Different Interpretations of 1QS 8

Granted, the interpretation of the material in 1QS 8–9 is very difficult. One view, the idea that the material constitutes an early manifesto, a foundational programme for a community about to be established has dominated the discussion,[50] but in the light of the evidence provided by 4QSᵉ and 4QSᵈ, the issue gets very complicated indeed. A major portion of the text of 1QS 8–9, namely 1QS 8:15b–9:11, including 1QS 9:5–6, is not found in 4QSᵉ, and as I have argued elsewhere, it forms a secondary insertion in 1QS.[51] In 4QSᵈ the passage is included, but the important words אנשי היחד are not part of the text.[52] In the context of 4QSᵉ, the material parallel to 1QS 8:1–15a seems to have formed an introduction for the passages addressed to the Maskil, comparable to the introductions at the beginning of 1QS 1 and 5, rather than part of a manifesto. But regardless of whether 1QS 8–9 was a manifesto or a passage for the Maskil, that does not yet solve the question as to whom the mention of twelve men and three priests in 1QS 8:1 refers to.

The Evidence of 4QpIsaᵈ and 4Q265

In 1QS, the linking of the group of twelve men and three priests with עצת היחד occurs only in 1QS 8:1. Elsewhere in the Serek, עצת היחד is spoken of as reference to all full members of the community (1QS

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[49] Knibb, *The Qumran Community*, 133.

[50] This idea was originally introduced by E.F. Sutcliffe, "The First fifteen Members of the Qumran Community. A Note on 1QS 8:1ff.," *JSS* 4 (1959): 134–38. It was subsequently adopted by, e.g., Leaney, *The Rule of Qumran*, 112, 115, 211; J. Murphy-O'Connor, "La genèse littéraire de la Règle de la Communauté." *RB* 76 (1969): 528–49, esp. 529; and Knibb, *The Qumran Community*, 129.

[51] S. Metso, "The Primary Results of the Reconstruction of 4QSᵉ," *JJS* 44 (1993): 303–8.

[52] That is, the words had not been in the text, they are not just not extant, see 4QSᵈ 7:6//1QS 9:5–6.

3:2; 5:7; 6:10, 13, 16; 7:2, 22–24). The pesher 4QpIsa[d] provides an important parallel to 1QS 8:1, for in its interpretation of Isa 54:11–12 it speaks of "the priests and the people" as those who founded (or: will found) the council of the community (יסדו את עצת היחד [ה]כוהנים [...ם]והע]), and it refers to 'the congregation of his chosen one' or 'his chosen ones' (עדת בחירו),[53] i.e. the congregation chosen by God. In the same fragmentary context, the numeral twelve (שנים עשר[]) is preserved as a part of the interpretation, as well as a reference to the heads of the tribes of Israel (ראשי שבטי ישראל).[54] In the light of these verbal parallels, Milik's insight that the number fifteen in 1QS 8:1 was used symbolically to create a link with the twelve tribes of Israel and three priestly families appears correct.[55] The language of the whole passage in 1QS 8 is strongly theological, and throughout the Serek almost all of the organizational terminology is derived from the ancient Hebrew Scriptures, used theologically to make the point that the present community is now the elect of God. Read in the context of 4QpIsa[d] and the occurrences of the term עצת היחד elsewhere in the Serek, it seems likely that the group of fifteen symbolized the twelve tribes of Israel and the three priestly families, i.e. the entire community of the elect of God, and was now used to represent the entire *yaḥad* as the current elect of God. Thus, the group of fifteen functioned as a symbolic and theological reference for the entire community rather than as a reference of an elite group within it.

The recently published 4Q265 also holds an important parallel for the text in 1QS 8, in a section (frg. 7 lines 7–10) that has major overlaps with 1QS 8:1–8. Both passages start with the formulaic בהיות and speak of a group of fifteen men in the community council (בעצת היחד).

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[53] The diphthong יו- has probably contracted in the suffix, as frequently happens in Qumran Hebrew, see E. Qimron, *The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (HSS 29; Atlanta, Georgia: Scholars Press, 1986), 59.

[54] Moreover, the verb יסדו in the pesher is from the same root יסד "to found" or "establish" as the noun יסוד in 1QS 8:10 designating the foundation of the community (יסוד היחד), and the construct infinitive ליסוד in 1QS 9:3: "When these exist in Israel in accordance with all these rules in order *to establish* the spirit of holiness in eternal truth." The phrase עדת בחירו can be compared to ב{י'}חירי ראעון, "the ones chosen by the will (of God)" in 1QS 8:6. But compared to the Serek, the use of the term עדה in the phrase עדת בחירו in the pesher catches attention, for in the Serek it is used only once (1QS 5:20), whereas in the Rule of the Congregation (1QSa) it is used as the standard designation of the addressee group.

[55] J.T. Milik, *Ten Years of Discovery in the Wilderness of Judaea* (trans. J. Strugnell; SBT 26; London: SCM, 1959), 100.

In 1QS, the group of fifteen is said to consist of twelve men and three priests (שנים עשר איש וכוהנים שלושה). 4Q265, although the text is frag-mentary at this point, appears only to state the number fifteen without distinction of roles. Both passages state that the council of community is "established in truth" (נכונה העצת היחד באמת) and that the members of the council are "chosen by the will of God" (בחירי רצון). Both pas-sages compare the council to the "aroma of a pleasing fragrance" (ריח ניחח) and state that the purpose of the council is to "bring atonement to the land" (לכפר על/בעד הארץ) and that there will be an end to "injustice" (עולה). Obviously, there is a literary dependency, direct or indirect, between these passages.

The context in which this passage appears in 4Q265 is quite sur-prising: It is preceded by rules for the sabbath (cf. CD 10:14–11:18), and followed by rules for childbirth (paraphrasing Lev 12:2–5). In this context, Collins's interpretation of 1QS 8:1–13 is problematic as a description of "people who withdraw to the wilderness" and who were "already members of the *yaḥad* and were selected and commissioned deliberately to go to the wilderness to live a more holy life than was possible elsewhere."[56] In the context of 4Q265, the group of fifteen appears rather tied together with the larger populus, not separated from it.[57] Admittedly, in the light of 4Q265 my earlier attempts at interpreting the same passage turn out to be likewise problematic. The group of fifteen remains an enigma. Considering also the leadership roles of *mebaqqer, paqid* and *maskil*, and the Zadokites, the *rabbim*, and the men of reputation mentioned in 1QSa, it is difficult to see how all these leaders could have functioned as administrators of the Essene movement without a bureaucratic nightmare or some serious clashes of egos. It certainly raises the question as to what degree these passages describing organizational units can be taken as representative of actual life and activity among the Essenes at any single given time and place, and to what degree they should be viewed as literary works that dur-ing their transmission processes took lives of their own and were often separated from their original mooring. These texts, while perhaps not

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[56] Collins, "The *Yaḥad* and the 'Qumran Community,'" 91.

[57] The material in 4Q265 is very heterogeneous, however, and does not appear originally to have belonged together. Baumgarten (DJD 35.58) designates the council mentioned in 4Q265 as an "Eschatological Communal Council," apparently on basis of 4Q265 7 10: "the periods of iniquity will come to an end by judgment." In the light of the similar statement in 1QS 8:10, an eschatological interpretation is not required.

totally disconnected from the real circumstances, served to present an ideal for the community as the elect of God in continuation with the biblical past.

Conclusion

The relationship between the central documents describing Essene community organization and practices remains a problem difficult to solve neatly. Our attempts at sorting out this problem are hampered by the fact that these texts incorporate material originating in different time periods and social circles, and have often undergone redaction, limiting the extent to which passages can be interpreted as historically accurate descriptions at any given moment. Theological self-understanding affected the way organizational terminology was used in Essene communities, both linking the community with the biblical past and setting an ideal for the present and future. Thus, it is unlikely we will find a single coherent organizational system in these texts.

The focus of this paper has been the question of how the term *yaḥad* should be understood in relation to the groups of ten mentioned in 1QS 6:3, the *maḥanot* of at least ten members mentioned in CD 13:1, and the community council mentioned in 1QS 8:1, described as consisting of 'twelve men and three priests.' Scholars have tended to think that the Community Rule describes the life of the community at Qumran, identified with the *yaḥad*, whereas the Damascus Document was addressed to the members of the larger Essene movement living in the *maḥanot*, or camps, in towns and villages throughout Palestine. In a recent article by Collins, however, it is suggested that there were three "different forms of community: the camps of married people attested in CD, the 'cell groups' of ten or more that we find in the Community Rule without reference to women and children, and the elite 'council of holiness' who withdrew to the desert to walk in perfection of the way."[58]

The question as to whether the community termed the *yaḥad* designated a large Essene group such as the one at Qumran, or consisted of numerous small cell groups, rests on how the short passage in 1QS 6:1–8 is interpreted. Two main ways have been suggested: (1) If 1QS 6:1–8 is integral to the Community Rule, then the *yaḥad* can be seen

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[58] Collins, "Forms of Community," 107.

as consisting of small communities, analogous but not identical to the *maḥanot* (Regev and Collins). (2) If 1QS 6:1–8 is an interpolation that was incorporated into S as an earlier, time-honored set of directives, it may not mirror the same circumstances as the surrounding material in 1QS 5–7 that envisions a large Essene settlement, such as the one at Qumran (Cross, Hempel, Metso).

The question as to whether the "council of holiness" designated the entire *yaḥad* or an elite subgroup within it depends on how the mention of twelve men and three priests in 1QS 8 is interpreted. Different possibilities have been suggested here as well: (1a) The twelve plus three are the founding members of the Qumran community (Sutcliffe, Murphy-O'Connor, Knibb, Collins), but (1b) at that time the *yaḥad* already existed as an umbrella organization and the reference in 1QS 8:10–11 that they would be "set apart as holy" after "two years" signifies the elite status of the fifteen, as they were set aside for special training within the *yaḥad* (Collins). (2) The fifteen is a theological designation for the entire *yaḥad* community (Metso), claiming that the fifteen represented the twelve tribes of Israel and the three priestly families (Milik), and thus the entire *yaḥad* community is the elect of God (Metso). The reference to "two years" is more naturally understood as a reference to the two-year probationary period (cf. 6:13–23) required of all members as they joined the community (Knibb, Metso).

The recent articles by Collins, Hempel and Regev are most welcome contributions for sparking sharper discussion of these issues and will surely invite further studies. Close source-critical and literary-critical analysis of multiple texts can further our knowledge about the history and sociological outlook of the Essene movement as we try to bridge the gap between historical reality and the literary representations of that reality.

SOCIAL IDENTITY APPROACH: IDENTITY-CONSTRUCTING ELEMENTS IN THE PSALMS PESHER

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INTRODUCTION: WHAT IS IDENTITY?

Qumran scholarship could hardly manage without the concept of "identity." In this book, the concept occurs in the very title and is relevant for a number of papers. In its common usage, the word "identification" denotes identification of the group behind the Scrolls, such as the Essenes or some other named group, or anchoring specific sobriquets in more or less specific history. Scholars also "identify" parallel ideas in two or more texts. Although the concept of identity *per se* does not need clarification, it may prove useful to unravel what we are considering when we study a *group's identity*: what makes members of a group hold together, how they are distinct from others, and in what ways they achieve a positive sense of belonging to the group. All these questions are addressed by social psychology of group processes. In the case of ancient texts, real persons and groups existed, and this influenced the composition and transmission of the texts in question. Concerning the Qumran movement,[1] the time period is quite limited, which makes our investigation of group identity potentially fruitful and the conclusions reached more plausible.

First, we shall introduce insights from the *social identity approach* in order to conceptualize and hypothesize about group phenomena in general. We shall then offer our observations on the Psalms Pesher (4QpPsª) as some examples of potential elements that construct identity. With the help of such an investigation, we may better be able to detect

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[1] The groups behind the Scrolls—the members who used, preserved, copied, or composed the scrolls—are here called "the Qumran movement," *without* the idea that they were necessarily restricted to the settlement at Qumran, but assuming that since the large corpus of texts and the settlement were at Qumran, this location played a role in the movement.

what groups and identities are about and what happens when group members express and construct their identity.

The Social Identity Approach

The social identity theory was developed in the 70ies and 80ies by Professor Henri Tajfel and his colleagues at Bristol University.[2] The fundamental argument was that human behavior cannot be explained solely psychologically (individualistically) or sociologically, but a truly *social psychological* explanation is needed. People live in a social system, and this social system has psychological implications for an individual's behavior, perceptions and emotions.[3] Groups change individuals. A person derives much of his self-definition from social groups. Groups are thus not merely the results of collections of individual "inputs," but a system of shared patterns, which makes collective behavior possible.[4]

The social identity theory is based on an observation concerning categorization: "The perception of people in terms of their social group membership leads to a tendency to exaggerate the perceived similarities within groups and the perceived differences between groups."[5] This idea of stereotyping (accentuation) is further developed in the self-categorization theory:[6] besides a personal identity (what makes a person distinguishable from other people, e.g., name, age, relatives, personal characteristics), human beings have a *social identity* as members of a

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[2] See, e.g., H. Tajfel, *Differentiation between Social Groups: Studies in the Social Psychology of Intergroup Relations* (London: Academic Press, 1978); H. Tajfel and J.C. Turner, "An Integrative Theory of Intergroup Conflict," in *The Social Psychology of Intergroup Relations* (eds. W.G. Austin and S. Worchel; Monterey, California: Brooks-Cole, 1979) 33–47; H. Tajfel, "Social Stereotypes and Social Groups," in *Intergroup Behavior* (eds. J.C. Turner and H. Giles; Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1981) 144–67; J.C. Turner, "Social Categorization and the Self-Concept: A Social-Cognitive Theory of Group Behavior," in *Advances in Group Processes: Theory and Research vol. 2* (ed. E.J. Lawler; Greenwich, Connecticut: JAI Press, 1985).

[3] J.C. Turner, "Henri Tajfel: An Introduction," in *Social Groups and Identities: Developing the Legacy of Henri Tajfel* (ed. W.P. Robinson; International Series in Social Psychology; Oxford: Butterworth-Heinemann, 1996), 19.

[4] Turner, "Henri Tajfel: An Introduction," 19; S.A. Haslam, *Psychology in Organizations: The Social Identity Approach* (2d ed.; London: SAGE, 2004), 17.

[5] Turner, "Henri Tajfel: An Introduction," 13.

[6] Turner, "Social Categorization," Haslam, *Psychology in Organizations*, 28–34. The social identity theory and the self-categorization theory are often referred to as the "social identity approach." They are based on both empirical and theoretical research and are currently used and being developed in social psychology.

specific group (e.g., nationality, profession, gender), as well as a general identity as human beings as distinct from other living creatures. Self-categories differ in their level of abstraction: there is the interpersonal level (personal identity), the inter-group level (social identity),[7] and the interspecies level (self as human being). The social categorization theory is interested in the question what makes people define themselves in terms of a particular group membership, and what are the consequences of such social identity salience. It was seen that social identity is what makes group behavior possible. The cognitive process involved with this is called *depersonalization*: as a result, the self comes to be perceived as categorically interchangeable with other in-group members.

Personal and social identities are in close interplay with each other, but it is suggested that one rather than the other is in focus in any given situation.[8] The salience of a category depends on its relevance to the situation: a *comparative fit* determines the level at which differences from other in-group members are perceived to be smaller than differences from relevant out-group members.[9] For example, at a congress a biblical scholar might be categorized as a "historian" in contrast to a "linguist," whereas at the university he or she may be a "humanist" compared to "scientists." Differences between him or her and the other "humanists" are now smaller than differences between him or her and "scientists." Furthermore, a *normative fit* refers to those previous experiences and knowledge that affect the person's categorization process in determining which differences are perceived to be relevant.[10] The accentuation effect, the perception of in-group members as homogeneous and respectively different from out-group members, is more pronounced when the category is important and of immediate relevance to the individual.[11] On the other hand,

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[7] More than one level of a social category is usually available. Thus, a person may define himself as a molecular biologist, a biologist, and a scientist, for example; Haslam, *Psychology in Organizations*, 30. See also M. Jarymowicz, "Self-We-Others Schemata and Social Identifications," in *Social Identity: International Perspectives* (eds. S. Worchel et al.; London: SAGE, 1998), 45, for different forms of social identifications.

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

[9] Haslam, *Psychology in Organizations*, 34. This is called the meta-contrast principle.

[10] Haslam, *Psychology in Organizations*, 34.

[11] M.A. Hogg and D. Abrams, *Social Identifications: A Social Psychology of Intergroup Relations and Group Processes* (London: Routledge, 1988), 20–21.

the in-group members are not perceived as being similar in every respect: the group *prototype* is the best (theoretical) representative of the group, which maximizes the differences to out-groups and minimizes the in-group differences with reference to the dimensions which are held to correlate with the categorization. Other in-group members will be viewed according to their proximity to the group prototype.[12] Social categories are never fixed but dynamic and flexible.

The social identity theory further claims that the *positive* aspects of such social identities are inherently *comparative* in nature. In order to achieve positive social identity, members of the group compare themselves to out-groups and show a biased perception of themselves (thus being selective in the accentuation effect). The "minimal group paradigm" was developed to study the *minimal* conditions under which people discriminate in favor of their group and against the out-group.[13] It was seen that the *mere* categorization of people into two groups (knowledge of belonging to a group), without any contact between group members or any common goals, was sufficient to produce discrimination and in-group favoritism.[14]

However, the theory does not claim that discrimination occurs automatically.[15] The conditions for the occurrence of the in-group bias have been understood slightly differently over time. More recent

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[12] Haslam, *Psychology in Organizations*, 32.

[13] Turner, "Henri Tajfel: An Introduction," 15–16.

[14] Participants (schoolboys) were divided into two groups at random. They were told that the division was due to their stated preference for painter A or painter B. Their task was to assign points to anonymous in- and out-group members. Participants tended to favor in-group members. They did not receive any personal benefit from this. The studies also showed that participants tended to maximize the differences between the in-group and out-group awards rather than maximize the benefits to the in-group, Haslam, *Psychology in Organizations*, 18–19.

[15] One explanation for the minimal group paradigm is that the subjects compared themselves to others in the only available dimension (knowledge of which group they belonged to); by favoring their group they found meaning in the situation and substance to their group identity. If the situation was changed so that this meaning was already provided (by stating that the preference for one painter over the other was related to personality type), then discrimination was reduced; the subjects already possessed a distinctive group identity, Haslam, *Psychology in Organizations*, 21; N.R. Branscombe et al., "The Context and Content of Social Identity Threat," in *Social Identity: Context, Commitment, Content* (eds. N. Ellemers, R. Spears, and B. Doosje; Oxford: Blackwell, 1999), 38.

studies identify two major variables.[16] First, a member of the group may be placed on a *individualist-collectivist* continuum. This denotes the extent to which individual achievement and independence is stressed over collective achievement and group cooperation. The continuum is related to Tajfel's *social mobility-social change* beliefs. In Tajfel's terms, personal (individual) identity is associated with *social mobility* beliefs, that is, assumptions that social systems are flexible and permeable and that one can freely move from one group to another. If a person finds his situation undesirable, he can move on to a high-status or more dominant group; in other words, improve his position *as an individual*. On the other hand, social (collective) identity is associated with *social change* beliefs, the assumption that one cannot escape one's group for self-advancement.[17] Tajfel acknowledged that different cultures may promote either social mobility or social change beliefs;[18] thus it is not only a matter of free choice between different kinds of orientations. Secondly, the in-group bias depends on the *autonomous-relational* continuum. This denotes the extent to which the individual is likely to evaluate the in-group in relation to other *groups* (the relational end of the continuum) rather than to an abstract standard or the in-group's past results (the autonomous end of the continuum).[19] Some groups are inherently more relational than others (e.g., political parties are competitive), and some settings encourage relational orientation (e.g., families might compete amongst themselves

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[16] The concepts of R. Brown et al., "Recognizing Group Diversity: Individualist-Collectivist and Autonomous-Relational Social Orientations and Their Implications for Intergroup Processes," *British Journal of Social Psychology* 31 (1992) are followed here; see also R. Brown, *Group Processes: Dynamics within and between Groups* (2d ed.; Oxford: Blackwell, 2000), 336–38.

[17] H. Tajfel, *Human Groups and Social Categories: Studies in Social Psychology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981); Haslam, *Psychology in Organizations*, 23–24. 'Exit' from the group may be impossible for practical reasons, such as skin color, or for the past investment in group membership.

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

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

in gardening. The social identity theory and its contribution to social comparisons is seen to work best with the *collectivist* and *relational* orientation: in these conditions, *the strength of group identification and in-group bias show a positive correlation*. The more a member identifies with the in-group, the more he is likely to show in-group bias.

This fact makes the approach also relevant for our purposes. It is widely acknowledged that the ancient Mediterranean cultures are fundamentally group-oriented and group-embedded.[20] Moreover, religious groups are often inherently competitive,[21] and comparison with other groups is most probable in a group with voluntary admission. The theory's impact on the group phenomena bears relevance in the setting of the Qumran movement, and its conditions seem to be met satisfactorily.

The aim of Tajfel's research was to find explanations for *social change*.[22] When do people prefer inter-group action rather than inter-personal action? And under what conditions do groups challenge the *status quo* rather than accept it? These questions were connected with people's drive for positive distinctiveness, both as individuals and as "social selves." When people's social identity is 'threatened' by negative attributes, they attempt to change their social position, or at least the perception of their standing in relation to out-groups. But an inferior position is insufficient for social change to occur—groups may find their standing legitimate and stable, and the social order is not questioned.[23] In this case, "secure comparisons" take place; these are also called *social creativity* strategies. On the other hand, where inter-group boundaries are perceived to be impermeable and inter-group relations are considered to be *illegitimate* and *unstable* (insecure), that is, the in-group perceives

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[20] E.g., B.J. Malina, *The New Testament World: Insights from Cultural Anthropology* (3d rev. and exp. ed.; Louisville, Kentucky: Westminster John Knox, 2001), 58–80.

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

[22] S. Reicher, "Social Identity and Social Change: Rethinking the Context of Social Psychology," in *Social Groups and Identities*. Tajfel's interest was not in formulating an exhaustive theory on identity. According to Reicher, many of the aspects and concepts of the theory were only preliminary conditions for asking questions related to social change.

[23] Tajfel, *Human Groups*, 266, 320 mentions the Indian caste system in the past as an example of this. Cf. the case with high-status groups in Haslam, *Psychology in Organizations*, 26–27.

cognitive alternatives to its position, the group may challenge the out-group's position and try to change its own relative place in a more positive direction.[24] This is called *social competition*; it may often result in open conflict between groups. It is important to note that social competition and social creativity are not opposite strategies but they often work side by side.[25] If the perceived cognitive alternatives are not very likely or there is some doubt about them, the in-group members may resort to both social competition and social creativity.[26]

The social identity theory identifies several *social creativity* strategies.[27] A group may find *new dimensions* with which to compare the in-group in relation to the out-group. For example, the feminist movement deemed it important to demonstrate that women's scientific abilities are not inferior to men's. New positive attributes to be added or revitalized may also be found in the group's past history and traditions. If the new characteristics are not accepted by the wider society, a distinctive sub-culture may be created. Secondly, a group may *redefine the value* attached to its attributes. This is what the slogan 'Black is Beautiful' sought to do. A group may also try to become, either in reality or in redefinition, more like the dominant group. Thirdly, if the group is not willing to challenge the position of the dominant group, it may *select new out-groups* for inter-group comparisons. For example, a small business may wish to compare itself with equals rather than with large companies. In the study of the Qumran texts these theoretical assumptions may serve as heuristic tools in the investigation of the function of the different labels and of language in general.

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

[25] Later textbooks seem to simplify the model in stating that social change either takes a form of *social competition* (when social relations are perceived as insecure) or *social creativity* (when social relations are perceived to be secure, that is, legitimate and stable), Hogg and Abrams, *Social Identifications*, 54–59; Brown, *Group Processes*, 329–33; Haslam, *Psychology in Organizations*, 25–27. However, Tajfel, *Human Groups*, 228–343, saw a lot of social *creativity* in changing public opinion, for example, and thus forming prerequisites for actual change and social action. Cf. H. Tajfel, "Social Identity and Intergroup Behavior," *Social Science Information* 13/2 (1974): 70.

[26] Philip Esler, who has introduced the social identity approach into New Testament scholarship, argues that Paul's letter to the Galatians contains both strategies, P.F. Esler, *Galatians* (London: Routledge, 1998), 52.

[27] Tajfel, *Human Groups*, 283–87, 330–43; G.M. Breakwell, *Coping with Threatened Identities* (London: Methuen, 1986), 128–47; Hogg and Abrams, *Social Identifications*, 55–59.

In the light of the social identity approach, group identity can therefore be defined with more subtlety. It indicates one's *perception* of being similar to other members of the in-group and different from the members of the out-group, one's self-categorization at a certain level, and consequently, one's adoption of shared beliefs, norms, rules and goals that derive from that self-categorization. *Social identity* was defined by Tajfel as "that part of an individual's self concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership of a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership."[28]

The approach carries many possibilities for Qumran scholarship, all of which are not apparent from the above survey which only covered some of the approach's points of departure. The Qumran movement defined itself in many ways; several characteristics that marked its members as being similar and outsiders as dissimilar played a role and had effects on behavior.[29] Many Qumran studies have touched questions of "*strengthening*" or building the identity of the group. Following the social identity approach, we wish to offer some aspects which would further clarify this phenomenon. Strengthening of identity involves at least two issues: 1) the individual's movement along the continuum of personal and social identities. When the *salience of social identity* is high, social mobility is less of an option. 2) *Positive distinctiveness* of the social identity. According to the theory, low-status or inferior groups display a special need to give a positive sense to belonging to the group.

We shall offer one illustration of these perspectives: the Psalms Pesher is interpreted in the light of its potential for promoting the salience of the social identity and on constructing positive identity. This Pesher is well-known but is one of the less explored Pesharim. It contains many features which lend themselves to the study of social identity and its construction, not the least being that it is scriptural interpretation, with its authority derived from the common Jewish inheritance but also from the implied revelatory character of the interpretations.[30] Limiting

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[28] Tajfel, *Differentiation*, 63.

[29] Carol Newsom's recent study highlights to the discourse by which communities produce their social relations and identities, C.A. Newsom, *The Self as Symbolic Space: Constructing Identity and Community at Qumran* (STDJ 52; Leiden: Brill, 2004).

[30] Imagine that one has the verse "The meek shall inherit the land, and delight themselves in abundant prosperity" (Ps 37:11) to expound on. It matters a great deal whether one is to use it in a handbook of ethics, to use it in one's private prayer life, to preach a sermon on it, or to freely associate it with one's own religious reference

ourselves to a single text is a modest beginning, but, it is hoped, will shed light on further possibilities.

IDENTITY CONSTRUCTING ELEMENTS IN THE PSALMS PESHER

Any Pesher builds up a certain eschatological understanding of the world by claiming that the ancient prophecies have now come true and are fulfilled in the authors' movement.[31] But we may further analyze the ways in which certain beliefs and theological ideas become a *means* to define and modify a certain group and to form part of the members' positive social identity. The Psalms Pesher is a fairly late text within the Qumran corpus,[32] and although one text cannot reveal directly what happens in groups and in their identity construction, we wish to show what are the possible factors in it that strengthen the social identity—in light of the specifications given above—and what is it that may be happening in groups such as the Qumran movement over the course of time.

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group. It is often stressed that the pesherists were indeed careful and skillful scribes and that their work was governed by many exegetical rules. Yet this does not nullify the freedom that these scribes had in expressing their convictions and raising relevant issues for the group.

[31] Cf. the exclusivist tendency seen in the Pesharim by G.W.E. Nickelsburg, "Religious Exclusivism: A World View Governing Some Texts Found at Qumran," in *Das Ende der Tage und die Gegenwart des Heils: Begegnungen mit dem Neuen Testament und seiner Umwelt: Festschrift für Heinz-Wolfgang Kuhn zum 65. Geburtstag* (eds. M. Becker and W. Fenske; AGJU 44; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 54.

[32] 4QpPsᵃ (4Q171) was originally published by J.M. Allegro (ed.), *Qumran Cave 4.I (4Q158–4Q186)* (DJD 5; Oxford: Clarendon, 1968), 42–50, but see also J. Strugnell, "Notes en marge du volume V des 'Discoveries in the Judaean Desert of Jordan,'" *RevQ* 7/26 (1970): 163–276, and M.P. Horgan, *Pesharim: Qumran Interpretations of Biblical Books* (CBQMS 8; Washington, DC: The Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1979). The Pesher is written in the Herodian script and is dated to the turn of the era, give or take a generation, cf. T.H. Lim, *Pesharim* (CQS 3; London: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002), 21–22. 4QpPsᵃ is one of the manuscripts dated by radiocarbon analysis; the result of this dating was 29–81 CE, A. Jull et al., "Radiocarbon Dating of the Scrolls and Linen Fragments from the Judean Desert," *Radiocarbon* 37 (1995). However, G. Doudna, "Dating the Scrolls on the Basis of Radiocarbon Analysis," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment* (eds. P.W. Flint and J.C. VanderKam; vol. 1; Leiden: Brill, 1998), 430–65, argues that this result is distorted and that a date similar to 1QpHab (88–2 BCE) should be preferred. For a recent discussion, see J. Atwill, S. Braunheim, and R. Eisenman, "Redating the Radiocarbon Dating of the Dead Sea Scrolls," *DSD* 11 (2004): 143–57. It is often suggested that internal evidence supports a date before the coming of the Romans in 63 BCE. We cannot be certain, but the manuscript may be a copy (e.g., the omission of one sentence of the quotation of Ps 37:20 would be explained by this), cf. Horgan, *Pesharim*, 3–4.

1. *Salience of Social Identity: Collectives*

Social distinctions need to be continuously reproduced.[33] Even though the level of tension between the Qumran movement and the society probably exceeded that of many other groups, it was still composed of individuals who saw the rewards of joining the movement as greater than the costs involved. The Rule of the Congregation (1QSa) suggests that most new members may have entered through socialization, that is, they were children of the adult members. There were probably others who joined for various other reasons.[34] We may assume that the level of identification varied from member to member, at least to some extent.[35] The picture that is painted by the rule documents suggests that the social identity as a member of the movement may well have overridden the social identity, as, say, a family member, in a number of situations. The "sectarian" social identity prescribed restrictions on the behavior of members in terms of nationality, gender and worshipper. While this social identity was probably strong and continuously tested, it does not mean that the group achieved its coherence only by long admission processes and strict rules.[36]

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[33] See S. Condor, "Social Identity and Time," in *Social Groups and Identities*, 290, based on Tajfel's statements: "Even apparently stable systems of social relations rely upon continuous social reproduction over time." In the case of the Qumran movement, we may assume that as new members joined, and the group grew, the group identity needed to be made salient over and over again.

[34] A.I. Baumgarten, *The Flourishing of Jewish Sects in the Maccabean Era: An Interpretation* (JSJSupp 55; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 64–65, envisions a situation in which the hard realities of life rendered the Qumran movement appealing to some but their membership would have been relatively short-lived.

[35] Both the Damascus Document and the Community Rule describe an admission procedure with a substantial probationary period. Thus a 'natural' difference in the strength of identification can be seen at least between the candidates and the full-members. However, the exact nature and variety of the forms of organization in the Qumran movement are uncertain, and whereas the terminological links the Psalms Pesher and the Damascus Document, for example, are strong, we do not know what kind of community structure existed behind the Pesher.

[36] In fact, many texts witness to the existence of defectors. Furthermore, there were probably close contacts with out-group members, cf. Charlotte Hempel's study of the "people of injustice" in the Community Rule, "The Community and Its Rivals According to the Community Rule from Caves 1 and 4," *RevQ* 21/81 (2003): 47–81. The fact that the concern for separation from these people occurs in all redactional stages of the Community Rule gives us reason to presume the Rule's persistence over time. Hempel, "The Community and Its Rivals," 57, states: "There would be no point in arguing for the separation if at least some members of the community were not close and exchanging or even sharing material goods (wealth) and counsel (law) with the people of injustice."

Studies in group development suggest that the salience of the social and personal identities varies over time.[37] In the early days of a group, social identity is stressed and minority positions are not allowed. Efforts are made to turn to history in order to find recognized patrons or previous founders to support the legitimacy of the group. Leadership during identification is often centralized. When the group has established a positive social identity, its members may focus on productivity in relation to group goals. Individual differences may be sought in order to find special skills needed for improving productivity. Later on, members begin to evaluate their contributions and rewards from the group. Subgroups emerge based on their skills, roles and interests. This shift from social identity to personal identity poses a threat to the group. Key members may leave and sell their skills to out-groups. At this stage, the remaining members turn their attention back to the group in order to redefine its identity. Defecting is viewed as part of the cleansing process. Social identity is emphasized over personal identity. The identification process has started again.[38]

From this perspective, the collective outlook of the Psalms Pesher fits in with the needs for identification and re-identification: it elevates the salience of the social identity and sharpens the distinctions between the in- and out-groups. The in-group[39] is described in collective terms:

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[37] See S. Worchel, "A Developmental View of the Search for Group Identity," in *Social Identity*, on cyclic development of groups and the variance between personal and social identities. According to Worchel, four different themes *dominate* group activity during specific periods of time: identification, group productivity, individuation, and decay. This model modifies common linear patterns of group development and holds that a group goes back to earlier "stages."

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

[39] The term "in-group" is here used in the singular, although it is possible that the text was used (at the least) in various sub-groups within the Qumran movement. The "in-group" does not denote a single static "Qumran community" at all times but is used for the group or groups of the presumed author and of the subsequent readers of

"the congregation of his elect, those who do His will" (2:5), "the congregation of the poor" (2:10; 3:10), "the captives/returnees of the wilderness" (3:1). As such, these designations serve to create a collectivity: the members have in common their belonging to the sphere of truth, to the chosen elite, to the humble righteous. We do not see any hierarchy here. The text mentions a number of organizational entities, "the council of the *yahad*" (2:15), "the men of his council" (2:19), and "the congregation of the *yahad*" (4:19), but these are not described so as to differentiate members of the in-group from each other. In contrast to the *actual* hierarchy, which may characterize the in-group in reality, we find a pronounced homogeneity in the in-group image. This is further illustrated by the prototypical picture of the leader, the Righteous Teacher. I have elsewhere argued that he represents the in-group in being persecuted and in conflict, and at the same time, privileged and chosen by God.[40] The Pesharim seem to be reflecting on their past leader and depicting him more in line with the Damascus Document B-manuscript (CD 19–20) than the A manuscript. Collective memory of the leader intensifies the in-group members' identification with the group, providing the necessary continuity with its past.

The out-groups are similarly depicted in stereotypical terms, with little detailed information being given. The pesherist uses scriptural labels that carry negative connotations, such as "Ephraim and Manasseh" (2:18), and others that portray the actions of the out-groups as unacceptable: "the ruthless against the covenant" (2:14), "the wicked priest" (4:8). The parallelism of their actions with the actions of the "wicked" of Psalm 37 is the necessary information. We may ask what these pesher identifications and labels do in terms of desired social change. Most probably, they do not mold public opinion about the opponents, nor

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the Pesher. The term works in two directions: the in-group both defines the meaning of the text and is defined by it. Following the social identity approach, the in-group can be understood dynamically: the social identity as a "sectarian" could vary depending on the context, from the more abstract, e.g. "Jewish," to the more specific, e.g. "senior member of group X." It may well be that some sub-groups within the Qumran movement defined themselves differently or were concerned with other matters that are not present in this text. I am grateful to Professor George Brooke for his helpful comments after reading a preliminary draft of this paper.

[40] J. Jokiranta, "Qumran—The Prototypical Teacher in the Qumran Pesharim: A Social Identity Approach," in *Ancient Israel: The Old Testament in Its Context* (ed. P.F. Esler; Fortress Press, 2006), 254–63. Cf. Newsom, *The Self as Symbolic Space*, 196–98, for the exemplary nature of the leader (possibly Teacher) in the Hodayot.

do they produce any change in the opponents' behavior. What they do is justify the group's existence and claims by juxtaposing the most *relevant* out-groups as the opposites of the in-group. Distinctiveness has to be created and accentuated, especially where the distinctions may not be clear enough.

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

Changing circumstances lead to reinterpretations and repetition of older traditions. The pesher genre itself may be a further development within the Qumran corpus in the absence of continuous leadership or a changed community structure. Past figures perhaps needed to be reviewed and sobriquets re-used.[41] Psalm 37 concerns an exemplary "righteous" person and an exemplary "wicked" person. Collective identifications and the prototypical image of the leader in the Pesher create heightened group awareness. In addition to this, the text also adds positive distinctions in its categorization. There are two related themes, the self-designation as "poor" and the receiving of the "period of humiliation."

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[41] The group needs a grand story of its beginnings and foundation, which is related to newcomers and which modifies the behavior of the members. M.L. Grossman, *Reading for History in the Damascus Document. A Methodological Study* (STDJ 45; Leiden: Brill, 2002), 30, employs in her study of the Damascus Document the sociological concept of "foundation documents" as "texts upon which communities ground their group identity and understanding of authority." Texts of this sort have both past and future orientations: they create the view of the group's origins and they regulate admission to the group and behavior inside it. It is often noted that the Pesharim re-use terminology and sobriquets from the Damascus Document and the Hodayot, e.g. P.R. Davies, *Behind the Essenes: History and Ideology in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (BJS 94; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987), 87–105; P.R. Callaway, *The History of the Qumran Community: An Investigation* (JSPSup 3; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1988), 135; G.J. Brooke, "The Pesharim and the Origins of the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Methods of Investigation of the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Khirbet Qumran Site: Present Realities and Future Prospects* (eds. M.O. Wise et al.; Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences 722; New York: The New York Academy of Sciences, 1994), 339–53.

2. *Positive distinctiveness*

2.1 *The Poor*

The Psalms Pesher systematically quotes and interprets Psalm 37. Understanding the Pesher requires an understanding of the Psalm in question. One characteristic feature of this Psalm is the presence of adversaries who attack the righteous in various ways. Calling this element the "suffering of the righteous" may not be an overstatement, even though the Psalm also envisions vindication over the wicked and ad hoc help from God, in the case of famine, for instance (Ps 37:19). But this vindication and these blessings are described mostly in terms of a new glorious future in the Pesher. Now the righteous endure persecutions, remain steadfast, accept the time of distress and obey the law.

Psalm 37 relates to psalms that include various designations of the category of the poor.[42] Whereas some scholars see these as a specific party or group, others hold that the category expresses the position of the underprivileged in a general way. Hans-Joachim Kraus argues that the poor "are above all those who are persecuted, slandered, and falsely accused, who are not able to defend themselves against the superior power of their foes."[43] The designation refers to a lack of influence and status, and this may come to the fore in the courtroom or in economic matters. The poor find their comfort in Yahweh; yet, the designation does not concern ideal piety in the first place but the helplessness of these people. Psalm 37 claims that the poor are not left in want (18–19, 25); this may suggest that their poverty is not extreme.[44]

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

[43] H.-J. Kraus, *Theology of the Psalms* (trans. Keith Crim; Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1992), 161. More frequently than the "poor," Psalm 37 uses another designation, the "righteous." This is similar to the "poor" in that it manifests itself in opposition to the enemy. Cf. Kraus, *Theology of the Psalms*, 155: "That person is 'righteous' whose innocence has been demonstrated by Yahweh's verdict of not guilty, which refutes all accusations and shows that they are baseless."

[44] The question as to what degree the designation reflects real economic circumstances is also central in the case of the Qumran texts, especially concerning the interpretation of the poor in 4QInstruction. Recently this issue has been discussed by M.J. Goff, *The Worldly and Heavenly Wisdom of 4QInstruction* (STDJ 50; Leiden: Brill, 2003); on poverty in the Hebrew Bible and Wisdom literature, in particular, see Goff, *The Worldly and Heavenly Wisdom*, 129–40, and also J.D. Pleins, "Poverty in the Social World of the Wise," *JSOT* 37 (1987): 61–78.

The Pesher adopts this designation to describe the in-group with the expression עדת האביונים, 'the congregation of the poor' (2:10; 3:10). It is striking that although the terms denoting the poor, needy and afflicted are frequently found in the Qumran writings,[45] this collective self-designation is quite unique.[46] The Psalms Pesher seems to preserve the most explicit form of it.[47] Nevertheless, Catherine Murphy, in her substantial study of wealth in the Dead Sea Scrolls, draws attention to passages in which the author or hymnist identifies with the poor.[48] The most important texts in this regard are the Qumran Hodayot.[49] Consider, for example, the following passage:

> I give you thanks, Lord, for your eye keeps [firm] over me. 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 (אביון) which they thought to finish off by pouring out his blood because he was at your service....But you, my God, have freed the soul of the poor and needy (עני ורש) from the hand of someone stronger than him. (1QHᵃ 10:31–35)[50]

Hymns often repudiate the rich. Murphy argues that real poverty and economic hardships are meant by references to poverty, but she

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[45] At least the terms אביון, עני, ענו, and דל are used, M.G. Abegg, with J.E. Bowley and E.M. Cook, and in consultation with E. Tov, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Concordance: The Non-Biblical Texts from Qumran* (vol. 1; Leiden: Brill, 2003).

[46] The closest parallel expression may be האביונים לעדת עולמים עצת, "the council of the poor for an eternal congregation" in 4Q491c 1 4.

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

[48] C.M. Murphy, *Wealth in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the Qumran Community* (STDJ 40; Leiden: Brill, 2002), 211–61.

[49] 1QHᵃ is the most extensive manuscript; original edition by E.L. Sukenik, *The Dead Sea Scrolls of the Hebrew University* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1955), but for other reconstructions, e.g. É. Puech, "Quelques aspects de la restauration du rouleau des hymnes (1QH)," *JJS* 39 (1988): 38–55; see also E.M. Schuller and L. DiTomasso, "A Bibliography of the Hodayot 1948-1996," *DSD* 4 (1997): 55–101. The six manuscripts from Cave 4 (4QHᵃ⁻ᶠ) were published by E. Schuller in *Qumran Cave 4.XX: Poetical and Liturgical Texts, Part 2* (eds. E. Chazon et al.; DJD 29; Oxford: Clarendon, 1999). The columns numbers and the English translations are here according to F. García Martínez and E.J.C. Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition: Volume 1 (1Q1–4Q273)* (Leiden: E.J. Brill and Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 2000), 147–203.

[50] The translation follows García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *DSSSE*, 163. For the language of the poor, see also 1QHᵃ 6:3–4; 9:36; 11:25; 13:16, 18, 21, 22. The passage 6:3–4 is noteworthy for its collective formulation: "the poor in spirit, those refined by poverty."

rightly notes that "it is not poverty *per se* that is praised in the Hymns, but rather the priority of righteousness over wealth and the sense of spiritual poverty that hardships may evoke."[51] We may make a generalized and cautious assessment that the *ethos* of the Hodayot concerning the category of the poor is closely aligned with certain psalms of the Hebrew Bible—although the Hodayot in general take steps forward in developing sectarian ideology.[52] The Hodayot are perhaps the best candidate if we look for sources or inspiration for the designation of the Psalms Pesher; this is also supported by the fact that the Hodayot make a close connection between the poor and the time of humiliation and purification, as will be seen below.[53]

The Habakkuk Pesher (1QpHab)[54] mentions the poor (אביונים) three times in one pesher interpretation (11:16–12:10). The poor are victims of the Wicked Priest; the interpretation explicitly refers to *financial* matters. The Psalms Pesher 3:8–11 perhaps contains a similar reference to economic affairs: the quotation of Ps 37:21–22 speaks of the generosity of the righteous and this is interpreted as concerning the "congregation of the poor" (in contrast to the wicked person who does not pay back).[55] However, the function of the designation is not to criticize the powerful and to expect a change in circumstances. To explain this, the idea of 'limited good' may be useful. This denotes the belief that all resources exist in a limited number and individuals (or groups) can improve their position only at the expense of others.[56] The pesher interpretations

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[51] Murphy, *Wealth*, 243–44.

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

[53] See also Murphy, *Wealth*, 244–48. The language referring to the poor is also notable in the War Scroll: 1QM 11:8, 9, 13; 13:14, see Murphy, *Wealth*, 227–32. There, the designation stresses the contrast to the powerful in war: God will deliver the heroes of other nations into the hands of the poor.

[54] M. Burrows, *The Dead Sea Scrolls of St. Mark's Monastery, vol. I: Isaiah Manuscript and the Habakkuk Commentary* (New Haven: ASOR, 1950); W.H. Brownlee, *The Midrash Pesher of Habakkuk* (SBLMS 24; Missoula, Montana: Scholars Press, 1979).

[55] Similarly, Murphy, *Wealth*, 240–41.

[56] E.g., Malina, *The New Testament World: Insights from Cultural Anthropology*, 81–107. However, see criticism about the universalism of this belief by T.J. Ling, "Virtuoso Religion and the Judaean Social World," in *Anthropology and Biblical Studies: Avenues of Approach* (eds. L.J. Lawrence and M.I. Aguilar; Leiden: Deo, 2004), 227–38.

include several examples of this idea. During the period of distress, the poor are dispossessed of riches, but their fate will change. The period of distress will be followed by a better time without any wicked (2:5–12). The righteous will inherit the possessions of their oppressors (2:27; 3:2; 3:7–13). During times of famine, God will feed the righteous, but those that do not join the community, will be left without (3:2–5).[57] *Instead of openly challenging the out-group's position and practices, the Psalms Pesher promotes strategies of social change that would establish the positive social identity but leave the reversal of circumstances to the future.*[58] How soon this change was expected is difficult to say.[59] Murphy's study has suggested that the matters of wealth played a central role in the Qumran movement's life, criticism and ideology. The in-group's right conduct in matters of wealth and its oppressed position makes them identifiable with the scriptural category of the poor, those who are denied their rights but will be delivered by Yahweh. The in-group identifies with the have-nots, low-status groups.[60] Revitalizing and collectivizing the category that other Qumran documents use, and arguing for its positive value in the authoritative scriptural tradition are tools for adding dimensions to the in-group's positive social identity. The self-designation

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[57] Murphy's analysis of the War Scroll illustrates how the idea of limited good is present in the concept of the final battle: "The group is currently impoverished to someone else's benefit; the group will be redeemed at the expense of their oppressors," Murphy, *Wealth*, 229. The picture of the poor in the Psalms Pesher is reminiscent of the hymn in the War Scroll 11, which praises the power of God and celebrates his war, and the "poor" are only the objects of God's miraculous acts.

[58] The situation during other periods of time or in other sub-groups may have been different. For example, George Brooke referred in his paper "The Ten Temples of the Dead Sea Scrolls" delivered in Oslo at the Nordic symposium, 3–5 June 2004, to the possibility that Herod's building activities may have aroused expectations of restoring the temple according to views held by the Qumran movement.

[59] The "forty years" mentioned in 4QpPs[a] 2:8 is a symbolic figure referring to the wilderness period during which the wicked generation will die (Num 14:32–34; Deut 2:14; for "forty years" in CD 20:15, see H. Eshel, "The Meaning and Significance of CD 20:13–15," in *The Provo International Conference on the Dead Sea Scrolls: Technological Innovations, New Texts, and Reformulated Issues* [eds. D.W. Parry and E.C. Ulrich; STDJ 30; Leiden: Brill, 1999], 330–36). The passage in the Psalms Pesher includes many other biblical allusions, e.g., the prophets use the verb תמם in connection with the death of false prophets and people left in Jerusalem or in Egypt during the exile: their end will come through sword and famine (e.g., Jer 14:15; 44:12; Ezek 22:15). Together with the following passage, this pesher repeats the belief that within a limited time, the wicked will perish; this belief is also witnessed by the discourse on the two spirits: when God's appointed time will come, no injustice will survive (1QS 4:18–23).

[60] This can be seen in contrast to the high status imagery present, for example, in the Community Rule 8:5–10 (the community is identified with the holy of holies).

in the Pesher may not have so much to do with the group's real social status as with its interest in showing that the group not only keeps the law but it does so *humbly*.[61]

2.2 *The Period of Humiliation*

The "period of humiliation" (2:10; 3:3) is another potential identity-constructing element in the Psalms Pesher. The interpretation of the quotation, "But the meek shall inherit the land and delight themselves in abundant prosperity" (Ps 37:11) reads:

פשרו על עדת האביונים אשר יקבלו את מועד התעֿנֿיֿת ונצלו מכול פֿחֿי בליעל
ואחר יתעננו [ב]כֿול ºֿ[...]ºֿי הארץ והתדשנו בכול תענֿיֿ[נ]

> Interpreted, this concerns the congregation of the poor, who shall receive[62] the appointed time of humiliation[63] and shall be delivered from all the snares of Belial. Afterwards, they shall delight [in] all the […] of the earth and grow fat with every luxu[ry] of the flesh. (4QpPsª 2:9–12)

The meaning of the expression מועד התענית has been understood in various ways.[64] The fact that it is related to fasting and to the special

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[61] Cf. the numerous examples of confessions of sin in the Qumran sectarian documents. Why would a group which keeps the law perfectly need to confess sins? One aspect of being in the right relationship with God seems to be the right *understanding* of being lowly and weak compared to God.

[62] The verb קבל is a late term in biblical Hebrew. It is used 15 times in the sense "to receive, to take" with different objects; e.g. Ezra 8:30; 1 Chr 21:11; cf. Ben Sira 41:1. Later the root קבל came to mean also "to accept, to take an obligation upon oneself" (e.g. CD 9:22–23), see Horgan, *Pesharim*, 206. Note the technical usage of the verb with reference to the container into which the liquid is poured (4QMMT B 57). For other occurrences in Qumran texts, note especially 4Q266 11 1; 4Q270 7 i 16; 4Q424 3 7; 4Q88 8:12; 11Q5 22:13; see below.

[63] Unfortunately the leather has a horizontal fold or break and the middle letters are damaged because of this. The reading is supported, e.g., by Strugnell, "Notes en marge," 212. Allegro's edition reads התעות, "error" (DJD 5.46), but this reading is not likely: there is space for one more letter, and the microfiche photograph supports our reading; E. Tov and with the collaboration of S.J. Pfann, *The Dead Sea Scrolls on Microfiche: A Comprehensive Facsimile Edition of the Texts from Judean Desert*, (Leiden: Brill, 1993). In addition, the word תעות does not occur together with מועד in the DSS; Abegg, Bowley, Cook, and Tov, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Concordance*.

[64] The expression is reconstructed also in 4QpPsª 3:3. The inconsistency in scholarly translations of 2:10 and 3:3 reflects the ambiguity of the expression; e.g., G. Vermes, *The Dead Sea Scrolls in English: Revised and Extended Fourth Edition* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995), 349–50, translates "the season of penance" (2:10) and "the time of humiliation" (3:3). E. Lohse, *Die Texte aus Qumran: Hebräisch und Deutsch, mit masoretischer Punktation, Übersetzung, Einführung und Anmerkungen, 4. Auflage*, (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftlige Buchgesellschaft, 1986), 273, translates the expression in 2:10 "die Zeit des Fastens,"

calendar issue of the celebration of Yom Kippur is well acknowledged. The expression יום התענית in the Damascus Document 6:19 is usually interpreted as denoting the festival of Yom Kippur.[65] The word-pair מועד תענית appears in 4QFestival Prayers[b] (4Q508 2 3), which may preserve a prayer for the Day of Atonement.[66] However, the usage of the expression may not be restricted to a festival or "cultic" meaning.[67] There are several reasons to argue this. First, the phrases תעודות תעניות and קע תעניות פשע occur in 4QSongs of the Sage[a] (4Q510 1 7, 8),[68] and [תעודות] תעניות in 11QApocryphal Psalms (11Q11 4:12). Bilhah

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and J. Maier, *Die Qumran-Essener: Die Texte vom Toten Meer* (vol. 2; München: 1995), 94, "die (bestimmte) Zeit der Demütigung"; they consider 3:3 to preserve a different Hebrew word, התעות, "Verirrung." However, here the letter after the lacuna is most probably נ; similarly Strugnell, "Notes en marge," 214.

[65] S. Talmon was the first to argue that 1QpHab 11:4–8 reflects conflicts caused by the different calendar of the Qumran covenanters; the Wicked Priest would celebrate Yom Kippur on a different day than the covenanters, and was thus able to attack them on their festival day; see "Yom Kippurim in the Habakkuk Scroll," in *The World of Qumran from Within* (S. Talmon; Jerusalem: Magnes, 1989), 186–99. On the significance of Yom Kippur for the Qumran covenanters, see also Talmon, *The World of Qumran from Within*, 233–37. Talmon, *The World of Qumran from Within*, 167, draws an analogy between 4QpPs[a] 2:8–10 and 1QpHab 11:4–8, especially the words ובקץ מועד מנוחת יום הכפורים (and also ביום צום), and translates מועד התענית in the Psalms Pesher as "the appointed time of fasting." Note, however, that תענית does not occur in 1QpHab.

[66] See M. Baillet (ed.), *Qumran Grotte 4.III (4Q482–4Q520)* (DJD 7; Oxford: Clarendon, 1982). The title "prayer for the day of atonement" has been reconstructed in this fragment on the basis of another manuscript, 1Q34 1–2 6. These documents contain terminology similar to the conventional Jewish liturgy of the Confession for Yom Kippur, M. Weinfeld, "Prayer and Liturgical Practice in the Qumran Sect," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Forty Years of Research* (eds. D. Dimant and D. Rappaport; STDJ 10; Leiden: E.J. Brill and Jerusalem: Magnes, 1992). Recently, N. Hacham, "Communal Fasts in the Judean Desert Scrolls," in *Historical Perspectives: From the Hashmoneans to Bar Kokhba in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls. Preceedings of the Fourth International Symposium of the Orion Center, 27–31 January 1999* (eds. D. Goodblatt, A. Pinnick, and D.R. Schwartz; STDJ 37; Leiden: Brill, 2001), 127–45, has discussed the meaning of מועד התענית, and concludes that it denotes "the season of the fast": "There is no reason to assume that its meaning in the *Psalms Pesher* is different from that of the prayer for Yom Kippur." In contrast, we argue that there is insufficient evidence to *restrict* its meaning to a specific fast on Yom Kippur in the context of the Psalms Pesher, see below. However, we do not wish to dispute Hacham's main argument, which is that the Qumran sectarians had no other public fasts besides Yom Kippur.

[67] The term תענית also appears in 4QFestival Prayers[c] (4Q509 16 3), in which the meaning "affliction" or "humiliation" is more likely: "Have mercy on them for their affliction," similarly J.R. Davila, *Liturgical Works* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 2000), 26.

[68] The plural forms תעניות and תעניות are attested in a fragmentary context in 4QSongs of the Sage[b] (4Q511) 8 5; 121 2; (10 4, 6); and the singular form in 4QInstruction[c] (4Q417) 3 4.

Nitzan characterizes both texts as "magical poetry" or "songs against harmful spirits."[69] The periods of time in these incantations probably refer to the harm caused by demons and times of trouble.[70] Nitzan's translations of תעודות תעניות בני אור[ך] as "the appointed times for the humiliation of the Sons of ligh[t]" and of לקץ תעניות פשע as "for the age of humiliation of sin" are warranted considering the context and outlook of these texts.[71] Similarly, Elisha Qimron regards "affliction" as the general meaning of the term.[72] Furthermore, looking at the only occurrence of the term in the Hebrew Bible, Ezra 9:5, gives us reason to relate the term to a *voluntarily chosen humiliation*, similar to the state of Ezra when he is said to have found out the sins of his people, torn his clothes and sat appalled until the evening. Ezra, and Daniel too, are examples of biblical persons who feel ashamed (Ezra 9:6, Dan 9:7–8) and humble themselves because of the sins of others. This humiliation also included fasting (Ezra 8:21, Dan 9:3). The future fate of God's people and the inheritance of the land is closely related to the confession of this shame (Ezra 9:12–15; Dan 9:19).

The context of the Psalms Pesher also bears relevance for the interpretation of this expression. Later in the Pesher, the word-pair מועד התענית (3:3 partly reconstructed) is used in connection with famine. According to the interpretation in 3:3–5, those who do not join the congregation will perish as a result of famine and plague. Famine is not equal to fasting. Note also how the end of the pesher 2:9–12 paints a picture of contrast to this state of humiliation: "Afterwards, they shall delight [in] all the [...] of the earth and grow fat with every luxu[ry] of the flesh." This confirms the general sense of תענית as "affliction" or "humiliation."[73] The Pesher also speaks of עת המצרף, "time of testing" (2:19), but nowhere of "fast" specifically.[74] It is the time of testing

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[69] B. Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer and Religious Poetry* (trans. J. Chipman; STDJ 12; Leiden: Brill, 1994), 10, 13.

[70] Nitzan, *Qumran Prayer*, 238–48.

[71] See also Hacham, "Communal Fasts," 135, note 38.

[72] E. Qimron, *The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (HSS 29; Atlanta, Georgia: Scholars Press, 1986), 97, 115.

[73] Again we would not like to define the meaning of תענית too strictly. Concerning the Psalms Pesher, Murphy, *Wealth*, 240–41, argues that the "present distress is a deprivation of food." Famine may have been one reason that attracted new members to the movement, Baumgarten, *Flourishing of Jewish Sects*, 64. However, the period of humiliation for those who were already in the group may not have meant hunger.

[74] Our view is not very far from R.B. Coote, "מועד התענית," *RevQ* 8/29 (1972): 81–85, who studies both concepts and concludes that both terms in the expression

and the distress (צרה) of the righteous that are related to the "period of humiliation."[75]

Another factor helps us to understand the contents of this humiliation. The previous pesher section has a reference to a forty-year period, clearly owing to the wilderness tradition (cf. CD 20:14–15 and its reference to Deut 2:14). Deuteronomy 8 explains the afflictions during the forty-year wilderness period with the verb ענה (in *pi'el*: to humble, to humiliate), from which the noun תענית is derived: "Remember the long way that the Lord your God has led you these forty years in the wilderness, in order to humble you (ענתך), testing you (לנסתך), to know what was in your heart, whether or not you would keep his commandments. He humbled you by letting you hunger, then by feeding you with manna" (8:2–3; also 8:16).[76] Whereas the forty-year period is a period of trusting God for food, it is also a test of *obedience*.

This sense of a time of humiliation is evident also in many other Qumran texts—the idea of the righteous in distress is certainly not a new one. The Book of Daniel envisions periodical history, with the idea of a continued state of captivity in exile (Dan 9).[77] Closer to the end, the wise will suffer from sword, flame, captivity and plunder; they shall be "refined, purified and cleansed" (Dan 11:33–35). These verses are explicitly employed in 4QEschatological Midrash[78] (4:1–3) and

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מועד התענית have a double meaning: מועד is between a specific יום and the unspecific קץ, and תענית means both affliction from outside and a voluntary fast (Day of Atonement). His view is shared, for example, by Horgan, *Pesharim*, 207, who translates both "the appointed time of affliction" (eschatological conflict), and "the appointed time of fasting" (specific conflict or penance). The double connotations of the terms may have been desirable in the Pesher.

[75] Common terms for distress and affliction in the Qumran documents are צרה, מצר, עני, מצוקה. Note the expression צרת מצרף in 1QS 8:4.

[76] I am grateful to the late Professor Timo Veijola who brought this passage to my attention.

[77] J.C. VanderKam, "Exile in Jewish Apocalyptic Literature," in *Exile: Old Testament, Jewish, And Christian Conceptions* (ed. J.M. Scott; JSJSupp 56; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 89–90. Similarly, in the Animal Apocalypse of Enoch, the exile is seen to be a prolonged state, VanderKam, "Exile," 100: "The time of the Babylonian exile was merely the first part of a larger and long-lasting phenomenon—the cruel reign of the seventy shepherds which would continue to the imminent end." For the exile in the Qumran texts, see M.G. Abegg, "Exile and the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Exile*, 111–25.

[78] A. Steudel, *Der Midrasch zur Eschatologie aus der Qumrangemeinde (4QMidrEschat^{a.b}): Materielle Rekonstruktion, Textbestand, Gattung und traditionsgeschichtliche Einordnung des durch 4Q174 ("Florilegium") und 4Q177 ("Catena A") repräsentierten Werkes aus den Qumranfunden.* (STDJ 13; Leiden: Brill, 1994).

related to the time of testing of the righteous.[79] Moreover, the Qumran Hodayot describe an individual who experiences distress and afflictions. He is comparable to the suffering servant of Isaiah in being the target of slander and lack of respect.[80] The distress of the Hodayot has a purifying function: they are "refined by poverty."[81] It is noteworthy that the distress is connected to the terminology of the 'poor' in the Hodayot (1QH[a] 6:3–4; 11:25–27; 13:12–17);[82] it is this connection that comes forth in explicit form in the expression עדת האביונים אשר יקבלו את מועד התענית of the Psalms Pesher.[83]

   The distress does not represent a threat solely to the life and well-being of the righteous, but also to their obedience. The hymnist of the Hodayot depends on God concerning his life but also his obedience:

> But you, my God, have freed the soul of the poor and needy from the hand of someone stronger than him; from the hand of the powerful you have saved my soul, and at their taunts you have not let me lose heart so as to desert your service from fear of destruction by the wicked. (1QH[a] 10:34–36)[84]

The rule documents do not give much thought to distress and suffering, but they nevertheless contain clear hints of the relevance of this ideology. The Damascus Document depicts the time of Belial, during which Belial would capture people in his nets, which are fornication, wealth, and defilement of the temple (CD 4:12–19).[85] The Community Rule

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[79] The "time of testing" is a prominent theme in 4QMidrEschat[a,b], e.g. 3:18–4:5; 8:1–7; 9:8–10:2.

[80] J.J. Collins, "Teacher and Servant," *RHPR* 80 (2000): 37–50. Murphy, *Wealth*, 245 states about this: "The motif of mockery and the temptation to desert God suggest that the humiliation is not merely economic, but is connected to the hymnist's notion of divine justice, if not that of oppressors." The oppressors who mock the individual are themselves responsible for the circumstances of the one who is mocked.

[81] Murphy, *Wealth*, 243: "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."

[82] The terminology of the Hodayot recalls that of the Pesher. Concerning the passage 2:9–12 of the Psalms Pesher, note especially 1QH[a] 11:25–27, which describes the distress of the poor (אביון), when the "*traps* of the pit" (פחי שחת) open, and also mentions "Belial" (בליעל) in the same connection (11:28-29)—all terms that are present in 4QpPs[a] 2:10–11.

[83] On distress and toil in the Habakkuk Pesher, see 1QpHab 5:6 and 8:12. The War Scroll envisions the end-time war as distress and testing, 1QM 15:1; 16:11; 17:8–9.

[84] Also 1QH[a] 7:13–20; 8:23; 12:28–37; 15:6–9.

[85] Note also "the number of their miseries" (CD 4:5), and the "age of wickedness" (CD 6:10, 14; 15:7; 12:23). The testing of the members is connected with the expulsion in case of a violation of the regulations in CD 20:1–8.

includes statements as to how Belial's rule was viewed.[86] Membership of the community safeguards the pious from straying:

> And all those who enter in the rule of the community shall establish a covenant before God in order to carry out all that he commanded and in order not to stray from following him out of any fear, dread, or testing during the dominion of Belial. (1QS 1:16–18)

During times of distress there is the possibility of transgressing (1QS 7:1; 3:23–25). It is significant that the verb קבל is used in 4QDamascus Document^a (4Q266 11 1; par. 4Q270 7 1 16) with reference to a member who *receives judgment* from the "Many."[87] This suggests that receiving the period of humiliation in the Psalms Pesher is not a passive act but includes *the struggle of walking straight among the wicked and being disciplined within the congregation*. The motif of bearing the distress without falling into sin or despair is intimately described in the final hymn of the Community Rule: "When distress (צרה) is unleashed, I shall praise him, just as I shall sing to him for his deliverance. I shall not repay anyone with evil reward, with goodness I shall pursue man (1QS 10:17–18)." The hymnist preserves his anger for unjust men, but even in his anger, he does not lose control: "I shall not retain Belial in my heart. From my mouth shall not be heard foolishness or wicked deceptions (1QS 10:21–22)."[88] The name "Belial" is used almost as a catchword in the rule documents, in the Hodayot and in the Psalms Pesher in the descriptions of distress; it signifies the cause of distress both out- and inside the community.

On the basis of these limited observations we may conclude that the suffering of the righteous was indeed part of the "sectarian worldview."

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[86] Note that these come from sections that did not belong to the original form of the Community Rule, see S. Metso, "The Textual Traditions of the Qumran Community Rule," in *Legal Texts and Legal Issues. Proceedings of the Second Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies, Cambridge 1995* (eds. M. Bernstein, F. García Martínez, and J. Kampen; STDJ 23; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 141–47. According to Metso, columns 1–4 were not originally part of the Community Rule. Similarly, columns 10–11 were added only later to 1QS and 4QS^{b,d}. The name Belial occurs mostly in the section 1:16–3:12, which is understood as covenant renewal liturgy (1:18, 24; 2:5, 19).

[87] Note also 4Q424 3 7: "A prudent man will receive (יקבל) disci[pline]."

[88] Translations by García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *DSSSE*, 97. "Humility" is one of the covenantal virtues, 1QS 2:24; 3:8–9; 4:3; 5:3, 25. According to 1QS 8:3–4, distress has an atoning function: the council of the community exists "in order to atone for sin by doing justice and undergoing trials (צרת מצרף)." Note that 4QS^e adds in the previous sentence the term "humility" (ענות).

But even more than this, it seems to have become a powerful tool in keeping the members in the movement. Beliefs and convictions have long traditions and may be used for different purposes.[89] The belief in the period of suffering and the dominion of Belial may have had multiple implications. They may have been used to frighten the members so as not to accept any laxity in keeping the law. In the Psalms Pesher, we may detect the promotion of the idea of *actively* accepting afflictions as part of the identity and positive distinctiveness of the in-group. Those who suffer now and stand the test are on the right side. They do not approve of erring in any matter. The real and potential downside of belonging to the group is turned into anticipation of the bright side. In terms of social identity, the negative dimensions of group member-ship are *re-evaluated* as part of the divine plan.[90] Comparisons to the out-groups are restricted and stereotypical; loyalty to the in-group is valued over the realization of justice.

In summary, the ideology of the in-group as the congregation of the poor in the period of humiliation is able to strengthen the group identity by adding to its positive dimensions (the poor are in the right ethical and spiritual relationship with God) and by promoting a positive view of its low-status attributes (the period of humiliation is self-chosen and belongs to the divine plan; it will be reversed in the future).

CONCLUSION

This paper has offered a glimpse of the social identity approach as it relates to questions such as: what makes individuals define themselves in terms of groups and behave with shared norms and rules? What is needed for a distinct social identity and how this is sustained? What kind of strategies do groups have for pursuing a positive distinctiveness? What is achieved by thinking of these regular group phenomena is the creation of tools for giving a face to the groups behind the texts—despite

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[89] For example, the dualism of the famous "Treatise on the Two Spirits" in 1QS 3:13–4:26 could be used as an incitement to ethical and good behavior, to some extent. But in the context of 1QS, it clearly requires the recognition of the specific movement in which the sons of light live.

[90] Such negative dimensions can be of many sorts, for example, hardship in keep-ing the strict regulations, economic or political troubles, minority status and attacks by out-groups, disappointed expectations, defectors.

the difficulties of interpreting the documents and despite the impossibility of presenting only one possible scenario for their social reality. Though not proven by these insights, what seems relevants is the re-thinking of some of the texts from the perspective of modifying the social identity of the in-group (whatever stage and form this may take) and recognizing the relevance of re-identification and re-definition in the group over time. The collective memory of the group played an important role in forming their view of themselves and others.

We have seen what this could mean in the case of the Psalms Pesher. The positive sense of belonging to the in-group requires not only *awareness* of belonging to this group and not another (that is, the salience of social identity rather than personal identity), but also a *positive* emotional and evaluative value attached to that belonging. This is achieved by various cognitive strategies, which are reflected in the collective self-identification as the "poor" and in the reception of the period of humiliation. The group adds new dimensions to its self-categorization, finding in the past an ideological ally, the poor and needy in the Scriptures and in its own traditions. Accepting afflictions and God's appointed times harnessed the in-group with a positive value of humility and forbearance, living in the expectation of future vindication. Thus, the Pesher carries on and reflects group processes, which, if successful, could result in something like this: an in-group member was able to view him- or herself as being part of God's chosen people, the congregation of the poor, very different from out-group members whose actions were replete with violence, destruction and lies, but intimately similar to other in-group members who, by being faithful to the in-group, remain inheritors of the covenant blessings. The salience of this identity overrides the personal identity of the individual in central areas of life, thus decreasing the likelihood of pursuing personal interests at the cost of group interests. The member also sees continuity in the in-group identity, aroused by familiar terms and figures from the group's writings. Furthermore, he or she was able to view the distress and subordination of the in-group as voluntarily accepted markers of being chosen and therefore their strength. The identity-constructing strategies help to understand the energy within the Qumran movement, which was not directed towards tackling the out-groups openly and continuously so as to achieve the desired changes, but rather towards creating and sustaining a subculture that offered its members space in which these changes could be realized and anticipated in the future.

ESCHATOLOGICAL IDENTITIES IN THE DAMASCUS DOCUMENT

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In previous scholarship, much attention has been paid to perceptions of the past in the Damascus Document.[1] Particular attention focused on the Damascus Document as a source of information on the past and the origins of the sectarian Qumran community.[2] Apart from perceptions of the past, the Damascus Document may also be studied as a source on the history and development of sectarian expectations about the endtime.[3] The part of eschatology in the Damascus Document which has been most intensively discussed consists of the references to, among other eschatological figures, the "messiah of Israel and Aaron" (CD-A 12:23–13:1; 14:19 [= 4QDᵃ 10 i 12]; CD-B 19:10–11; 20:1).[4] Since the full publication of all fragments of text from Qumran cave 4,[5] the discussion about the literary growth of Qumran texts has gained new impetus. The publication of the Qumran fragments of the Damascus Document from cave 4 by Joseph M. Baumgarten in 1996 has made

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[1] E.g. P.R. Davies, *The Damascus Covenant: An Interpretation of the "Damascus Document"* (JSOTSup 25; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1983), 56–104; A.I. Baumgarten, "The Perception of the Past in the Damascus Document," in *The Damascus Document: A Centennial of Discovery* (eds. J.M. Baumgarten, E.G. Chazon, and A. Pinnick; STDJ 34; Leiden: Brill, 2000), 1–15; M.L. Grossman, *Reading for History in the Damascus Document: A Methodological Study* (STDJ 45; Leiden: Brill, 2002).

[2] See the recent surveys by C. Hempel, "Community Origins in the *Damascus Document* in the Light of Recent Scholarship," in *The Provo International Conference on the Dead Sea Scrolls* (eds. D.W. Parry and E. Ulrich STDJ 30; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 316–29; C. Hempel, *The Damascus Texts* (CQS 1; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000), 54–70. Cf. J.C. VanderKam, "Identity and History of the Community," *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment* (eds. P.W. Flint and J.C. VanderKam; vol. 2; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 487–533.

[3] CD-A 1:12, 4QDᵃ 2 i 15–16; CD-A 4:3–4, 8–12; CD-A 6:10–11; CD-A 12:23–13:1; CD-A 14:19, 4QDᵃ 10 i 12; CD-B 19:10–11; CD-B 20:1.

[4] Much scholarly attention has focused on the absence an explicit messianic reference in CD-A 7–8 and its presence in CD-B 19 (10–11); two passages which otherwise overlap. See section 3 below.

[5] With DJD 39 published by E. Tov et al. (eds.), *The Texts from the Judaean Desert: Indices and an Introduction to the* Discoveries in the Judaean Desert *Series* (DJD 39; Oxford: Clarendon, 2002), the DJD series came to a close.

clear that the original understanding of the Damascus Document as a "Qumran" text, mainly based on the medieval Cairo Genizah manuscripts (CD-A and CD-B), needs to be supplemented by much new material, most of all legal material.[6] This article will discuss the question of whether and how it is possible to reconstruct developments in the eschatological thought reflected in the Damascus Document on the basis of the entire evidence now available (CD-A, CD-B, 4QD[a–g], 4QpapD[h], 5Q12, 6Q15), and how sectarian eschatology interacts with sectarian identity.

1. Eschatological Perceptions and Sectarian Identity

Several clearly sectarian texts, like the Pesharim, the Rule of the Community (in particular the Treatise of the Two Spirits, 1QS 3:13–4:26), the War Scroll, the Eschatological Midrash (4Q174, 4Q177) and 4QMMT convey a strong dualism between the sectarian sense of a "we"-community and the community's enemies, and put this dualism also in an eschatological perspective.[7] Other recently published texts from cave 4 also affirm the eschatological outlook of a sectarian "we"-community.[8] It may not be an exaggeration to say that the respective eschatological perceptions are a constitutive element of sectarian self-definition. In this way, it is possible to speak of "eschatological identity."

Before we turn to the question of eschatological identities in the Damascus Document, some preliminary observations need to be made about the idea of a sectarian community. The idea of the sectarian Qumran community has traditionally been centred around the יחד as described in the Rule of the Community. Recently, John J. Collins has advocated the idea that the יחד, rather than denoting a single settle-

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[6] J.M. Baumgarten (ed.), *Qumran Cave 4.XIII: The Damascus Document (4Q266–273)* (DJD 18; Oxford: Clarendon, 1996), 3, 4–5, presents synthetic tables of the contents of the 4Q manuscripts with regard to the Admonition and the Laws respectively.

[7] For a survey, see A. Steudel, "אחרית הימים in the Texts from Qumran," *RevQ* 16/62 (1993): 225–46.

[8] See e.g. the instruction to understand "the end of ages," קץ עולמות, in 4Q298 3–4 II 9, the expression "the fulfil[ment] of the period of wickedness," בכלו[ת] [קץ רשעה], in 4Q301 3 8, and the interpretive issue of an eschatological context to "the mystery that is to come," רז נהיה, in 4QInstruction (as discussed by J.J. Collins, "The Mysteries of God: Creation and Eschatology in 4QInstruction and the Wisdom of Solomon," in *Wisdom and Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the Biblical Tradition* [ed. F. García Martínez; BETL 168; Leuven: Peeters, 2003], 287–305).

ment, stands for an "umbrella union."[9] Nevertheless, the term יחד also suggests a cohesiveness of organization of the scrolls community, in which the Qumran settlement may have played a central part. In spite of recent debates about archaeological traces of the existence of several sectarian settlements,[10] the Qumran evidence of scribal activity stands out as unique, as has recently been reaffirmed.[11] The "umbrella union" of the יחד may have had its centre in Qumran, so that in this sense we may continue speak of "the Qumran community."

The Damascus Document affirms the idea of a differentiation between sectarian settlements and their respective regulations, but it also has important connections with other sectarian Qumran texts, the Community Rule in particular. In spite of the difference between the Community Rule, which mainly speaks of the יחד, and the Damascus Document, which mainly refers to העדה, there are also some commonalities in communal terminology and awareness. Both texts mention the institution of the "Many," הרבים (CD-A 15:8; 13:7; 14:7, 12; 1QS 6:8–23, 25; 7:3, 10, 13, 16, 19–21, 24; 9:2; 4QS[d] 1:2), as well as the "holy council," עצת (ה)ק(ו)דש (CD-B 20:24–25; 1QS 2:25, 8:21),[12] an apparent variation on the 'community council', עצת היחד.[13] In fact, we may have evidence of one occurrence of the term יחד in the 4QD fragments, depending on the question whether the reconstructed reading משפטי הי[חד] in 4Q270 3 iii 19 (PAM 43.295) is accepted. The "congregation of the men of perfect holiness," עדת אנשי תמים הקדש (CD-B 20:2; cf. CD-A 7:4–5), as distinct from those who dwell in the

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[9] J.J. Collins, "Forms of Community in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Emanuel: Studies in Hebrew Bible, Septuagint and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honor of Emanuel Tov* (eds. S.M. Paul et al.; VTSup 94; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 97–111.

[10] M. Broshi, "The Archaeology of Palestine 63 BCE–CE 70," in *CHJ III: The Early Roman Period* (eds. W. Horbury, W.D. Davies, and J. Sturdy; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 1–37, at 35 (on a Qumran-like community in Ein el-Ghuweir); J. Magness, *The Archaeology of Qumran and the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2002), 223, deems the evidence of Ein Feshka and Ein el-Ghuweir inconclusive.

[11] R. Reich, "A Note on the Function of Room 30 (the "Scriptorium") at Khirbet Qumran," *JJS* 46 (1995): 157–60; Magness, *The Archaeology of Qumran*, 43–44.

[12] עצת (ה)ק(ו)דש as a "holy council" further occurs in e.g. 1QSa 2:9, 1QM 3:4, 1QH[a] 15:10.

[13] Apart from its frequency in the Community Rule, the term עצת היחד further occurs in 1QpHab 12:4; 1QpMic 8–10 8; 1QSa 1:26–27; 2:2, 11; 1QSb 4:26; 4QpIsa[d] 1 2; 4QpPs[a] 2:15; 4Q174 1–2 i 17; 4Q177 14 5; 4Q265 4 ii 3; 7 7–8; 4Q286 7a ii 1; 4Q287 6 1.

camps, further corresponds with self-designations in the Community Rule (1QS 8:20; cf. 1QS 8:10, 18, 21; 9:5, 9).

With regard to communal sectarian awareness, the Damascus Document attests to an idea of separation from the (way of) the people (CD-A 8:8, 16; CD-B 19:20, 29; 20:24) which also figures in other sectarian Qumran texts.[14] It further contains descriptions of enemies which overlap with other Qumran texts.[15] Concerning the 4QD fragments in particular, Baumgarten has observed that the set of religious ideas in them "puts D squarely in the theological milieu of the [*Community*] *Rule* and the *Hodayot*."[16] Sectarian self-definition is also reflected in the expression "sons of light," בני אור, with which the Qumran version of the Damascus Document apparently starts (4QD[a] 1a–b 1). Recent scholarship, which focused on the overlap between material in the Community Rule,[17] confirms the impression that the Damascus Document was appropriated by the Qumran community as a foundation text which settled relations with sister communities.

Why should we consider the possibility of plural eschatological identities in the Damascus Document? Close examination of certain passages has led scholars to observe traces of development in the Qumran community's perception of the past. An example of this is the identification of different accounts of community origins within the Admonition, in which Israel is accorded divergent places vis-à-vis the sectarian community.[18] These accounts of community origins may also provide a glimpse of the larger parent movement of the Qumran community. Just as the sectarian community did not have an unchang-

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[14] On Qumran sectarian separation from the "way of the people," דרך העם, see also 1QSa 1:1–3 as well as the reading פרשנו מרוב העם in the reconstruction of 4QMMT C 7 by E. Qimron and J. Strugnell, see *Qumran Cave 4.V: Miqsat Maʿase ha-Torah* (DJD 10; Oxford: Clarendon, 1994), 58–59.

[15] E.g. "seekers of easy interpretations," דורשי החלקות, in 4QpNah 3+4 i 2, 7; ii 2, 4; iii 3 corresponds with דרשו בחלקות in CD-A 1:18; "sons of injustice," בני עול, occurs in 4QD[a] 3 ii 20–21 and in 1QS 3:21 (cf. אנשי העול in 1QS 5:2, 10; 8:13; 9:17); "congregation of traitors," עדת בונדים, occurs in CD-A 1:12 and 6Q30 1 3 which has [עד]ת בונד[ים] (cf. 1QpHab 2:1, 3, 5).

[16] Baumgarten, DJD 18.10.

[17] See P.S. Alexander and G. Vermes (eds.), *Qumran Cave 4.XIX: Serekh Ha-Yaḥad and Two Related Texts* (DJD 26; Oxford: Clarendon, 1998), 4; P.R. Davies, "The Judaism(s) of the Damascus Document," in *The Damascus Document*, 27–43, at 35–40; S. Metso, "The Relationship between the Damascus Document and the Community Rule," in *The Damascus Document*, 85–93.

[18] See Hempel, "Community Origins," 316–29, who identifies four accounts of community origins (CD 1:3–11a; 2:8b–13; 3:12b–4:12a; 5:20–6:11a).

ing idea about the past, the perspective on the endtime may also have changed over time depending on the sectarian community's relation to the surrounding world.

It is thus possible to speak of eschatological identities in the Damascus Document in the following way. We may distinguish the eschatological identity of the parent community from that of the Qumran community as reflected in the Damascus Document, and search for moments in the history of the community which effected changes in this identity. This sectarian communal identity was determined by the community's relation to and distinction from Israel at large and the enemies of the community. The identification of the eschatological figures in the Damascus Document will finally be the subject of our discussion.

2. Communal Eschatological Identity

2.1. *The Pre-Qumran Community*

The identity of the group out of which the Qumran community eventually emerged is not beyond dispute. Some scholars, led by Jerome Murphy-O'Connor, defended Babylonian origins of this group, while more scholars favoured Palestinian origins.[19] At any rate, the affiliations of the pre-Qumran group have been interpreted in comparison with *Jubilees* and *1 Enoch*.[20] In fact, the Damascus Document contains an explicit reference to the *Book of Jubilees* (CD-A 16:2–4). The context in which this reference occurs appears to suggest that *Jubilees* had an important supplementary value to the law of Moses for the sectarian community.

The identity of the pre-Qumran community was probably rooted in a theological and social context with which the later Qumran community could no longer identify. The Qumran community's perspective on its predecessors is ambiguous, to say the least. In CD-A 1:8–10 (cf. 4QD[a] 2 i 12–14; 4QD[c] 1 15–17), a passage which introduces the predecessors of the Qumran community, they are described as guilty men and blind persons who grope for a path during twenty years. On the other hand, their deeds are subsequently appraised by God, "because they sought

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[19] For a survey, see the bibliography quoted in n. 2 above.

[20] One Qumran manuscript of 1 Enoch, 4QAstronomical Enoch[a] ar, has been dated palaeographically to 250–150 BCE, thereby antedating any chronology of the earliest settlement of the sectarian community at Qumran.

him with an undivided heart" (CD-A 1:10).[21] The undivided search for God in the midst of wilderness without path, to which CD-A 1:15 (4QD^a 2 i 18–19) refers, provides the link between the predecessors and the Qumran community itself.

The defining moment to which the Qumran community traces back its foundation is the activity of the Teacher of Righteousness "to direct them in the path of his heart,"[22] as we read in CD-A 1:11 and 4QD^a 2 i 15. The pivotal figure of the Teacher of Righteousness returns in CD-B 20:27–34. His teachings were of enduring importance for the Qumran community, as other Qumran texts also indicate (e.g. 1QpMic 8–10 6–9; 1QpHab 7:4–5; 4QpPs^a 3:15–19; 4:26–27; cf. below). The foundation of the Qumran community was probably determined by a new eschatological awareness, as CD-A 1:11–12 may indicate: "And he made known to the last generations (דורות אחרונים) what he had done for the last generation, the congregation of traitors (בדור אחרון בעדת בונדים)."[23] Since we know from the Pesher to Habbakuk that the Qumran community claimed to have received divine revelation about this last generation (1QpHab 2:5–10; 7:1–8), we may infer that the Qumran community identified itself with "the last generations," דורות אחרונים.[24] The eschatological consciousness of the Qumran community as belonging to the last generations in a contemporary age of wickedness[25] could well be what set it apart from its predecessors. This does not necessarily mean that the pre-Qumran community did not have eschatological preoccupations.[26]

What then could have constituted the eschatological identity of the predecessors of the Qumran community? CD-A 1:7 suggests that these predecessors are identified with the root of the planting, שורש מטעת,

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[21] Translation after F. García Martínez and E.J.C. Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition: Volume 1 (1Q1–4Q273)* (Leiden: E.J. Brill and Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 2000), 551.

[22] Translation after ibidem, 551.

[23] Translation after ibidem, 551.

[24] The term דורות (עולם) occurs frequently in the Qumran texts and include the "we"-community of Qumran. Cf. 4Q254a 3 4, where the phrase [להודיע דורות הא]חרונים may denote an eschatological interpretation of the Flood story as applied to the time of the Qumran community.

[25] On the contemporary "age of wickedness," see CD-A 6:10, 14; 4QD^a 3 ii 16, 20; 8 i 1; 4QD^d 8 ii 5; 4QD^f 2 12; cf. 1QpHab 5:7–8.

[26] Cf. G.W.E. Nickelsburg, *Ancient Judaism and Christian Origins: Diversity, Continuity, and Transformation* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2003), 134: "Judaism in the Greco-Roman period was marked by widespread eschatological consciousness."

from Israel and Aaron, since this event precedes the activity of the Teacher of Righteousness in the narrative chronology of CD-A 1.[27]

Depending on the interpretation of the 390 years after the Babylonian exile (CD-A 1:5–6), this root of the planting could be dated to the first decades of the second century BCE. However, other accounts of community origins assign the beginning of the pre-Qumran community to the exilic period (cf. CD-A 1:4–5, 4QD^a 2 i 9–10).[28]

The image of the "root of the planting," שורש מטעת, is important, since the Qumran community identified itself with an everlasting plantation, מטעת עולם, as we read in 1QS 8:5.[29] The predecessors may have had perceptions of the endtime on which the Qumran community elaborated. They probably relied on the interpretation of the Prophets for their eschatology, which the Qumran community extended beyond the words of the Prophets (1QpHab 7:1–8).

The pre-Qumran community must also have had a sense of belonging to a new, post-exilic covenant, as prophesied in Jer 31:30–31. 1QpHab 2:1–4 implies that the sectarian sense of a "new covenant" already existed at the time of the activity of the Teacher of Righteousness. The fact that the Damascus Document relates this new covenant, ברית החדשה, to the land of Damascus (CD-A 8:21; CD-B 19:33–34; 20:12) has been explained as an exegetical term derived from Amos 5:26–27.[30] Damascus also stands symbolically for the continuity of tradition, passed on by those entering the new covenant, since the time of the exile.

With regard to possible traces of the pre-Qumran community's eschatological identity, it is important to note the analysis by Charlotte Hempel of CD-A 3:12b–17a as an originally independent unit,[31] a passage which I quote below.[32]

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[27] In this respect, I disagree with Davies, *The Damascus Covenant*, 65, 199, who identifies the "root of the planting" already with the Qumran community.

[28] See Hempel, "Community Origins," 316–29.

[29] Cf. 1QS 11:8; 1QH^a 14:15; 16:6; 4Q418 81 13. Note that 4QS^e 2:14 presents a version different from 1QS 8:5, reading [למ]שפט עולם [ם] ('for everlasting judgment') instead of למטעת עולם.

[30] Amos 5:26–27 is quoted in CD-A 7:14–15, but not in CD-B 19. The beginning of 4QD^a 3 iii suggests that this manuscript also quotes Amos 5:26–27. Cf. Hempel, *The Damascus Texts*, 58–60.

[31] Hempel, "Community Origins," 316–29.

[32] Text from E. Qimron, "The Text of CDC," in *The Damascus Document Reconsidered* (ed. M. Broshi; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1992), 15; translation from García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *DSSSE*, 555.

ובמחזיקים במצות אל 12b
אשר נותרו מהם הקים אל את בריתו לישראל עד עולם לגלות 13
להם נסתרות אשר תעו בם כל ישראל   שבתות קדשו ומועדי 14
כבודו עידות צדקו ודרכי אמתו וחפצי רצונו אשר יעשה 15
האדם וחיה בהם   פתח לפניהם ויחפרו באר למים רבים 16
ומואסיהם לא יחיה 17a

> 12b But with those who remained steadfast in God's precepts, 13 with those who were left from among them, God established his covenant with Israel for ever, revealing to them 14 hidden matters in which all Israel had gone astray: *Blank* his holy sabbaths and his 15 glorious feasts, his just stipulations and his truthful paths, and the wishes of his will which 16 man must do in order to live by them. *Blank* He disclosed (these matters) to them and they dug a well of plentiful water; 17 and whoever spurns them shall not live.

If we follow Hempel's analysis, we may infer that the predecessors of the Qumran community claimed exclusive divine revelation about hidden matters. These hidden matters partly concerned the Temple cult, since this fragment also mentions "his glorious feasts." These feasts were Temple-based. The eschatological identity of the pre-Qumran community was probably determined by adherence to the Temple cult. The emphasis on God's just exhortations and his truthful paths next to the Sabbaths and the festivals may echo prophetic cult criticism which envisioned the eventual restoration of the Temple cult. In contrast to the Qumran community which polemicised against the priestly establishment, the predecessors probably aimed to correct the people of Israel in hidden matters in which they had gone astray.

The eschatological identity of the predecessors was therefore far more Temple-based than that of the Qumran community which defined itself to a large degree in its antagonism with the contemporary priestly establishment. This antagonism is attested by the references to the Wicked Priest, the last priests of Jerusalem and the final generation in the Pesher to Habakkuk as well as by the exhortation not to "enter the Temple to kindle his altar in vain" in CD-A 6:11–12. The fact that the Laws do comprise regulations about offerings on the Sabbath (CD-A 11:17–21) and about the purity of the city of the Temple (CD-A 12:1–2) may nevertheless reveal the ongoing concern with the Temple in a text redacted by the Qumran community.

2.2. *The Qumran Community*

a. *The Qumran Community in Relation to Other Sectarian Settlements*

Exile

The Qumran community's identity was determined by a clear sense of
exile and segregation, as we may infer from the Pesher to Habakkuk
(1QpHab 11:6) and the Rule of the Community (1QS 8:11, 12b–13;
4QS^d 6:5–7; 4QS^e 3:1–4; 1QS 9:19–21; 4QS^b 18:3–4; 4QS^d 8:4–5;
4QS^e 3:19–4:2). For this reason the Damascus Document, with its focus
on the new covenant and the continuity of tradition since the time of
the Babylonian exile,[33] may have been of central importance for the
Qumran community. It is important to note here that the eschatologi-
cally oriented War Scroll also speaks about the "exiled of the desert,"
גולת המדבר, being the sons of Levi, Judah, and Benjamin, and the
"exiled sons of light," גולת בני אור (1QM 1:2–3). As we have already
seen, the dualistic term "sons of light" also occurs in the "introduction"
of 4QD^a 1a–b 1. The Qumran community probably shared a sense
of exile with other sectarian settlements in "camps," מחנות, which are
mentioned in the Damascus Document (CD-A 7:6; 15:13–14; 9:11;
12:22b–13:21; 14:3–12, 17; CD-B 19:2; 20:26; 4QD^a 11 17) as well
as in the War Scroll (1QM 3:4–5, 14;[34] 7:1, 3; 4QM^a 1–3 9, 19) and
4QMMT (B 28–31, 60–62).

The "Converts of Israel"

Apart from the explicit descriptions of the Qumran community's pre-
decessors, to some of which I already referred, I propose to interpret
the enigmatic term שבי ישראל as applying to the larger movement from
which the Qumran community emerged. The term שבי ישראל has been
translated in different ways,[35] but I prefer that of "converts of Israel"

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[33] Cf. Davies, *The Damascus Covenant*, 63–67, 72–76, and 83 about the concept of
"exile" in CD-A 1:1–2:1; 2:1–13, and 2:14–4:12b respectively, observing both historical
and typological connotations.

[34] 1QM 3:14, referring to the "leaders of the camps of the three tribes," implies the
tribes of Levi, Judah, and Benjamin, already mentioned in 1QM 1:2.

[35] Davies, *The Damascus Covenant*, 92–95 at 92 noted three possible translations:
"penitents," "returnees," or "captives," referring to previous scholarly discussion.
According to Davies, the term שבי ישראל in CD-A 4:2 does not apply "to the whole
of the community, but to those who founded it" (94).

in the recent translation by García Martínez and Tigchelaar.[36] This translation accords with the sense in which the verb שוב is also used in the expression שבי פשע, 'those who repent from sin', in CD-A 2:5. Moreover, this sense of conversion corresponds with the consciousness of iniquity in CD-A 1:8–9 and with the confession of sin in CD-B 20:28–30. Finally, this translation comes close to the sense of 'covenant of conversion', ברית תשובה, in CD-B 19:16.

The "converts of Israel" may be identified with the parent community for the following reasons. In CD-A 1:8–10 we read that the predecessors to the Qumran community "realised their iniquity and knew that they were guilty, and they were like blind persons groping for a path during twenty years, but God appraised their deeds, since they sought him with an undivided heart" (cf. 4QD[a] 2 i 12–14; 4QD[c] 1 15–17).[37] This description includes elements of human sin and divine forgiveness which return in CD-A 3:17–18. The activity of digging a "well of plentiful water" is attributed to the parent community in CD-A 3:16, while it is attributed to the so-called "converts of Israel" in CD-A 6:4–5. The well is here identified with the law (CD-A 6:4; 4QD[a] 3 ii 11; 4QD[b] 2 11). Thus the "converts of Israel" may be equated with the Qumran community's predecessors.

The fact that the term שבי ישראל only occurs in the Admonition may indicate that the Qumran community used this as an observer's category for its parent movement, while it took over from this parent community an older code of Laws without this term.

If this interpretation of the "converts of Israel" as applied to the broader parent movement and to all those who affiliated themselves with it is accepted, this may have the following consequences. Since the Damascus Document stipulates regulations for different communities,[38] the Qumran community's use of the observer's category "converts of Israel" is advisedly positive (cf. CD-A 4:2–3; 6:4–7 (= 4QD[b] 2 11–14), 8:16–18; 4QD[a] 5 i 15). The communities other than that of the עדת אנשי תמים הקדש, the "congregation of the men of perfect holiness" in

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[36] Hempel, *The Damascus Texts*, 57–58; García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *DSSSE*, 555, 559, 563.

[37] Translation after García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *DSSSE*, 551.

[38] סרך מושב ערי ישראל (CD-A 12:19); וזה סרך לשפטי העדה (CD-A 10:4); וזה סרך המבקר למחנה (CD-A 13:7); וזה סרך מושב המחנות (CD-A 12:22–23); וזה סרך הרבים (CD-A 14:12). Cf. CD-A 7:6–8 / וסרך מושב כל המחנות (CD-A 14:3); CD-B 19:2–4 about סרך הארץ and סרך התורה applied to those who reside in camps, take women and beget children.

CD-B 20:2, which may be identified with the Qumran community,[39] also had the "converts of Israel" as their predecessors. In spite of the Qumranite criticism of these predecessors, it would defeat the purpose of the Qumran community to deny any common ground to related communities. From the Qumran community's perspective, every one who entered the sectarian covenant in successive generations could probably be said to belong to or be related to the 'converts of Israel' in a broader sense. The Admonition comprises various exhortations about the distinction between those who entered the covenant and remained steadfast in it and those who entered the covenant but transgressed it.

The predecessors may have been criticised for not having been stead-fast enough in face of the antagonism within the priestly establishment at the time of the crisis of Hellenisation in the Maccabean era. The Pesher to Habakkuk relates a violent conflict between the Teacher of Righteousness and the Wicked Priest and the subsequent defilement of the Temple by the latter. The Damascus Document blames the parent community for having "defiled themselves with human sin and unclean paths" (CD-A 3:17).

The Qumran community's perspective on the struggle against evil and iniquity was not confined to its enemies but probably also implicated contemporary related communities. The Damascus Document warns those who enter the covenant to remain steadfast in it, as the consequences of both faithfulness and transgression are put in an eschatological perspective. CD-A 3:20 promises eternal life and all the glory of Adam, חיי נצח וכל כבוד אדם,[40] for those who remain steadfast in the covenant. CD-A 4:9–12, on the other hand, gives an imminent warning about the limited time of atonement for iniquities, after the completion of which the sin becomes definite, the boundary, namely that of the Law, being far away.

The Sure House
What is the place of the Qumran community in all of this? Let me turn to CD-A 3:19–4:4a, a passage which introduces God's building of a

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[39] While the term יחד for community predominates in the Rule of the Community, the term יסדות עדת הקודש, "foundations of the holy congregation," in 1QSa 1:12–13 could apply to the Qumran community as well.

[40] On the promise of "all the glory of Adam," כל כבוד אדם, for the "upright ones," see also 1QS 4:22–23.

"firmly established" or "sure house" in Israel (CD-A 3:19) and ends with an eschatological interpretation of Ezek 44:15 with its perspective on the Temple and its service. The context of the sentence which precedes CD-A 3:19 may suggest that we should read the *waw* in ויבן as a *waw*-consecutive, so that the verb should be read as a past tense. The only problem with this could be the phrase אשר לא עמד כמהו למלפנים ועד, translated as "such as there has not been since ancient times, not even till now."[41] Because of this phrase and of CD-A 4:3–4 which focuses on the service of the sons of Zadok by the end of days, the בית נאמן has been interpreted as standing for the eschatological Temple.[42] However, the phrase could also be taken to mean that it has no parallel, being a proverbial expression for something unique without necessarily pointing to the future or the endtime. This would accord with the translation of the verb ויבן as a past tense.

I propose to identify the בית נאמן with the foundation of the Qumran community, which from the community's perspective as reflected in the Damascus Document as an end-text took place in the past. This idea of the community as a firmly established, lasting house corresponds with the self-designation of the community as a house of holiness in the Rule of the Community (1QS 8–9). The basis of this firm establishment was the Law. As the predecessors of the Qumran community dug the "well of plentiful water" which stands symbolically for the Law (CD-A 3:16; 6:3–5), the Qumran community established itself as the house of the Law (cf. CD-B 20:10, 13), which studied the Law in segregation (1QS 8:12–16).

The idea of the Qumran community as a firmly established "sure house" may indeed have temple theological connotations as the passage continues with a quotation from Ezekiel about the Temple service. The idea of the community as Temple in the contemporary age alongside the notion of an eschatological Temple corresponds with the distinction between the Temple of man and the Temple of the Lord in the Eschatological Midrash (4Q174 1 i 3, 6). As we have already proposed to identify the "converts of Israel" with the broader parent movement from which the Qumran community emerged, the "sons of Zadok,"

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[41] Translation from García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *DSSSE*, 555.

[42] J. Kampen, "The Significance of the Temple in the Manuscripts of the Damascus Document," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls at Fifty: Proceedings of the 1997 Society of Biblical Literature Qumran Section Meetings* (eds. R.A. Kugler and E.M. Schuller; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1999), 185–97, at 193–95.

בני צדוק, who figure also in this passage may probably be identified with the Qumran community itself. This identification may find support in the special place which the "sons of Zadok" have within the Qumran community according to the Rule of the Community from cave 1 (cf. 1QS 5:2, 9).[43] Thus the Qumran community claimed an elite position for itself as the "chosen of Israel, the men of renown, who stand (to serve) at the end of days" (CD-A 4:3–4);[44] it assigned related communities who shared a basic common ground the position of priests an levites, while those who remained outside the sectarian perspective on the covenant were the 'children of Israel who strayed far away' (CD-A 4:1–2).

In this way, the broader movement of related communities, identified as the 'converts of Israel', stood between the unfaithful children of Israel and the chosen of Israel. This was problematic for the Qumran community which emphasised faithfulness to the covenant.

b. *The Community and Its Enemies*

Let us now turn from the relation between the Qumran community, its parent community and related communities to the accounts of the sectarian community's enemies. This is alos an important component for the development of the community's eschatological identity. The perception of the community's enemies and the perception of Israel are in a way interrelated, for the enemies of the Qumran community are those who make Israel stray. It has already been noted by other scholars that the degree to which Israel strayed in sectarian perceptions differs in the respective accounts of community origins within the Damascus Document.[45] The sectarian perspective on its enemies probably underwent changes effected by the sectarian community's

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[43] In contrast to 1QS 5:2 and 9, 4QS^d 1:2f. assigns authority to the "Many" rather than to the "sons of Zadok." On the comparative study between 1QS and 4QS fragments in search of the relation between textual development and communal development, see e.g. S. Metso, *The Textual Development of the Qumran Community Rule* (STDJ 21; Leiden: Brill, 1997); P.S. Alexander, "The Redaction-History of *Serekh ha-Yaḥad*: A Proposal," *RevQ* 17/65–68 (1996), 437–456; S. Metso, "In Search of the *Sitz im Leben* of the *Community Rule*," in *The Provo International Conference*, 306–315.

[44] Translation from García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *DSSSE*, 557.

[45] E.g. Hempel, "Community Origins," 316–329 at 327 about the contrast between CD-A 5:20–6:11a and CD-A 1:3–11a: "Whereas elsewhere we had Israel at large being guilty—or at least the great majority of Israel—and bringing about the exile because of their disobedience, here [CD-A V 20–VI 11a] a particular group, "the removers of the boundary," is introduced who prophesied lies and turned Israel away from God."

history, of which we may try to find traces in the Damascus texts. A complete study is beyond the scope of this article, but I will outline some elements of which it can be demonstrated that they are important for the community's eschatological identity.

The Removal of the Boundary

Since the community's enemies evidently did not share the same perspective on the Law, they were perceived as those who 'moved the boundary', that is, the boundary of inheritance from the forefathers. The motive of the removal of the boundary recurs in the Damascus Document (4QD^a 1a–b 1–5a; CD-A 1:16–17 and 4QD^a 2 i 19–20; CD-A 5:20, 4QD^a 3 ii 7, 4QD^b 2 4; 4QD^f 1 2). If the beginning of an ancient text introduced themes of fundamental importance,[46] we may have evidence from 4QD^a 1a–b 1–5a that this is the case with the removal of the boundary. This passage puts the struggle of the "sons of light" against those who move the boundary in an eschatological perspective of eventual destruction of evil after a period of visitation. Since lines 16–17 of the same fragment refer to the contrast between the voice of Moses and slander against the statutes and commandments of God, we may infer that the motive of "removal of the boundary" clearly stood for transgression of the Law from the sectarian perspective; a transgression which would bring about the vengeance of the covenant in the endtime (cf. CD-B 20:25–26; 4QMMT C 12–22).

The "Builders of the Wall"

Another important element in the sectarian picture of the community's enemies is their description as "the builders of the wall," בוני החיץ (CD-A 4:19, cf. 6QD 1 1; 8:12, 18; CD-B 19:24–25, 31). The expression "builders of the wall" appears to echo words from Ezek 13:10, a scriptural verse which stands in a context of polemic against false prophets who daub with whitewash. The motive of false prophecy by the community's enemies also recurs in the Damascus Document (cf. CD-A 6:1–2). In Ezek 13:1–16, the imagery of the building of a wall and whitewash concern false prophecies about Jerusalem and "visions

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[46] Cf. Baumgarten, "Perception of the Past," 4: "Ancient authors regularly situated comments intended to guide the reader at the beginning or at the end of works, indicating what sort of work they had produced and how they wanted it to be read. Ideological statements therefore were concentrated in passages at the beginning or end of works."

of peace for here, when there was no peace" (Ezek 13:16). The sectar-
ian picture of its enemy as "builders of the wall" may also concern a
movement which was influential if not dominant in Jerusalem. This
movement appears to be addressed in a present tense in CD-A 8:12–13,
after the appearance of the head of the kings of Greece has been
mentioned (CD-A 8:11–12). The "builders of the wall" could therefore
be an enemy in the more recent history of the Qumran community.
The Damascus Document contrasts God's love for the forefathers to
God's wrath against the congregation which has been led astray by the
sectarian community's enemies. The sectarian eschatological perspective
on these enemies is one of impending judgment and destruction.

c. *The Community and Judah*

Finally, Judah has an ambiguous place in the Qumran community's
perspective. CD-A 8:3 refers to the "princes of Judah" as to those upon
whom God's rage will be vented and CD-B 19:15–16 associates the
"princes of Judah" with "those who move the boundary." The latter
passage is followed by lines which describe their former allegiance to
the "covenant of conversion," ברית תשובה, and their eventual betrayal
of the covenant. This group could originally have been on the same
side as the predecessors of the Qumran community who are symboli-
cally described as the "converts of Israel," as we have seen. As the
description of "princes of Judah" may indicate, this group probably
constituted the Judaean and possibly Jerusalemite leadership with which
the sectarian community came into conflict. The contrast between the
Qumran community and the "princes of Judah" may correspond to the
juxtaposition of the community's self-perception as the "house of Law"
(בית התורה) as opposed to the "house of division" (בית פלג), which we
find in CD-B 20:10, 13, 22. This division could be twofold; division
among the enemies themselves in factions, and the division about the
allegiance to the sectarian covenant which these enemies could spread
among the sister-communities of the Qumran community.

However, the negative associations with Judah are not absolute in
Qumranite theology and eschatology, for CD-B 20:25b–27a refers
to punishment of "all who acted wickedly against Judah in the days
of its chastenings." This passage has an eschatological setting, as the
phrase "when the glory of God is manifested to Israel" may indicate.[47]

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[47] Translations from García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *DSSSE*, 581.

In contrast to the transgressors of the "limits of the law," נבול התורה, those who remain steadfast in the covenant are promised atonement and salvation at the end of this column (CD-B 20:27b–34).

d. *The "Final Interpretation of the Law"*

A passage in manuscript E of the Qumran version of the Damascus Document, 4Q270 7 ii 11–15—not attested in CD-A or CD-B—refers to a "final interpretation of the Law," מדרש [ה]תורה האחרון (l. 15). Because of its possible eschatological significance, I quote the passage as edited and translated by Baumgarten below.[48]

[וכל יושבי המחנות יקהלו ב]חדש השלישי וארורו את] 11
[הנוטה ימין ושמאל מן התורה] vac זה פרוש המשפטים אש[ר] 12
[יעשו בכל] קץ [הפקודה א]ת אשר [יפ]קידו בכל קצי החרון 13
ומס[עיהם] לכל ישב [מ]חניהם וכל י[שב ערי]הם הנה הכול כ[תוב] 14
על מדרש [ה]תורה האחרון vacat 15

11 [All the inhabitants of the camps shall congregate in the] third month and cur[se him] 12 [who turns right or left from the Law.] *vacat* This is the elaboration of the laws 13 [to be followed during the entire] period of [visitation] that will be [vis]ited upon them during all the periods of wrath 14 and [their journeys,] for all who dwell in their [c]amps and all who [dwell in their] towns. Behold it is all w[ritten(?)] 15 in accordance with the final interpretation of the Law. *vacat*

The context of this passage, which mentions a period of visitation and "all the periods of wrath," suggests that the "final interpretation of the Law" may indeed be eschatologically oriented. Consequently, the Qumran community perceived the endtime in terms of a progressive revelation, which could correspond with other indications in the Damascus Document about different stages of divine instruction (cf. CD-A 2:12–13; 3:13–14; 4:8–9; 6:8b–11a; 6QD 3 4). Baumgarten has further noted that "the Qumran community believed in the progressive unfolding of the Law as interpreted by the ראשונים and the אחרונים (CD IV 8; XX 8–9, 31)."[49] As compared to the eschatology in 1QpHab 7:7–8, which is goes "beyond all that the prophets say,"[50] 4QD^e 7 ii 11–15 uniquely focuses on the eschatological significance of the interpretation of the Law.

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[48] Baumgarten, DJD 18.166–67.
[49] Baumgarten, DJD 18.78.
[50] Translation from García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *DSSSE*, 17.

3. Individual Eschatological Figures

3.1. *The Teacher of Righteousness and the Endtime*

Having dealt with communal eschatological identity, we may see how the individual eschatological figures fit into this broader perspective. We have already observed that the Teacher of Rigtheousness stood at the foundation of the Qumran community with its radically altered eschatological consciousness. Eschatological knowledge is attributed to the Teacher of Righteousness in 1QpHab column 7. This knowledge was passed on within the Qumran community; a tradition probably implicated in CD-B 20:28, which speaks of those who "listen to the Teacher's voice." The teaching of the Law by the Teacher of Righteousness even plays a redemptive role in relation to the "day of [jugdment]" according to 1QpMic 8–10 6–9.

Not only the teachings of the Teacher of Righteousness had an eschatological significance for the Qumran community, but probably also the pivotal figure of the Teacher of Righteousness himself. CD-A 6:8b–11a refers to a past and contemporary age of wickedness in contrast to the "end of days" when there arises "he who teaches justice," יורה הצדק באחרית הימים. This strongly reminds one of the Teacher of Righteousness, מורה צדק.[51] It could be that the community believed in a role of the Teacher of Righteousness in the endtime, perhaps a sectarian variant on the Jewish eschatological belief in the return of Elijah.[52]

The terms "unique teacher," מורה היחיד, and "Unique One" (היחיד), which occur in CD-B 20:1, 32, appear to be surnames of the Teacher of Rigtheousness. This also underlines the eschatological importance of the Teacher of Righteousness for the Qumran community, for CD-B 20:1 draws a line from the time of the "unique teacher" to the time when "there arises the messiah out of Aaron and Israel." The Teacher of Righteousness appears to be distinguished from the eschatological figure of the messiah. If we accept a possible analogy between the Teacher of Righteousness and Elijah, the eschatological

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[51] See also P.R. Davies, "The Teacher of Righteousness and the 'End of Days,'" *RevQ* 13/49–52 (1988): 313–17.

[52] Cf. e.g. Matt 11:14; Mark 9:11–13; *m. Šeqal.* 2:5; *m. Soṭah* 9:15; *B. Meṣiʿa* 1:8; 2:8; 3:4, 5; *m. ʿEd.* 8:7.

role of the Teacher of Righteousness could be defined as forerunner to the expected messiah.

3.2. *Eschatological Messianic Figures*

The messianic expectations of the Qumran community are reflected in both the Admonition (CD-B 19:10–11a; 19:35–20:1a) and the Laws (CD-A 12:23–13:2a; 14:18b–19a [= 4QD^a 10 i 12]). Apart from an eschatological messianic figure, Qumranite theology appears to situate messianic figures also in the past, as a reference to the teaching by the hand of "his anointed ones" in CD-A 2:12 may indicate (cf. CD-A 5:21–6:1). The eschatological expectation concerns a singular messiah of Aaron and Israel throughout the Damascus Document. The consistent twofold reference to Aaron and Israel could signify the priestly and royal aspects projected on the expected messsianic figure. The two passages with messianic references in the Laws provide an eschatological setting for the regulations as applicable in the contemporary age of wickedness until the messianic endtime.

With regard to the other two passages which occur in CD-B 19:10–11a and 19:35–20:1a, much attention has been paid in previous scholarship to the first passage. This passage in CD-B 19:10–11a has its place in a column which otherwise parallels CD-A 7:5–8:21. Apart from other differences between manuscripts A and B, the messianic reference occurs in manuscript B while it is absent from manuscript A.[53] Recently, Geza Xeravits has explained the absence of the explicit messianic reference from manuscript A as the result of a scribal error, while he defended the originality of the messianic reference in manuscript B.[54] In spite of the absence of an explicit messianic reference, manuscript A may refer to eschatological figures. CD-A 7:18–21 quote Num 24:13, identifying the star from Jacob with the so-called "Interpreter of the Law" and the scepter out of Israel with the prince of the whole congregation who

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[53] On this difference between CD-A 7–8 and CD-B 19, see e.g. J. Carmignac, "Comparaison entre les manuscrits "A" et "B" du Document de Damas," *RevQ* 2/5 (1959): 53–67; S.A. White, "A Comparison of the "A" and "B" Manuscripts of the Damascus Document," *RevQ* 12/48 (1987): 537–53; M.A. Knibb, "The Interpretation of Damascus Document VII, 9b–VIII, 2a and XIX, 5b–14," *RevQ* 15/57–58 (1991): 243–51.

[54] G. Xeravits, "Précisions sur le texte original et le concept messianique de CD 7:13–8:1 et 19:5–14," *RevQ* 19/73 (1999): 47–59, at 58 refers to the eschatological setting of Amos 9:11 in 4QFlorilegium and of Num 24:17 in 4QTestimonia, the War Scroll, and *T. Levi* 18:1–3, thereby affirming the eschatological orientation of ms. A.

will destroy all the sons of Seth.[55] A comparison between manuscripts A and B seems to suggest that Qumranite messianic expectations were not as unified as one would be led to think only on the basis of the explicit messianic references.

4. CONCLUSION

What conclusions can be drawn from our survey about communal eschatological identities and individual eschatological figures? The 4QD fragments have made it clear that the Damascus Document shares an eschatological perspective of dualism, the antagonism between the community as the "sons of light" and its enemies (4QD[a] 1a–b), with other sectarian Qumran texts. The eschatological identity of both the pre-Qumran and the Qumran communities is related to different stages in the history of each community.

The predecessors of the Qumran community probably relied on the interpretation of the Prophets for their eschatological identity. They had a perspective of restoration of popular piety centered around the Jerusalem Temple cult, since they focused on "hidden matters in which all Israel had gone astray," as we read in CD-A 3:14. The conflict among factions of Judaean leadership produced a period of disorientation for the predecessors (CD-A 1:8–10).

From hindsight perspective the so-called Teacher of Righteousness became the pivotal figure for the foundation of the Qumran community in its segregation with its changed eschatological consciousness. The Qumran community extended the interpretation of the endtime beyond that which the prophets said, basing themselves on the revelations attributed to the Teacher of Righteousness. In this regard, there is a strong apocalyptic tendency in Qumranite eschatology.

The Qumran community built its eschatological identity on that of the parent movement which is described as the "root of the planting" and associated with the digging of the "well of plentiful water," that is, the Law. In its self-perception, the Qumran community established itself as a "sure house" (CD-A 3:19), the house of the Law (CD-B 20:10, 13), in competition with the Jerusalemite priestly establishment. The community attributed to itself a central role in the Temple service in

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[55] On CD-A 7:18–21, cf. Hempel, *The Damascus Texts*, 75–76.

the endtime (CD-A 4:3–4). The Qumran community's eschatological perspective addressed related sectarian communities as "converts of Israel" who had a problematic position between the "chosen of Israel" and the unfaithful children of Israel.

Finally, there are indications of a Qumran belief in a progressive revelation about the endtime. The Damascus Document refers to the activity of messianic figures, God's anointed ones, both in the past and in the endtime. The past figure of the Teacher of Righteousness appears to be related to the eschatological figure who will teach righteousness at the end of days (CD-A 6:10–11). The Qumran cave 4 fragments of the Damascus Document provide additional evidence for the idea of progressive revelation, as the eschatological setting of "the final inter-pretation of the Law" in 4QD^e 7 ii 11–15 indicates.

LA RÈGLE DE LA GUERRE (1QM)
ET LA CONSTRUCTION DE L'IDENTITÉ SECTAIRE

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Selon le sociologue Georg Simmel, les conflits qu'un groupe entretient avec l'extérieur sont souvent un facteur de cohésion interne: ils contribuent à clarifier et à raffermir les relations entre ses membres, à rehausser leur degré d'engagement et à éliminer toute dissension.[1] Simmel estime qu'il est même parfois "politiquement habile," à l'intérieur de certains groupes, "de veiller à ce que l'on ait des ennemis, afin que leurs éléments gardent leur unité consciente et active, parce que c'est leur intérêt vital."[2]

L'un des manuscrits de la mer Morte, la Règle de la guerre (1QM) évoque la guerre de la fin des temps entre les "fils de lumière" et les "fils de ténèbres." Ce texte entretient l'idée de l'imminence de leur affrontement dans une bataille aux proportions cosmiques, dont l'issue est déjà décidée. Mon hypothèse est qu'il pourrait avoir contribué largement à la construction et au maintien d'une idéologie de conflit susceptible de favoriser la socialisation des membres du groupe qui l'a composé ou en a fait usage dans le judaïsme du tournant de notre ère.

Dans cette communication, je propose d'abord quelques remarques préliminaires sur 1QM, puis j'explore diverses stratégies rhétoriques de ce document qui peuvent contribuer à la construction d'une identité sectaire. La plus évidente est la description des deux camps adverses. Mais on en trouve d'autres, par exemple: l'appropriation de la tradition par la revendication d'être l'authentique peuple de Dieu; l'établissement d'un parallélisme entre le monde terrestre et l'univers surnaturel; l'élaboration d'une vision globale du monde et de l'histoire qui donne sens et plausibilité aux options sectaires du groupe; le développement

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[1] G. Simmel, "Le conflit," dans *Sociologie: Étude sur les formes de la socialisation* (publ. orig. 1908; trad. L. Deroche-Gurcel et S. Muller; Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1999), 265–346 (surtout 322–28).

[2] Simmel, "Le conflit," 328.

d'explications pour surmonter la "dissonance cognitive" résultant des défections ou des pertes dans le camps des fils de lumière.

1. Remarques Préliminaires

1) *La Règle de la Guerre, un écrit sectaire?*

Depuis sa découverte, le caractère sectaire de la *Règle de la guerre*, a été souvent débattu, principalement en rapport avec la question de sa datation. Ainsi Leonard Rost considérait que ce document provenait de cercles maccabéens du deuxième siècle avant notre ère plutôt que du groupe de Qumrân. Parmi les divers indices invoqués, Rost signalait que le terme יחד, qui apparaît plusieurs fois dans 1QM, n'y est jamais employé au sens technique qu'il a dans la *Règle de la communauté* (1QS). Il notait aussi que les fils de lumière de la *Règle de la guerre* sont des "des combattants très émotivement engagés" dans la cause de leur Dieu, tandis ceux de la *Règle de la communauté* sont plutôt "des quiétistes qui s'en remettent à la colère divine dont ils attendent la manifestation à la fin des temps."[3]

Dans son étude sur 1QM, Philip Davies distingue plusieurs étapes dans l'histoire rédactionnelle de ce document, qui aurait acquis des traits sectaires seulement dans ses couches les plus récentes:

1. col. 2–9: un ancien manuel militaire non sectaire: "it has no dualistic ideas; it is pan-Israelite in outlook, and there are no major sectarian indications, apart from the solar calendar."[4]
2. col. 15–19: une recension sectaire qui comporte de "major alterations to the original war-rule...:
   a. The battle comprises seven stages instead of one.
   b. The liturgy is conducted by the Chief Priest....
   c. The enemy are now the Kittim....
   d. The battle is described in dualistic terms, the sons of light fighting the sons of darkness.
   e. There are casualties from the sons of light."[5]

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[3] L. Rost, "Zum Buch der Kriege der Söhne des Lichts gegen die Söhne der Finsternis," *TLZ* 80 (1955): 205–8, à 206.

[4] P.R. Davies, *1QM, the War Scroll from Qumran: Its Structure and History* (BibOr 32; Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1977), 67.

[5] Davies, *1QM*, 88.

3. col. 10–14: une collection d'hymnes et prières sans unité, dont certaines d'époque maccabéenne, mais comportant des interpolations sectaires telles que l'identification du groupe comme "les pauvres de ta rédemption" et l'interprétation d'Assour comme les "Kittim" (11:7b-12).[6]

4. col. 1: une introduction qui intègre les diverses composantes de 1QM "so that a coherent, composite document emerges, which decribes the course of the Final War."[7] Elle aurait été composée au moment de la rédaction finale, d'époque hérodienne, attribuée à la secte de Qumrân.[8]

Même si ce document comporte des éléments d'origine non-sectaire, Davies reconnaît qu'il aurait pris sa forme actuelle dans un groupe sectaire. Les différents manuscrits de la Règle de la guerre découverts dans les grottes de Qumrân confirment que cet ouvrage est le produit d'une histoire rédactionnelle complexe. Ces manuscrits sont contemporains de l'établissement communautaire, sur le site voisin, où ils ont vraisemblablement été copiés.[9] L'occupation romaine du pays constituait sans doute un contexte favorable à l'utilisation d'un tel document par un groupe sectaire.[10] La typologie des textes sectaires est discutée;[11] mais on peut qualifier 1QM de "texte sectaire" si l'on entend par là un texte qu'un groupe sectaire s'est approprié, a remanié et a utilisé à ses propres fins.

2) *Identité sectaire et socialisation*

La question qui se pose est en effet moins celle de l'origine du document, que de son impact lorsqu'il est employé dans un contexte sectaire. Pour y répondre, il faut d'abord préciser ce qu'on veut dire par secte. Selon Jutta Jokiranta, une secte peut être caractérisée, du point de vue

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[6] Davies, *1QM*, 98–99.

[7] Davies, *1QM*, 113.

[8] Davies, *1QM*, 123–24.

[9] J. Duhaime, *The War Texts: 1QM and Related Manuscripts* (CQS 6; London: T&T Clark, 2004), 41–43.

[10] P.S. Alexander, "The Evil Empire: The Qumran Eschatological War Cycle and the Origins of the Jewish Opposition to Rome," dans *Emanuel: Studies in Hebrew Bible, Septuagint, and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honor of Emanuel Tov* (eds. S.M. Paul et al.; VTSup 94; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 17–31.

[11] Voir J.M. Jokiranta, "'Sectarianism' of the Qumran 'Sect': Sociological Notes," *RevQ* 20/78 (2001): 223–39, à 236–38.

sociologique, par la tension qu'elle entretient avec son environnement
socio-culturel, sa prétention exclusive à la légitimité et sa tendance à
délimiter nettement ses frontières. Au plan du discours, la secte déve-
loppe une rhétorique polémique, mettant l'accent sur la séparation
avec le monde extérieur.[12]

Une secte doit se doter d'une identité forte et "resocialiser" ses mem-
bres en leur faisant adopter sa vision du monde, ce que Peter Berger
et Thomas Luckmann appellent un nouvel "univers symbolique."[13] Ils
expliquent que la "réalité" quotidienne est le résultat d'un ensemble
d'interprétations subjectives par les membres d'un même groupe. Cette
"réalité" est légitimée par divers moyens. Aux niveaux les plus élémen-
taires, elle est (1) simplement objectivée dans le langage ou (2) formulée
en en maximes ou proverbes; aux niveaux les plus élevés, elle conduit
(3) à la constitution de corpus de connaissances et (4) à l'élaboration
d'"univers symboliques" où l'ensemble des réalités et des expériences
humaines sont intégrés en un tout cohérent. Les univers symboliques
ainsi créés sont maintenus par ces "machineries conceptuelles" que
sont la mythologie, la théologie, la philosophie, ou la science. Comprise
comme "outil de resocialisation," la Règle de la guerre ferait donc partie
de la "machinerie conceptuelle" du groupe de Qumrân.

3) *Hypothèse d'interprétation de 1QM dans un contexte sectaire*

La tension que la secte entretient avec son environnement socio-
culturel offre un potentiel de socialisation interne, comme l'a montré
Simmel, cité en introduction. L'hypothèse que je propose d'explorer
est la suivante. En mettant en œuvre diverses stratégies rhétoriques
qui se renforcent mutuellement, 1QM a pu fonctionner comme outil
de « resocialisation» qui exploite le potentiel offert par le conflit avec
le monde extérieur à des fins de construction identitaire. En pratique,
1QM a pu servir à consolider l'identité des membres du groupe, leur
sentiment d'appartenance, l'univers symbolique qui leur était proposé
et les comportements qu'on exigeait d'eux.

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[12] Jokiranta, "'Sectarianism' of the Qumran 'Sect.'"
[13] P.L. Berger et T. Luckmann, *La construction sociale de la réalité* (2e éd.; trad. P. Tami-
niaux; Paris: A. Colin, 1996).

2. Les Stratégies de 1QM

Il me semble qu'on peut repérer cinq stratégies complémentaires de construction identitaire dans 1QM. Elles sont plus ou moins présentes dans chacune des quatre parties principales du document (cols. 1; 2–9; 10–14; 15–19). Je relève ici les attestations les plus significatives.[14]

1) *La construction de deux camps adverses*

Dans 1QM, les opposants sont groupés en deux camps, identifiés comme ceux des "fils de lumière" et "des fils des ténèbres." Chacun se compose de plusieurs sous-groupes, unifiés par leur appartenance et leur cause communes. Le contraste entre les deux camps est souligné par diverses oppositions (vérité, impiété), etc. Le document exprime évidemment le point de vue des "fils de lumière."

Introduction (1:1–17)
Les protagonistes sont identifiés dès le début de 1QM qui décrit ainsi le déclenchement des hostilités (1:1–3):

> La première attaque des fils de lumière sera lancée contre le lot des fils de ténèbres, contre l'armée de Bélial, contre la troupe d'Édom et de Moab et des fils d'Ammon et [...] Philistie, et contre les troupes des Kittim d'Assour auxquels viendront en aide ceux qui transgressent l'alliance.

Les fils de Lévi et les fils de Juda et les fils de Benjamin, les exilés du désert, combattront contre eux [...] à toutes leurs troupes, lorsque les fils de lumière, exilés, reviendront du désert des peuples pour camper dans le désert de Jérusalem.

Section tactique (2–9)
Dans la section tactique (cols. 2–9), les opposants sont encore identifiés par les différents slogans qui sont gravés sur les instruments de guerre, par ex. sur les trompettes (3:2–11):

> Appelés de Dieu.
> Paix de Dieu dans le camps de ses saints.

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[14] Sauf exception, j'utilise le texte de 1QM édité dans J. Duhaime, "War Scroll," dans *Damascus Document, War Scroll, and Related Documents* (eds. J.H. Charlesworth et al.; vol. 2 de *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations*, eds. J.H. Charlesworth et al.; Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1995), 80–141, et ma propre traduction.

Prouesses de Dieu pour disperser l'ennemi et mettre en fuite tous ceux
qui haïssent Dieu.
Formations des troupes de Dieu pour la vengeance de sa colère contre
tous les fils de ténèbres.
Dieu a frappé tous les fils de ténèbres, il ne détournera pas sa colère
avant leur destruction.

Prières (10–14)

Le même clivage se retrouve dans le recueil de prières (cols. 10–14),
par ex. dans les bénédictions et malédictions à prononcer avant la
bataille (13:1–6):

[...se tiendra le prêtre en chef] et ses frères les [prê]tres et les lévites
et tous les anciens de l'ordre avec lui. Ils béniront de leur place le Dieu
d'Israël et toutes ses actions de vérité et ils insulteront là [Béli]al et tous
les esprits de son lot. Ils prendront la parole et diront:
"Béni (soit le) Dieu d'Israël pour tout son plan de sainteté et les oeuvres
de sa vérité et bé[ni]s (soient) tous (ceux qui) le [ser]vent dans la justice
et (qui) le connaissent dans la foi.
Mau[di]t (soit) Bélial pour son plan d'hostilité et insulté soit-il pour la
domination de sa culpabilité et maudit (soient) tous les esprits de son lot
pour le plan de leur impiété et insultés soient-ils pour l'esclavage impur
de leur souillure.
Car eux sont le lot des ténèbres. Et lot de Dieu est pour la lumière
[éternel]le.

Récits et discours (15–20)

L'introduction de la section de récits et discours qui termine le docu-
ment (dans son état actuel)[15] renforce également l'idée d'une opposition
entre deux camps irréductibles, qualifiés ici respectivement de le "lot
de Dieu" et de "nations impies" (15:1–3):

Car ce sera un temps de tribulations pour Isr[aël
et de procla]mation de guerre contre toutes les nations.
Le lot de Dieu (entrera) dans la rédemption éternelle
et une destruction (est prévue) pour toutes les nations impies.
Tou[s (ceux qui sont) p[rêts]a au combat
s'en iront et camperont contre le roi des Kittim
et contre toute l'armée de Bélial
réunie avec lui pour le jour [de la vengeance] par l'épée de Dieu.

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[15] On sait que 1QM avait au moins une vingtième colonne, et probablement
davantage.

L'"impiété" des adversaires est soulignée encore davantage dans le premier discours du prêtre "désigné pour le jour de la vengeance," qui suit immédiatement (15:8–10):

> Ne vous effrayez pas et ne vous épouvantez pas à cause d'eux…, car c'est une congrégation d'impiété. (C'est) dans les ténèbres (que sont) toutes leurs œuvres, et c'est vers eux que tend [leur] instinct… et leur puissance (est) comme de la fumée qui se dissipe.

Comme Davies et d'autres l'ont observé, les expressions employées dans 1QM pour décrire les l'armée des "fils de lumière" ne sont pas toujours "sectaires." Cependant, dans l'état actuel du document, elles produisent un effet cumulatif de clivage entre "nous" et "eux" qui permet de délimiter fortement l'identité du groupe qui s'identifie aux "fils de lumière" et d'accentuer sa coupure avec le monde "impie" du dehors. Par ailleurs, l'association de matériaux à caractère sectaire et non-sectaire dans le même texte, comme c'est le cas en 1QM 13 et 15 (Israël associé au "lot de Dieu" qui est "pour la lumière") n'est peut-être pas seulement le reflet d'une histoire rédactionnelle complexe. Il pourrait également relever d'une stratégie d'appropriation de la tradition.

2) *Une appropriation de la tradition*

Tous les commentateurs de la Règle de la guerre notent comment cet écrit est largement inspiré par les textes de ce que nous appelons aujourd'hui la Bible hébraïque. La première partie de la section des prières comporte cinq citations explicites (1QM 10:1–2 = Dt 7:21–22; 1QM 10:2–5 = Dt 20:2–5; 1QM 10:6–8 = Nb 10:9; 1QM 11:6–7 = Nb 24:17–19; 1QM 11:11–12 = Is 31:8). On compte par ailleurs environ 200 références, citations implicites ou allusions dispersées dans l'ensemble de l'ouvrage.[16] Bien qu'il puisse également témoigner de l'origine non-sectaire de certaines parties de 1QM, ce phénomène peut se comprendre comme une appropriation identitaire de la part des "fils de lumière": ils affirment leur prétention d'être l'authentique "reste" du peuple en reprenant à leur compte les traditions d'Irsaël, en se modèlant sur des figures et événements du passé et, finalement, en appliquant à leur situation des annonces bibliques du salut.

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[16] Duhaime, "War Scroll," 87–88.

Introduction (1:1–17)

Dès l'introduction, les fils de lumière s'identifient comme "le peuple de Dieu" (1:5), à l'exclusion de "ceux qui transgressent l'alliance" (1:2), qui soutiennent le camp adverse (voir Dt 11:32). On affirme également que la bataille est sous le contrôle du "Dieu d'Israël" (1:9–10) et que c'est lui qui donne la victoire au "peuple qu'il rachète" (1:12, 15).

Section tactique (2–9)

Le groupe revendique également une continuité avec l'Israël historique dans la section tactique (2–9). Il anticipe une guerre de quarante ans durant laquelle le service cultuel sera assuré "au sanctuaire" par des prêtres, des lévites et des chefs de tribus et de famille de la congrégation (2:1–6). Ses chefs seront responsables de l'application des règles pour la mobilisation des "hommes de guerre" qui proviendront "de toutes les tribus d'Israël" (2:7).

En s'inspirant d'instructions données à Moïse (Nb 2:2 et 10:2), on prescrit également l'usage de trompettes (2:16–3:11) et d'enseignes (3:13–4:17) pour les combats à mener au nom de tout Israël: "Sur la grande enseigne qui est en tête de tout le peuple, ils écriront 'Peuple de Dieu' et le nom d'Israël et d'Aaron et les noms des douze tr[ibus d'Israë]l selon leurs générations" (3:13–14). Le chef "civil" des troupes est "le prince de toute la congrégation" qui est à la tête d'Israël et des douze tribus (5:1–2). De même, après avoir donné les instructions pour les manœuvres des unités d'infanterie on conclut: "La royauté sera au Dieu d'Israël et par les saints de son peuple, il fera des prouesses" (6:6). Finalement, on applique dans les camps les lois de pureté (7:3–7) adaptées de celles prescrites par Dt 23:10–15.

Prières (10–14)

La prière au camp (9–12) s'inspire de nombreux passages bibliques. La communauté s'applique l'enseignement transmis par Moïse à "nos générations successives" concernant l'entrée en guerre : "Écoute Israël, vous approchez aujourd'hui pour combattre vos ennemis. Ne craignez pas et que votre cœur ne s'amolisse pas…" (9:3–4 citant Dt 20:3–4). Elle utilise également comme situation de référence des victoires qui ont marqué l'histoire d'Israël, particulièrement la délivrance de l'esclavage d'Égypte grâce à l'anéantissment des troupes du pharaon dans la mer (9:9–10; voir Ex 14) et l'exploit de David contre Goliath le Philistin (11:1–3; voir 1 S 17:45–47).

Le groupe applique aussi à la situation présente deux oracles de victoire bien connus : d'abord celui du devin Balaam (Nb 24:16–17) repris en 11:6–7: "Un astre s'est avancé en Jacob, un sceptre s'est levé d'Israël. Il fracassera les tempes de Moab et détruira tous les fils de Seth…"; puis celui d'Isaïe à propos de la chute d'Assour: "Assour est tombé par une épée qui n'est pas celle d'un homme, et c'est une épée surhumaine qui le dévorera" (11:12; citant Is 31:8). Cette prière se termine sur la vision de l'allégresse triomphante de Jérusalem et du règne d'Israël (12:13–16).

La prière avant le combat (13) et la prière après la victoire (14) expriment encore mieux la conscience du groupe d'être à la fois "le lot de la lumière," le véritable "peuple éternel," héritier de l'alliance des pères (13:7–16), l'authentique "reste de ton peuple" (14:8–9).

Récits et discours (15–20)

Dans dernière section de 1QM, la guerre est présentée comme une initiative du "Dieu d'Israël" qui "a appelé un épée contre toutes les nations" et agira avec force "parmi les saints de son peuple" (16:1), également identifiés aux "fils de sa vérité" et aux "fils de son alliance" (16:8).

La poursuite est précédée d'une action de grâce au "Dieu d'Israël" qui a fait des prouesses "pour son peuple," c.-à-d. "pour nous": "Tu as gardé ton alliance pour nous depuis longtemps. Les portes du salut tu les as ouvertes pour nous plusieurs fois à cau[se de] ton alliance. Tu as [regar]dé notre misère selon ta bonté envers nous" (18:7–8).

Sous sa forme actuelle, 1QM favorise donc à la fois la continuité et la rupture avec la tradition israélite. Le groupe qui utilise ces textes se place en position privilégiée en se présentant comme l'héritier de l'alliance des pères et l'authentique reste du peuple. Son statut est encore rehaussé par le parallèle que le document établit entre les troupes terrestres et celles du ciel.

3) Un parallèle entre la terre et le ciel

La guerre évoquée dans 1QM est en effet située dans une perspective « apocalyptique ». Pour en comprendre toute la portée, il faut avoir bénéficié de la révélation des réalités célestes et percevoir le sens de l'histoire selon le point de vue de Dieu. L'affrontement imminent entre les fils de lumière et les fils de ténèbres n'est pas seulement un conflit local pour un enjeu mondain. En réalité, les deux camps participent à

un combat surnaturel d'une ampleur cosmique. Le lot de la lumière et celui des ténèbres ont à leur tête des puissances célestes, accompagnées de milices spirituelles qui combattent aux côtés des humains. Dieu lui-même intervient dans la phase ultime du combat pour anéantir l'ennemi et procurer la victoire à ses élus.

Introduction (1:1–17)

Le combat eschatologique envisagé au début de 1QM met en présence "la congrégation des êtres divins et l'assemblée des hommes, les fils de lumière et le lot des ténèbres" qui "combattront pour (manifester?) la puissance de Dieu, avec la clameur d'une multitude et le cri (de guerre) des êtres divins et des hommes, au jour de la calamité" (1:10–11). Dans sa présentation générale du conflit, cette première colonne du texte annonce également l'intervention de Dieu au moment décisif: c'est finalement "la grande main de Dieu qui humiliera [Bélial et tou]s les anges de sa domination et tous les hommes de son lot" (1:14–15).

Section tactique (2–9)

La section tactique n'insiste pas beaucoup sur cet aspect. On y précise toutefois que les règles de pureté à auxquelles sont soumises les combattants sont motivées par la présence des "armées célestes" au milieu de leurs troupes (7:6). Il y est également indiqué que les boucliers des "tours" (instruments de guerre ou formation de combat?) portent les noms de quatre anges Mich[aë]l, Gabriel, Sariel et Raphaël (9:14–16); on peut présumer que ces figures surnaturelles assurent la protection de ceux qui se mettent à l'abri de ces boucliers.

Prières (10–14)

La section des prières est plus explicite sur les rapports entre le monde d'ici et celui d'en-haut. Comme Moïse l'a enseigné, c'est Dieu qui marche avec ses troupes pour combattre (10:1, 4; 12:7). Il est en effet le "maître de la guerre" (11:1, 2, 4) et c'est sa main qui brandit l' "épée qui n'est pas humaine" (11:11–12). S'adressant directement à lui dans un hymne de victoire, on l'exhorte à se lever, et à triompher de ses ennemis (12:7–12). On souligne également que "l'armée des anges" est présente avec de "roi glorieux" (12:8). Dans la col. 13, après la bénédiction du Dieu d'Israël (13:2–3), l'hymne au "Dieu des pères" rappelle qu'il a désigné depuis longtemps "le prince des lumières pour nous aider" et qu'il commande "tous les esprits de vérité" (13:10). En contrepartie, Bélial est à la tête des fils des ténèbres; c'est un "ange

d'hostilité" qui est accompagné des "esprits de son lot, des anges de destruction" (13:2, 4, 11–12).

Récits et discours (15–20)
La dernière partie de 1QM annonce que le combat sera engagé à la fois contre l'armée de Bélial et le roi des Kittim (15:2–3). Le prêtre chargé de fortifier les premières troupes envoyées dans la mêlée leur donne l'assurance que "le Dieu d'Israël lève sa main dans sa pu[issan]ce merveilleuse [sur] tous les esprits d'impié[té" et que "les vail]lants des êtres divins se ceignent pour le comb[at…]" (15:13–14). Dans la deuxième phase de la bataille, avant de faire sortir les troupes de la relève, le prêtre en chef leur confirme que c'est le moment choisi par Dieu "pour humilier et abaisser le prince de la domination de l'impiété" (17:5–6), et qu'il auront l'aide de Michaël "l'ange de majesté" (17:6–8). Enfin, au moment de la poursuite, on reprend l'exhortation faite à Dieu de compléter sa victoire (19:1–4, voir 12:8–12).

On a parlé de "synergie" entre le ciel et la terre pour désigner cette manière de concevoir la guerre finale entre les forces de la lumière et celles des ténèbres. Dans un contexte sectaire, cette synergie contribue à rehausser le statut des "fils de lumière": ils se sont coupés des impies de l'extérieur, mais c'est pour être associé aux "fils du ciel." Ils ont quitté une assemblée corrompue pour se joindre aux milices divines dans un combat contre le mal. Ce changement de statut est intégré dans une vision globale du monde et de l'histoire qui transforme radicalement l'"univers symbolique" du membre du groupe.

4) *Une vision globale du monde et de l'histoire*

La Règle de la guerre présente la lutte des fils de lumière contre le fils des ténèbres comme le point culminant de toute l'histoire. La coalition des fidèles participe à l'accomplissement d'un plan de Dieu décidé depuis toujours. La guerre à venir s'annonce comme une période de "grande détresse"; mais elle conduira à une "rédemption éternelle" et il en résultera un monde nouveau, d'où le mal sera complètement effacé.

Introduction (1:1–17)
Tout comme les derniers chapitres du livre de Daniel dont elle s'inspire en la modifiant, la mise en place de la bataille finale dans l'introduction de 1QM évoque un scénario précis (1:1–7 compar. Dt 11:40–12:3).

Le jour où les Kittim tomberont est "le jour fixé par lui (Dieu) depuis longtemps pour la guerre d'extermination des fils de ténèbres" (1:10).

Section tactique (2–9)

Le plan de la guerre de 40 ans, annoncé dans la col. 2, prévoit des combats successifs contre "tous les pays des nations" (2:7) et en donne la liste détaillée des campagnes à effectuer. Le reste de la section tactique prévoit les équipements et les manœuvres pour chaque moment de la guerre, dirigée par les prêtres. Les combats se déroulent comme un rituel dont tous les mouvements sont prévus et réglés de façon précise et ordonnée. Les slogans sur les trompettes, les bannières et les armes marquent la progression et la signification des opérations:

> Quand ils s'approcheront pour le combat, ils écriront sur leurs bannières: "Combat de Dieu," "Vengeance de Dieu," "Conflit de Dieu," "Talion de Dieu," "Puissance de Dieu," "Rétribution de Dieu," "Destruction par Dieu de toutes les nations de vanité" (…).
> Quand ils se retirent du combat, ils écriront sur leurs bannières: "Delivrances de Dieu," "Victoire de Dieu," "Aide de Dieu," "Support de Dieu," "Joie de Dieu," "Action de grâce de Dieu," "Louange de Dieu," "Paix de Dieu." (1QM 4:11–14)

Prières (10–14)

La section des prières évoque le fait que Dieu a "annoncé depuis longtemps" qu'il se lèverait pour combattre (11:6). Il a fait connaître par ses "oints" les prophètes "le temps des guerres" de sa "main" (11:8). Il a "mis en ré[serve] depuis longtemps [le mo]ment" de sa "puissance contre les Kittim" (11:11).

Dans la col. 13, on proclame que Dieu réalise un "plan de sainteté" (13:2) tandis que Bélial cherche à mettre en œuvre un "plan d'hostilité" (13:4). C'est aussi Dieu qui "a fait tomber" ses élus dans "le lot de vérité" et leur a désigné "depuis longtemps" le Prince de lumière comme aide (13:10), tout comme il a fait "Bélial pour corrompre" (13:11). Il demeure donc le maître absolu, celui qui a fixé irrévocablement le jour de cette bataille dont l'issue inéluctable sera l'anéantissement des fils de ténèbres et la joie des fils de lumière (13:16).

Récits et discours (15–20)

Dans la section des récits et discours, la guerre contre les Kittim est présentée comme "le jour [de la vengeance] par l'épée de Dieu" (15:3). La première exhortation donnée avant le combat en parle comme du

"moment pour la guerre […] de Dieu contre toutes les na[tions…]" (15:12–13). Après l'engagement décisif, la poursuite est identifiée au moment que Dieu avait prévu "pour faire disparaître la domination de l'ennemi sans reste" (18:10). Au terme de la victoire, on entrevoit que le pays sera rempli de la gloire et de la bénédiction divines, que les richesses des nations affluent à Jérusalem et que ceux qui l'humiliaient s'y prosterneront; ainsi le règne éternel d'Israël sera restauré (19:4–8; par. 12:12–16).

Si la Règle de la guerre situe le conflit dans une vision globale de l'histoire, elle n'insiste presque pas sur le passé, sinon pour y trouver des modèles : elle se concentre plutôt sur l'imminence de la période finale, celle de l'affrontement décisif qui conduira à un renversement de l'ordre actuel des choses et rétablira le règne de Dieu et celui du reste fidèle de son peuple, le véritable Israël. Pourtant cela n'ira pas sans mal. Plusieurs passages de 1QM évoquent les difficultés qu'il faudra surmonter pour parvenir à ce triomphe ultime.

5) *L'intégration de la "dissonance cognitive"*

Contrairement à ce qu'on affirme parfois, la Règle de la guerre n'est pas empreinte d'un optimisme naïf. Elle anticipe des revers qu'elle intègre dans une logique rédemptrice. Sans y être identique, ce phénomène s'apparente à celui de l'intégration de la dissonance cognitive décrit par Leon Festinger, Henry Riecken et Stanley Schachter dans leur ouvrage classique *When Prophecy Fails*.[17] Il s'agit en fait ici d'expliquer par avance la férocité des combats à venir, la résistance acharnée des ennemis et les pertes prévisibles dans le camp des "fils de lumière" qui peuvent se sentir bien démunis devant un tel adversaire.

Introduction (1:1–17)
L'introduction n'insiste pas beaucoup sur cet aspect. S'inspirant vraisemblablement d'un texte similaire du livre de Daniel (12:1), un passage de 1QM, dont le sens est discuté, pourrait expliquer que les tribulations à venir seront d'une intensité inouïe parce que l'histoire se "hâte vers la fin pour une rédemption éternelle" (1:12). On annonce par ailleurs que

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[17] L. Festinger, H.W. Riecken et S. Schachter, *When Prophecy Fails: A Social and Psychological Study of a Modern Group that Predicted the Destruction of the World* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1956; repr., New York: Harper et Row, 1964).

l'armée de Bélial aura le dessus pendant "trois lots" avant l'intervention décisive de "la grande main de Dieu" (1:13–15).

Section tactique (2–9)

Cet aspect n'est pas vraiment développé non plus dans la section tactique. On peut toutefois y associer les indications que tous les combattants doivent se préparent à un affrontement exceptionnel: faisant l'objet d'une sélection sévère, ils doivent être "volontaires," "purs d'esprit et de chair et prêts pour le jour de la vengeance" (7:5) et seront "fortifiés pour le combat" par les prêtres (7:12).

Prières (10–14)

Le matériel est un peu plus abondant dans la section des prières. L'exemple de David, vainqueur de l'arrogant Goliath, montre qu'il faut mette sa confiance dans le nom de Dieu plutôt que dans la force des armes (11:1–2). C'est également la force de Dieu qui agit à travers les "pauvres sa rédemption" (11:9; voir 11:13; 13:14), les "esprit abattus" (12:10). L'hymne après la victoire (14:2–15) insiste aussi sur l'inversion du rapport de force:

> Béni soit le Dieu d'Israël…Il a appelé les chancelants à des [prouesses] merveilleuses. L'assemblée des nations, (il l'a) réunie pour une destruction sans reste. Il a élevé par son jugement le cœur fondu, ouvert la bouche au muet pour qu'il chante les proues[ses…], enseigné la guerre aux [mains] faibles […]. Il a donné aux genoux tremblants la force de se tenir, et raffermi les reins des dos maltraités.
>
> Par les humbles d'esprit [sera humilié tout enne]mi au cœur endurci, et par les parfaits de conduite cesseront toutes les nations d'impiété. (14:5–7)

Récits et discours (15–20)

L'évocation la plus explicite d'une intégration de l'échec anticipée se trouve dans les récits et discours. Dans son exhortation à la relève, le grand-prêtre affirme que les victimes parmi les fils de lumière font partie des mystères de Dieu qui "éprouve le coeur de son peuple au creuset" (1QM 16:11–15). Leur sort ressemble à celui de Nadab et Abihu, deux fils d'Aaron foudroyés à cause d'une faute rituelle (17:2–3; voir Lv 10:1–4). Les "fils de l'alliance" sont exhortés à se montrer forts et à tenir bon "dans le creuset de Dieu jusqu'à ce qu'il agite sa main et remplisse ses creusets (selon) ses mystères" (1QM 17:9).

Dans la logique proposée ici, le conflit a une force sans précédent parce que le mal doit déployer toutes ses ressources afin d'être éliminé totalement. Conscients de leur faiblesse, mais aussi de la justice de leur cause, les "fils de lumière" doivent avoir une confiance totale en l'intervention de Dieu. Enfin, l'affrontement qui se prépare est un "creuset purificateur" pour la foi et le courage des fidèles; s'il y a des victimes dans le camps des "fils de lumière," c'est qu'elles n'en faisaient pas vraiment partie.

Conclusion

La Règle de la guerre n'est peut-être pas un document sectaire qumranien si l'on veut dire par là un document composé entièrement dans le groupe de Qumrân, utilisant le vocabulaire technique de la Règle de la communauté, des pesharim ou des Hymnes et reflétant leur idéologie de manière exclusive et non-équivoque. Son histoire rédactionnelle est probablement complexe et certains de ses matériaux anciens proviennent sans doute d'ailleurs. Il ne fait cependant aucun doute que sa rédaction finale s'est faite dans un groupe à tendance sectaire forte et qu'elle a servi ses intérêts à l'époque tourmentée où l'occupation romaine de la Palestine divisait la communauté juive.

La Règle de la guerre peut avoir contribué de plusieurs façons à consolider l'identité sectaire du groupe qui l'a édité et remanié pour l'adapter à ses besoins. Elle a pu conforter les membres de ce groupe dans leur décision de rompre avec un environnement perverti et les mobiliser dans un combat contre le mal, aux proportions cosmiques, dont l'issue est déjà décidée. Elle promettait également à ces "humbles d'esprit" aux forces chancelantes une amélioration radicale et définitive de leur statut à condition qu'ils sachent demeurer fidèles à l'idéal qui leur était proposé dans une communauté élitiste. Elle offrait également une explication à d'éventuelles défections en présentant les épreuves à venir comme un creuset qui "épure" le groupe de ses scories pour n'en conserver que joyaux dignes de l'exaltation finale. D'un point de vue plus pragmatique, elle a pu fournir aux membres les plus militants la légitimation idéologique nécessaire pour passer à l'acte et se soulever contre les Romains et leurs alliés parmi les nations et les "traîtres" à l'alliance.

LES IDENTITÉS EN PRÉSENCE DANS LES SCÈNES DU JUGEMENT DERNIER DE 4QINSTRUCTION
(4Q416 1 ET 4Q418 69 ii)

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La publication des textes de sagesse de la grotte 4 (4QInstruction) a ouvert un nouveau champ de recherches dans l'étude des manuscrits de la mer Morte, et a renouvelé l'approche de la littérature de sagesse, particulièrement en ce sens qu'elle a livré, bien que dans un état fragmentaire, une composition de sagesse[1] de type traditionnel mais dans laquelle les attentes eschatologiques tiennent une place importante, voire centrale. En effet, l'auteur lui-même en donne la clef de lecture en plaçant le thème eschatologique dès les premières lignes de la première colonne (4Q416 1 // 4Q418 1–2 + 229 + 212).[2] Y sont présents la prédétermination des rôles des êtres célestes dans la vie de chaque royaume et de chaque homme, la punition des esprits de chair et la récompense du juste lors du jugement eschatologique, et la place éducative du sage dont la charge est d'expliquer à la créature de chair la distinction entre le bien et le mal. Ainsi éclairée sur les conséquences eschatologiques opposées selon le choix de la voie suivie, celle-ci saura comment conduire sa vie et persévérer dans la recherche et la pratique du bien, afin d'éviter l'anéantissement final réservé aux impies dans l'au-delà.

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[1] *Qumran Cave 4.XXIV: Sapiential Texts, Part 2: 4QInstruction (Mûsār l*Mēvîn): 4Q415ff: With a re-edition of 1Q26 by John Strugnell and Daniel J. Harrington, S.J. and an Edition of 4Q423 by Torleif Elgvin, in Consultation with Joseph A. Fitzmyer, S.J.* (DJD 34; Oxford: Clarendon, 1999).

[2] Sur ce chevauchement du fragment 4Q418 212 avec 4Q418 2 et le parallèle 4Q416 1, voir E.J.C. Tigchelaar, *To Increase Learning for the Understanding Ones: Reading and Reconstructing the Fragmentary Early Jewish Sapiential Text 4QInstruction* (STDJ 44; Leiden: Brill, 2001), 66 s. et 180, et pour un autre arrangement des fragments 4Q418 2a + 218 + 208 + 2c + 212 + 217 + 224, voir E.J.C. Tigchelaar, "Towards a Reconstruction of the Beginning of 4QInstruction (4Q416 Fragment 1 and Parallels)," dans *The Wisdom Texts from Qumran and the Development of Sapiential Thought* (eds. C. Hempel, A. Lange, et H. Lichtenberger; BETL 159; Leuven: Peeters, 2002), 99–126, pp. 116 ss.

4Q416 1 (// 4Q418 229 + 1–2c souligné + 212
avec des pointillés)

(01–03/4 ?)

1 ‏כל רוח[- .... למשל בסדר כוכבי אור]

2 ‏ולתכן הפצי[הם(?) ראה צבא השמים שמש וירח וככבים כל ירוצו
מעת עולם]

3 ‏מועד במועד י[ום ביום עת בעת שנה בשנה ואין להדמות בכ(ו)ל עת
ילכו]

4 ‏לפי צבאם למש[ור במשורה ולפי מחשבת הלכתם/ארחותם יכינו אתות
לממלכה]

5 ‏וממלכה למד[ינה ומדינה לאיש ואיש לכל קצי עולם ויכון אורחם
והלכתם]

6 ‏לפי מחסור צבאם [ומשפט כולם לו ....416? vacat ....[

7 ‏וצבא השמים הכין מ[עת עולם ? 418 vacat ....ומאורות]

8 ‏למופתיהמה ואתות מו[עדיהמה ותקופת עתים וחודשים ושנים ינידו]

9 ‏זה ליה וכל פקורתמה י[שלמו וי]ספרו] נפלאות/מעש/כבוד אל עד
קץ נחרצה וא[ן]

10 ‏בשמים ישפוט על עבודת רשעה וכל בני אמתו ירצו ל[פניו ותבוא
רשעה עד]

11 ‏קצה ויפחדו ויריעו כל אשר התגללו בה כי שמים יי[ר]או ת[רעש
ממקומה ארץ]

12 ‏י[מ]ים ותהמות פחדו ויתערערו כל רוח בשר ובני השמי[ם י]נ[ילו
וישמחו ביום]

13 ‏[מש]פטה וכל עולה תתם עוד (יי/)]ושלם קץ האמ]ת לעולם ותהלה
ישיר עם רוח]

14 ‏בכל קצי עד כי אל אמת הוא ומקדם שני[עולם הכין הכול ונלה
אין משכיל]

15 ‏(להבין צד(ו)[ק בין טוב לרע לה[כי]ר כל משפ[טידם(?)
כיא]

16 ‏י[]צר בשר הואה ומבינו[ם(?) ....ל.......ל............[

17 ‏בראתיו כי ה[ו]א[ה..[

18 ‏[ק]ודשי[ם......

Traduction (les recoupements de 4Q418 et du fragment 212 sont sou-
lignés ou en pointillés):

(01–03/4)
[1] chaque/tous [(les)] esprit[(s)…*pour présider à l'ordre des as*tres de lumière]
[2] et pour déter*miner* [*leurs*(?)] besoins[. *Vois l'armée des cieux: le soleil, la lune
et les étoiles, tous,* ils courent depuis l'éternité],[3] fête après fête, jo[ur après
jour, *saison/mois après saison/mois, année après année, et nul* ne reste immobile;
à chaque *instant ils avancent*] [4] *selon leur armée, au fu*[r et à mesure, et
se*lon* le plan de leur course ils dé*terminent* (?) les conjonctions (astronomiques)
pour chaque] [5] royaume, pour chaque[province, pour chaque homme, *pour
tous les temps éternels, et* Il a/sont déterminé(/s) leur luminosité et leur trajectoire/
cycle] [6] selon la nécessité de leur armée, [et le jugement/ la régulation de

chacun d'eux dépend de Lui,...(*vacat* 416 ?)...] ⁷ Et l'armée des cieux
Il a établie depuis[*les temps éternels.* (*vacat* 418?)

   ...et les luminaires] ⁸ pour leurs prodiges et les signes de [leurs] fê[tes.
Les révolutions/changements de saisons, les mois et les années ils *annonceront*] ⁹ l'un
à l'autre, et chacun de leurs ordres [*ils doivent exécuter, et*] ils raconteront[
les œuvres/merveilles/la gloire de Dieu jusqu'au terme fixé. Alors] ¹⁰ dans les cieux
Il jugera l'œuvre d'impiété et tous Ses fils fidèles trouveront grâce de[vant
Lui, *et l'impiété arrivera à*] ¹¹ sa fin. Et seront effrayés et ébranlés tous ceux
qui se sont fourvoyés par elle, car les cieux craindront, [*la terre* tremble]ra[
de sa place,] ¹² les [m]ers et les abîmes seront effrayés. Et seront anéantis
tous les esprits de chair, et les fils des cieu[x *se*]ré[*jouiront*(?) *et ils exulteront*(?)
le jour de] ¹³ son [ju]gement et toute iniquité cessera, tandis que sera
parachevée la période de la véri[té *pour toujours, et* la louange *le peuple
spirituel chantera*(?)] ¹⁴ dans tous les temps éternels, car Il est le Vrai Dieu.
Depuis les temps anciens, les années[*d'éternité, Il a disposé toute chose, et Il
a instruit l'oreille du* sage] ¹⁵ pour expliquer au juste à distinguer le bien du
mal, pour faire[connaître] tous [*les*(?)] jugemen[ts (/*de*...)...] car] ¹⁶ il
est une [pé]trissure de chair, et [les] intelligent[s..........]¹⁷ ses créatures,
car *lu*[*i*...... ¹⁸ sa]int[(s)...

Commentaire

– Lignes (01–03/4): Il est vraisemblable qu'après une ligne de titre et
d'introduction générale adressée au sage et à l'intelligent, le texte
continuait par une, deux ou trois autres lignes³ où l'auteur présen-
tait "le Dieu des connaissances" *'l hd'wt*, créateur du ciel et de la
terre, qui a tout disposé de toute éternité, ainsi que l'existence et

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³ Voir DJD 34.79, pour la première colonne du rouleau précédée d'une page de
garde, et Tigchelaar, *To Increase Learning*, 42–44, 175, 181, pour les recoupements des
fragments 4Q418 229 et 212. Comme les autres colonnes du manuscrit 4Q416 sont
de 21 (au maximum 22) lignes, il ne manquerait que des restes de 3 à 4 lignes en tête,
puisque le manuscrit ne peut commencer par *kl rwḥ*[, à moins qu'on n'ait pas affaire
à la première colonne du manuscrit si, avec les éditeurs, on lit la ligne 1 comme la
première de la colonne avec une marge supérieure, mais sans restes cela n'est pas
contraignant. Si on peut et doit accepter le placement du fragment 4Q418 229 et 212
comme doublet, en revanche on ne peut retenir celui du fragment 238 (Tigchelaar,
To Increase Learning, 183) pour des restes des lignes 01 et 02, car cela supposerait, sans
preuves, des restes de lignes de fort inégale longueur entre les deux copies 4Q416 et
4Q418 dès les premières lignes, et s'opposerait à la reconstruction du texte en 4Q418
1 + 229. On ne peut suivre la lecture de T. Elgvin, "Wisdom With and Without
Apocalyptic," dans *Sapiential, Liturgical and Poetical Texts from Qumran: Proceedings of the
Third Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies, Oslo 1998* (eds. D.K. Falk,
F. García Martínez, et E.M. Schuller; STDJ 35; Leiden: Brill, 2000), 15–38.

l'influence de chaque esprit/tous les esprits (*kl rwḥ*[ligne 1)[4] sur l'agir des hommes en dépendance de leurs signes astrologiques. Voir par exemple 1QH[a] 4:29: [*'wdk 'dw*]*ny mrwḥwt 'šr ntth by* ("[Je Te rends grâce, Seigne]ur, à cause des esprits que Tu as mis en moi…"). Cet hymne loue le Seigneur d'avoir, dans sa sagesse, instruit l'orant et le juste du jugement qui sera porté sur les esprits qui agissent en l'homme et sur les impies qui suivent l'esprit de chair, et de le préserver de pécher en lui demandant de faire le bien, ou encore 1QH[a] 20:14ss: *w'ny mśkyl yd'tykh 'ly u 'šr ntth by wn'mnh šm'ty lswd pl'kh brwḥ qwdškh* [*p*]*tḥth ltwky d't brz śklkh* ("Moi, l'instructeur, je T'ai connu, mon Dieu, par l'esprit que Tu as mis en moi et fidèlement j'ai obéi à Ton merveilleux conseil. Par Ton esprit saint Tu as ouvert en mon intérieur la connaissance dans le secret de Ta sagesse…"). Le sage a connu Dieu et le mystère de sa sagesse par l'esprit de sainteté que Dieu a mis en lui, misérable créature de poussière, ou encore 1QH[a] 6:12s: *tśkl 'bdk* [*bmplgwt*(?) *šty rw*]*ḥwt 'nwš ky lpy rwḥwt tpylm byn ṭwb lrš'* [*w*]*tkn*[*lhm ml'kyk lhn*]*ḥwtm p'wltm* ("Et Tu as instruit Ton serviteur [dans les *répartitions* des deux es]prits de l'homme, car à proportion des esprits, Tu les assignes dans le bien ou le mal, et Tu établis sur [eux des anges pour]leur [in]diquer leur activité").[5] Ces exemples soulignent clairement sous quelle emprise se déroule toute activité humaine et dont a pleinement conscience le sage instruit par Dieu dans sa bienveillante sagesse.

– Lignes 1–2: Pour un contexte de *kl rwḥ*[(-*wt/bśr*?) en début de composition, comparer 1QS 3:18–19: *hnh rwḥwt h'mt wh'wl* ("Voici les esprits de vérité et d'impiété") et encore *'d hnh yrybw rwḥy 'mt w'wl blbb gbr* ("Jusque là seront en conflit les esprits de vérité et d'impiété dans le cœur de l'homme") en fin du même passage 1QS 4:23, voir aussi la séquence *kl rwḥ bsr* ligne 12. Le placement du texte parallèle du fragment 4Q418 229 1 devrait se situer ici mais en lisant *ltk*[*n*[6] comme en 4Q416 1 2, probablement suivi de *ḥpsy*[*hm* ("et pour déterminer

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[4] On peut comprendre *kl rwḥ*[("chaque esprit"), ou *kl rwḥ*[*wt* ("tous [les] esprit[s]"), ou *kl rwḥ*[*bśr* ("tous les esprits[de chair").

[5] Les colonnes et lignes des Hymnes sont désormais citées d'après ma reconstruction du rouleau qui, indépendamment, recoupe celle de H. Stegemann. Voir É. Puech, *La croyance des Esséniens en la vie future: immortalité, résurrection, vie éternelle?: Histoire d'une croyance dans le judaïsme ancien: Les données qumraniennes et classiques* (vol. 2; Paris: Gabalda, 1993), 392, 398 et 414.

[6] Avec Tigchelaar, *To Increase Learning*, 118.

[*leurs*] besoins["]).[7] Il pourrait s'agir tout aussi bien des besoins des hommes d'après leurs esprits que de ceux des astres, voir 1QS 3:17, 1QH[a] 5:37 et 9:15. Le lexème précédent, *kw*]*kby ʾw*[*r* ("des astres de lumière"), devrait faire allusion aux signes astraux sous lesquels naissent les justes ou élus, voir 1QS 3:14: *lkwl myny rwḥwtm bʾwtwtm lmʿśyhm bdwrwtm* ("concernant toutes les espèces de leurs esprits d'après leurs marques pour leurs œuvres durant leurs générations").

– Ligne 2: Vient ensuite sans doute une courte présentation de l'ordre de l'univers céleste que le sage est invité à contempler, puisque la ligne se finit par leur course depuis l'éternité, comparer *1 Hén.* 2:1; Sira 42:15; 43:10.[8]

– Ligne 3: La ligne semble pouvoir être entièrement restaurée avec une longueur moyenne de 12 cm comme aux lignes 10–14, en lisant à l'aide 4Q418 229 3: *mwʿd bmwʿd y*[*wm bywm ʿt bʿt/ḥwdš bḥwdš šnh bšnh wʾyn*] *lhdmwt bkw*[*l ʿt ylkw*], *mwʿd* peut avoir le sens de "fête, temps fixé, instant," voir 1QH[a] 9:26.[9]

– Lignes 4–5: La ligne 4 semble récupérable du moins en grande partie grâce à 4Q418 1 1 et 229 4 en lisant *lpy ṣbʾm lm*[*śwr bmšwrh wl(py mḥšbt hlktm/ʾrwtm y)k(ynw ʾ<t>w(t lmmlkh*].[10] Ainsi les lignes 4–5

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[7] De préférence à *ḥpsy*[*ṣbʾm lkwl qṣy nṣḥ* de Tigchelaar, *To Increase Learning*, 183, avec le fragment 4Q418 238 qu'on ne peut retenir, ou à *ḥpṣw* de l'édition. En parallélisme à *ltkn*, on peut envisager *ad sensum* quelque chose comme *lmšl bsdr kw*]*kby ʾwr*, en s'inspirant de *1 Hén.* 82:4.

[8] On peut envisager de restaurer quelque chose comme *rʾh* (ou *rʾw*) *kl ṣbʾ hšmym šmš wyrḥ wkwkbym kl*] *yrwṣw mʿt* ʿ[*wlm* avec 4Q418 229 2, la lecture ʿ[*wlm* s'impose ici, voir *1 Hén.* 2:1; 3:1; 4:1; 5:1, 3.

[9] Pour les séquences *lmwʿd bmwʿd lywm bywm*, voir 4Q381 1 8. Pour ʿt bʿt, voir 1QS 8:15 (9:13; 4Q258 6:8), 4Q299 6 i 11; 4Q418 103 ii 4. Pour *šnh bšnh*, voir 1QS 2:19; 5:24; 1QH[a] 6:7; 1QM 2:6, 8; 4Q258 2:4; 5Q13 4 4 et 28 4; 11Q19 21:10; 22:14; 42:13, 17; 11Q20 5:13. L'ordre "saison après saison, année après année" peut paraître préférable à "semaine après semaine, mois après mois" mais cette dernière séquence ne peut être exclue, voir par exemple *mywm lywm wmḥwdš lḥwdš* en 4Q267 9 i 1 et 4Q306 1 2. Le mot *mwʿd* semble avoir ici le sens de "fête, moment fixé" de préférence à "constellation" de F. García Martínez et E.J.C. Tigchelaar dans *Qumran Cave 4.XXVI: Cryptic Texts and* Miscellanea, *Part 1* (eds. S. Pfann, P. Alexander et al.; DJD 36; Oxford: Clarendon, 2000), 166, à propos de *1 Hén.* 82:9 (= 4Q209) à la suite de J.T. Milik, *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumrân Cave 4* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1976), 295. Pour d'autres séquences parallèles, voir *1 Hén.* 75:3; 79:2; 82:7, 9, et noter l'importance des moments de prière aux tournants des jours, semaines, mois, saisons et années en 1QS 10:1. La lecture *bkw*[*l ʿt* n'est-elle pas préférable à *bkw*[*šr* "en ordre" de Tigchelaar, *To Increase Learning*, 175, 178?

[10] En 4Q418 229 4, au-dessous de la correction du *taw*, on peut proposer de lire des traces de ʾ*w* et auparavant des traces de lettres qui peuvent correspondre à *kaf*, et on obtiendrait l'orthographe ʾ*<t>wt* comme en 4Q416 1 8 après une correction du singulier ʾ*wt* en pluriel ʾ*twt*, le verbe *kwn* appelant la séquence avec *lamed* ensuite.

feraient allusion aux conjonctions des astres dans la détermination des signes horoscopiques régissant la vie des royaumes, des provinces et des hommes.[11] On peut compléter avec la mention de la luminosité et des trajectoires ou cycles des astres qui expliqueraient assez bien la phrase suivante *lpy mḥswr ṣb'm* ("selon la nécessité de leur armée"), voir *1 Hénoch* 72–73 et 79–80.[12] Il est possible que *mḥswr* ("nécessité, pauvreté, manque, diminution") fasse allusion aux phases de décroissance des astres (des planètes et de la lune en particulier).

– Lignes 6–7: Dans cette séquence, le mot *mšpt* pourrait signifier la "règle, régulation, loi," voir par exemple *1 Hén.* 82:8–9, passage où se trouve aussi le lexème "armée du ciel" (*1 Hén.* 82:7, voir 61:10) aussi bien que "jugement," comparer précisément 1QS 3:16–17 ("Dans sa main sont les lois de tout, et, Lui, Il les fournit en tous leurs besoins"). A la cassure de la ligne 7, lire certainement *m*[, non *'*[*l* des éditeurs,[13] et compléter *m*[*'t 'wlm*. La partie gauche de ces deux lignes est difficile à restaurer à cause du délicat recoupement des deux copies: 4Q418 1 4 porte un *vacat* qui semble venir après *hkyn m't 'wlm*] *vacat* [= (ligne 7), alors que ce *vacat* pouvait trouver place à la ligne 6 en 4Q416 1, à moins d'une variante plus importante.

– Lignes 7–8: A la fin de la ligne 7 le mot *wm'wrwt* qui paraît désigner le soleil et la lune, est en coordination avec au moins un autre substantif, peut-être *kwkbym* ("les étoiles/astres") sans pouvoir apporter d'autres précisions. En Genèse 1 "les luminaires" déterminent les temps et signalent les fêtes, voir encore 1QS 10:2–4 et 1QHᵃ 20:8–14.

– Lignes 8–9: Si *pqwdtmh* signifie bien "leur ordre" et non "leur visite" comme il semble,[14] à compléter peut-être *y*[*šlmw*, il est possible que la fin de la ligne 8 fasse alors allusion aux calendriers, aux changements des saisons, mois et années dépendant des conjonctions des astres, et l'on sait l'importance du calendrier dans l'organisation de la vie humaine et cultuelle en particulier. Aussi pourrait-on proposer

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[11] Cet aspect est sans doute présent dans *mwldy yš'* ("les horoscopes favorables") de 4Q417 2 i 10–12.

[12] Après le *lkl qṣy 'wlm* vraisemblable, on peut envisager pour le sens général soit le passif *wkwnnw* soit l'actif *wykwn 'wr(t)m whlktm/'rhwtm* (?).

[13] Malgré M.J. Goff, *The Worldly and Heavenly Wisdom of 4QInstruction* (STDJ 50; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 178, à la suite des éditeurs et de Tigchelaar, il n'y a aucune trace de l'oblique à gauche.

[14] Mais voir *yšpwṭ* ligne 10, il est cependant moins probable qu'il faille, dans ce contexte, lui comparer son emploi en 1QS 3:14 où la Visite concerne les œuvres des esprits dans le cœur des hommes.

pour l'espace quelque chose comme *wtqwp(w)t ʿtym wḥwdšym wšnym ygyd]w zh lzh*. Le reste de la ligne 9 semble conclure ce passage sur la présentation de l'ordre cosmique qui dépend totalement du Dieu créateur et suprême organisateur de l'univers et, en conséquence, raconter les œuvres/les merveilles ou la gloire de Dieu, voir par exemple Psaume 148, d'où la restauration *ad sensum wy]sprw[mʿśy/ npl'wt/kbwd ʾl*. Pour annoncer le changement de sujet ensuite, on peut envisager soit *whw'*] ou mieux *w'z*], précédé d'une formule autre que *lkl qṣy ʿwlm*, par exemple *ʿd qṣ nḥrṣh*, voir 1QS 4:25.

– Ligne 10: Lire *bšmym* avec le trait oblique à gauche, non *mšmym*.[15] L'expression *ʿbwdt ršʿh* (voir 4Q418 121 2 et 4Q511 18 ii 6) est l'opposé de *ʿbwdt ṣdq* en 1QS 4:9 et l'œuvre de ceux qui suivent l'esprit d'iniquité (*rwḥ ʿwlh*), *ršʿh* ou *ʿbwdt ršʿh* étant repris par *bh* à la ligne 11. Le syntagme *bny ʾmtw* bien connu par exemple en 1QHᵃ 14:32s et 15:32s opposé aux *bny rsʿh* (voir 1QM 17:8: *wkwl bny ʾmtw*) est parallèle ici aux *bny ʾmt* de 1QS 4:5–6, et aux *bny ʾwr* et *bny ṣdq* en 1QS 3:13, 20, 22, 24–25. On a affaire là à un vocabulaire dualiste très caractéristique des principales compositions qumraniennes, vocabulaire qui se poursuit dans les lignes suivantes par les mentions de *qṣ h'mt* (l. 13) et *'l 'mt* (l. 14). Pour la lecture *yrṣw l[pnyw*, voir 1QS 3:11: *'z yrṣh bkpwry nyḥwḥ lpny 'l* ("alors il plaira à Dieu par des expiations agréables"). Le suffixe féminin à *qṣh* suppose de lire un sujet féminin auparavant, d'où la restauration *tbw' ršʿh ʿd] qṣh*. On peut aussi comparer la théophanie ouvrant le livre d'Hénoch, *1 Hén.* 1:4–9, qui présente le Dieu d'éternité venant avec puissance depuis le plus haut des cieux juger l'univers, tous seront terrifiés, la terre vacillera, l'impie périra et le juste obtiendra miséricorde et paix éternelle.

– Ligne 11: La séquence *wyphḍw wyrwʿw kl 'šr htgllw bh* rappelle de près les peurs et tremblements qui doivent saisir la nature et les hommes lors du Jour de Yahvé en Is 24:17–19 ou lors de l'ébranlement eschatologique en 1QHᵃ 11:34 par exemple. La même idée se retrouve avec l'expression *htgllw bdrky ršʿ* en 1QS 4:19, voir encore 1QHᵃ 14:25, CD 3:17, 4Q525 21 6 et 22 4. 4Q416 1 lit au mieux *yy[r]ʿw* et 4Q418 2c *yr'[w*. La fin de la ligne peut se compléter avec

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[15] Avec Tigchelaar, *To Increase Learning*, 42ss; idem, "Towards a Reconstruction," 102s; et Elgvin, "Wisdom With and Without Apocalyptic," 24.

4Q418 212 1, voir Is 13:13 où la séquence est aussi précédée de la mention des cieux.

– Ligne 12: 4Q418 2–2c porte quelques variantes dans la partie pré-servée avec le singulier (fautif ?) *wthwm* et la forme *wytr*[*w'‘w*[16] et sans doute quelques autres dans la cassure avec une correction probable *kwl* <*rwḥ*> *b*]*śr* pour la grandeur de la lacune. L'expression (*kl*) *rwḥ bśr* se retrouve en 4Q417 1 i 17 où elle désigne celui qui ne sait pas distinguer le bien du mal, en 4Q418 81 2 desquels a été séparé l'intelligent, et en 1QH[a] 4:37 dans un contexte proche décrivant la domination des esprits dans le cœur des hommes et des élus, ou encore en 1QH[a] 5:15.[17] On peut encore comparer *1 Hén.* 1:9: "Car Il vient avec ses saintes myriades juger l'univers, faire périr tout impie, confondre toute chair pour tous les actes d'impiété qu'ils ont commis et pour les outrages qu'ont proféré contre Lui les pécheurs impies." A "tous les esprits de chair" l'auteur de l'Instruction oppose "les fils des cieux." Mais dans les textes qumraniens l'expression *bny šmym* désigne régulièrement les anges, voir 1QS 4:22: *lhbyn yšrym bd‘t ‘lywn wḥkmt bny šmym*, ici en parallèle à *‘lywn*, 1QS 11:7–8: *wynḥylm bgwrl qdwšym w‘m bny šmym ḥbr swdm l'ṣt yḥd* ("Il les a fait hériter dans le lot des saints et avec les fils des cieux Il a associé leur assemblée en vue d'un conseil commun"), ou encore 1QH[a] 11:22s: *lhtyṣb bm‘md ‘m ṣb' qdwšym wlbw' byḥd ‘m ‘dt bny šmym* (noter les deux fois le parallélisme strict avec *qdwšym*). Toutefois dans le contexte de l'Instruction, "les fils des cieux," opposés à *kl rwḥ bśr* ("les impies"), doivent désigner les justes ("les fidèles"), *bny 'mt* qui sont destinés à partager l'héritage des saints, tous ceux qui auront suivi les instructions du sage en apprenant à distinguer le bien du mal.[18] Cet emploi rejoint la leçon des manuscrits éthiopiens en *1 Hén.* 101:1 dans une exhortation com-parable.[19] Vu l'espace en 4Q416 1 la fin de la ligne12 devait porter deux verbes synonymes dont il ne reste qu'une trace. On suggère à

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[16] Le sens exact de *yt‘r‘rw* ou *ytr*[*w'‘w* n'est pas clair, voir DJD 34.83, et Goff, *Worldly and Heavenly Wisdom*, 172.

[17] Voir Puech, *La croyance*, respectivement 2:392ss, pour 1QH[a] 4, noter la mention de *bndh ḥtgwllty*, l. 31 parallèle à 1QS 4:21–22, et 2:409–10 pour 1QH[a] 5:15, 30, où l'expression est synonyme d'"homme pécheur" parmi lesquels se place l'orant.

[18] Partiellement avec Tigchelaar, *To Increase Learning*, 187s. L'opposition n'est pas de nature mais d'ordre moral, l'impie ignorant la distinction du bien et du mal ou l'élu qui feint de l'ignorer et vit en suivant l'esprit d'impiété.

[19] Voir A. Caquot, "1 Hénoch," dans *La Bible: Ecrits intertestamentaires* (eds. A. Dupont-Sommer et M. Philonenko; Bibliothèque de la Pléiade 337; Paris: Gallimard, 1987), 614 et note, relevant la distinction entre les justes d'une part et les impies de l'autre,

titre d'exemple *y*]*g*[*ylw wyšmḥw* (voir *1 Hén.* 103:4; 104:4; Is 26:19), mais voir 4Q418 69 ii 7 et 9 pour d'autres possibilités.

– Ligne 13: Le recoupement probable avec 4Q418 212 2 autorise la restauration *bywm mš*]*pṭh*, le suffixe se rapportant à *rš'h*, comparer 1QS 4:18–21 où sont aussi associés le terme de l'existence de l'iniquité et l'apparition de la fidélité du monde au jour du grand jugement. Cette présentation devrait aider à comprendre les nuances des deux variantes du passage *'wd wšlm* en 4Q416 et *'d yšlm* en 4Q418 "tandis que, alors que." Voir aussi 1QH^a 4:33 *wbmšpṭk y*]*tmw rš'ym* et 1Q27 1 i 5–7. Le sens de *wšlm* en parlant du temps, bien que l'expression *qṣ 'mt* soit unique, semble être celui de "accomplir, réaliser, parachever" en opposition à l'impiété qui sera anéantie. A la cassure lire en toute certitude *qṣ h'm*[*t*,[20] à compléter sans doute avec 4Q418 2c *l'*]*wlm*[*w*]*thl*[*h yšyr 'm rwḥ*], voir 4Q417 1 i 16. Mais 4Q418 2+2c, l. 4, devait porter d'autres variantes: *yšlm q*[*ṣh l'*]*wlm*[*w*]*thl*[*h* et une fin de ligne un peu plus longue.

– Lignes 14–15: L'expression *bkl qṣy 'd* a son parallèle en 1QSb 5:18 *w*]*'m kl qṣy 'd*, proche de *lkwl qṣy 'wlmym* en 1QS 4:16. La séquence *ky 'l 'mt hw'* ne se retrouve qu'en 1QH^a 7:38 dans un contexte comparable: *ky' 'l 'mt 'th wkwl 'wlh tšmyd*[*l'd w*]*rš*['*]*h l' thyh lpnyk* ("car Toi, Tu es le vrai Dieu et tu détruiras [à jamais] toute iniquité [et] l'impi[é]té n'existera pas devant Toi").[21] Pour un contexte comparable à celui de ces lignes, voir *1 Hén.* 91:7–8. La phrase suivante avec sa restauration *wmqdm šny*[*'wlm hkyn hkwl* peut être comparée à 1QH^a 5:26–27: *k*]*kwl mḥšbwtk lkwl qṣy 'wlm wpqwdt 'd ky 'th hkynwtmh mqdm 'wlm*,[22] voir aussi 1QS 3:15: *wlpny hywtm hkyn kwl mḥšbtm*. Ensuite le recoupement avec 4Q418 2 7 suggère de restaurer *wpṭḥ/wglh 'wzn mśky*)*l*] *lhbyn*…en s'appuyant aussi sur le parallèle en 1QS 3:13: *lmśkyl lhbyn wllmd 't kwl bny 'wr*…, d'autant que la lecture *lhbyn* est possible ici encore avec le parallèle de 4Q418 *lhbyn ṣdyq* au lieu du difficile

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mais il retient le sens du grec s'adressant à tous les hommes, le grec porte υιοι των ανθρωπον opposés aux impies υιοι της γης.

[20] Les éditeurs hésitent et n'excluent pas (DJD 34.86s) *qṣ 'b*[*dwn*, suivis par M. Kister, "Wisdom Literature and Its Relation to Other Genres: From Ben Sira to *Mysteries*," dans *Sapiential Perspectives: Wisdom Literature in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Proceedings of the Sixth International Symposium of the Orion Center for the Study of the Dead Sea Scrolls and Associated Literature, 20–22 May, 2001* (eds. J.J. Collins, G.E. Sterling, et R.A. Clements; STDJ 51; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 13–47, à 40 et n. 115.

[21] Voir Puech, *La croyance*, 2:387.

[22] Idem, 410.

lhkwn de l'édition, mais une lecture *lhkyn ṣdq* ne peut être exclue. Ce passage n'est pas sans rappeler 1QS 4:26 à propos des deux esprits: *wynḥyln lbny 'yš ld't ṭwb*[*wr'*, afin de préparer dès maintenant les récompenses eschatologiques, voir aussi 4Q417 1 i 8 et 18 et 4Q423 5 6 à la suite de Gn 3:5. Le verbe suivant pourrait être lu *lh*[*ky*]*r kl mšp*[*ṭy(hm)* ("tou[s les] jugeme[nts de...]" ou "tou[s leurs] jugeme[nts"; voir 1QS 4:18).

– Lignes 16–18: Pour *ky)' y*]*ṣr bśr hw'*[*h*, voir les autres exemples en 1QHᵃ 18:25: *wyṣr bśr l' šmth ly m'wz*, et 24:6–7:] *yṣr bśr 'd qṣ*[, parallèles aux plus fréquents exemples de *yṣr (h)ḥmr* dans le même rouleau des Hymnes. Ensuite, en opposition, une lecture *wmbyny*[*m* paraît préférable à *mbynw*[*t*. A la ligne 17 on lirait *br'tyw ky h*[*w*]*'*[, et à la ligne 18 *q*]*dwš*[(*ym*) paraît assuré pour l'alignement à la marge.

Cette introduction du rouleau envisage le jugement de l'impiété, qui aura une fin en son temps, jugement exercé par le Dieu créateur et ordonnateur du monde. De même que les astres et les éléments célestes suivent régulièrement la mission qui leur est assignée, de même devrait-il en être des hommes. Mais ceux qui suivent l'esprit de chair ou en dépendent recevront le châtiment éternel lors du jugement général auquel participera toute la création, alors que le juste trouvera grâce devant Dieu. Le juste est le fidèle qui suit les instructions du sage auquel Dieu a révélé par sa sagesse le discernement du bien d'avec le mal, ce qui n'est pas donné à l'esprit de chair. Seul en est capable celui qui appartient au peuple spirituel façonné sur le modèle des saints (4Q417 1 i 16–17) et qui suit l'instruction que lui ont déjà inculquée les parents en lui révélant les premiers le mystère de l'existence (4Q416 2 iii 16–18). Suivent des séries de conseils de sagesse.

Mais ce thème du jugement revient au moins dans un autre passage de l'Instruction, en 4Q418 69 ii, où encore une fois la cosmologie, l'élément liquide cette fois, introduit la section parénétique. Dans cette scène du jugement dernier auquel participe le cosmos tout entier, sont présentés plus précisément le châtiment des insensés et le triomphe des élus fidèles dans la gloire.[23] Ce passage assez bien conservé doit être

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[23] On ne suit pas les éditeurs (DJD 34.14) qui voudraient voir dans ces deux paragraphes un ajout tardif à cause du passage du singulier au pluriel et de nouveau au singulier.

complété par le fragment 60 avec quelques recoupements en 4Q417
5 1–5.

4Q418 69 ii + 60 (// 417 5 1–5 souligné)[24]

פהכה] 1

ותשכיל] בעינות תהו]מות עם 2

כול] נתסרות מוצאיהן ותתבונן בנחשולי ימים [ב]ע]ב[ו]דתם הלוא באמת 3
יתהלכו

כול] משברי]הם ובדעה כול נליהם *vacat* ועתה אוילי לב מה טוב ללוא 4

נוצר] ומ]ה השקט ללוא היה ומה משפט ללוא נוסד ומה יאנחו מתים על 5
כ]ול יומ]ם

אתם ל]שא]ול נוצרתם ולשחת עולם תשובתכם כי תקיץ ות]ראה 6
ב]חטאכמה ויושבי

מחשכיה יצרחו על ריבכם וכול נהיה עולם דורשי אמת יעורו 7
למשפטכ]ם וא]י

ישמדו כול אוילי לב ובני עולה לוא ימצאו עוד] וכ]ול מחזיקי רשעה 8
יבש]ו וא]ז

במשפטכם יריעו מוסדי {ה}רקיע וירעמו כול צ]בא ע]ל]ם ויחיו 9
כו]ל אהבו] אמת]

vacat ואתם בחירי אמת ורודפי] בינה ו]משח]רי חוכמה ו]שוקד]ים 10

על כול דעה איכה תאמרו יגענו בבינה ושקדנו לרדוף דעת ב]כול עת 11
או בכול מ]קום]

{ה}ולא עיף בכול {נ}שני עולם הלוא באמת ישעשע לעד ודעה] לנצח 12
תשרתנו ובנ]י]

שמים אשר חיים עולם נחלתם האמור יאמרו יגענו בפעלות אמת ויעפ]נו] 13

בכול קצים הלוא באור עולם יתהל]כו כולם בלבו]ש]י כ]בוד ורוב הדר 14
אתם] תעמדו

ברקיעי] קודש וב]סוד אילים כול [ים עול(מי)ם *va?cat* ואתה 15
בן] מבין]

Traduction

[1] …]ton[-]

[2] […]et tu comprendras[*les sources des abî*]*mes*
avec [3] [*toutes les cachettes de leurs jaillissements et tu auras connaissance des houles
de(s/la) mer(s)*]dans leur [ac]t[i]vité. N'est-ce pas fidèlement que circulent
[4] *tous leurs*[*courants*] *et, en connaissance, toutes leurs vagues?* vacat

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[24] Nous avons entrepris une première justification des lectures et des restaurations
de ce passage dans "La croyance à la résurrection des justes dans un texte de sagesse:
4Q418 69 ii," dans *Sefer Moshe: The Moshe Weinfeld Jubilee Volume: Studies in the Bible and the
Ancient Near East, Qumran, and Post-Biblical Judaism* (eds. C. Cohen, A. Hurvitz, and S.M.
Paul; Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 2004), 427–44, avec quelques modifications
depuis lors en diverses occasions.

Et maintenant, insensés, qu'est-ce qui est bon pour qui n'a pas été [5] façonné?[Et q]u'est-ce que la tranquillité pour qui n'a pas existé? Et qu'est-ce qu'un décret pour qui n'a pas été établi? Et que pourraient lamenter les morts sur to[us]leurs [*jours* ?] [6] Vous, vous avez été façonnés pour[le Shé]ôl, et à la Fosse éternelle est votre retour, lorsqu'il/elle s'éveillera et [expose]ra votre péché.[Et *les habitants* de] [7] ses antres s'insurgeront contre votre plaidoirie et tous les destinés-à-l'éternité, les chercheurs de vérité se réveilleront pour votre jugement. [*Alors*] [8] seront anéantis tous les insensés, et des fils d'iniquité on ne trouvera plus,[et to]us ceux qui s'adonnent à l'impiété *se dessécher*[*ont*(/ *ser*[*ont*] *couverts de honte*). *Alors*,] [9] lors de votre jugement, seront ébranlées les fondations du firmament, et tonneront toutes les ar[mées *éter*]*n*[*elles/divi*]*n*[*es et* (*re*)*vivront tou*]*s* ceux qui ont aimé[*la vérité/justice.*] [10]*vacat*

Et vous, les élus fidèles, qui poursuivez la[compréhension, et] qui assidûment recher[chez la sagesse, et] qui veille[z] [11] sur toute connaissance, comment pouvez-vous dire: 'Nous nous sommes épuisés à la compréhension et nous avons veillé à la recherche de la connaissance en[tout temps] ou en tout li[eu]?' [12] Mais on ne se fatigue pas pour toutes les années d'éternité! Ne prend-on pas plaisir à la vérité pour toujours? Et la connaissance,[continuellement,] ne nous sert-elle pas? Et les fi[ls des] [13] cieux dont l'héritage est la vie éternelle, pourront-ils vraiment dire: 'Nous nous sommes épuisés dans les œuvres de vérité et [nous nous]sommes fatigués [14] à tous moments?' N'est-ce pas dans la lumière éternelle qu'ils chemi[ne]ront[*tous dans des habi*]*t*[*s de g*]loire et une abondance de splendeur? Vous-mêmes, [*vous vous tiendrez*] [15] dans les firmaments de[sainteté et dans] le conseil divin, tous [*les jours d'éternité*(?). *va*]*cat*

Et toi, l'in[telligent, [16] [...

Commentaire

– Lignes 2–3: Pour la reconstruction *b'ynwt thw*]*mwt*, voir Gn 7:11; Pr 8:28; 4Q252 1 i 5; 4Q286 5 9.[25] Le sens de la phrase demande de compléter avec [*kwl nstrwt mwṣ'yhn* ("toutes les cachettes de leurs jaillissements") d'une part et, d'autre part, pour le parallélisme synonymique avec *wttbwnn bnḥšwly hym* ou *ymym*]*b*[']*b*[*w*]*dtm* ("et tu auras connaissance des houles de(s/la) mer(s)]dans leur activité"), pour *nḥšwly ymym*, voir 1QH[a] 10:14. L'auteur exhorte le fidèle à la vérité de conduite et à la recherche de la connaissance en les comparant

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[25] Je dois cette solution à J.-S. Rey, préférable à *b'mqy thw*]*mwt* proposé précédemment, É. Puech, "Apports des textes apocalyptiques et sapientiels de Qumrân à l'eschatologie du Judaïsme ancien," dans *Wisdom and Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the Biblical Tradition* (ed. F. García Martínez; BETL 168; Leuven: Peeters, 2003), 133–70, p. 139.

à celles des courants marins, comme le suggère l'emploi de la même expression en 4Q418 126 ii 11.

- Lignes 5–6: La lecture *'l k[wl ywm]m* paraît la plus obvie.[26] Lire sans doute *wt[r'h b]ḥṭ'kmh* au lieu de *lgl[wt 'l* de ma précédente proposition moins assurée qu'on aurait pu le croire, *wt[* étant de loin préférables.

- Lignes 7: Le verbe *y'wrw* peut être au *qal* "se réveilleront" ou au *nip'al* "seront réveillés," verbe parallèle à *yqyṣw* et à *yqwm* au sujet du réveil du sommeil de la mort en Jb 14:12 et de la résurrection en Is 26:19, Dn 12:2 ou Ps 17:15. Une traduction par "se lèveront" est difficile, car elle implique que le sujet *kwl nhyh 'wlm dwršy 'mt* va procéder au jugement *lmšpṭk[m* ("pour vous juger/pour votre jugement"). Or le jugement dernier est toujours l'œuvre de Dieu, comme le rappelle encore l'introduction en 4Q416 1 10 ("*Alors]* dans les cieux Il jugera l'œuvre d'impiété") et jamais celle des anges ou autres êtres célestes à l'exception du Fils de l'homme. En outre ces expressions se rapportent très difficilement aux anges, qui n'ont pas à "chercher" (*drš*) puisqu'ils ont la connaissance (voir par ex. 1QH[a] 11:23–24; 4Q403 1 i 37; 405 17 3; 19 4) et qu'ils servent fidèlement le créateur, ainsi que le soulignent les sections cosmologiques précédentes d'une part[27] et, d'autre part, on attendrait le participe présent *kwl hwyy 'wlm* comme dans les parallèles de 4Q511 10 10–11, 4Q403 1 i 22–23 et CD 2:10, voir 1QS 11:4–5, 11, non le futur *nhyh* qui ne peut désigner que les justes.[28] Il est donc bien plus vraisemblable

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[26] Les éditeurs ont retenu *'l k[l ywm]m* mais ont traduit "over their *own death*?" (DJD 34.281, 283) supposant *'l m[wt]m* beaucoup trop court pour l'espace.

[27] Avec C.H.T. Fletcher-Louis, *All the Glory of Adam: Liturgical Anthropology in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (STDJ 42; Leiden: Brill, 2002), 118, ce verbe n'affecte jamais l'activité des anges dans l'Instruction ou à Qumrân en général, alors qu'elle est celle des humains et ici des "sensés," malgré J.J. Collins, "The Mysteries of God: Creation and Eschatology in 4QInstruction and the Wisdom of Solomon," dans *Wisdom and Apocalypticism*, 287–305, à 295s. Pour des humains assistant au jugement ou jugeant, voir Mt 19:28 et parallèles, *T. Ab.* 13:3, 6; Sg 5:1, etc. Collins suit les éditeurs, DJD 34.286s, Tigchelaar, *To Increase Learning*, 222, Goff, *Worldly and Heavenly Wisdom*, 173, 177–79. Il n'y a aucune preuve dans ce texte que les anges interviennent dans le jugement, même pas pour l'exécution des sentences, avec D. Harrington, "Wisdom and Apocalyptic in 4QInstruction and 4 Ezra," dans *Wisdom and Apocalypticism*, 343–55, p. 345: "Since only the Creator and Lord of the cosmos would be capable of such a definitive judgment, the apocalyptic link between *Urzeit* and *Endzeit* is quite natural." Mais ils y assistent, ligne 9, à moins de retenir la restauration *lhtm kw]l....*("pour faire disparaître tou]s ceux qui ont aimé[*l'iniquité*").

[28] Voir par exemple 4Q511 10 10–11: *wšwpṭ bṣd[q m]hwyy 'd ['*]d nhyy 'wlmym bswd 'ylym *w'nšym yšpwṭ brwm šmym*...("et (Dieu) juge avec justice des êtres éternels aux destinés-à-

que ces expressions désignent des êtres humains,[29] ici les justes, cher-
cheurs fidèles, qui, réveillés du sommeil du séjour ténébreux parce
que destinés-à-l'éternité, assistent au jugement des impies et voient
prononcée leur sentence.

– Ligne 8: Le verbe *ybš*[*w* peut être traduit de deux manières: "ils seront
couverts de honte" en écriture défective dans ce manuscrit qui use de
formes habituellement pleines, ou "ils se dessécheront."[30] Si les *'wyly
lb*, *bny 'wlh* et *mḥzyqy rš'h* désignent trois groupes d'impies distincts, le
sens de "seront couverts de honte" conviendrait avec un parallèle en
1QS 4:12–13, mais si, comme il semble, les trois expressions sont des
synonymes pour désigner le même groupe des impies, il n'y a plus
alors de crescendo et le sens de "se dessécheront" (sous-entendu "par
la flamme," voir Jb 15:30 et 1QS 4:13 avec le feu exterminateur des
antres ténébreux) serait à retenir.

– Ligne 9: Au lieu de mon précédent *ṣb*[' *'y*]*l*[*ym*]*l*[*hbdy*]*l 'hby*[*ṣdq*,
on pourrait lire de préférence *ṣb*[' *'w*]*l*[*m lhtm/wytmw kw*]*l 'hbw*[*rš'h*]
pour rester avec les impies au centre de ce paragraphe. La distance
du *lamed* permet la construction soit de *ṣb*[' *'y*]*l*[*ym*, voir 4Q503 65
2 (*ṣb'wt 'lym*), ici *'ylym* l. 15, soit *ṣb*[' *'w*]*l*[*m*, voir 4Q427 7 i 15 (=
l'hymne de glorification de 1QH^a 26). Puis *wytmw* serait-il préférable
à *lhtm*, mais ni *ṣ*[*b'wt '*]*l* ni *wygylw* ne sont acceptables pour la distance
ou l'absence de *lamed*.[31] Et dans cette séquence, la lecture du parfait
'hbw peut être préférable à celle du participe *'hby* en orthographe
défective. Mais avec la mention de la disparition des impies à laquelle
assistent le firmament et les armées éternelles (lignes 8–9), on attend

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l'éternité dans le conseil des êtres divins et des hommes Il juge dans les hauteurs des
cieux…"), 4Q403 1 i 22–23: *'m kwl ḥwyy* [*'wl*]*m*[*y*]*m* ("avec tous les êtres [éter]nels")
(avec DJD 34.286, non "for all [ages]" avec C. Newsom in *Qumran Cave 4.VI: Poetical
and Liturgical Texts, Part 1* [eds. E. Eshel et al.; DJD 11; Oxford: Clarendon, 1998], 261),
et CD 2:9–10: *lkl ḥwy 'wlmym wnḥywt 'd mh ybw' bqṣyhm lkl šny 'wlm* ("concernant tous
les êtres éternels et les destinés-à-l'éternité, ce qui arrivera à leur fin pour toutes les
années d'éternité"). En 1QS 11:4–5, l'expression désigne le Dieu éternel.

[29] Expressions régulièrement comprises comme désignant plus vraisemblablement
des êtres célestes par les éditeurs (DJD 34.286s); Tigchelaar, *To Increase Learning*, 222;
Goff, *Worldly and Heavenly Wisdom*, 177, 201; Collins, "Mysteries of God," 295.

[30] DJD 34.287 et Tigchelaar, *To Increase Learning*, 211, note l'écriture défective de *wl'*
ligne 12 et le parallèle d' Is 41:11–12 *ybšw wyklmw* (*yhyw k'yn wy'bdw*) et *l' tmṣ'm*. Mais
wl' vient après une correction et la séquence d'Isaïe n'est pas identique, elle est logique
et progressive. A. Caquot, "Les textes de sagesse de Qoumrân (Aperçu préliminaire),"
RHPR 76 (1996): 1–34, p. 11, retient le sens "seront couverts de honte."

[31] Une lecture *wygylw* est impossible vu l'absence de trace de *lamed* d'une part
et, d'autre part, le pluriel *ṣb'wt* est exclu pour l'espace insuffisant, et *ṣb'* a un sens
collectif.

aussi dans le contexte du jugement dernier, le rappel du destin des justes qui, réveillés, voient le jugement des impies et l'exécution de leur châtiment. Aussi comprendrait-on de préférence: *ṣ[b' 'w]l[m* ou *'y]l[ym wyhyw kw]l 'hbw['mt/ṣdq]* ("et (re)vivront tou]s ceux qui ont aimé[la vérité/justice]"), voir en particulier Sg 5:15 où, comme récompense, "les justes vivent éternellement" vient après la mention de la résurrection en 5:1–5: "alors le juste se tiendra debout plein d'assurance...."[32] Cette solution qui évite aussi une répétition inutile de l'idée contenue déjà à la ligne 8, conclut par la récompense du juste comme pendant du châtiment des impies insensés.

– Ligne 11: Le *waw* de coordination des deux propositions *yg'nw...wšqdnw* doit avoir un sens à nuance causale et temporelle à la fois "nous nous sommes épuisés...alors que nous avons veillé..." ou "parce que nous avons veillé...," l'épuisement et la veille sont interdépendants.

– Ligne 12: A qui renvoient la troisième personne des verbes *wl' 'yp bkwl*...et *hlw'...yš'š'*...et le suffixe du verbe suivant *tšrtnw*? A Dieu ou à un humain? Les éditeurs qui sont généralement suivis, l'ont compris de Dieu. Il est tout de même surprenant que l'auteur attribue ces phrases au Dieu créateur, comme si Dieu pouvait connaître la fatigue, le plaisir dans la vérité ou trouver un avantage dans la connaissance, lui qui est éternel, Vérité et source de toute connaissance. Dans ces énoncés de vérités proverbiales, on le comprend mieux d'un humain, des élus à la recherche de la vérité-fidélité, eux qui se fatiguent et qui, seuls, peuvent se décourager et que la connaissance du secret de l'avenir peut seuls servir? Une traduction par l'indéfini est attendue dans ces cas-là.[33]

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[32] Avec la lecture *wyhyw* "revivront" les deux restaurations *'w]l[m* ou *'y]l[ym* sont possibles. Mais on ne peut suivre Tigchelaar, *To Increase Learning*, 222, qui écrit: "4Q418 69 ii focuses on the annihilation of the foolish and iniquitous, clearly implying that the chosen righteous should persevere," étant donné que l'auteur est d'avis que la ligne 7 "does not imply resurrection of the dead, but the arisal to judge" (213) et que "Both texts refer to the judgment of the sinners, and mention the Sheol or the Pit as the place of the damned after death (1 Enoch 103:5–8)" (212). Mais il est clair que toutes "les âmes" descendent au Shéol après la mort, et que seuls les pécheurs retournent au Shéol transformé en lieu de châtiment, comme en *1 Hén.* 102:4–104. Comment le passage peut-il justifier une telle conclusion: "les justes persévérer et se lever pour juger" plutôt que "se réveiller" du sommeil du shéol et "revivre," autrement dit "ressusciter"? Les questions rhétoriques s'adressent à des défunts qui *attendent* le décret du jugement, le sort étant fixé à leur mort et auquel on ne peut plus rien changer, en vue du bien et du repos, il est trop tard pour l'insensé, alors le juste n'a rien à craindre.

[33] Voir déjà la note dans "La croyance à la résurrection," 433–34. Pour cet emploi, voir P. Joüon, *Grammaire de l'hébreu biblique* (2e éd.; Rome: Pontificio Istituto Biblico,

– Lignes 14: Outre la lacune une des difficultés de lecture tient au sens de *'tm*: "avec eux" ou "vous"? On proposerait de lire, moyennant de possibles traces de *šin*, *hlw' b'wr 'wlm ythl*[*kw kwlm blbw*]*š*[*y k*]*bwd wrwb hdr 'tm*[*t'mdw/tqwmw*], voir *1 Hén.* 104:2: "vous apparaîtrez brillants comme les luminaires célestes," 92:4: "et ils (les justes) marcheront dans la lumière éternelle," et 62:15: "Les justes et les élus seront relevés de terre, ayant cessé de baisser le visage, et revêtus d'un vêtement de gloire," ainsi que plusieurs exemples qumraniens pour le vêtement de gloire, 1QS 4:7–8, 1QH[a] 20:18, Sg 5:16.[34] Il reste encore l'hésitation de la coupure après *kwlm* en lisant *wlbw*]*š*[*y* ("et vêtus de g]loire et d'une abondance de splendeur avec eux["), ou après *hdr* en lisant *blbw*]*š*[*y* ("Avec eux/Vous-mêmes[…]")? La solution dépend du sens donné à l'expression *bny šmym* (l. 13). On a vu ci-dessus qu'au début de l'Instruction, en 4Q416 1 12, l'expression s'opposant aux *kwl rwḥ bśr* ne pouvait désigner que des humains, les justes. Comme il doit logiquement en être de même ici,[35] seul reste alors possible le sens "vous-mêmes," qui reprend naturellement en inclusion le *w'tm bḥyry 'mt*…de la ligne 10. Aussi, en l'absence d'autres précisions du contexte pour traduire "avec eux," le sens "vous-mêmes" s'impose, d'autant qu'on a difficilement affaire à une proposition nominale "gloire et abondante splendeur sont avec eux," alors qu'on attendrait le futur *yhyw* après *ythl*[*kw*.

1947), §155d. Le sens précis de la préposition *bet* dans *bkwl šny 'wlm* ne peut être temporel mais causal-final ou *bet pretii* "pour (le prix de) toutes les années d'éternité," sens logique dans ce paragraphe d'exhortation à la persévérance adressée à l'élu pour mériter les récompenses éternelles lors du jugement final. Il ne saurait être question de fatigue dans les années d'éternité, mais bien de fatigues dans cette vie en vue de l'éternité, fatigues qui peuvent conduire au découragement, voir dans le même sens *1 Hén.* 103:9–11. Dans ce cas, on n'a plus de changement incessant de personnes: de la deuxième du pluriel à la première du pluriel puis à la troisième du singulier.

[34] Après une première proposition *'m md*]*t*[*k*]*bwd* (dans "La croyance à la résurrection," 428, 434), je préfère lire *blbw*]*š*[*y k*]*bwd*, avec de possibles traces du *šin* (voir déjà Puech, "Apports des textes apocalyptiques et sapientiels," 140), mais il n'y a aucune trace de *lamed* pour une lecture *tnhylw*.

[35] A la suite des éditeurs, DJD 34.290s, la plupart des commentateurs comprennent l'expression *bny* (*h*)*šmym* comme désignant les anges, voir Tigchelaar, *To Increase Learning*, 200, 215, 220, 222; Collins, "Mysteries of God," 296; Goff, *Worldly and Heavenly Wisdom*, 205; L. Stuckenbruck, "4QInstruction and the Possible Influence of Early Enochic Traditions: An Evaluation," *Wisdom Texts from Qumran*, 245–61, à 258, qui écrit "holding up the privileged existence of angels, who *will* inherit eternal life (line 13)" mais les anges possèdent déjà la vie éternelle, ce n'est pas pour eux un héritage futur!, et moi-même, "Apports des textes apocalyptiques et sapientiels," 141, en faisant des anges les modèles de fidélité dans le service divin à imiter dans la pratique de la sagesse.

– Ligne 15: La restauration du début de la ligne *brqy'y[qwdš wb]swd 'ylym* est assurée. Les deux expressions parallèles se rapportent aux anges, synonymes du syntagme qumranien plus fréquent, *swd qdwšym* ("le conseil des saints"). La fin de la phrase peut être reconstruite ainsi: *kwl [ymy 'wlm(ym)*, en comparant la séquence *lhywt zr'm lpnyk kwl hymym* de 1QHᵃ 4:26 ou de 1Q39 1 3, ou *kwl ymy hyyk* de Gn 3:14, 17; Is 63:9; etc., bien que l'usage de la préposition *lkwl [ymy 'wlm* soit plus habituel à Qumrân. A défaut on pourrait aussi comprendre *kwl ['hbw 'mt* comme à la fin du paragraphe précédent.

Châtiments et Récompenses Lors du Jugement Dernier

La relecture de ces deux passages souligne suffisamment leur importance pour l'eschatologie de l'Instruction, même si le thème n'intervient que dans le cadre d'une exhortation à chercher sans relache la sagesse pour fixer sa conduite en fonction du jugement éternel, dans la ligne des livres bibliques de sagesse. La finalité de l'histoire et de la vie humaine donne sens au comportement présent qui, en retour, en détermine les conséquences dans la vie future. Même traitée en passant, l'eschatologie occupe une place centrale dans cette œuvre de sagesse, puisque le thème figure dès l'introduction (4Q416 1) et qu'il est repris dans un diptyque fort bien structuré en cours de composition (4Q418 69 ii).[36] Et en plusieurs autres passages revient le thème de la Visite éternelle comme le nerf de l'argumentation et de l'exhortation, par exemple en 4Q418 123 ii 3–8; 126 ii; 4Q417 2 i 15–16; 1 i 6–26; 4Q416 3.

Dans ces passages, plusieurs points importants font difficulté: si les châtiments des impies sont clairement indiqués, quelle forme de récompense est-elle promise aux justes: immortalité, résurrection? Que désignent les expressions *nhyh 'wlm* et *dwršy 'mt*, "les chercheurs fidèles": des êtres célestes, les anges, ou les justes parmi les hommes? Qui sont les *bny šmym* avec leur héritage de vie éternelle: des anges ou des hommes? Et dans ce dernier cas, est-ce dans le cadre d'une eschatologie réalisée ou à venir? Telles sont les principales questions qui attendent toujours une solution acceptable malgré les réponses variées et souvent contradictoires déjà apportées.

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[36] Dans la note, "Apports des textes apocalyptiques et sapientiels," j'ai essayé de montrer comment la conception eschatologique de ce nouveau texte s'inscrit dans la tradition commune des textes bibliques, apocryphes et qumraniens.

A plusieurs reprises, l'auteur invite l'élu à rechercher et pratiquer la sagesse, à scruter le mystère de l'existence[37] qui lui apprend la réalité des deux voies dans le cœur de l'homme: vérité et sagesse opposées à iniquité et folie, et les conséquences éternelles de leurs œuvres lors de la visite dans l'eschaton. La vie présente et la vie future de chaque homme est sans doute en partie déterminée (1) par sa naissance (voir les horoscopes auxquels fait allusion l'introduction), (2) par l'insertion dans un peuple, la famille puisque les parents sont les premiers à lui révéler le mystère de l'existence (4Q416 1 iii 15–19), (3) par les instructions du sage lui indiquant clairement le dessein divin et l'issue du jugement, mais surtout (4) par sa réponse personnelle dans la recherche assidue de la sagesse, la pratique de ses conseils et la sanctification (voir 4Q418 81+81a). L'élu appartient certes au peuple spirituel mais un esprit de chair peut à tout moment l'en détourner et le compter au nombre des impies qui n'attendent rien dans l'au-delà. Et il sait que la mort scellera définitivement la fin des uns et des autres dans l'au-delà. Elle gravera le sort dans le mémorandum qui ne pourra plus alors être changé (4Q417 1 i 14–17). Ce passage semble être témoin de deux visites, l'une fixant le point des œuvres de chacun à sa mort *et* l'autre, la visite éternelle au temps de la théophanie finale:

> [Et jour et nuit médite le mystère de] l'existence et scrute toujours, et alors tu connaîtras la vérité et l'iniquité; la sagesse [et la fo]lie tu découvriras dans [leurs] œuvres. Comprends toutes leurs voies avec leur visite pour tous les temps éternels, et la visite éternelle, alors tu discerneras entre le bien et le mal selon toutes leurs œuvres. (417 1 i 6–8)

Ce thème est illustré aussi par la double signification du Shéol-Fosse à diverses étapes du dessein divin dans le passage de 4Q418 69 ii, attestant un état intermédiaire entre la mort et le jugement dernier.

Dans le diptyque en question, la première section commence par une série de quatre questions rhétoriques à la réponse incontournable adressées aux insensés. La mort scelle le destin éternel de chacun et il n'y a plus rien à faire, toute lamentation des morts sur tous leurs jours est désormais superflue.

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[37] Malgré Collins, "Mysteries of God," 289s, qui reproche à cette traduction d'introduire un abstrait à la place d'une forme verbale, mais c'est oublier que le participe a le sens des passé, présent et futur; une traduction par "existence" englobant tous ces aspects est donc tout à fait recevable. Le mystère à venir est fonction du passé et du présent.

> Vous avez été façonnés pour le Shéol et à la Fosse éternelle est votre retour quand il/elle s'éveillera et exposera votre péché. [*Et les habitants de*] ses antres ténébreux s'insurgeront contre votre plaidoirie. (4Q418 69 ii 6–7)

C'est affirmer que le shéol, séjour habituel et commun des morts,[38] de la *néfesh* ou personne des défunts dans la conception sémitique, le corps reposant dans la tombe, va devenir lors du jugement le lieu des châtiments éternels des impies. Inutile de plaider, vos péchés et la conduite des justes durant leur vie vous accusent (voir Sg 4:20), le sort a été scellé "car gravé est ce qui est décrété par Dieu au sujet de toutes les fautes des fils de Seth," lit-on en 4Q417 1 i 15 (comparer *1 Hén.* 103:2–4). Au Shéol-Fosse est fixé votre retour, car:

> seront anéantis les insensés, on ne trouvera plus de fils d'iniquité, et les impies se dessécheront (/seront couverts de honte). Alors, lors de votre jugement, seront ébranlées les fondations du firmament et tonneront toutes les armées éternelles/divines. (4Q418 69 ii 8–9)

Ces lignes reprennent, en les élargissant quelque peu, la première mention en 4Q416 1 11–12:

> et seront effrayés et ébranlés tous ceux qui se sont fourvoyés par elle (= l'iniquité) car les cieux craindront, [la terre tremblera de sa place,] les mers et les abîmes seront effrayés et seront anéantis tous les esprits de chair.

On a le même scénario en *1 Hén.* 102:4–104:6 avec la mention explicite des âmes des justes et des pécheurs qui toutes, à la mort, descendent au Shéol selon l'anthropologie sémitique commune mais où celles des pécheurs, lors du jugement éternel, seront aussi dans une grande

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[38] Que le Shéol soit un séjour commun à tous les morts avant le jugement ne veut pas nécessairement signifier qu'il soit compris comme "neutre" (Goff, *Worldly and Heavenly Wisdom*, 199), puisque *1 Hénoch* 22 entre autres y connaît plusieurs cavités pour accueillir différents groupes d'esprits des défunts, comme dans un pré-classement selon leurs inscriptions dans le livre mémorandum, idée non absente de Dn 12:2–3 au sujet de ceux qui se réveilleront et de ceux qui resteront dans le Shéol pour y recevoir les châtiments éternels, en comprenant ainsi: "En ce temps-là ton peuple sera épargné: tous ceux qui seront trouvés inscrits dans le livre et nombreux parmi ceux qui dorment au pays de la poussière s'éveilleront. Les uns seront pour la vie éternelle et les autres pour l'opprobre, pour l'horreur éternelle," et idée déjà sans doute présente en Ps 49:15–16, voir É. Puech, *La croyance des Esséniens en la vie future: immortalité, résurrection, vie éternelle?: Histoire d'une croyance dans le judaïsme ancien: La résurrection des morts et le contexte scripturaire* (vol. 1; Paris: Gabalda, 1993), 52, et reprise en Sg 3:3 et 4:17 les justes ou leurs âmes sont dans la paix, en sécurité (dans le shéol/hadès 2:1) dans l'attente de la visite, et en 1QHᵃ 18:36, idem, *La croyance*, 2:401.

angoisse, dans des ténèbres, dans des liens, à la seule différence de la
mention du châtiment éternel dans une flamme brûlante que reprend
4Q491 8–10 i 15 pour la consumation des pécheurs, à moins que soit
à retenir en 4Q418 69 ii 8 le sens de *yebašû* ("se dessécheront [s.e. par
la flamme]"), voir Jb 15:30 et 1QS 4:13 avec le feu exterminateur des
antres ténébreux. Et de son côté le fragment 4Q418 126 ii 6–7 connaît
l'emprisonnement des impies:

> Il rendra] un jugement en exerçant la vengeance contre les fauteurs d'ini-
> quité et une visite de ré[tribution aux…] en emprisonnant les impies mais
> en relevant la tête des pauvres[.[39]

L'Instruction connaît donc bien une forme de châtiments des impies
dans le Shéol/Fosse après le jugement final puisqu'ils plaident pour en
être épargnés[40] et que le sage exhorte l'élu d'éviter une telle fin dans
l'éternité. Une présentation comparable se retrouve en Sg 4:19 pour
les châtiments éternels des impies.

Avant le jugement, le shéol contient également les âmes/*npš* des
impies et celles des justes que le texte appelle "les habitants de] ses
antres ténébreux" (voir Ps 143:3; 88:7) car tous sont concernés par
le jugement ainsi que le rappelle 4Q417 2 i 15–16: *ky]' lpny '[pw] lw'
y'mwd kwl wmy yṣdq bmšpṭw wbly slyḥḥ ['] ykh [yqwm lpnyw kwl] 'bywn*
("Ca)r devant [Sa] co[lère] personne ne pourra tenir debout et qui
sera déclaré juste quand Il jugera, et sans pardon comment chaque
pauvre [pourrait-il tenir devant Lui?"). Mais une partie de ces habi-
tants des ténèbres, c'est-à-dire les justes, s'insurgera contre les impies
qui cherchent à plaider leur cause à l'éveil du Shéol pour le jugement,
lorsque le Shéol rend ceux qu'il détenait, mais en opérant un tri et
en exposant les péchés des impies (voir *1 Hén.* 51:1–2). Ainsi "Ceux
qui sont destinés-à-l'éternité, les chercheurs de vérité *seront* réveillés/*se
réveilleront* pour votre jugement" (4Q418 69 ii 7). On y retrouve le
vocabulaire de Jb 14:12: *w'yš škb wl' yqwm 'd blty šmym l' yqyṣw wl' y'rw
mšntm* ("l'homme se couche et ne se relèvera pas jusqu'à ce qu'il n'y ait
plus de cieux, on ne s'éveille pas et on ne sort pas de son sommeil"). Par

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[39] Comparer l'emprisonnement de Bélial et de son lot en 11QPsapocr 4:7–10; 5:8–9,
voir É. Puech, "Les psaumes davidiques du rituel d'exorcisme (11Q11)," dans *Sapiential,
Liturgical and Poetical Texts from Qumran*, 160–81.

[40] Malgré Goff, *Worldly and Heavenly Wisdom*, 188, puisque le Shéol a changé de
signification, de shéol-séjour de toutes les âmes des défunts selon leur inscription dans
les livres, en Shéol-lieu de punition pour les seuls impies. Les différences avec *1 Hénoch*
se situent dans la phraséologie plus que dans le fond.

la négative, Job laisse entendre que pour le juste un réveil du sommeil de la mort est possible après la disparition des cieux (= de ce monde). Une traduction de *yʿwrw* par "se lever," habituellement retenue,[41] est impensable dans ce contexte de sommeil des morts, le verbe a le sens de "(r)éveiller," parallèle à *yḥyw-yqwmwn-hqyṣw* en Is 26:19, à *yqyṣw* de Dn 12:2 ou à *bhqyṣ* en Ps 17:15. En effet, les *dwršy 'mt* ne peuvent être des êtres célestes qui, eux, ont la connaissance (voir par exemple 1QH[a] 11:23–24) et qui n'ont pas à chercher,[42] puisqu'ils servent fidèlement le créateur comme l'ont souligné les passages cosmologiques précédents toutes ces annonces du jugement. De même l'expression juxtaposée *kwl nhyh 'wlm* ne peut désigner que des hommes, les justes, et elle ne s'applique jamais à des anges, on attendrait le participe présent *kwl hwyy 'wlm* comme dans les parallèles de 4Q511 10 10–11, 4Q403 1 i 22–23 et CD 2:10, voir 1QS 11:4–5, 11, non le futur *nhyh*.[43] Enfin il n'est pas dit explicitement que ces "réveillés pour votre jugement" procèdent au jugement ou y participent en quelque façon que ce soit; ils y assistent, puisque l'introduction rappelait que le jugement dernier est l'affaire de Dieu seul depuis les cieux : "*Alors*] dans les cieux Il jugera l'œuvre d'impiété" (4Q416 1 10), et jamais celle des anges ou autres êtres célestes, de même en *1 Hén.* 104:5. En définitive, les *nhyh 'wlm dwršy 'mt* ne sont autres que les "élus fidèles qui poursuivent la compréhension, qui recherchent assidûment la sagesse et qui veillent sur toute connaissance," ainsi que le précise le début du paragraphe suivant (ll. 10–11).

En conséquence, comme en Dn 12:2–3:

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[41] Voir spécialement Tigchelaar, *To Increase Learning*, 211, 213: "4Q418 69 ii 7 does not imply resurrection of the dead, but the arisal to judge," et 215: "the seekers of truth, if human, partake in the judgment," mais alors comment serait-ce possible s'ils ne ressuscitent pas? A la suite de Tigchelaar et Collins, Goff, *Worldly and Heavenly Wisdom*, 177–9, 201, 209, est convaincu du sens "will rouse themselves" puisqu'il ne peut s'agir que des anges qui ne peuvent dormir et que la mention du conseil divin (ligne 15) suggère une assistance angélique au jugement exercé par Dieu. Cette dernière phrase ne va certainement pas dans le sens d'une assistance angélique pour le jugement et on doit sortir d'un cercle vicieux. Dernièrement Collins, "Mysteries of God," 294–99, est toujours d'avis par a priori que "The awakening of the pit, however, is not a matter of resurrection, but of arousal…the phrase might be better translated simply as 'those who endure forever,' with reference to angelic beings rather than to resurrected humans" (295). Toutefois le sens de *nhyh 'wlm* est certainement futur "and those who will endure forever" (avec les éditeurs) mais qui ne peut manifestement pas s'appliquer aux anges contrairement à ce qu'en pensent les éditeurs.

[42] Voir n. 27.

[43] Voir n. 28.

En ce temps-là ton peuple sera épargné: tous ceux qui seront trouvés inscrits dans le livre et nombreux parmi ceux qui dorment au pays de la poussière s'éveilleront. Les uns seront pour la vie éternelle et les autres pour l'opprobre, pour l'horreur éternelle.

Et en *1 Hén.* 91:10 et 92:3 où "le juste se lèvera de son sommeil,"[44] ce réveil ne peut être qu'une des manières d'évoquer la résurrection des seuls justes (voir 1 Thes 4:15; 1 Co 15:12–20,52 pour la résurrection comme réveil) mais à laquelle ne participent pas les impies, "les esprits de chair" qui sont voués à l'anéantissement de la Fosse (voir aussi 4Q416 1 12). Sg 5:1 emploie une image comparable pour signifier la résurrection: "Alors le juste se tiendra debout, plein d'assurance en face de ceux qui l'ont opprimé…." En conséquence, les récompenses tout comme les punitions n'ont aucunement lieu sitôt après la mort de chaque homme, contrairement à ce que certains prétendent,[45] mais lors du jugement dernier, le juste étant sauvé ou racheté de la "Fosse/destruction éternelle" (4Q418 162 4, voir 1QS 4:12–14) par effet de la grâce et du pardon divin, 4Q417 2 i 15–17: "car devant [Sa] co[lère], personne ne pourra tenir et qui sera déclaré juste quand Il jugera et sans pardon comment chaque pauvre pourrait tenir devant Lui?," voir aussi 4Q416 1 10: "et tous ses fils fidèles trouveront grâce de[vant Lui" (comparer Sg

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[44] *1 Hén.* 91:10: "Le juste se lèvera de son sommeil, la sagesse se lèvera aussi et leur sera donnée," 92:3: "Le juste se lèvera de son sommeil, il se lèvera et empruntera les voies de la justice."

[45] Par exemple Goff, *Worldly and Heavenly Wisdom*, 188, 193, 200s, 202, 209–14 qui écrit: "4QInstruction does not emphasize that Sheol is a place of torment. The righteous will die but this only affects their flesh. With their transient aspects removed, only that which is eternal remains. After death they enjoy eternal life with the angels. The righteous will be spared from the punishment of the final judgment and receive eschatological salvation." Cela est incompréhensible car dans l'Instruction la mort affecte également le juste et le pécheur dans leur corps et leur âme et ils vont tous les deux au shéol, mais lors du jugement celui-ci deviendra lieu de punition pour les uns alors que les autres recevront la vie éternelle, il n'y est manifestement pas dit que le juste jouira de la vie éternelle avec les anges dès la mort et qu'il recevra alors le salut eschatologique. Que désignent alors les habitants des antres ténébreux réagissant à la plaidoirie des pécheurs? Collins, "Mysteries of God," 297, écrit: "The wisdom texts…do not use the language of resurrection, but rather suggest that the life of the spirit is continuous…. Neither does it seem to involve a resurrection, in the sense that life is suspended for a time between death and glorification. While the texts are not as clear on the matter as we might wish, the view seems to be that the spirit simply lives on when the body dies." Mais il ne précise pas quelle est la vie de la *néfesh* au shéol en attendant le réveil des justes lors du jugement, ni ce que Sg 5:1 comprend par "Alors le juste se tiendra debout," expressions qui traduisent cependant, dans l'un et l'autre cas tout à fait similaires, le salut eschatologique du juste lors du jugement dernier, salut qui ne peut se réduire à l'immortalité de l'âme.

3:9). Cette image de résurrection-réveil des justes qui ont aimé la justice devait trouver un prolongement vraisemblable dans la "vie éternelle" en opposition au sort des impies qui seront anéantis, auront disparu et se dessécheront, 4Q418 69 ii 9, restauration préférable à un doublet factice "et disparaîtront]tous ceux qui ont aimé [l'impiété." L'emploi du verbe "(re)vivre" dans un tel contexte serait tout à fait attendu, voir Is 26:19 opposé à 26:14 comme dans ce passage de l'Instruction et Sg 5:15 de conception tout à fait comparable.[46] Mais il ne peut s'agir d'un retour à la vie antérieure.

Après la scène du jugement, la deuxième partie du diptyque est centrée sur l'exhortation de l'élu à une persévérance sans faille dans la recherche de la sagesse, malgré l'épuisement des veilles et la tentation du renoncement. Car la fatigue présente n'est rien comparée à la récompense que seront les années d'éternité, d'autant qu'il y a un certain plaisir de la part de l'élu et intelligent à rechercher et à trouver la vérité, et que la connaissance du mystère de l'existence n'a pas de prix. Elle sert continuellement dans la conduite à tenir présentement et elle aura son aboutissement dans les années d'éternité. La résurrection entrevue pour les justes, ici comme ailleurs, n'est jamais comprise comme un retour à la vie antérieure, une réanimation du corps terrestre de chair et de sang. Comme attendu, il s'agit de la glorification du juste, de "sa personne" dont le support anthropologique est la *néfesh* réanimée par l'esprit (*rwḥ*) qui l'a quittée à la mort. Le réveil—résurrection fait que le juste revit dans un corps de gloire, ce que Paul par exemple appellera le "corps spirituel" (1 Co 15:44) ou le "second vêtement" ou "sur-vêtement" (2 Co 5:1–10), voir encore la réponse des sadducéens en Act 23:8 ("il n'y a pas de résurrection: ni ange ni esprit") ou la réponse de Jésus en Mt 22:30 et parallèles ("A la résurrection, on ne prend ni femme ni mari, on est comme des anges dans le ciel").[47] Ainsi l'héritage des fils des cieux ou des justes fidèles est la vie éternelle qu'ils recevront à la résurrection lorsqu'ils chemineront enfin dans la lumière éternelle, dans des vêtements de gloire et une abondance de splendeur, en se tenant dans les firmaments de sainteté et dans le conseil divin

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[46] Voir aussi le même verbe en 4Q521 2 ii 12 et 7 6, Pseudo-Ezéchiel, etc.

[47] Voir Puech, *La croyance*, 1:264–74. On ne peut accepter les critiques de Collins, "Mysteries of God," 294–305, comme si le mot résurrection impliquait systématiquement une simple réanimation des ossements et un retour sur cette terre, dans un corps mortel de chair et de sang. Ce n'est jamais cette image que véhicule ce mot comme récompense des justes lors du jugement dernier et du renouvellement des cieux et de la terre, ainsi que je l'ai suffisamment expliqué à maintes reprises.

pour toujours (4Q418 69 ii 13–15). Dès lors le juste, membre du peuple spirituel, sera en compagnie des anges, lui qui a été façonné selon le modèle des saints (*wynhylh l'nwš 'm 'm rwḥ ky' ktbnyt qdwšym yṣrw* 4Q417 1 i 17) et non comme l'insensé façonné pour le Shéol (*'tm lš'wl nwṣrtm* 4Q418 69 ii 6).

Ces images de gloire éternelle, de lumière éternelle, de vêtements de gloire et d'éclat rayonnant reprennent le langage habituel qu'on retrouve ailleurs dans l'Instruction, la résurrection étant conçue comme une élévation-exaltation: "Scrute le mystère de] l'existence et considère les 'horoscopes favorables' (*mwldy yš'*) et sache qui doit hériter la gloire et l'élévation (*kbwd w'l*). [La réjouissance] n'est-elle pas [destinée aux esprits contrits] et la joie éternelle aux endeuillés?" (4Q417 1 i 10–12),[48] rappelant de quelque façon l'exaltation d'Hénoch ou d'Elie en reprenant 1 Sm 2:6: *yhwh mmyt wmḥyh mwryd š'wl wy'l* ("Yhwh fait mourir et fait vivre, il fait descendre au Shéol et en fait remonter." Ou encore "]emprisonner les méchants et relever la tête des pauvres[…] dans la gloire éternelle et la paix perpétuelle et l'esprit de vie pour séparer[" (4Q418 126 ii 7–8), et "tu seras délivré de]la Fosse/destruction éternelle et tu auras la gloi[re éternelle" (4Q418 162 4).

Ces mêmes récompenses sont promises aux justes en *1 Hén.* 103:3–4;[49] 104:2, 4 ("Vous apparaîtrez brillants comme les luminaires célestes"); 92:4 ("et ils marcheront dans la lumière éternelle"); 62:14–16 ("…les justes et les élus seront relevés de terre, ayant cessé de baisser le visage, et revêtus d'un vêtement de gloire. Que ce soit là votre vêtement, le vêtement de la vie que donne le Seigneur des Esprits"); en Dn 12:3 ("Les doctes resplendiront comme la splendeur du firmament, et ceux qui

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[48] On doit lire la paire *kbwd w'l*, non *w'ml* avec les éditeurs qui comprennent "and toil," ou *w'[w]l* avec Goff, *Worldly and Heavenly Wisdom*, 60, ou J.J. Collins, "The Eschatologizing of Wisdom in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *Sapiential Perspectives*, 49–65, p. 56; il n'y a pas de place pour une lettre entre *'aïn* et *lamed*, lire *w'l* (de la racine *'lh*) "et élévation/exaltation" en parallélisme synonymique à *kbwd* comme ensuite "réjouissance aux esprits contrits" l'est à "joie aux endeuillés." Pr 15:24 avait annoncé un chemin de vie qui conduit l'intelligent vers la hauteur céleste en le détournant du Shéol en bas (le Shéol-châtiment non le shéol-séjour commun des morts). Dans ce contexte les *mwldy yš'* devraient désigner les horoscopes favorables, avantageux, bénéfiques à la naissance de l'élu.

[49] *1 Hén.* 103:3–4: "à savoir que des biens, la félicité et l'honneur sont tenus prêts et inscrits pour les âmes des fidèles défunts. Ils seront dans la joie, et leurs esprits ne périront pas, non plus que leur mémoire devant le Grand, pour toutes les générations des âges," noter que l'auteur ne distingue pas entre "les âmes," "les esprits" et le sujet neutre "ils," voir É. Puech, "Sept fragments grecs de la *Lettre d'Hénoch* (*1 Hén* 100, 103 et 105) dans la grotte 7 de Qumrân (= *7QHéngr*)," *RevQ* 18/70 (1997): 313–23.

ont enseigné la justice au grand nombre, comme les étoiles, pour toute l'éternité"); en Sg 3:7 ("au jour de leur visite [qui est 'la visite des âmes' en 3:13], ils resplendiront"); Sg 5:16 ("ils recevront la couronne royale de gloire et le diadème de beauté"). On retrouve la même description des récompenses lors de la Visite divine en 1QS 4:7: "joie éternelle dans une vie sans fin et une couronne de gloire avec un vêtement de majesté dans la lumière éternelle," car "à eux est destinée la gloire d'Adam" (4:23), comparer 1QH[a] 5:22–23. L'orant de l'hymne 1QH[a] 11:20–37 reprend la même conception des récompenses éternelles du juste fidèle que le Seigneur a racheté de la Fosse et fait monter du Shéol d'Abaddon à la hauteur éternelle, lui qu'Il a façonné de la poussière pour le conseil éternel, pour que, purifié du grand péché, il puisse se tenir avec l'armée des saints et entrer en communauté avec l'assemblée des fils des cieux. Le rachat salvifique du juste (*npšy*) de la Fosse-Shéol y est décrit comme une résurrection-élévation-exaltation lors du jugement final dans la théophanie de la conflagration universelle à laquelle participent les abîmes, la terre et les cieux (voir les mêmes verbes *tṣrh, yry'w, yr'm*).[50] Il en est de même en Sg 4:20–5:23 où la création entière, univers, nuées, flots vont au combat dans la théophanie du jugement. Il ne s'agit aucunement de la conception d'une immortalité de l'âme après la mort, puisque l'âme/personne[51] est rachetée de la Fosse, c'est-à-dire retirée du shéol des défunts devenant alors le Shéol, lieu de châtiment des impies, et qu'elle est élevée à la hauteur éternelle où le juste peut marcher sans obstacle et sans limite dans le conseil des saints.

La récompense ou héritage du juste c'est la vie éternelle, cheminer dans la gloire et la lumière, dans les firmaments de sainteté et le conseil divin en compagnie des anges de sainteté, ainsi que le comprennent Sg 5:5;[52] *1 Hén.* 104:2, 4, 6; 47:2; 52:2; 61:10–12; 71 et les textes qumraniens 1QH[a] 5:18; 11:23; 1QS 11:7–8: "et à ceux que Dieu a élus, Il leur a donné une possession éternelle, et Il a placé leur héritage dans le

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[50] Voir Puech, *La croyance*, 2:366–77.

[51] Il en est de même en Sg 3:1–3 (*psychai, hoi*…) comme en *1 Hén.* 103:3ss. Concernant la conception des récompenses et châtiments dans l'au-delà, le livre de la Sagesse est tout à fait comparable à l'Instruction, résurrection des justes dans la gloire et anéantissement des impies dans la Fosse éternelle, malgré Collins, "The Eschatologizing of Wisdom," 56s, et idem, "Mysteries of God," 287–305, il n'y a là aucune notion d'immortalité de l'âme mais bien de résurrection du juste dans la gloire, et "les impies seront complètement dévastés, en proie à la douleur et leur mémoire périra" (Sg 4:19) rappelle strictement 4Q418 69 ii 6–8, pour la punition des impies.

[52] "Les fils de Dieu" en Sg 5:5 sont les élus comme l'explicitent Sg 2:13, 16 et 18, alors que "les Saints" doivent désigner les anges.

lot des saints et avec les fils des cieux Il a associé leur assemblée." Voir aussi 4Q418 55 11–12 et 81 + 81a 4–5: "parmi tous les [a]n[ges] il a fait tomber ton lot." Si le juste glorifié n'est manifestement pas un ange, il lui sera comparable, devenu immortel et vivant en leur compagnie. Mais rien ne précise le lieu, les cieux ou plutôt la nouvelle terre, les impies ayant été anéantis et le cosmos ayant participé au jugement.[53] C'est affirmer que le juste ne participe pas encore à cette gloire ni à la pleine compagnie avec les anges dans le conseil divin.[54] Il y aspire comme à la récompense attendue que Dieu lui donnera au jugement dernier.

> Mais toi, homme sensé, aspire à ta récompense dans le mémorandum de la fin [car] va être gravé le destin et décrétée la totalité de la rétribution, car gravé est ce qui est décrété par Dieu. (4Q417 1 i 13–15)

En effet si le juste y participait un tant soit peu, il n'aurait pas de motif de découragement ou de lassitude, puisqu'il posséderait déjà les arrhes de ce qui sera éternel et la certitude de sa pleine réalisation. Or ce n'est manifestement pas le cas, d'où l'exhortation à suivre constamment la voie de vérité, à être fidèle et à faire confiance à la révélation du mystère du dessein divin. L'éveil du Shéol et le réveil des justes s'opposent à une conception d'une eschatologie réalisée dès la mort du juste.[55]

En révélant le mystère du plan divin, ces passages eschatologiques de l'Instruction apportent la réponse de la miséricorde de Dieu, étant sauve la justice divine. Au jugement dernier, l'impie recevra ses châtiments éternels dans le Shéol-Fosse, l'impiété disparaissant pour toujours, et l'élu trouvé fidèle et juste grâce au pardon divin se réveillera/ressuscitera dans la gloire pour l'éternité, marchant en compagnie des anges et glorifiant

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[53] Collins, "The Eschatologizing of Wisdom," 57, écrit: "The reward of the righteous is life with the angels, presumably in heaven, rather than bodily resurrection. This is in fact the most common view of the afterlife in the early literature as well as in the sectarian scrolls." Mais les écrit qumraniens attendent le renouvellement des cieux et de la terre, comme un "retour" au paradis terrestre où l'homme vivait en compagnie des anges dans l'intimité avec Dieu, voir Puech, *La croyance*.

[54] Contrairement aux éditeurs, DJD 34.14: "The assumption seems to be that the righteous can even now participate to some degree in the eternal contemplation and happiness of the angels who dwell in the heavenly court. If they remain faithful in pursuing wisdom and righteousness, they will eventually share in the fullness of the angelic life."

[55] Malgré Goff, *Worldly and Heavenly Wisdom*, 206–14; D. Harrington, "Two Early Jewish Approaches to Wisdom Sirach and Qumran Sapiential Work A," dans *Wisdom Texts from Qumran*, 263–75, à 272, mais Stuckenbruck, "4QInstruction," 258, est plus hésitant.

Dieu. Cette présentation découle des réponses aux questions "qui sont les *nhyh ʿwlm* et les *dwršy ʾmt*" en 4Q418 69 ii 7 et les "*bny šmym* avec leur héritage" en 4Q416 1 12 et 418 69 ii 12–13. Ces lignes revêtent une grande importance pour la prise de conscience des sages sur ces points de la croyance juive, en dépendance de la réflexion théologique commencée par les prophètes, les psalmistes et les sages bibliques. L'espérance d'une vie de bonheur dans l'au-delà est la réponse du sage croyant à un sentiment d'injustices expérimentées en cette vie. Ainsi la croyance à la résurrection du juste pour la vie éternelle ne doit rien à un contexte de persécution maccabéenne, comme on l'affirme trop souvent, elle est la réponse de l'espérance d'une rétribution individuelle dans l'eschaton, comme il en est pour les châtiments éternels des impies. La mort sera vaincue, le Dieu créateur aura le dernier mot, mais il importe à l'élu intelligent de répondre aux exigences de la vérité par une conduite morale bonne.

GÔRAL VERSUS PAYÎS: CASTING LOTS AT QUMRAN AND IN THE RABBINIC TRADITION

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According to the three remarks of Josephus on the beliefs and doctrines of the Essenes, the Sadducees, and the Pharisees, one of the principal points of divergence between these three groups concerned the concept of *heimarménê*.[1] While the Essenes held that "Fate is master of all things, and nothing happens to men which is not in accord with its verdict," the Sadducees on the contrary "[did] away with Fate" and held that men alone are accountable for events that occur, whether these events are good or bad. The Pharisees for their part held a position midway between these two: "they [said] that only certain events are the work of Fate; in the case of others, it depends on us as to whether or not the events will take place" (*Ant.* 13.172–173).

The word *heimarménê*, or Fate, has spilt much ink, particularly because this Greek term has no exact equivalent either in biblical Hebrew or in Second Temple Jewish writings. In an article published 19 years before the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls, one which still stands among the major reference points on these three descriptions of Josephus, George Moore argued that Josephus was here adapting into the categories of Greek, and notably Stoic philosophy, a discussion internal to Judaism that was actually concerned with God's sovereignty in history.[2]

What, then, is the biblical and Jewish concept that the term *heimarménê* transposes? The classic response to this question is that when making use of the term *heimarménê*, Josephus was in fact referring to Providence (*prónoia*). I see two objections to this view. Firstly, the word *prónoia* has

no more equivalents in Biblical Hebrew than does the word *heimarménê*.[3]
Secondly, it seems unlikely that the Sadducees would have been able to
"do away with" (*anairoûsin*) the providential action of God, something
so often at work in the Torah.

Re-reading these three notes of Josephus in the light of the Dead
Sea Scrolls, I was led to consider the question in the following way: if
it is true that for the Essenes that "Fate, *heimarménê*, was Master of all
things" (*Ant.* 13.172), what was the corresponding word at Qumran,
and notably in the Qumran communal texts? I believe that one of
the most significant words for understanding the discussion to which
Josephus refers is *gôral.* And in fact, according to the very recent *Dead
Sea Scrolls Concordance*, this term is attested 111 times in the only non-
biblical texts from Qumran. Assuming this, how do we explain the fact
that Josephus chose *heimarménê* as an equivalent of *gôral*? It is true that
the biblical word *gôral* is not translated by *heimarménê* in the Septuagint
(*heimarménê* is in any case a word entirely unknown in the Septuagint).
But in my own view, if Josephus chose *heimarménê* as an equivalent of
gôral, he did so in order to bring out the wholly ineluctable nature of
divine decision, in the face of which man has no freedom of action
in the Essene understanding.[4] The Qumranite reading of the remarks
of Josephus would thus be as follows: unlike the Sadducees and the
Pharisees, the Essenes attributed all things (whether concerning good
or bad events, or just or unjust actions) to *gorâl*.

I do not propose here to analyse all the meanings of the term *gôral*
at Qumran. I will limit myself to considering the syntagms conveying
the activity of casting lots. My task will thus be a comparison of the
institution and description of casting lots at Qumran with the institu-
tion and description of casting lots in the rabbinic tradition, beginning
with the Mishnah. It is straightaway surprising to note that compared
with the 111 occurrences of the word *gôral* in the only non-biblical
manuscripts from Qumran, and even though the word is attested 132
times in the Mishnah and in the two Talmuds, the majority of these
attestations in the rabbinic tradition are in fact biblical citations. And
in order to express the idea of casting lots, this corpus makes use of

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[3] The oldest attestation of the Hebrew *hashgahah*, "Providence," is attributed to
Samuel ibn Tibbon, who translated Maimonides' *Guide for the Perplexed* into Hebrew.
See A. Altmann, "Providence in Medieval Jewish Philosophy," *EncJud* 13:1282–84.

[4] On the uses and respective meanings of *pronoia* and *heimarménê* in Josephus, see
Schmidt, "Destin et providence," 173–85.

another word, that of *payîs*, which is the name that Israelis today use
to describe the national lottery.

I will therefore begin by considering the question of the function,
the process and the principal illustrations of the *gorâl* casting of lots
at Qumran. I will then analyse the institution of the *payîs* casting of
lots in the Temple, according to the Mishnah and the discussions
that it gave rise to among the Sages. Finally, I will compare these two
institutions of the *gôral* and the *payîs* casting of lots. In what way do
they reveal the identity of the Qumran Community set over against
the Temple? How do we explain the fact that the Sages rejected the
biblical concept of *gôral* and replaced it with a different word, one of
foreign origin, that of *payîs*?

I. Gôral: Casting of Lots at Qumran

Of the 111 occurrences of the word *gôral* cited by the *Dead Sea Scrolls
Concordance*, I will examine only the expressions, or more precisely the
verbal syntagma in which the word is used with a verb that expresses
the activity of "casting lots." The two principal ones here are *yetse' ha-
gôral*, "to cast lots," and *hippîl gôral*, "to allow lots to fall."

The *Rule of the Community* explains that casting lots was the preroga-
tive of the priests: "Under the authority [of the sons of Aaron], lots
will be cast (יצא הגורל) for every decision concerning the members of
the Community" (1QS 9:7). At Qumran the priests led the ritual and
cast the lots; but always, in the understanding of Qumran as in Prov
16:33, "the decision pronounced by lot came from Yahweh."

In resorting to lots to make every decision concerning the members
of Yaḥad, the Community was setting itself in continuity with biblical
example. The distribution of the land of Canaan among the twelve
tribes of Israel was done by casting lots (Num 26:55; 33:54; 34:13; 36:2;
Josh 14–17; 18–19). Casting lots determined the 24 priestly courses
in the service of the Temple (1 Chr 24:5ff.), the 24 orders of cantor
(1 Chr 25:9) and the gatekeepers of the Temple (1 Chr 26:13). Lot
casting, furthermore, revealed the misdemeanours of which Achan (Josh
7:13–15, 16–18) or Jonathan (1 Sam 14:41–42) were found guilty.

At Qumran, the process with which we are most familiar is the admis-
sion of neophytes into the Community. This process comprised three
stages, each organised into various phases: first, there was the instruc-
tion of the candidate; then, the deliberation of the Many followed by

selection; and finally, the casting of lots (1QS 6:13–23). Thus, at the end of the first year after instruction of the candidate, the Many deliberated on the neophyte's understanding and practice of the Torah. "If the lot should fall to him (ואם יצא לו הגורל) indicating that he should approach the assembly of the Community under the authority of the priests and the multitude of men of their Covenant, etc." (1QS 6:18–19).

The translation of the syntagm *yetse' ha-gôral* has long been a problem for translators. Should it be understood in the sense of "making a decision," or should it be interpreted in the concrete sense of an actual casting of lots? Indeed, for the first translators there was an apparent incompatibility between the choice made by the Many after deliberation on rational criteria on the one hand, and a choice left to the uncertainties of casting lots, and thus to chance, on the other. These first translators sought to resolve this contradiction by translating *yetse' ha-gôral* as "making a decision." In a good but relatively unknown article, Annie Jaubert has proposed a solution to this exegetical difficulty by drawing a clear distinction: first there was the decision of the Many; then there was the decree of the lot.[5] I have retraced the history of this discussion elsewhere.[6] A consensus appears to have been reached at present, according to which casting lots was a ritual actually practiced in the Community.[7] In the ceremony of admission of neophytes, the deliberation of the Many led to a pre-selection on individual criteria of knowledge and practice of the Torah. Next came recourse to the lots, which left the final decision to divine choice. Casting lots in this ceremony, therefore, plainly had the function of a rite of election.

Alongside this first type of lot casting, which concerned the entry of neophytes into the Community, the Rule of the Community mentions a second type of lot casting addressed to all the members of the Community. The Rule specifies that the three principal areas in which

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[5] A. Jaubert, "L'élection de Matthias et le tirage au sort," *Studia Evangelica 6* (TUGAL 112; Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1973), 274–80, at 275–76. In 1QS 6:18 (and 6:21) the *waw* of ואם marks the movement from the deliberation of the Many (the first phase) to the casting of lots (the second phase).

[6] F. Schmidt, "Élection et tirage au sort (1QS VI, 13–23 et Ac 1, 15–26)," *RHPR* 80 (2000): 105–17, at 107–112.

[7] See especially A. Lange, "The Essene Position on Magic and Divination," in *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* (eds. M. Bernstein, F. García Martínez, and J. Kampen; STDJ 23; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 377–435, at 395–96, 408–10.

the priests were to proceed by casting lots concerned the Law (לתרה),
property (ולהון) and justice (ולמשפט) (1QS 5:3). The purpose of these
lot castings was not to determine every question in these three domains
on a case-by-case basis, but rather to establish an official position within
each domain, using lot to designate the members of the Community
who would have authority in matters of law, distribution of property
or the exercise of justice.[8]

To these two types of lot casting to which there would be periodic
recourse, there must also be added a third type. This was the lot casting
done once and for all, the result of which took on the force of Law.
I have suggested elsewhere that the casting of lots mentioned in frag-
ment 5 of 4Q279 (4QFour Lots) should be interpreted as a casting of
lots that established the communal hierarchy into four groups (Priests,
Levites, Israelites, Proselytes), and more particularly as instituting an
order of precedence among these four groups for the annual renewal
of the Covenant (Shavuot).[9] On this view, fragment 5 describes a
foundational casting of lots which provided the Community with a
quadripartite organisation as an expression of the divine will.

However, mention of casting lots is not limited to communal texts
concerning the *hic et nunc* of the Community, its *halakhah* and its ritual
practices. Projected onto the beginning and the end of the divine plan,
the description of this ritual is also found in texts (notably the *Hymns*
and Wisdom literature) concerning the two other stages of Qumran

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[8] Comparison with the Damascus Document (CD) (13:2–4) and the Rule of the
Congregation (1:16) suggests this: the Damascus Document allows that in the case of
certain officials being unable to perform their duty, the priest could be replaced by a
Levite, and that the selection of the Levite for these duties should be done by the cast-
ing of lots (CD 13:2–4). Likewise, the Rule of the Congregation (1QSa 1:16) stipulates
that the task (עבודה) allotted to each head of a family should be fixed by lot. See the
analyses of Jaubert, "L'élection de Matthias," 276: "Bref le lieu, la place ou le poste
sont identifiés à une fonction ou à un service; et ce service est considéré comme un
lot ou une part qui est échue."

[9] Cf. F. Schmidt, "Essai d'interprétation de 4QTirage au sort (4Q279)," in *For
Uriel: Studies in the History of Israel in Antiquity Presented to Professor Uriel Rappaport* (eds.
M. Mor et al.; Jerusalem: Zalman Shazar, 2005), 189–204. On the other hand, for Philip
Alexander and Geza Vermes, fragment 5 of 4Q279 makes reference to eschatology:
the "lots" refer to the respective rewards that the Priests, the Levites, the Israelites and
the Proselytes will receive at the judgement. Cf. P.S. Alexander and G. Vermes (eds.),
Qumran Cave 4.XIX: Serekh ha-Yaḥad and Two Related Texts (DJD 26; Oxford: Clarendon,
1998), 217–23 (esp. the remark on *gôral*, 222–23). Similarly for D. Hamidović, "4Q279,
4QFour Lots, une interprétation du Psaume 135 appartenant à 4Q421, 4QWays of
Righteousness," *DSD* 9 (2002): 166–86, at 176–77, the expression *yetse' ha-gôral* in
4Q279 5 4 makes reference to the eschatological judgement.

salvation history: that of creation, and that of judgement and retribution.[10] But while in the second stage—that of the revelation continuing to be manifest in the Community—the acting subjects who "cast lots" (*yetse' ha-gôral*) are the priests, in the lot-castings of the second and third stages it is by contrast God himself who is the agent who "allows lots to fall" (*hippîl gôral*). In fact, from before creation, God "allowed lots to fall" and thereby fixed for every living being their rank in the grand battle that would set the forces of Light against the forces of Darkness (4Q176 [4QTanhumin] 16 2–3; 4Q181 [4QAges of Creation] 1 ii 5).[11] This description of casting lots is projected likewise onto the final stage, that of judgement and retribution. At the time of the Visitation (הפקודה), God is anew the protagonist casting lots: it is He who "casts lots for every living being" (1QS 4:26).[12]

Attested to at each of the three stages of salvation history that the Masters of wisdom at Qumran visualised, the ritual of casting lots and its description are thus a key illustration of the communal doctrine of election and predestination.

II. *Gôral* and *Payîs* in the Rabbinic Tradition

1) Gôral

In the Mishnah and the two Talmuds, the word *gôral* is attested 132 times.[13] Unless I am mistaken, however, the word always appears in the context of a biblical citation or in the context of an allusion to one.

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[10] On this tripartition (Creation, Revelation, Salvation), see E.H. Merrill, *Qumran and Predestination: A Theological Study of the Thanksgiving Hymns* (STDJ 8; Leiden: Brill, 1975), 24–25.

[11] See A. Lange, "The Determination of Fate by the Oracle of the Lot in the Dead Sea Scrolls, the Hebrew Bible and Ancient Mesopotamian Literature," 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* (eds. D.K. Falk, F. García Martínez, and E.M. Schuller; STDJ 35; Leiden: Brill, 2000), 39–48, at 39–43.

[12] *Contra* Armin Lange, for whom the oracle of the lot mentioned in 1QS 4:26 refers to the first phase, that of creation; cf. Lange, "Essene Position," 396; "Determination of Fate," 41.

[13] See the Concordance of the Talmuds published on CD-Rom by the University of Bar Ilan (*Project Responsa*; http://responsa.biu.ac.il). I would like to thank Madalina Vartejanu Joubert who allowed me to consult this Concordance and introduced me to the collections at the Bibliothèque du Centre Clio (Sources pour l'histoire comparée du fait religieux) at Montrouge (92120, France).

The four attestations of *gôral* in the Mishnah, all of which are located in the Yoma treatise,[14] thus make allusion to the "lots" (*gôralôt*) "for the Lord" and "for Azazel" that the High Priest in Lev 16:8–10 draws from the urn to place on the two goats at the feast of Yom Kippur.

Likewise, the 69 attestations of *gôral* in the Yoma of the Palestinian Talmud and the Babylonian Talmud are located in a liturgical or exegetical context, and refer to Leviticus 16 and the casting of lots over the two goats at Yom Kippur. The same is found in other Talmudic treatises. For example, *gôral* in *b. Roš Haš.* 7a is taken from Esth 3:7. In *y. Sukkah* V, 55a, *gôral* is taken from Josh 19:10, and so on.[15] It is true that some new words, formed from derivations of *gôral*, make their appearance in the Talmuds.[16] But these new formulations also appear in the context of exegetical discussions on the biblical attestations of the word *gôral*.

2) Payîs

Apart from the references to biblical casting of lots of the *gôral* type, the only word used in the Mishnah and the rabbinic tradition to express recourse to lot is the word *payîs*, a word unknown in the Bible and of foreign origin. S. Krauss suggested that we see in this word a borrowing from the Greek *psêphos*.[17] Others refuted this etymology and compared *payîs* with the Syriac *pesâ*.[18] I will not deal here with the question of whether or not the laws of phonetics permit a transition from the Greek *psêphos* to the Hebrew *payîs*.[19]

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[14] *m. Yoma* 3:9; and 4:1 (three times).

[15] In *y. Taʿan.* IV, 68a: citing 1 Chr 24:5. In *y. Sanh.* VI, 23b: citing Josh 7:18. In *y. ʿAbod. Zar.* III, 43a: citing Isa 57:6. In *y. Ketub.* I, 25b: citing Ps 125:3.

[16] Hence the nouns הגרלה, meaning "casting the lot" (*y. Yoma* IV, 41c; *b. Yoma* 62b; *b. Ker.* 28a) and הנריל, meaning "designation by lot" (*y. Yoma* IV, 43c), see M. Jastrow, *Dictionary of the Targumim, Talmud Babli, Yerushalmi and Midrashic Literature* (New York: Judaica, 1996), s.v.

[17] S. Krauss, *Griechische und lateinische Lehnwörter im Talmud, Midrasch und Targum* (Berlin: Calvary, 1899; repr., Hildesheim: Olms, 1987), 1:27, 186, 291, 2:431–32. And compare s.v. פסיפס, 2:470–72; D. Sperber, *A Dictionary of Greek and Latin Legal Terms in Rabbinic Literature* (Ramat-Gan: Bar-Ilan University Press, 1984), 150.

[18] M. Sokoloff, *A Dictionary of Jewish Babylonian Aramaic of the Talmudic and Geonic Periods* (Ramat-Gan: Bar-Ilan University Press and Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002), 900, s.v. פיסא.

[19] The validity of the hypothesis developed by Krauss could equally be tested by way of comparative lexicography. We know that the in the Septuagint *gôral* is most often translated into Greek by *klêros*. The task would therefore be to discover if, in Judaeo-Greek literature, there are uses of *psêphos* that are the Greek equivalent of *payîs*.

Among the different attestations of the word *payîs* or related terms in the Mishnah, I will again examine here only those that convey the notion of casting lots.[20] Taken in this sense, the majority of attestations of *payîs* in the Mishnah make reference to casting lots in the Temple, whether for the eighth day of Sukkot or, as was more often the case, as part of the daily ritual.[21]

The sacrificial ritual for the eighth day of Sukkot differed wholly from the days preceding it (Num 29:35–38): the eighth day was an additional day (Shemini Atseret). "On the eighth day they once again cast lots (חזרו לפיס) as at the other Feasts" (*m. Sukkah* 5:6). As the Gemara of the two Talmuds outlines, the aim of this *payîs* casting of lots was to determine which priestly course would be charged with offering the single bull presented on that day.[22] This *payîs* casting of lots on the eighth day of Sukkot has no biblical equivalent, and was probably a rabbinic institution.

The other context in which there was a *payîs* casting of lots in the Temple, in the daily service (Tamid), is better known. It concerned itself not with choosing by lot a priestly course for the offering of the feast day, but rather choosing a priest from within the priestly family on duty at the daily ritual. In the Temple "there were four castings of lots (ארבע פייסות)" (*m. Yoma* 2:2). The first casting of lots designated the priest charged with clearing the Altar of ashes (*m. Yoma* 2:2); the second designated the thirteen priests charged with accomplishing the thirteen preparatory tasks at the daily sacrifice (2:3); the third named the priest

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[20] Cf. C.Y. Kasovsky, *Thesaurus Mishnae: Concordantiae verborum in sex Mishnae ordinibus reperiuntur* (Tel Aviv: Massadah, 1960), 1458. On the verbal form לפיס in the sense of "to pacify, conciliate," see e.g. *m. Sanh.* 2:3.

[21] On the casting of lots on the eighth day of Sukkot, cf. *m. Sukkah* 5:6. On those of the daily ritual, cf. *m. Yoma* 2:2, 3, 4; *m. Tamid* 1:2; 3:1 (twice); V, 2; *m. Šeqal.* 5:1. Aside from the casting of lots practiced in the Temple, see *m. Šabb.* 23:2 which treats the circumstances in which "a man may cast lots [ומפיס] with his chidren and with his household at a meal."

[22] On the acronym פ ז ר ק ש ב (of which the initial *Pe* is the abbreviation of *Payîs*) outlining the six liturgical features (casting lots, time, festival, offering, song, benediction) that make Shemini Atseret a different feast from Sukkot, see *t. Sukkah* 4:17; *y. Sukkah* V, 55d; *y. Ḥag.* I, 76c; *b. Sukkah* 47b–48a; *b. Roš HaŠ.* 4b; *b. Yoma* 3a; *b. Ḥag.* 17a. According to rabbinic tradition this acronym, when applied to the eighth day of Sukkot, equally characterises the last day of the feast of Passover and the feast of Shavuot. The "other Feasts" mentioned in *m. Sukkah* 5:6, for which there would also be a *payîs* casting of lots, would therefore be Passover and Shavuot.

charged with offering the incense (2:4);[23] and the fourth those charged with bringing the sacrificial portions to the altar-ramp (2:4).

The Mishnah details the context in which these lot-castings were instituted, and the process that accompanied them. When a priest preparing to remove the ashes was injured following a jostle on the ramp leading to the altar, the Tribunal (דין) instituted a process of selection by lot with the aim of averting such injuries (*m. Yoma* 2:2). One priest, Mattathias ben Samuel, was specially chosen as the official for this task of selection (*m. Šeqal.* 5:1). Every morning, the official would make his entry into the Cell of the Hewn Stone in which the priests of the priestly family serving that day were gathered. The priests spent the night in this room, and when morning broke they carried out the requisite purifications. On entering, the official declared: "'Let him that has immersed himself come and cast lots (ויפיס)!' And they cast lots (הפיסו)." (*m. Tamid* 1:2; 3:1; 5:2). The procedure followed is outlined in the Tosefta.[24] The official entered the Cell of the Hewn Stone for the casting of lots, the priests assembled themselves in a circle, and the officer took the mitre from the head of one of the priests in order to mark which one the count would start from. A number was set arbitrarily. The priests raised their fingers (*m. Yoma* 2:1), and the official counted the raised fingers until he had reached the number set, thereby selecting the priest.

The context in which these lot-castings were instituted demonstrates that they emerged from a decision taken by the Tribunal, one first made use of by Mattathias ben Samuel in the Second Temple period. The process of *payîs* lot-casting thus concerned a rabbinic prescription and not a law of the Torah.[25]

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[23] Compare Zechariah in Luke 1:9.

[24] *t. Yoma* 1:10; *t. Sukkah* 4:16.

[25] Esth 3:7 and 9:24 (הפיל פור הוא הגורל, "they cast Pûr—which means the lot") is a noteworthy example. The Targums translate the word "pûr," of Akkadian origin, with the word *pys'* (the Aramaic form of *pys*), itself of foreign origin: cf. Tg. Esth. I on Esth 3:7 and 9:24 (see also 9:26), and Tg. Esth. II on Esth 9:24. In the case of the Hebrew *gôral*, the term is translated by the Aramaic *'db'*, as is usually done in the Targums: cf. Tg. Esth. I on Esth 9:24 and Tg. Esth. II on Esth 3:7 and 9:24. At Esth 9:24, these Targums therefore make the *payîs* casting of lots an equivalent to the *gôral* casting of lots. Do we therefore need to understand these uses of the Aramaic form *pys'* as blurring the distinction so clearly outlined between the semantic fields of *payîs* and *gôral*? I do not think so. One need only say that here the *payîs* casting of lots replaces a *gôral* casting of lots, a *gôral* casting of lots which shows the divine will and deflects the decision of the lot in such a way as to set it against the persecutors of the Jewish people. See the addition of Tg. Esth. I on Esth 3:7, which removes the ambiguity by describing a *payîs* casting of lots as expressing the divine judgement: "There came down from heaven a

III. *GÔRAL* VERSUS *PAYÎS*: COMPARISON

The account of Josephus is well-known, according to which the Zea-
lots, in 67, relying on the authority of "an ancient custom" elected
the High Priest Phanni by casting lots: indeed, according to them, the
High Priest was in former times elected by lot (*klêrôtên*). This method of
selection incurred the indignation of Josephus, for whom "the succes-
sion (of High Priests) was determined by birth (*katà génos*)" (*Jewish War*
4.152–157). The "ancient custom" that the Zealots were reclaiming was
not a casting of lots of the *payîs* type, which was, for Josephus, only a
recent institution. The "ancient custom" must therefore have been the
gôral casting of lots, which had fallen into disuse in the Temple, but
which the Qumran Community had revived. The indignant reaction
of Josephus against recourse to an ancient rite of investiture by *gôral* lot
is evidence of the view that the Mishnah and the Pharisaean tradition
took of the institution of lot-casting in the Temple: the *gôral* casting of
lots was rejected, and only the *payîs* casting of lots remained in use.

To Sum Up

This comparison of *gôral* and *payîs* highlights a bipolar and often neglec-
ted opposition between certain ritual and doctrinal conventions in the
Qumran Community on the one hand, and certain such conventions
in the Temple and the rabbinic tradition on the other. At Qumran one
finds the pre-eminent presence of the concept of *gôral*. Its centrality
is as evident in ritual terms from the place given to casting lots by the
Qumran Community, as it is doctrinally evident in the place made for
gôral at the beginning and end of the dualist Qumranite salvation history.
In view of its pre-eminence at Qumran, one sees the disappearance,
indeed the rejection, *both* of the rite *and* of the doctrine of *gôral* in the
liturgy of the Temple and in rabbinic thought.

  The *gôral* casting of lots, such as it was practiced in the Qumran
Community, set itself in continuity with the biblical casting of lots
defined by Johannes Lindblom as follows: the biblical casting of lots

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divine voice which said as follows: Do not be afraid, O congregation of Israel, if you
turn about through repentance, then the lot (*pys'*) will fall on him (i.e. Haman) instead
on you" (translated by B. Grossfeld, *The Two Targums of Esther: Translated, with Apparatus
and Notes* [Collegeville, Minnesota: Liturgical, 1991], 53).

was seen "as a means of inquiring of Yahweh, and its result as an answer from Yahweh."[26] For the Qumranites, the casting of lots was one of the ritual forms under which the divine will could manifest itself. By contrast, the *payîs* casting of lots practiced at the Temple, far from being the enactment of a ceremonial law instituted by the Torah, came about only in virtue of rabbinic prescriptions.

This opposition between the *gôral* casting of lots and the *payîs* casting of lots has a linguistic dimension that needs underlining, it seems to me. The linguistic data is expressive of two opposed understandings of revelation. For the Qumranites who took up the biblical idea of *gôral*, revelation was continuing to be manifest, while for the Rabbis who took care to describe the institution using a foreign word, the body of inspired writings had ceased.

To this can be added two opposing attitudes concerning election and lineage. In the ceremony of admission of new members at Qumran, the *gôral* casting of lots functioned as a rite of election. Casting lots revealed the divine choice of individuals from the candidates pre-selected by the Many, and qualified the new member of the Community by election. In the Temple, the function of the *payîs* casting of lots was wholly different. The priests qualified not by election but by lineage, on grounds of their belonging to one of the 24 priestly courses (1 Chr 24). Far from being a rite of investiture as it was at Qumran, the casting of lots that took place each morning in the Temple was a measure bearing simply upon order or equity.

The concept of *gôral* and the rite of casting lots must therefore be added to the lines of divergence and fracture that separated the Qumran Community from the Temple, and which established the identity of the Community over against other currents of Judaism.

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[26] J. Lindblom, "Lot Casting in the Old Testament," *VT* 12 (1962): 164–78, at 170.

KEEPING OUTSIDERS OUT: IMPURITY AT QUMRAN

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Scholars are divided on the issue of outsider impurity in Qumran texts. Recently, Christine Hayes has claimed that "Many Second Temple sources continue the biblical association of Gentiles with moral impurity; but none unambiguously associates Gentiles with ritual impurity."[1] She claims that, while ancient Jews were concerned about the idolatrous influence of pagans and the commingling of holy and profane seed, they probably did not consider Gentiles physically defiling. Even at Qumran, Hayes finds no "smoking gun" text which indicates that the sect ascribed ritual impurity to Gentiles.[2] The concern before the first century, she says, was for moral and genealogical purity; she concludes that Gentile ritual impurity is a legal creation of the Rabbis. This position stands in opposition to the more common view that Gentile impurity (both ritual and moral) does apply at Qumran.[3]

This paper will revisit the evidence for the ritual impurity of outsiders at Qumran and hopes to resolve this crux with recently transcribed fragments from Cave 4. Although the texts discussed in this paper may have various origins, they were adopted and preserved by the community at Qumran and collectively represent a certain general stance toward impurity. It will be maintained that the sect considered all outsiders both ritually and morally impure. First I will review the general impurity laws related to outsiders and then I will discuss the specific status vis-à-vis ritual purity of the non-sectarian Jew, the Gentile and the *ger.* Finally, I will offer a rationale as to why the sectarians regarded outsiders impure.

To begin, I would like to establish working distinctions between moral and ritual impurity in the Bible. Even though these categories

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[1] C.E. Hayes, *Gentile Impurities* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 66.

[2] Hayes, *Gentile Impurities*, 65.

[3] Cf. J.M. Baumgarten, *Studies in Qumran Law* (SJLA 24; Leiden: Brill, 1977), 96; J. Klawans, *Impurity and Sin in Ancient Judaism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 75.

somewhat oversimplify the matter, they are still helpful. Moral impurity comes by transgression of biblical commandments and carries strong penalties, often death or excommunication if not properly resolved by repentance and sacrifice. Ritual impurity comes by bodily processes and is contagious, especially to food and drink which then become forbidden. Ritually impure persons are easily purified, usually by immersion in water and other similar rites. Sin is not involved unless purification is not accomplished in which case it becomes a moral issue, especially if the offender handles sancta or enters sacred premises. While the notion of outsider impurity fits the biblical definition of moral impurity it is a stretch to include it in the definition of ritual impurity. Nevertheless, the Qumranites, as well as other Jews in antiquity, made this appropriation of the biblical concept of impurity.

Let us review the texts which reveal that outsiders were considered ritually impure at Qumran. First, several texts make it clear that sin generates both moral and ritual impurity. The Community Rule (1QS 5:4, 13–14) states that "impurity is inherent in all transgressors of His word" and requires both water ablutions and repentance for atonement.[4] The author also denies ritual purity and access to pure food to those who were disobedient (1QS 7:2–21; 8:22–24; *J.W.* 2.143).[5] The penitent of 4Q512 does not receive atonement for moral impurity until after immersion in water (4Q512 10–11 2–5; 29–32 5, 16).[6]

Secondly, the process of initiating outsiders into the sect confirms their ritual impurity since they are required to perform water ablutions and are forbidden to eat the communal food until they are completely

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[4] 1QS 3:4–5 says of the non-repentant outsider: "Defiled, defiled shall he be." The impurity here is not just moral for the language is taken from Leviticus' laws of leprosy and represents a concern for the contagion of ritual impurity.

[5] Cf. J.M. Baumgarten, "The Purification Liturgies," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment* (eds. P.W. Flint and J.C. VanderKam; vol. 2; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 211–12; L.H. Schiffman, *Sectarian Law in the Dead Sea Scrolls: Courts, Testimony and the Penal Code* (BJS 33; Chico, California: Scholars Press, 1983), 216; Klawans, *Impurity and Sin*, 82.

[6] Baumgarten, "Purification Liturgies," 205–6. Conversely, purifying persons were apparently not considered fit to offer a blessing to God until after ritual purification, for it is after they immerse, while still standing in the water, that they offer the blessing (4Q512 11; cf. also rabbinic practice *b. Ber.* 51a; *b. Pesaḥ.* 7b; *t. Yad.* 2:20). E. Eshel, "4Q414 Fragment 2: Purification of a Corpse-Contaminated Person," in *Legal Texts and Legal Issues: Proceedings of the Second Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies, Cambridge 1995* (eds. M. Bernstein, F. García Martínez, and J. Kampen; STDJ 23; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 5–6, outlines three elements of the prayers: confession, forgiveness and thanksgiving, and notes the commingling of moral and ritual purification, foreign to later rabbinic writers.

purified. Candidates are examined for purity (1QS 6:16–22) and, after one year's probation, are allowed to eat the communal, pure food; after two years they may partake of the communal drink (1QS 6:20; 7:20; cf. *J.W.* 2.123, 138; CD 15:14–15).[7] Thus, candidates gradually lose their "outsider impurity" via the initiation process.[8]

The threat of outsiders to the purity of food began from the time of harvest. Outsiders and even candidates to the sect who were not yet full members were forbidden to harvest produce lest their impurity be transferred to the crop:

> [if] their [ju]ice comes out wh[en he pre]sses them all, and they be gathered by [one] who has not been brou[ght into the co]venant. And if they press [olives in the olive pr]ess, let him b[y] no [mean]s defile them by opening them before he pours [them into the press. Let them be squee]zed in purity, and when their processing is [finish]ed they will be ea[ten in purity]. (4Q284a 1 5–8)[9]

Restrictions on outsiders were not limited to food; their possessions too were considered impure. The Community Rule states emphatically:

> No one should associate with him in his work or in his possessions in order not to encumber him with blameworthy sin; rather he should remain at a distance from him in every task.... All his deeds are impurity before him and there is impurity in all his possessions.... (1QS 5:14–20)

There is a concern here for contagion, i.e. that one will contract the impurity of the outsider even by touching his possessions. It appears that

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[7] Klawans, *Impurity and Sin*, 86; M. Newton, *The Concept of Purity at Qumran and in the Letters of Paul* (SNTSMS 53; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 47–49; Baumgarten, "Purification Liturgies," 211; "The Purification Rituals of DJD 7," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Forty Years of Research* (eds. D. Dimant and D. Rappaport; STDJ 10; Leiden: E.J. Brill and Jerusalem: Magnes, 1992), 201. Several texts make it clear that any contact between impurity and pure food will defile it (1QS 5:13; 8:17; CD 9:21; 4Q514; 4Q512 7–9).

[8] F. García Martínez and J. Trebolle Barrera, *The People of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Leiden: Brill, 1995), 153. Probably the best parallel for the sectarian attitude toward outsider impurity is found in the Mishnah; the Rabbis do not want the *am ha'aretz* (Jewish commoners untrustworthy in matters of purity and tithes) to defile pure food (G. Alon, "Levitical Uncleanness of Gentiles," in *Jews, Judaism, and the Classical World: Studies in Jewish History in the Times of the Second Temple and Talmud* (trans. I. Abrahams; Jerusalem: Magnes, 1977), 146–89; H.K. Harrington, "Did the Pharisees Eat Ordinary Food in a State of Purity?" *JSJ* 26 (1995): 42–54.

[9] J.M. Baumgarten et al. (eds.), *Qumran Cave 4.XXV: Halakhic Texts* (DJD 35; Oxford: Clarendon, 1999), 132.

the label of ritual impurity is being applied here as a tool to prevent social contact with outsiders altogether.

Having ascertained that outsiders were considered a threat to the ritual purity of the Community and its food and possessions, let us move to a further issue: Who were these outsiders? Certainly they would include Jews who, since they did not subscribe to the sect's version of purification, would be considered ritually impure as well as sinners.[10] But, what about Gentile outsiders? Maybe Gentiles were just in the neutral, profane category, as seems generally the case in the Bible.[11] In rabbinic texts, Gentiles are not considered subject to the levitical purity system, and when they are labeled impure it is under a separate kind of impurity, that of being Gentiles; is there such a distinction at Qumran?[12] And, is the *ger*, the resident alien, impure?

It is important to recognize that in none of the above texts do the sectarian authors explicitly distinguish between the impurity of Jewish outsiders as opposed to Gentile ones. In fact, as 1QH^a puts it, *anyone* "born of woman…a structure of dust shaped with water, his base is the guilt of sin, vile unseemliness, source of impurity…" (1QH^a 5:21). Here humanity is ontologically identified with impurity, which is

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[10] The Community Rule is adamant that no amount of purification can be effective if one has not been obedient to God's will, of course as interpreted by the sect (cf. 1QS 3:3–6). Thus, purification rites conducted outside the bounds of the community were considered invalid (J. Taylor, *The Immerser: John the Baptist within Second Temple Judaism* [Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 1997], 77). Josephus states that Essenes even "sacrifice separately" probably meaning in a separate area at the Temple (Baumgarten, *Qumran Law*, 62). Such designations as *tohorat tsedek* (4Q512 40–41) and *tohorat 'emet* (4Q284 3 4) reinforce the sect's attitude that only purity according to their particular definition was valid.

[11] Hayes, *Gentile Impurities*, 21, points to the integration of the *ger* (a non-Israelite resident) in Israelite society as proof that he could not be intrinsically impure: Rahabites dwell among Israel (Josh 6:25) and are brought to the Temple (Jer 35); Gibeonites draw water and bring wood for the community and "for the altar of the Lord"; *netinim* are foreign temple servants; both Israel and the *ger* can bring a *Hatta't* for unintentional sin (Num 15:25ff.); Ittai the Gittite is allowed to fight in holy war (2 Sam 15); commerce, even selling of foodstuffs, existed with Gentiles (Tyrians, Neh 13:16) and peoples of the land (Neh 10:32); the stranger even gets an allotment of the land (Ezek 47:21–23). Also, intermarriage is allowed except with certain neighbors.

[12] Hayes, *Gentile Impurities*, 65–66: Gentiles are not biblically commanded to keep all the Israelite purity laws and their impurity seems relegated to their immorality rather than ritual contagion, thus the Rabbis say that Gentiles are not susceptible to the Jewish impurity system (*t. Zabim* 2:1), although they do carry their own kind of impurity. She suggests that the Gentile is simply considered profane, not holy, but not impure either (34); so also J. Klawans, "Notions of Gentile Impurity in Ancient Judaism," *AJSR* 20 (1995): 285–312, at 292.

inherent in its very structure.[13] Within humanity there are apparently only two major divisions: the Sons of Light, the sect, and the Sons of Darkness, everyone else (1QM 1:1, 5; 1QS; 1QH; 4Q266 1 i). Since Gentiles are sinners, they must also be impure since sin causes both types of impurity.[14]

Nevertheless, some argue that the only impurity attributed to Gentiles was moral, since only Jews can be subject to the ritual purity system. However, a look at other post-biblical texts suggests otherwise. According to *Jubilees*, one who eats with Gentiles shares in their impurity (*Jub.* 22:17).[15] The Second Temple complex included a court of the Gentiles which barred them from the sanctuary proper. While some argue that this exclusion was because of Gentiles' low status, impurity was a concern too. Josephus, for example, refers to the exclusion of foreigners from the Temple as a "law of purification" (*J.W.* 5.194).[16] Luke states that "the Jews" washed themselves after contact with Gentiles to rid themselves of ritual impurity (Acts 10:28). He also portrays Peter cringing at the thought of visiting Gentiles on account of their impurity.[17]

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[13] García Martínez and Trebolle Barrera, *People of the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 155.

[14] False Israelites, those who would not obey the "glorious voice" and accept the "profound things" taught by the angels, are sinners in darkness along with Gentiles (1QM 10:11). This dichotomy is also reflected to some degree in the purity laws. The Community Rule distinguishes between the purity of those who have pledged themselves to holiness and the impurity of those who trespass the words of God (1QS 5:13–14; cf. 1QSa 2:3–5; 1QHᵃ 6:20f.). Klawans, *Impurity and Sin*, 81; L.H. Schiffman, "Israel," in *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (eds. L.H. Schiffman and J.C. VanderKam; New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 389; A. Shemesh, "The Origins of the Laws of Separatism: Qumran Literature and Rabbinic Halacha," *RevQ* 18/70 (1997): 223–41, at 227; H. Hubner, "Unclean and Clean (NT)," *ABD* 6:741–45.

[15] Whether or not the author regards this impurity as both moral and ritual has been debated, cf. Hayes, *Gentile Impurities*, 25; C. Werman, "Jubilees 30: Building a Paradigm for the Ban on Intermarriage," *HTR* 90 (1997): 1–22, at 16, 21.

[16] Josephus (*Ant.* 14.285) remarks that impurity was the pretext presented to Hyrcanus to prevent Herod from entering Jerusalem: "Hyrcanus let himself be so persuaded (to prevent Herod from entering Jerusalem) and gave the pretext for keeping him out that it was not proper to admit a crowd of foreigners when the people were in a state of ritual purity." Hayes does not regard this text as a proof of alleged Gentile impurity: "This text is taken as evidence of the Gentile's ability to communicate ritual impurity to Jews. But the context is Jerusalem, and the Jews involved are pilgrims in a special state of ritual purity. Presumably, Hyrcanus' argument would not have been effective in another location and at another time." But this is just the point: in the Land of Israel many Jews did maintain ritual purity and even those who may not have, would have made the effort at the time of the holy festivals in Jerusalem. For many, contact with Gentiles was incompatible with ritual purity.

[17] In Acts 10:28 Peter says: "You yourselves know how unlawful it is for a Jew to associate with or to visit any one of another nation; but God has shown me that I

Several rabbinic texts regard Gentiles to be outside of the Jewish purity system but still attribute impurity to them, a special sort of "Gentile impurity."[18] The Mishnah requires ritual purification of all proselytes, stating, "He that separates himself from the foreskin is as one who separates himself from a grave" (*m. Pesaḥ.* 8:8); Gedalyahu Alon states that this is due to the ritual defilement of the Gentile.[19] The Eighteen Decrees, of Second Temple times, include a decree which considers Gentiles impure like one suffering from gonorrhea.[20] The point for this discussion is that the presence of a notion of Gentile impurity in the above texts lends credibility to the statements both within and outside of the Dead Sea Scrolls that the sect regarded Gentiles ritually impure. After all, the Qumran corpus of Jewish purity law is the most stringent known to exist in Second Temple times.

The clearest external evidence for Gentile impurity among the sect comes from Josephus. He refers to bathing after contact with foreigners as standard practice (*J.W.* 2.150); it is unclear whether he means standard Jewish practice or Essene practice. Nevertheless, Hayes refuses to attribute credibility to the statement even in its limited sense, claiming that Josephus cannot be considered an authority on Essene practice.[21]

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should not call any man common [profane] or unclean." Hayes follows Klawans, "Notions of Gentile Impurity," 300, that "visit" here refers to close association, often sexual contact. Peter is speaking of the morally not ritually impure status of Gentiles, otherwise the author of Acts would not have Paul addressing Gentiles in synagogues (Hayes, *Gentile Impurities*, 50). However, these Gentiles were attached to Judaism already as God-fearers, and the synagogues in question were in the diaspora where Jews could not become truly pure anyway without the benefit of the Jerusalem Temple.

[18] "Gentiles and a resident alien do not defile by reason of a flux, but although they do not defile because of a flux, they are impure in all respects like those who suffer a flux, and heave offering is burned on their account" (*t. Zabim* 2:1; *Sipra Meṣ. Zab.* 1:1; *b. Šabb.* 17b; *b. 'Abod Zar.* 46b; *y. Šabb.* 1:3).

[19] Alon, "Levitical Uncleanness," 172, who gives additional examples of Second Temple attributions of Gentile impurity.

[20] The Rabbis are not consistent on the degree of the Gentile's impurity and the matter is treated as a rabbinic enactment, not a biblical decree. As Alon says, it is a concept "which existed in the nation from early times, even though not all agreed to it, nor did the practice at all times conform to it, nor did the Sages rule according to it" (Alon, "Levitical Uncleanness," 146–89, esp. 156: the "Talmud includes the prohibition of the oil and bread of non-Jews among the Eighteen Edicts, yet we know from a number of sources that this interdict was in force in the days of the Second Temple many generations before the Destruction," but see criticism by Hayes, *Gentile Impurities*, 36, who dates the notion to the first century. It is also the case that not all Rabbis viewed Gentiles as contaminating. The Talmud states in one place that even holy food is not made unacceptable by contact with a Gentile (*b. Nid.* 34a).

[21] Hayes, *Gentile Impurities*, 64.

However, this is just the kind of statement that should be taken seriously. As is well known, Josephus sometimes slants his presentation of Judaism to gain favor with his Gentile readers. A statement that Gentiles were considered defiling by contact does nothing to help his presentation of the Jews.

The prohibition of many Scrolls regarding intermarriage, which is no doubt grounded in other concerns (see below), is nevertheless expressed in terms of ritual impurity. Although the Qumran sect was apparently celibate, marriage of Jews with Gentiles, even those willing to convert, is basically prohibited in the larger Essene community.[22] MMT protests against Gentile wives using the terms *to'ebah*, "abomination," as well as *tum'ah*, "impurity." The writer says his group has physically separated from the majority of the nation because, at least in part, the latter have married impure, Gentile women (MMT C 49). In fact, MMT explicitly connects intermarriage with impurity, stating that the sexual partners *metame'im zera'* [*qadosh*], "pollute [holy] seed" (MMT B 81).[23]

This rejection of Gentiles, even those who may have wished to convert and intermarry with Israel, is reinforced by Cave Four texts with not only the *language* of ritual purity but specific prohibitions regarding

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[22] D.R. Schwartz, "A Priestly View of Descent at Qumran," 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; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1990), 165–66, explains that the sect's priestly background is the reason for the exclusion of proselytes, going back to Ezra's priestly descent and his stricture against foreign wives as well as the genealogical emphasis in the priestly sections of the Torah. Also, the Temple inscription forbidding entry of the *allogenes* refers to inappropriate genealogy or race rather than Josephus' version of this inscription which refers to the *allophylos*, adherent of another religion; likewise, Simeon claimed it was illegal for Agrippa I to enter the Temple because of his non-native descent (*Ant.* 19.332) and the Rabbis note that the priests refused to marry daughters of proselyte parents although the sages condemned them for this (*b. Qidd.* 78b; cf. also *b. Yoma* 71b an insult to Shemaiah and Abtalion's descents). Schwartz: "those for whom descent constitutes their own special status in Israel will tend to apply that same criterion to Israel as well, thus excluding proselytes: while Gentiles may become welcome fellow travelers, they cannot be prospective sons-in-law" (165). Cf. also L.H. Schiffman, "Non-Jews in the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *The Quest for Context and Meaning: Studies in Biblical Intertextuality in Honor of James A. Sanders* (eds. C.A. Evans and S. Talmon; BIS 28; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 153–71, at 162; M. Himmelfarb cited in Hayes, *Gentile Impurities*, 83.

[23] According to Deuteronomy, certain classes of people may not "enter the congregation of the LORD" (Deut 23:2–4). According to MMT, this phrase forbids Jews to intermarry with any non-Jews, "one must not let them be united (with an Israelite) and make them [one bone" (MMT B 44; cf. 4Q174 1 i 3–4; 11Q19 2:12–15; 57:15–17). Lines 75–78 use the metaphor of mixing animal species, forbidden by the Torah, to denounce marriage with Gentiles (cf. also ll. 80–82). Hayes is certainly correct that the primary concern here is for genealogical purity, *Gentile Impurities*, 83.

food and drink. Gentile women who have married priests may not eat
or even touch priestly food. According to 4Q251 16, a priest's house-
hold (including wives, daughters, and even slaves) may usually eat of
his food gifts. However, a priest's wife who was an immoral woman or
the daughter of a forbidden union may not eat of her husband's food
gifts or even touch them (4Q251 16 2–3).[24] Thus, if a priest married a
Gentile woman, she could not prepare or eat of his food. Conversely,
according to 4Q513, when daughters of priests marry non-Jews their
whole families (including the priest) are denied eating priestly contribu-
tions or even touching them. The mixture of ordinary food with priestly
food results in *avon zimmah*, the "sin of immorality" (4Q513 11:3).

The Temple Scroll too uses ritual impurity restrictions to protect
moral purity. This is evident in the author's rewrite of the biblical
restrictions on female war captives. Deuteronomy states, "you shall
bring her into your house, and she shall trim her hair, pare her nails,
and discard her captive's garb. She shall spend a month's time in your
house lamenting her father and mother; after that you may come to her
and possess her, and she shall be your wife" (Deut 21:10–14). After the
line, "she shall be your wife," the Temple Scroll inserts "But she may
not touch pure food, *tohorah*, for seven years. Nor shall she eat a *shelamim*
offering until seven years pass; then she shall eat" (11Q19 63:15). It
is quite clear that the author, like *Jubilees*, does not condone marriage
between lay Israelites and the Gentiles who live among them.[25] While
this attitude is not initially based on the ritual impurity of the Gentile
partner, we cannot overlook the fact that this separation is expressed
in terms of ritually pure food, and that in addition to the moral and
genealogical concerns, ritual impurity was applied as well.

The above arguments, while persuasive, may still not convince every-
one that Gentiles were ritually impure according to the sect. However,
to my mind, a recently transcribed fragment of the Damascus Docu-
ment provides the clinching evidence. This text refers explicitly to the
impurity of Gentiles.[26] According to 4Q266 5 ii 5–7: "[Anyone of the]

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[24] Baumgarten, "Purification Liturgies," 44.

[25] Marriages with Gentiles are forbidden by several Second Temple texts. According
to *Jubilees*, for example, there is no way to properly contract marriage with a Gentile
even when there has been sexual intercourse and even if the Gentile is willing to be cir-
cumcised and join Israel, Hayes, *Gentile Impurities*, 77, 81; Werman, "Jubilees 30," 20.

[26] J.M. Baumgarten, "The Disqualifications of Priests in 4Q Fragments of the
'Damascus Document': A Specimen of the Recovery of Pre-Rabbinic Halakha," in
The Madrid Qumran Congress: Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls,

sons of Aaron who was in captivity among the Gentiles [ ] *lḥllh btmʾtm*, to profane him with their impurity may not approach the [holy] service [ ] within the curtain *vacat* and may not eat the [most] holy offerings…" (cf. also 4Q267 5 iii 5–9; CD 14:15; *Jub.* 1:13).[27] Thus, a priest who was in Gentile captivity is assumed to have become defiled by contact with Gentiles and is disqualified for Temple service.[28]

Finally, the status of the *ger.* As in biblical ideology, it is possible for a Gentile to live among Israel as a separate class according to Qumran authors. Katell Berthelot, claims that, with the possible exception of 4Q174, the term "*ger*" in the Dead Sea Scrolls signifies "non-Israelites who belong to Israel."[29] The Qumran authors allow the *ger* some degree of participation in the community but not full status, and they are not converts as the term signifies in later Jewish texts.[30] The Damascus Document implies that members kept Gentile servants, "who entered the covenant of Abraham" (CD 12:10–11) and that *gerim* participated

Madrid 18–21 March, 1991 (eds. J. Trebolle Barrera and L. Vegas Montaner; STDJ 11; Leiden: Brill, 1992), 2:503–13, at 512–13. According to Baumgarten, if the priest voluntarily migrated into foreign lands, he is not only excluded from priestly food but also from the "council of the people."

[27] J.M. Baumgarten (ed.), *Qumran Cave 4.XIII: The Damascus Document (4Q266–273)* (DJD 18; Oxford: Clarendon, 1996), 9–11.

[28] See Hayes, *Gentile Impurities*, 202–3, who examines rabbinic sources, and concludes that indiscriminate burial in Gentile areas is what makes them impure and contaminates Jews entering them (cf. 11Q19 48:11–12). However, as J.M. Baumgarten notes, according to the Mishnah, the principle of overhang does not apply in Gentile areas, thus walking over a grave would not contaminate a person (private communication).

[29] K. Berthelot, "La Notion de *ger* dans les Textes de Qumrân," *RevQ* 19/74 (1999): 171–216, at 169.

[30] According to J. Milgrom, "Religious Conversion and the Revolt Model for the Formation of Israel," *JBL* 101 (1982): 169–76, the term *ger* in the post-biblical period usually refers "not merely to a sojourner who observes prohibitive commandments (a usage retained by Judith; see 4:10–11 and chapter 5) but to a religious convert who takes on all of the obligations, responsibilities and privileges of a member of the Israelite community." The Rabbis distinguish between the *ger tsedek* (full convert) and the *ger toshav* (resident alien), the former is supposedly accorded the status of born Jews but some Rabbis dissent, Schiffman, "Israel," 389. G.G. Porton, *The Stranger within your Gates: Converts and Conversion in Rabbinic Literature* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 8, 14, explains that converts are equated with Israel in that they are required to bring agricultural gifts, are responsible for the holy days, and can own land in Israel (although some sages dissent), but they are not equal with Israel in that they may not marry priests nor judge capital cases, and there is some discussion on whether or not they can bring first fruits or second tithe because of the avowal which mentions the land which was given to Israel's ancestors.

in communal meetings (CD 14:4–6).[31] Pesher Nahum refers to *gerim* who are attached to the Israelite community (4Q169 3–4 ii 9).

Nevertheless, the sectarian *ger* never achieves full status. The Community Rule never mentions such a category.[32] 4QFlorilegium has a vision of a future sanctuary to which the *ger* is not admitted (4Q174 4). The Temple Scroll restricts *gerim* from entering the middle court of the Temple until the fourth generation (11Q19 39:5–7). Because of their Gentile ancestry, *gerim* comprise a separate group which is not fully integrated within Israel.

The important question related to *gerim* and purity is, how could Gentiles be considered ritually impure if they could be accepted as *gerim* at Qumran? The answer lies in the following levitical command, "Any person, whether citizen or *ger*, who eats what has died or has been torn by beasts shall launder his clothes, bathe in water, and remain impure until the evening; then he shall be pure. But if he does not launder (his clothes) and bathe his body, he shall bear his punishment" (Lev 17:15–16). This prohibition implies that a *ger* is obligated to maintain purity and that purifications are effective for him. In addition, Num 15:16 requires a purification offering which will atone for both the sins of Israel and those of the *ger*. Thus, it must be the case that the *ger* sheds his contagion when he completes his initiation into the sect and agrees to maintain his responsibilities to it.[33]

One might ask, who are these *gerim* who would seek entrance to such an exclusionary community? The most likely answer is that they are slaves of Jews who have joined the community (cf. CD 11:2; 12:10–11).[34] On the one hand, they became part of the sect's communal possessions when their masters joined the sect and must adhere to communal regu-

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[31] Cf. *m. Neg.* 11:1; 12:1 where goods in Gentile possession are not subject to the laws of impurity, but when they are transferred into Jewish possession they must be "examined afresh," in other words they become susceptible to impurity according to the laws of Judaism.

[32] S. Metso, private communication.

[33] Many laws of Israel, however, are not incumbent on the *ger*, for example, the requirement to eat the Passover sacrifice (Exod 12:48). J. Milgrom, *Leviticus 17–22* (AB 3A; Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 2000), 1496–97, concludes that the *ger* must observe the prohibitive commands of Israel but not the performative ones and adds: "Most likely, the *ger* is limited in his obligations to refrain from only those violations that engender ritual impurity (Lev. 17:15)."

[34] J.C. Lübbe, "The Exclusion of the *Ger* from the Future Temple," in *Mogilany 1993: Papers on the Dead Sea Scrolls offered in Memory of Hans Burgmann* (ed. Z.J. Kapera; QM 13; Krakow: Enigma, 1996), 175–82, at 181–82.

lations; on the other hand, they cannot become full-fledged members because of their ethnic background.

The difference between Jewish and Gentile outsiders emerges when they seek entrance to the community. The Jewish novitiate is considered a full member after the entry process whereas the *ger*, although technically purified, is never fully accepted into the group. It is even possible that the segregation of the *ger* was reinforced with some degree of ritual impurity vis-a-vis the other members. In fact, Josephus states that the Essenes' internal moral hierarchy was enforced by ritual purity laws. That is, a member of lower standing, e.g. a candidate to the group, would make a member of higher standing impure simply by touching him (*J.W.* 2.150). If Josephus' report is correct, it is possible that *gerim*, who held the lowest rank in the community, retained some level of ritual impurity.

RATIONALE

It is apparent from the above discussion that labeling the outsider impure at Qumran is an effective tool reinforcing the barriers between members and non-members of the sect. Scholars claim that impurity labels enforce social boundaries.[35] If one is not allowed to eat with or even touch another person, social intercourse between the two is automatically diminished. Preserving group identity then becomes the overall reason for labeling outsiders. As clear from many texts, the purpose of the group is to maintain the holiness of Israel. In fact sometimes the group is referred to as a "holy house" (1QS 8:5–6) or "temple of men" (1Q174 1 i 6).

Anthropologists have shown that when a group is a hard-pressed minority, it becomes more careful to maintain its boundaries, both those of the community as well as those of the body, which becomes a symbol of the community. That which enters the body becomes a symbol of those who enter the community, and that which leaves the body is symbolic of those expelled from the community, and so it is a polluting agent.[36] Thus, restriction and expulsion are expressed in

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[35] D.P. Wright, "Unclean and Clean (OT)," *ABD* 6:739–41.
[36] M. Douglas, *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo* (London: Routledge, 1966), 124; eadem, *Implicit Meanings: Essays in Anthropology* (London: Routledge and Paul, 1975), 269.

terms of ritual impurity: food and drink owned or handled by outsiders become identified with the outsiders themselves. Just as they must be expelled, so items which represent them or come under their control must be eliminated.[37] In this case, the "holy house" of Qumran would have been threatened by the impurity of outsiders. As Philip Davies puts it, "To eat with an outsider or a lapsed member was a highly serious offence, because it was to eat or drink an uncleanness, which then crept into the human sanctuary and defiled it."[38]

Thus, outsiders are impure because they threaten the holiness of Israel: First of all, Gentiles represented foreign rule and oppression and so present a physical threat. Some Qumran texts graphically describe their barbarism (1QpHab 3:4–14); others promise their complete eradication (1QM 10:10–11). Indeed, the Hellenistic period was often characterized for the Jews by oppression. Some rulers even demanded worship and outlawed the observance of Judaism. Hayes, in her work on rabbinic labels of Gentile impurity, concludes, "As a general rule, the laws of ritual impurity are applied in cases that envisage an interaction with an untrustworthy or hostile Gentile…their primary application appears to have been the delineation of (perhaps, a reminder of the need for) a barrier between Jews and Gentiles whose intentions were hostile or threatening in some way."[39]

Moreover, the physical threat is not just from foreign oppression but also from quite the opposite: intermarriage with foreigners. Indeed under some rulers of the Second Temple period, Jews enjoyed a peaceful existence.[40] Under such conditions assimilation through intermarriage threatened to destroy the very holiness of Israel since the latter was considered to be transmitted genetically by blood lines (cf. *Jub.* 33:20). As Jacob Milgrom has pointed out with regard to Deuteronomy, Israel is holy by virtue of her genealogy: "holiness is her genetic endowment"

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[37] E. Regev, "Non-Priestly Purity and its Religious Aspects according to Historical Sources and Archaeological Findings," in *Purity and Holiness: The Heritage of Leviticus* (eds. M.J.H.M. Poorthuis and J. Schwartz; JCPS 2; Leiden: Brill, 2000), 223–44, at 238.

[38] P.R. Davies, "Food, Drink and Sects: The Question of Ingestion in the Qumran Texts," *Semeia* 86 (1999): 151–63, at 161.

[39] Hayes, *Gentile Impurities*, 143. Regev, "Non-Priestly Purity," 221, after examining the passages requiring purification after contact with Gentiles in Second Temple sources as well as rabbinic sources concludes that "this halakhic concept emerged before the Maccabean revolt, but spread due to the struggle against the Seleucids and the Hellenistic population in the Land of Israel."

[40] J. Milgrom, "The Concept of Impurity in *Jubilees* and the *Temple Scroll*," *RevQ* 16/62 (1993): 277–84, at 283.

(Deut 7:6; 14:2, 21; 26:19; 28:9).[41] Hayes is no doubt correct that the main concern regarding foreign wives in Ezra-Nehemiah is the profanation of holy seed (Ezra 9:2), but this does not preclude the application of ritual impurity as well. Nehemiah expels Tobiah the Ammonite, a worshiper of YHWH who has married into the Israelite priesthood, along with his belongings from a room in the Temple and orders the room to be purified (Neh 13:4–9).[42] Similarly for the Qumran sect, Gentiles posed a physical threat to the holy seed of Israel since ethnicity was the way that holiness was engendered. To allow Gentiles into this community was to biologically compromise the holy seed (cf. Ezra 9:2; *Jub.* 25:3, 12, 18; MMT B 81).[43]

Nevertheless, the threat of Gentiles was not just physical but moral and so a second reason applies. The notion that Gentiles are impure easily develops from the view that idolatry and immorality are impure and indeed the Bible is replete with statements that these sins pollute Israel and her sanctuary.[44] The Damascus Document forbids even selling animals to Gentiles lest one contribute to impurity by providing pagan sacrifices (CD 12:8–9).[45] It is a small step from labeling idolatry impure to actually labeling the idolater, the perpetrator of that idolatry, impure.[46] The biblical text gives birth to concepts which sprout into full plants by later authors who literalize the Torah's comments regarding moral impurity and shape it into a full-blown concept of Gentile ritual impurity. Certainly, this step seems to be taken already by the time of *Jubilees* and the Dead Sea Scrolls.[47]

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[41] Milgrom, "Concept of Impurity," 281.

[42] S. Olyan, "Purity Ideology in Ezra-Nehemiah as a Tool to Reconstitute the Community," *JSJ* 35 (2004): 1–16 at 10.

[43] Hayes, *Gentile Impurities*, 27–30.

[44] Cf. Milgrom, "Concept of Impurity," 280–83, for references.

[45] The early Sages too probably refused to sell clean fowl to Gentiles for fear that they might sacrifice them to idols (cf. *m. ʿAbod. Zar.* 1:5, L.H. Schiffman, "Legislation Concerning Relations with Non-Jews in the Zadokite Fragments and in Tannaitic Literature," *RevQ* 11/43 (1983): 379–98, at 385). The Mishnah is more lenient with regard to selling cattle and sheep to Gentiles (cf. *m. ʿAbod. Zar.* 1:6; *m. Pesaḥ.* 4:3); cf. also Baumgarten, *Qumran Law*, 97.

[46] The literature of Qumran reveals a low estimate of Gentile culture. The Temple Scroll disparages Gentiles because they bury the dead in their homes (11Q19 48:12), they subscribe to the cult of Molech which requires child sacrifice, and they engage in various acts of necromancy (11Q19 60:17–19).

[47] Milgrom, "Concept of Impurity," 284, dates *Jubilees* to the early second century BCE and says the author is fighting the influence of Hellenism in peaceful times, assimilation, etc. He sees *Jubilees* as the earliest source of Gentile impurity (282).

In the Second Temple period the notion developed that ritual purification contributed to atonement, and actual ablutions are performed along with repentance (cf. Gen 35:1–2). Ritual purification accompanies penitence in various Second Temple sources. The author of the *Sibylline Oracles* exhorts the penitent, "Wash your whole bodies in perennial rivers" and "Stretch out your hands to heaven and ask forgiveness for your previous deeds" (*Sib. Or.* 4.165). The *Testament of Levi* also requires immersion as part of the process of repentance and atonement (*T. Levi* 2:3).

There is no reason to think that the Rabbis initiated this move for the first time in Judaism. The reason Hayes gives for their decree is equally appropriate for the Hellenistic period: "The rabbinic prohibition against intermarriage with unconverted Gentiles is predicated on the moral religious danger of the union for the Jewish partner and appears to be reinforced by the rabbinic decree of Gentile ritual impurity."[48] The Rabbis themselves attribute the impurity of Gentile lands to Yose b. Yoezer, a contemporary of the writers of *Jubilees* and the early Scrolls.[49] And in fact the *Letter of Aristeas*, from the Hellenistic period, explains the role of ritual purity well:

> [142] Therefore lest we should be corrupted by any abomination, or our lives be perverted by evil communications, he [Moses] hedged us round on all sides by rules of purity, affecting alike what we eat, or drink, or

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[48] Hayes, *Gentile Impurities*, 144. For both biblical and post-biblical Jewish texts, a primary concern seems to be that social interaction will lead to intermarriage, Milgrom, "Concept of Impurity," 282. The Torah warns, "You must not make a covenant with the inhabitants of the land, for they will lust after their gods and sacrifice to their gods and invite you, and you will eat of their sacrifices. And when you take wives from among their daughters for your sons, their daughters will lust after their gods and will cause your sons to lust after their gods" (Exod 34:15–16; cf. Isa 52:1; Joel 4:17). Eating together leads to intermarriage which leads to idolatry. Indeed Maimonides' explanation for the enactment of Gentile impurity seems appropriate as well for the Qumran authors, i.e, impurity labels are a "fence" which guards against assimilation by restricting contact with Gentiles (Maimonides, Mishneh Torah, *Tum'at Met* 1:14; *Sipra Zabim* 1:1; *b. Nid.* 34a).

[49] E. Regev, "Yose Ben Yoezer and the Qumran Sectarians on Purity Laws: Agreement and Controversy," in *The Damascus Document: A Centennial of Discovery* (eds. J.M. Baumgarten, E.G. Chazon, and A. Pinnick; STDJ 34; Leiden: Brill, 2000), 95–107 at 98, following J.M. Baumgarten, supports this with mention of Alcimus, the renegade high priest, who courted favor with the Gentile authorities by leaving Israel, but lost his priestly position in doing so.

> touch, or hear, or see...[151] We have been distinctly separated from the rest of mankind.[50]

Not just Gentiles but non-sectarian Jews too were deemed a threat to the holiness of Israel, according to the Qumran sect. First of all, they do not purify themselves in the manner the sect requires and so they are still impure. Moreover, they are considered willful sinners since they refuse to join the sect and subscribe to its interpretation of the Torah. Their lot, unless they repent, is with the Sons of Darkness.

In addition to physical and moral concerns, outsider impurity functions on a symbolic level by reinforcing the notion that insiders are connected with the God of holiness and life while outsiders are hopelessly trapped in the realm of death. J. Milgrom and others have already made physical and psychological connections between biblical impurities and death.[51]

Like other impurity bearers, the outsider too is associated with the dead, for those who have not accepted the true path to holiness, guided by the purity laws and other precepts of the sect, are still in the realm of impurity and "death" (cf. Deut 30:15–20). Gentiles represent the foreign, dead gods they worship as opposed to Judaism's one, living God, thus they too are in the realm of death. Scholars have emphasized that in Israelite cosmology it was considered vitally important to maintain the structure of the universe by keeping all distinctions (boundaries) firm; no individual who has had contact with the world of death can

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[50] Hayes, *Gentile Impurities*, 47, sees this as fundamentally opposing Gentile idolatry, not as proof of ritual impurity; so also Klawans, "Notions of Gentile Impurity," 296–97, who claims Aristeas is talking about dietary laws. Idolatry is indeed primary (E. Regev, "Abominated Temple and a Holy Community: The Formation of the Notions of Purity and Impurity in Qumran," *DSD* 10 [2003]: 243–78), but that does not preclude ritual impurity.

[51] For fuller discussion of the connection between purity/life and impurity/death, see J. Milgrom, *Leviticus 1–16* (AB 3A; Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1991), 766–68, 1000–2, forbidden animals are only impure when dead; sexual discharges, which could have brought life but rather are oozing from the body as waste, are impure. The Bible associates false gods with death and oblivion, whereas Yahweh is a living God, in fact, the creator of life, and only the living can properly praise Him (Ps 36:9; Isa 45:5–21; Jer 10:10; cf. Gen 2:7). Note also, the leper's disheveled hair and rent clothes may be a sign that the leper is mourning his own "death," T. Frymer-Kensky, "Pollution, Purification, and Purgation in Biblical Israel," in *The Word of the Lord Shall Go Forth: Essays in Honor of David Noel Freedman in Celebration of His Sixtieth Birthday* (eds. C.L. Meyers and M.P. O'Connor; Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 1983), 399–414 at 400. He is hopelessly ostracized from the living unless he experiences a miraculous healing.

be part of life. As Tikva Frymer-Kensky says, he must therefore stay in limbo until purification will "enable him to rejoin the life-group."[52]

The association of impurity and death is not unusual among Jews in antiquity. The Rabbis champion this notion repeatedly (*b. B. Bat.* 10a; *b. Ber.* 33a; *b. Meg.* 14a; *Lev. Rab.* 6:6; 19:2). Paul interprets Christian baptism as beginning a new life (Rom 6:4). The link between purity and life is also a non-Jewish phenomenon. In Egypt hieroglyphs "life" and "happiness" flow from the purification flasks which purify the king. So also purification of the dead brings ritual purity and new life.[53]

The Qumran texts support this association of purity and life vs. impurity and death. J. Baumgarten notes that the leper's dead skin is due to blockage of blood which conveys the "spirit of life" in the Damascus Document. Contact with various impurity bearers is compared to contact with corpse impurity in 4QTohorot (4Q274 1 i 7–9; 4Q277–278).[54]

The important Qumran distinction on this subject, however, is that the sect seem to require all candidates joining the sect to purify themselves with the special purification water used for those defiled by contact with a dead body.[55] The Community Rule describes the acceptance of the penitent like this: "It is by humbling his soul to all God's statutes that his flesh can be cleansed by sprinkling with waters of purification and by sanctifying himself with *me niddah* and by sanctifying himself with waters of purity" (1QS 3:7–9). The symbolism is striking; the candidate to the sect is crossing from death/impurity to life/purity by joining the group. As an outsider, he was living as a corpse in the realm of the dead, but the sect has given him the opportunity to live again. The practice of sprinkling *me niddah* for purification from moral impurity, may be older than the sect. The Psalmist hints at the use of *me niddah* for repentant sinners when, in seeking God's forgiveness, he pleads, "Purge me with hyssop (used for corpse contamination) and I shall be pure" (Ps 51:9; cf. also Num 8:7; Ezek 36:25).[56]

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[52] Frymer-Kensky, "Pollution," 399–414; cf. Douglas, *Purity and Danger*, 53.

[53] H. Ringgren, "*Tahar*," *TDOT* 5:288.

[54] Baumgarten, "Purification Liturgies," 86–87.

[55] Baumgarten, "Purification Liturgies," 84.

[56] Cf. also the baptisms of John and Paul who use purification by water in the context of atonement from sin. Baumgarten, "Purification Liturgies," 209, argues that John's baptism, is like that of Qumran, in that it is an effective means to atonement if preceded by repentance.

In conclusion, the Qumran sect divided the world into light and darkness, and those in the dark, whether Jew or Gentile, carried both an inward and an outward impurity. First of all, there was an intertwining of moral and ritual impurity in the sect's ideology, and both Gentile and non-sectarian Jew were considered sinners. Secondly, outsiders were said to defile possessions and food, even from the time of harvest. Third, Second Temple texts report that Gentiles were considered ritually impure by the Essenes and even by some other Jews of that era. Fourth, intermarriage was forbidden on moral grounds but also stamped with the label of ritual impurity. Fifth, 4Q266 acknowledges the contagion of Gentile impurity to priests held captive in foreign lands. Nevertheless, upon entry to the sect, the newcomer began a holy way of life in which purifications would now be effectual for him.

Finally, I submit that at Qumran the ritual impurity of outsiders was primarily a label which preserved group identity as a "holy house for Aaron and Israel" by reinforcing the barrier between member and non-member. It functioned as a tool to safeguard the sect from physical harm as well as profanation of Israelite holiness through intermarriage, and it also kept immorality and undesirable religious practices (from both Gentile pagans and Jewish outsiders) from penetrating into the group.[57] The label of ritual impurity applied to outsiders strengthened the Qumran group's perception of itself as the true, holy Israel, the people of life, marking everyone else as impure and headed for destruction.

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[57] Hayes's rationale for rabbinic notions of Gentile impurity should be applied to Qumran as well: "Jewish ascriptions of impurity to Gentiles both constructed and reinforced the boundary needed to preserve group identity…the fear of intergroup unions and their threat to group identity are the basis for ascriptions of impurity to outsiders," *Gentile Impurities*, 162.

LA VISITE DE DIEU DANS L'INSTRUCTION SUR LES DEUX ESPRITS (1QS 3:13–4:26): CARACTÉRISATION DE LA COMMUNAUTÉ DE QUMRÂN ET DE SES ENNEMIS

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Le thème de la Visite de Dieu, tel que développé dans l'*Instruction sur les Deux Esprits* (1QS 3:13–4:26), constitue un élément important dans la construction de l'identité des membres de la communauté de Qumrân.[1] En effet, l'analyse de cette thématique nous laisse croire que la Visite est présentée dans une double perspective. Une perspective temporelle et une perspective eschatologique. De plus, la Visite contribue à ce que l'on appelle la programmation de lecture. Nous entendons par programmation de lecture la façon dont un texte est construit, afin d'imposer sa vision du monde, son idéologie. Dans cet article, nous tenterons de déceler l'effet que le texte produit sur son lecteur ou celui qui l'entend. *Or, c'est à la lecture ou à l'écoute de l'Instruction que le membre de la communauté définit son identité*.[2] Et cette identité comporte deux dimensions. Il y a

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[1] Dans cet article, nous étudions le thème de la Visite spécifiquement dans l'*Instruction sur les Deux Esprits*. Pour plus de détails sur cette thématique dans les autres écrits de Qumrân, voir M.G. Abegg Jr. "Day of Visitation," dans L.H. Schiffman et J.C. VanderKam (éds), *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 958–959.

[2] Notre hypothèse découle d'une réflexion sur l'herméneutique ricœurienne. Le rapport qui existe entre le texte et le lecteur est explicité par Ricœur au moyen du concept de la triple *Mimesis*. Notons cependant que la notion de *Mimesis* nous vient d'Aristote. Dans sa *Poétique*, Aristote décrit la *Mimesis* comme étant la représentation de l'action par le discours. Mais Ricœur ira plus loin en distinguant trois moments à la *Mimesis: Mimesis* I, la préfiguration, c'est le monde auquel se réfère le récit, le monde de l'auteur; *Mimesis* II, la configuration, c'est le monde du récit; *Mimesis* III, la re-figuration, c'est le monde du lecteur. Nous pouvons dire que l'*Instruction sur les Deux Esprit* est à la jonction de deux mondes (*Mimesis* II), c'est-à-dire entre le monde de l'auteur (*Mimesis* I) et celui du lecteur (*Mimesis* III). En somme, l'auteur transpose et configure son expérience du monde dans son récit. Mais le texte lui-même n'est pas le parfait reflet de la réalité, il en est qu'une représentation, une interprétation. L'acte de lecture nous permet d'entrer dans le monde du texte. Il arrive même qu'un lecteur soit transformé par l'acte de lecture, imitant ce que le langage du texte lui propose. Le récit produit ce qu'il représente, il pousse le lecteur vers un agir. C'est ce que l'on

d'abord la dimension horizontale, du rapport avec l'autre. Cet aspect de l'identité est manifeste lorsque les fils de vérité prennent conscience de leur statut à travers la caractérisation positive des élus. Ensuite, nous avons la dimension verticale, du rapport entre le membre de la communauté et Dieu. Les élus conscients de leur fragilité, savent que leurs conflits intérieurs, ainsi que les assauts de l'ange des ténèbres prendront fin au temps de la Visite. C'est à ce moment que Dieu purifiera leurs cœurs et qu'ils obtiendront la sagesse des fils du ciel.

Afin d'atteindre l'objectif visé, nous allons d'abord signaler brièvement le sens général de פקודה dans la Bible hébraïque. Ensuite, nous ferons l'inventaire des références à פקודה dans l'*Instruction sur les Deux Esprits*. En dernier lieu, nous offrirons une interprétation de cette thématique afin voir de quelle manière elle contribue à la construction de l'identité de la communauté à travers un procédé de caractérisation.[3] Puisque l'*Instruction* n'emploi que le substantif, nous laisserons de côté le verbe et les autres dérivés du large champ sémantique de la racine.

1. Sens Général de פְּקֻדָּה dans la Bible Hébraïque

Dans la Bible hébraïque, il y a plusieurs sens rattachés au substantif פְּקֻדָּה.[4] Un des sens est celui de *charge* ou de *surveillance*. Par exemple,

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appelle la programmation de lecture. Certains textes ont un tel pouvoir subversif qu'ils peuvent construire, redéfinir et même détruire l'identité d'un lecteur; ils peuvent aller jusqu'à transformer la vision du monde du lecteur. Nous croyons qu'il en était ainsi pour l'*Instruction*. Puisque l'enseignement de l'*Instruction* était dispensé par le *maskil*, les membres de communauté ne pouvaient pas rester indifférent à la lecture (ou à l'écoute) de ce texte. Dans un article récent, nous avons travaillé un texte paulinien (Rm 14:1–23) en tenant compte de la construction de l'identité du lecteur et de la programmation de lecture; voir A. Gignac et A. Gagné, "N'est pas fort qui croyait l'être, et sa foi n'est pas celle qu'il convenait d'avoir! Ambiguïté discursive et programmation de lecture en Rm 14," *Théoforum* 35 (2004): 21–46.

Pour plus de détails sur l'herméneutique ricœurienne, voir P. Ricœur, *Temps et récit. 1: L'intrigue et le récit historique* (Points 227; Paris: Seuil, 1983), 93–162.

[3] Pour plus de détails sur le procédé de caractérisation des personnages dans les récits, voir D. Rhoads et K. Syreeni (éds), *Characterisation in the Gospels: Reconceiving Narrative Criticism* (JSNTSS 184; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999). Pour un exemple d'étude sur la caractérisation, voir A. Gagné, "Caractérisation des figures de Satan et de Judas dans le IVe évangile: stratégie narrative et déploiement des intrigues de conflit," *Science et Esprit* 55 (2003): 263–284

[4] Prenons note que la LXX traduit פְּקֻדָּה le plus souvent par ἐπισκοπή (châtiment, rendre compte; Is 10:3; Jr 10:15), ἐπίσκεψις (rendre compte, visitation; Jr 10:18; 11:23;

Nb 3:32 rapporte comment Eléazar avait la *responsabilité* (פְּקֻדַּה) des hommes affectés au service du sanctuaire.[5] La Visite sert aussi à décrire le sort réservé à tout être humain (פְּקֻדַּת כָּל־הָאָדָם), c'est-à-dire la *mort* (Nb 16:29). De plus, ce substantif comporte les idées de *répartition* et de *distribution*. On rapporte en 2Ch 17:14 et 2Ch 26:11 que l'armée d'Israël devait être *répartie* de façon spécifique pour que l'ennemi soit vaincu. Et en 1Ch 24:19, on parle des ordres concernant la *distribution* des tâches pour les prêtres en service dans le sanctuaire. Mais dans la majorité des cas, פְּקֻדָּה signifie *rendre compte, rétribution, visitation* et *châtiment*.[6] Ces différents sens sont particulièrement présents dans les écrits des prophètes Isaïe, Jérémie, Ézéchiel, Osée et Michée. Le vocable פְּקֻדָּה qualifie le moment où les hommes et les nations doivent rendre compte à Dieu de leurs actions. La Visite décrite dans la littérature prophétique n'est cependant pas d'ordre eschatologique en soi—elle s'effectue plutôt à un moment précis, temporel, à l'intérieure de l'histoire humaine. C'est une Visite qui s'opère dans la vie présente, elle est ponctuelle. N'étant pas d'ordre éternelle, elle n'est pas l'équivalent du jugement à la fin des temps.

Il importe de mentionner à cette étape que certains associent la Visite dans l'*Instruction sur les Deux Esprits* spécifiquement au Jour du Seigneur ou au jugement eschatologique à la fin des temps, mentionné chez les prophètes.[7] Même si ce rapprochement est justifiable, il faut cependant dire que le Jour du Seigneur n'a pas toujours une connotation eschatologique. En certaines instances, le Jour du Seigneur correspond au moment où Dieu juge présentement—c'est-à-dire, au temps où l'on écrit—son peuple infidèle et les nations ennemies.[8] Chez les prophètes, le Jour du Seigneur s'effectue à deux moments distinct: (1)

23:12; 31:44; 28:18) et ἐκδίκησις (vengeance, rendre compte, châtiment; Jr 26:21; 27:27; Ez 9:1; Os 9:7; Mi 7:4). Pour plus de détails sur les correspondances entre ces différentes expressions, voir H.W. Beyer, "ἐπισκοπή", dans *TDNT* 2, (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1964), 606–608.

[5] Cette même signification de פְּקֻדָּה se retrouve aussi en Nb 3:36; 4:16; Ps 109:8; 2Ch 23:18; 24:11. פְּקֻדָּה est également employé pour parler des sentinelles dans le sanctuaire (2R 11:18; Ez 44:11), et désigne la protection divine en Jb 10:12.

[6] Voir Is 10:3; Jr 8:12; 10:15; 11:23; 23:12; 46:21; 48:44; 50:27; 51:18; Ez 9:1; Os 9:7; Mi 7:4.

[7] Voir É. Puech, *La croyances des Esséniens en la vie future: immortalité, résurrection, vie éternelle?* (ÉB, n.s. 22; Paris, Gabalda, 1993), 434.

[8] Par exemple, Is 13:9 et So 1:7.

comme un événement dans l'histoire du peuple d'Israël et des nations, un jugement temporel passé, (2) comme le jugement final à la fin des temps. La première manifestation du Jour du Seigneur—c'est-à-dire, l'aspect temporel—préfigure le Jour final, l'ultime Jour du Seigneur.[9] Nous sommes d'avis que ces deux aspects du Jour du Seigneur jettent un éclairage sur la manière d'interpréter la thématique de la Visite dans l'*Instruction*.

2. La Visite dans l'Instruction sur les Deux Esprits[10]

La première mention de פקודה dans l'*Instruction* se trouve en 1QS 3:14–15, où l'auteur parle de "la Visite de leurs coups avec les temps de leur paix":

> [14] quant à toutes leurs sortes d'esprits en leurs signes quant à leurs actions dans leurs générations et quant à <u>la visite</u> (ולפקודת) de leurs coups [15] avec les temps de leur paix.

Il semble que cette phrase se rapporte à deux choses. D'abord, la Visite de leurs coups pourrait décrire la Visite réservée aux injustes (1QS 4:9–12), tandis que les temps de leur paix seraient en lien avec la Visite réservée aux justes (1QS 4:6–7):

> 1QS 4:9–12
> [9]<u>Mais pour l'esprit de perversité</u>…[11]…<u>Et la visite</u> (ופקודת) [12] <u>de tous ceux qui se conduisent selon lui</u> (sera) pour un grand (nombre de) coups par la main de tous les anges de destruction…

> 1QS 4:6–7
> [6]…<u>Voilà les conseils de l'esprit aux fils de vérité du monde. Et la visite</u> (ופקודת) <u>de tous ceux qui se conduisent selon lui</u> (sera) pour une guérison [7] et une grande paix dans une longueur de jours et une postérité florissante avec toutes les bénédictions durables et une joie éternelle dans la vie perpétuelle et une couronne de gloire.

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[9] Voir A.J. Everson, "The day of Yahweh," *JBL* 94 (1973): 329–337.
[10] Sauf pour quelques modifications, nous utilisons la traduction de J. Duhaime tirée de son article "Cohérence structurelle et tensions internes dans l'Instruction sur les Deux Esprits (1QS III 13–IV 26)," dans éd. F. García Martínez; *Wisdom and Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Biblical Tradition* (BETL CLXVIII; Leuven: University Press; Peeters, 2003), 126–131.

Il y a un côté négatif et un côté positif à la Visite.[11] Négativement, la Visite a pour conséquence un grand nombre de coups (נגע) advenant sur ceux qui sont conduits par l'esprit de perversité (1QS 4:9). Ici, les coups sont administrés aux injustes par tous les anges de destruction (מלאכי חבל 1QS 4:12). Plus loin, au moyen d'une rhétorique du jugement, le texte poursuit sa description des effets négatifs de la Visite de la façon suivante:

> 1QS 4:12–14
> [12] …pour un grand (nombre de) coups par la main de tous les anges de destruction pour la perdition éternelle par l'ardeur de la colère vengeresse de Dieu, pour une terreur perpétuelle et une honte [13] durable avec l'opprobre de l'extermination par le feu des ténèbres. Et tous leurs temps pour leurs générations (s'écoulera) dans l'affliction douloureuse et le malheur amer dans les calamités de ténèbres jusqu'à [14] leur extermination pour (qu'il ne subsiste) aucun reste et aucun rescapé pour eux.

En lisant attentivement cette portion de l'*Instruction*, on constate que le texte parle d'abord des répercussions eschatologiques de la Visite (perdition éternelle, terreur perpétuelle, honte durable et opprobre de l'extermination par le feu des ténèbres). Ensuite, 1QS 4:12–14 traitent d'une Visite aux dimensions "prophétiques," c'est-à-dire, de conséquences temporelles dans la vie présente des injustes (leurs générations, l'affliction douloureuse, malheur amer, calamités de ténèbres, extermination).[12]

Par ailleurs, positivement, la Visite apportera des temps de paix sur ceux qui marchent dans les voies de la vraie justice (1QS 4:2). Les conséquences de cette Visite positive sont d'abord d'ordre temporelles (1QS 4:6–7). Le texte parle ici de guérison, d'une grande paix, d'une longueur de jours, d'une postérité florissante et de toutes sortes de bénédictions durables. 1QS 4:7–8 traitent davantage de la dimension eschatologique de la Visite (joie éternelle, vie perpétuelle, couronne de gloire, vêtement d'honneur dans la lumière éternelle). Il semble que nous ayons ici la mention implicite de deux types de Visites: une que l'on pourrait qualifier de prophétique, car elle ressemble à ce que

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[11] Une dimension positive à la Visite est aussi présente en certains endroits dans la Bible hébraïque: Gn 50:24–25 (Dieu visitera Israël en Egypte); Ru 1:6 (Dieu avait visité et béni son peuple).

[12] L'aspect négatif de la Visite rappelle particulièrement les malédictions de Dt 28–30 où l'auteur parle du sort qui attend ceux qui abandonnent Dieu.

nous avons chez les prophètes, et l'autre qui comporte davantage une dimension eschatologique, c'est-à-dire qu'elle s'effectue à la fin de l'histoire humaine, ayant une portée éternelle.[13] On pourrait donc résumer ces deux perspectives de la Visite par le tableau ci-dessous:

Visite positive (1QS 4:6–8)	Visite négative (1QS 4:11–14)
Perspective présente: guérison, paix, longueur de jours, postérité florissante et bénédictions durables (4:6b–7a)	Perspective présente: (leurs générations), l'affliction douloureuse, malheur amer, calamités de ténèbres, extermination (4:13b–14)
Perspective eschatologique: joie éternelle, vie perpétuelle, couronne de gloire, vêtement d'honneur dans la lumière éternelle (4:7b–8)	Perspective eschatologique: grand nombres de coups, perdition éternelle, colère vengeresse de Dieu, terreur et honte perpétuelle, l'opprobre de l'extermination par le feu des ténèbres (4:12b–13a)

Cette thématique est aussi reprise en 1QS 3:18. Là, on y mentionne que l'homme se conduira selon les Deux Esprits jusqu'au moment de la Visite divine (sa Visite) פקודתו:

> [18] ...Et il lui a mis deux esprits pour se conduire selon eux jusqu'au moment de <u>sa visite</u> (פקודתו).

Ici, le texte parle probablement d'une Visite ultime ou eschatologique. Nous croyons qu'il existe une correspondance entre 1QS 3:18 et la Visite eschatologique de 1QS 4:19 et 26. Les rapprochements thématiques semblent assez évidents entre ces trois références:

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[13] Pour ce qui est de 1QS 4:6–8, 12–14, Puech estime que les bénédictions et châtiments de la Visite sont d'ordre eschatologique, voir Puech, *La croyance des Esséniens en la vie future*, 434–440, ainsi que "Les Esséniens croyaient-ils à la résurrection?," dans *Qoumrân et les manuscrits de la mer morte. Un cinquantenaire*, E.M. Laperrousaz (éd.), Paris: Cerf, 1997), 423–425. Il semble, cependant, que certaines bénédictions ne sont pas forcément *post mortem*. En effet, il faut regarder du côté de la Bible hébraïque pour voir que des expressions telles *guérison* (19x) et *longévité de jours* (14x) n'ont pas nécessairement une dimension eschatologique, sauf en Mal 3:20 où *guérison* a une connotation future.

1QS 3:18–23

[18] …Et il lui a mis deux esprits pour se conduire selon eux **jusqu'au moment de sa visite** (פקודתו). Voici les esprits: [19] la vérité et la perversion. Dans une source de lumière (sont) les origines de la vérité et d'une fontaine de ténèbres (sont) les origines de la perversion. [20] Et dans la main d'un prince de lumières (est) la domination de tous les fils de justice et (c'est) selon les voies de lumière (qu')ils se conduisent. Et dans la main d'un ange [21] de ténèbres (est) la domination sur les fils de perversion et (c'est) selon les voies de ténèbres (qu')ils se conduisent. Et à cause de l'ange de ténèbres est l'égarement de [22] tous les fils de justice, et tout leur péché et leurs iniquités et leur culpabilités et les transgressions de leurs actions (sont) sous sa domination [23] conformément aux mystères de Dieu **jusqu'à son temps**.

1QS 4:17–21

[17] …Et (elles ont) un zèle [18] combatif contre tous leurs jugements, car elles ne vont pas ensemble. Mais Dieu, dans les secrets de sa science et dans la sagesse de sa gloire a établi un temps pour l'existence de la perversité. **Et au moment** [19] **de (la) visite** (פקודה), il l'éliminera à jamais. Et alors paraîtra pour l'éternité la vérité du monde, car il s'est corrompu dans les voies de l'impiété sous la domination de la perversité **jusqu'au** [20] **moment du jugement décisif**: Et alors Dieu nettoiera dans sa vérité toutes les œuvres de l'humain, il épurera pour lui la bâtisse d'homme. Pour anéantir toute esprit de perversité des membres de [21] sa chair, et pour le purifier dans l'esprit de sainteté de toutes ses activités d'impiété.

1QS 4:25–26

[25] …Car (c'est) une partie contre l'autre (que) Dieu les a placées **jusqu'au temps de la décision et de l'agir nouveau**. Et lui connaît le travail de leurs actions pour tous les temps [26] [éternel]s, et il les a partagés entre les fils d'homme pour la connaissance du bien [et du mal]. [Car Di]eu [fait tom]ber les lots vers tout vivant selon son esprit (mis) en lui **[jusqu'au moment] de la visite** (הפקודה).

D'abord, signalons que les trois textes en question traitent de la Visite. Mais cette Visite est d'ordre eschatologique et non pas temporelle. Cela est évident par le fait même que l'on délimite le temps fixé par Dieu, selon lequel, l'homme (ou le monde) doit se conduire d'après les voies des esprits de vérité et de perversion. En effet, l'homme agit "selon eux" (בדרכי אור יתהלכו), "selon les voies de lumière" (להתהלך בם), "selon les voies de ténèbres" (בדרכי חושך יתהלכו), "selon les voies de l'impiété sous la domination de la perversité" (בדכי רשע בממשלת עולה) et "selon son esprit mis en lui" (רוחו בו). Cette condition sera maintenue "jusqu'au moment de la visite" (פקודה עד מועד), "jusqu'à son temps" (עד קצו), "jusqu'au moment du jugement décisif" (עד מועד משפט נחרצה) et "jusqu'au temps de la décision et de l'agir nouveau" (עד קץ נחרצה ועשות חדשה). En 1QS 3:18 et 1QS 4:25–26, on insiste sur le fait que c'est Dieu lui-même qui a mis ou placé les Deux Esprits dans le cœur de l'homme. C'est ce qui explique le comportement parfois paradoxal des êtres humains. Puisque Dieu est omniscient, il connaît parfaitement le comportement de chacun. D'ailleurs, l'idée d'un plan divin est aussi présentée. L'agir des hommes est conforme "aux mystères de Dieu" (רזי אל), selon "les secrets de sa science dans la sagesse de sa gloire" (בדוי שכלו ובחכמת כבודו), car il connaît (ידע) le travail de tous pour les temps éternels.

En somme, les trois textes insistent sur le fait qu'au temps de la Visite finale, les hommes ne se conduiront plus de façon perverse, car la Visite en question éliminera toute perversion. Dieu a mis dans le cœur des hommes les Deux Esprits et chacun se conduira selon les voies des esprits jusqu'au temps de la Visite. Tout s'accorde avec le plan divin établi depuis les temps éternels. La mention de la Visite en 1QS 3:18 et 1QS 4:19 et 26 est certainement d'ordre eschatologique. Elle diffère clairement de la Visite en 1QS 4:6–7, 13–14, qui est plutôt d'ordre temporel.

En tentant de reconstituer la portion de fragment mutilé de 1QS 3:26, certains considèrent que le texte parle de "toute Visite." En adoptant cette reconstitution du texte, on estime que les Visites sont essentiellement fondées sur les voies des Deux Esprits, elles en sont la conséquence. La fin de la ligne 26 est alors lue comme suit: "sur leurs jugements tout service et sur leurs voies toute Visite" ועל דרכיהן [כול פק]ודה [מ]שפט]יהן כול עבודה ([ע]ל).[14] Mais, d'autres traduisent cette portion

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[14] Voir Duhaime, "Cohérence structurelle," 126–127.

différemment: "sur leur voies tout service et sur leurs voies tout service " (עבודה ועל דרכיהן [כו]ל[ע]בודה [ע]ל[דרכ]יהן כול).[15] Il est donc difficile de trancher sur cette question.[16] De toute façon, même si nous penchons du côté de la première option avec la mention de "toute Visite," elle n'apporte aucun éclairage supplémentaire sur le sens de פקודה, car 1QS 4:6, 11–12 attestent expressément que les Visites sont fondées sur les voies, et qu'elles en sont la conséquence.

Or, résumons donc de quelle façon פקודה est utilisé dans l'ensemble de l'*Instruction sur le Deux Esprits*. Premièrement, 1QS 3:14 semble traiter implicitement de deux types de Visites. Il est possible d'établir un lien entre "la Visite de leurs coups et le temps de leur paix" et le contenu de 1QS 4:6–8, 11–14. L'aspect négatif de la Visite concerne le méchant, tandis que le côté positif est réservé au juste. Comme c'est le cas pour le Jour du Seigneur, il y a deux moments, ou deux Visites: (1) une Visite qui s'effectue dans le temps présent, (2) une Visite finale avant le renouvellement de toutes choses. Deuxièmement, 1QS 3:18 se rapporte non pas à une Visite dans le temps présent, mais à une Visite eschatologique. En raison des recoupements thématiques, il y a certes un parallèle à faire avec la Visite mentionnée en 1QS 4:19 et 26. Troisièmement, 1QS 3:26 pourrait peut-être faire référence à "toute Visite," mais ce n'est guère certain. Cela confirmerait que les Visites sont elles-mêmes fondées sur les voies des Deux Esprits, ce que 1QS 4:6, 11–12 nous disent clairement.

En terminant cette section, notons que l'idée de deux types de Visites n'est pas étrangère à Qumrân. Le *Document de Damas* (CD) parle d'une première Visite à caractère temporel. Elle s'est manifestée à plusieurs reprises dans l'histoire du peuple: (1) au temps de l'Exode contre l'infidélité d'Israël (voir le manuscrit A de la gueniza CD 5:15–17) et, (2) à l'époque même de la communauté (CD 7:21). Ces Visites ressemblent à ce que nous retrouvons chez les prophètes. Dieu visite son peuple pour le punir de ses infidélités par un châtiment ponctuel. Le CD parle

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[15] La raison pour laquelle certains ont choisi de traduire la ligne 26 de cette façon, vient probablement du fait que l'on considère le texte comme étant marqué d'une dittographie. Voir par exemple l'édition critique de F. García Martínez et E.J.C. Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition* (New York: Brill, 1997) 1: 76–77.

[16] Dans leur édition de la *Règle de la communauté*, Qimron et Charlesworth ont choisi de ne pas traduire les lacunes du texte à cet endroit. Voir E. Qimron et J.H. Charlesworth, "Rule of the Community," dans J.H. Charlesworth (éd.), *Rule of the Community and Related Documents* (The Dead Sea Scrolls. Hebrew, Aramaic, and the Greek Texts with English Translations; Tübingen: Mohr Seibeck; Lousiville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1994) 1: 16–17.

aussi d'une seconde Visite de type eschatologique (CD 8:2–3). Pour l'auteur du CD, les Visites temporelles anticipent la Visite finale où Dieu anéantira tous ses ennemis par l'intermédiaire de Bélial.

3. La Visite et la Construction de l'Identité

Nous sommes conscient que l'*Instruction sur les Deux Esprits* est avant tout destinée au *maskil*, d'après ce qui est écrit en 1QS 3:13. Mais cela ne veut pas dire qu'elle n'était pas lue ou, du moins, entendue par les autres membres de la communauté. On nous signale expressément que cette instruction est donnée au maître pour enseigner les fils de lumières. Pour la communauté, l'*Instruction* est en quelque sorte sa règle de foi. Mais l'autorité de ce texte vient par le fait même qu'il est lu ou enseigné aux membres. Sans lecteur, il n'est d'aucune utilité. Nous pouvons donc dire que l'*Instruction* existe grâce à la communauté, pour son utilisation et sa propre constitution.[17]

Le texte de l'*Instruction* est construit de telle sorte, qu'il force le lecteur ou celui qui entend ses prescriptions, c'est-à-dire le membre de la communauté, à se ranger du côté des fils de vérité. En supposant que l'*Instruction* aurait pu être lu ou entendu par les membres, la thématique de la Visite contribue à une sorte de programmation de lecture et configure l'identité du lecteur. Elle le pousse à réfléchir sur son statut en favorisant l'émergence d'un sujet éthique que le texte dénomme comme étant un fils de vérité. Le lecteur, construit par le texte, s'apparente à ce que l'on peut appeler le *lecteur implicite*. C'est l'image du lecteur perçue exclusivement à travers les données du texte. Avec un pouvoir subversif, l'écrit dicte à son lecteur le rôle qui lui est prévu. Pour Wolfgang Iser, le *lecteur implicite*

> incarne toutes les prédispositions nécessaires pour que l'œuvre littéraire exerce son effet—des prédispositions qui sont fournies, non par une réalité empirique extérieure, mais par le texte lui-même. En conséquence, les racines du lecteur implicite comme concept sont fermement implantées dans la structure du texte; il est une construction.[18]

En lisant l'expérience et la vision du monde de l'auteur, telles que décrites dans l'*Instruction*, le lecteur est amené à évaluer son contenu. C'est

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[17] G.J. Laughery, *Living Hermeneutics in Motion: An Analysis and Evaluation of Paul Ricœur's Contribution to Biblical Hermeneutics* (Lanham: University Press of America, 2002), 137.

[18] W. Iser, *L'Acte de lecture: Théorie de l'effet esthétique* (Bruxelles: Mardaga, 1978), 34.

alors que certaines actions et/ou personnages du texte sont approuvées ou désapprouvés.[19] Or, le lecteur "passe par divers points de vues offerts par le texte, et met en relation ses différentes visions et schémas, il met l'œuvre en mouvement, et il se met également en mouvement."[20] S'il souhaite s'inspirer ou s'approprier le texte, il doit d'abord accepter les conventions que ce dernier lui propose.[21] La représentation des fils de perversion devient donc l'anti-modèle à éviter, tandis que celle des fils de vérité est à suivre.

Comme nous l'avons signalé en introduction, cette construction de l'identité se fait à deux niveaux. La dimension horizontale est principalement développée par la caractérisation des fils de vérité et des fils de perversion, au moyen d'un catalogue de vices et de vertus. Les voies des Deux Esprits sont à l'origine de la conduite de chaque groupe. Mais, les actions des justes sont certes motivées par les côtés bénéfiques de la Visite mentionnées en 1QS 4:6–8. Pour bénéficier de la paix sur terre et de la félicité éternelle, le membre doit marcher dans les voies de la vérité, telles que décrites aux lignes 2 à 6. L'aspect négatif de la Visite (1QS 4:11–14) sert aussi à dissuader les membres de la communauté à marcher dans les voies de l'esprit de perversité. Ils peuvent aussi facilement reconnaître leurs ennemis à travers la caractérisation négative des fils de perversion en 1QS 4:9–11.

La Visite eschatologique mentionnée en 1QS 4:19, rappelle aux membres que leur cœur est aussi le théâtre d'un conflit entre les forces du bien et du mal. Cette réalité pourrait avoir comme effet de brouiller l'identité du membre aux prises avec les assauts de l'ange des ténèbres. Cela pourrait même le pousser à remettre en question son statut de fils de vérité, et en venir à se demander: *Qui suis-je réellement*? Mais, le texte ne laisse pas le membre de la communauté en désarroi. La délivrance ultime du combat interne s'effectuera au temps de la Visite finale. C'est à ce moment que Dieu épurera l'humanité et que les élus

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[19] En ce sens, Ricœur dira qu'il n'y a aucun texte neutre. Même l'historiographie n'atteint jamais le degré zéro de l'estimation. Le texte force le lecteur à réfléchir et à se positionner face à ses énoncés, voir P. Ricœur, *Soi-même comme un autre* (L'ordre philosophique; Paris: Seuil, 1990), 193–94.

[20] Iser, *L'Acte de lecture*, 21.

[21] Pour Ricœur, le lecteur ne se projette pas sur le texte, il ne fait que s'abandonner au pouvoir subversif de ce dernier. Laughery résume ainsi la pensée de Ricœur: "It is not the reader who projects him/herself on the text, but on the contrary, the reader reading is given a self through the divestiture of one self and the appropriation of another. The reader surrenders to the power of the text and through it is able to read him/herself." (Laughery, *Living Hermeneutics in Motion*, 144).

obtiendront la sagesse des fils du ciel. C'est alors qu'ils retrouveront la gloire d'Adam (1QS 4:22–23). Pour atteindre cet état, le membre doit cependant s'en remettre entièrement à Dieu. La vérité est que même s'il souhaite aligner sa conduite sur la liste des vertus de 1QS 4:2–6, cela ne réussit pas toujours. Il doit espérer en Dieu malgré ses propres manquements et croire qu'il compte parmi les élus. Certes, les assauts de l'ange des ténèbres incitent les membres à s'auto-examiner, et à placer entièrement leur confiance en Dieu. Pour le membre, la Visite finale révèle sa faiblesse et son besoin de Dieu. Sa faiblesse est manifeste par le fait même qu'il sera toujours aux prises avec les penchants de l'esprit de perversité dans son propre cœur. Mais au jour de la Visite, parce qu'il est un élu, Dieu le purifiera de toute perversité. La Visite eschatologique force donc le lecteur de l'*Instruction* à réfléchir sur son identité au plan de la verticalité, de son rapport avec Dieu. Elle contraint aussi le membre à se conduire selon les voies de la justice, elle construit son identité en faisant de lui un fils de vérité.

CREATION, ESCHATOLOGY AND ETHICS
IN 4QINSTRUCTION

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4QInstruction is one of the longer texts found in the caves at Qumran, although its highly fragmentary nature has made reconstruction difficult[1] and work on the actual content of the text has only recently begun to appear in any significant amount. It is essentially a loosely structured collection[2] of ethical and paraenetic material, introduced by an eschatological/creation discourse and punctuated by reflections on the importance of wisdom and by further eschatological descriptions. This paper is intended to explore the relationship between the eschatological/creation teaching in the introductory discourse and the paraenetic material; the central thesis is that the possession of revealed wisdom enables the eschatological community[3] to live in accordance with the design plan of creation and that this explains the comprehensive ethical system within the text. In order to demonstrate this thesis, the eschatological material within the text must first be examined, in particular the contribution made to this eschatology by the distinctive use of the term רז נהיה. The creation discourse that introduces the work will then be examined; I will suggest that this provides a conceptual framework for the ethical material. This will be followed by an examination of the admonitory material, an examination that will particularly focus on the

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[1] For discussions of the reconstruction of the text see the work of J. Strugnell and D.J. Harrington (with T. Elgvin) in *Qumran Cave 4.XXIV: Sapiential Texts, Part 2: 4QInstruction (Mûsār lᵉMēvîn): 4Q415ff: With a re-edition of 1Q26 by John Strugnell and Daniel J. Harrington, S.J. and an Edition of 4Q423 by Torleif Elgvin, in Consultation with Joseph A. Fitzmeyer, S.J.* (DJD 34; Oxford: Clarendon, 1999), T. Elgvin, "The Reconstruction of Sapiential Work A," in *RevQ* 16/64 (1995): 559–580 and especially E.J.C. Tigchelaar, *To Increase Learning for the Understanding Ones: Reading and Reconstructing the Fragmentary Early Jewish Sapiential Text 4QInstruction* (STDJ 44; Leiden: Brill, 2001), 1–169, which includes critical evaluation of both of the preceding works.

[2] DJD 34.17: "the parts are more important than the whole and the overall outline needs not follow a tight logic."

[3] I use the term, "community" in a very loose sense here, indicating a group linked by some ideology rather than a well-defined group with definite geographical or hierarchical boundaries.

relative extents to which future judgement and creation are motivating factors in paraenesis. We will then return to the significance of the phrase רז נהיה, which, I shall suggest, serves as an integrating factor for creation, eschatology and ethics.[4] The conclusions will then relate this discussion to the question of sectarianism/group identity.

Eschatology in 4QInstruction

1. *The Future Judgement*

Torleif Elgvin has drawn attention to the fact that the future elements of the eschatology of 4QInstruction are not as detailed as those of other writings of the time, such as *1 Enoch.*[5] Nevertheless, Elgvin himself points out that "An eschatological discourse on the coming judgement occupies a full two columns of the work."[6] The most striking description of judgement is found in 4Q416 1 (supplemented with 4Q418* 1, 2, 2b, 4Q418 229 and a number of smaller fragments of 4Q418),[7] a passage that comes near the beginning of the work:

> 10. in Heaven he shall pronounce judgement upon the works of wickedness and all his faithful children will be favourably accepted by [
> 11. its end. And they shall be in terror. And all who defiled themselves in it shall cry out. For the heavens *shall see*, [and the earth too shall be shaken (from its place)]

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[4] The results of my research overlap to a considerable extent with the recent work of M.J. Goff, *The Worldly and Heavenly Wisdom of 4QInstruction* (STDJ 50; Leiden: Brill, 2003). Goff's work was published after I had produced the core of this paper and our conclusions—independently reached—seem to be in agreement, though they are not identical. It may simply be a matter of emphasis, but I do not see Goff making explicit the central point of this paper, namely that a key element in the eschatology of 4QInstruction is the idea that the community is a kind of restored creation. It is noteworthy that there is no discussion of a restored creation in Goff's chapter on eschatology (*Wordly and Heavenly Wisdom*, 168–215). Also, his discussion of 4Q423 (100–3) seems to take this section as being simple metaphor for the addressee's relationship with God, rather than seeing the use of Eden imagery as denoting the idea that the ideological community actually perceives itself to be a restored creation. These issues will be explored below.

[5] T. Elgvin, "Early Essene Eschatology: Judgement 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* (eds. D.W. Parry and S.D. Ricks; STDJ 20; Leiden: Brill, 1996), 120–65, 142.

[6] Ibidem, 128.

[7] See Tigchelaar, *To Increase Learning*, 175.

12. The [s]eas and the depths shall be in terror. And all who defiled themselves in it shall be in terror, and every spirit of flesh will be *laid bare.* But the sons of heaven [in the day of]

13. its [judge]ment. And all iniquity shall come to an end, while the period of truth will be completed [

14. in all periods of eternity, for he is a God of truth.[8]

This passage depicts the final judgement as involving not only the punishment of individuals, a theme that emerges more clearly in 4Q418 55 and 69 ii,[9] but also the very eradication of iniquity (l. 13), a fact that emphasises both the finality of the judgement and the cleansing of the creation.

A dualism between the righteous and the wicked may be seen to be emerging in this text, notably in the reference to the "spirit of flesh" and the "sons of heaven" in line 12. Frey has seen in this a fundamental dualism that ultimately influenced the thought of Paul.[10] Against this, however, Eibert Tigchelaar has preferred to see "spirit of flesh" as a reference to all living things rather than a pejorative term, and therefore rejects a dualistic interpretation.[11] A conclusion as to which is right is made more difficult by the fact that a lacuna obscures the verb that would allow us to know what exactly it is that the "sons of heaven" do. The structure of the text, however, would seem to imply that the key point is that the "sons of heaven" do not react to the judgement with the same fear as "every spirit of flesh", implying that

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[8] This translation is Tigchelaar's, ibidem, 176. I have departed from him (italicised words) in lines 11 and 12, where I have seen a possible chiastic structure based on translating יראו as the third person plural Qal imperfect of ראה, "to see" rather than following Tigchelaar in rendering "they will fear," based on the root ירא. Such a rendering prompts me to follow the *DJD* 34 editors in reading ויתערעו, following 4Q416 1, "every spirit of flesh **will be laid bare**" rather than following Tigchelaar by substituting [ ]ויתר (from 4Q418* 2 4; Tigchelaar, *To Increase Learning*, 180) and postulating a meaning "they will cry out." The chiasm is therefore as follows:

The heavens will see
shaken from its place will be the earth
and the seas and the depths will be in terror
And every spirit of flesh will be laid bare.

The point, however, is not important to my argument.

[9] See Tigchelaar, *To Increase Learning*, 209–10.

[10] J. Frey, "The Notion of Flesh in 4QInstruction and the Background of Pauline Usage," 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* (eds. D.K. Falk, F. García Martínez, and E.M. Schuller; STDJ 35; Leiden: Brill, 2000), 197–226.

[11] Tigchelaar, *To Increase Learning*, 186–88.

they have confidence as to their righteous status before God. Thus, at
the judgement, the two groups appear to fall on different sides of the
great divide. A dualistic interpretation of the text seems, therefore, to
be required.[12]

Regardless of whether such a dualism is present in the lines just
examined, it is certainly the case that it emerges elsewhere in the work,
most notably in 4Q418 69 ii. Here, the judgement is described upon
those who are termed the "foolish of heart"[13] The events are described
in a second person address in lines 4–9; in line 10, the attention then
shifts to the righteous who are addressed as "the chosen ones of the
truth."[14] The antithesis established, therefore, is between the "chosen
ones of the truth" and the "foolish of heart," a dualism reminiscent of
that seen in the Apocalypse of Weeks, where the elect are given wis-
dom at the end of the present age.[15] This antithesis is developed by the
phrases that occur in parallel with "chosen ones": they are "searchers
of understanding" and "those who keep watch over all knowledge."
Thus, we are left with a dualism between the "wise" and the "foolish",
similar to that seen in the traditional Jewish wisdom of Proverbs and
Psalm 1, but with an additional element: the "wise" are those who have
been elected to partake in the eschatological salvation.[16] This connects
naturally with the next element of the eschatology of 4QInstruction.

2. *The Possession of Revealed Wisdom by the Remnant*

Arguably, the dualism seen above in terms of the judgement has a pres-
ent dimension: 4Q418 81 + 81a address the reader as one who has been
separated from "every spirit of flesh." The text then continues to speak
of the addressee using the terminology of priesthood borrowed from
Num 18:20: "I am your portion and inheritance among the children of
Israel." As this language is taken up in 4QInstruction, a subtle change
is made: God is now the addressee's inheritance among the "children
of mankind" (בני אדם). Elgvin sees in this a reinterpretation of priestly

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[12] See also Goff, *Worldly and Heavenly Wisdom*, 80–123. The question of the relationship
of the thought here to Pauline dualism remains open to discussion, however.

[13] אוילי לב, line 4.

[14] בחירי אמת.

[15] *1 En.* 93:10, See the comments by George Nickelsburg in the introduction to
his commentary, *1 Enoch 1: A Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch, Chapters 1–36; 81–108*
(Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2001), 41–42.

[16] See Goff's comments regarding the development of traditional wisdom, *Wordly
and Heavenly Wisdom*, 216–219.

language referring to the reader as a member of the eschatological community.[17] He buttresses his case by noting the presence in line 13 of the phrase, "his sprout for an eternal planting" (פארתו למטעת עולם). The phrase, "eternal planting,"[18] depicts the faithful remnant in *1 En.* 93:10, where it redefines its earlier use as describing Israel in 93:5. The term may be drawn from Isa 61:3 where it occurs with the same meaning of a remnant, but without the adjective "eternal." Among the Qumran texts it occurs also in 1QH[a] 8:6; here too, it carries this same sense of a remnant. Tigchelaar has challenged Elgvin's view, preferring to see the text as addressing those of Aaronic lineage.[19] His response, however, does not actually provide any counter to Elgvin's evidence for the eschatological significance of מטעת עולם. Nor does it deal with the fact that the change from God being the priests' inheritance "among the sons of Israel" to being the reader's inheritance "among the sons of men" would appear to be a shift in an eschatological direction, looking towards the remnants priestly function towards humanity as a whole.[20]

Crucially, Elgvin sees the notion of revealed wisdom as a key element of such a realised eschatology. On this level, he notes in particular 4Q417 2 i 11–13:

> and in a proper understanding he will k[now the hid]den things of His thought when he walks in [p]erfecti[on in all] his d[ee]ds. Seek them always, and look [at al]l their outcome. Then you will have knowledge

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[17] T. Elgvin, "The Mystery to Come: Early Essene Theology of Revelation," in *Qumran Between the Old and New Testaments* (eds. F.H. Cryer and T.L. Thompson; JSOTSup 290; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1998), 113–50, at 120–26.

[18] See P.A. Tiller, "The Eternal Planting in the Dead Sea Scrolls," *DSD* 4 (1997): 312–35; S. Fujita, "The Metaphor of the Plant in Jewish Literature of the Intertestamental Period," *JSJ* 7 (1976): 30–45.

[19] Tigchelaar, *To Increase Learning*, 234–36.

[20] For this element in eschatological thinking, a shift towards the remnant community being the source of salvation for humanity more broadly, see Nickelsburg's comments on the Animal Apocalypse: "Israel's story stands in the broader context of humanity's story, and the nations deliverance from its enemies is a first step toward the re-creation and reuniting of the whole human race. That ultimate reconciliation emanates from within Israel, with the appearance of the great white bull that is described in language at home in Davidic messianic speculation. But the symbol of the bull and the transformation that ensues takes the human story back to its pre-Israelite beginnings. Through the re-creation of the whole human race God will accomplish what failed with the first family and with their counterparts who came out of the Ark" (*1 Enoch 1*, 356–57).

of [eterna]l glory [wi]th the mysteries of His wonder and His mighty deeds.[21]

Regarding this he comments:

> The elect has access to the hidden mysteries of God: when he meditates on the deeds of God and their consequences and when he understands the times, he will have knowledge of eternal glory and God's wonderful mysteries. Salvation is present, already the elect has knowledge of eternal glory.[22]

In order to develop our understanding of the role of revealed wisdom within the eschatology of 4QInstruction, we must consider the importance of one of the key phrases in the text: רז נהיה. This phrase occurs very frequently in 4QInstruction: including reconstructions, Daniel Harrington suggests it occurs about thirty times: "It is so frequent and so regular in the work that when we find either word alone and need to fill in a lacuna, we can add the missing word with some confidence."[23]

   Both words within the phrase are anarthrous, although the usage of the phrase, as shall be seen, seems to be definite. רז is a Persian loanword, meaning "mystery"; it occurs commonly in the Qumran texts but usually in the construct plural form (רזי). The only other work that appears to attest the form רז נהיה, as we have it here in 4QInstruction, is The Book of Mysteries (1Q27 and 4Q299–301). נהיה is generally taken to be the *nip'al* participle of the verb היה, "to be" (נִהְיָה); from this, Milik gave the phrase a future sense, "the mystery that is to be/come,"[24] a translation followed by Harrington and John Strugnell,[25] while Florentino García Martínez and Tigchelaar, Ben-Zion Wacholder, and Armin Lange have preferred "the mystery of being/existence."[26]

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[21] Translation from Elgvin, "Early Essene Eschatology," 144.

[22] Ibidem, 144.

[23] D.J. Harrington, "The *Rāz Nihyeh* in a Qumran Wisdom Text (1Q26, 4Q415–418, 423)," *RevQ* 17/65–68 (1996): 549–53, at 550.

[24] D. Barthélemy and J.T. Milik (eds.), *Qumran Cave 1* (DJD 1; Oxford: Clarendon, 1955), 101–2.

[25] In *DJD* 34.

[26] See F. García Martínez and E.J.C. Tigchelaar, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Study Edition: Volume 2 (4Q274–11Q31)* (Leiden: E.J. Brill and Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 2000), 845–79; B.Z. Wacholder and M.G. Abegg, *A Preliminary Edition of the Unpublished Dead Sea Scrolls: The Hebrew and Aramaic Scrolls from Cave Four: Fascicle 2* (Washington D.C.: Biblical Archaeological Society, 1992), 44–53; A. Lange, *Weisheit und Prädestination: Weisheitliche Urordnung und Prädestination in den Textfunden von Qumran* (STDJ 18; Leiden: Brill, 1995), 52–53.

The meaning of the phrase may, however, only be properly under-stood when we consider the contexts in which it occurs and the phrases that occur in parallel with it. Elgvin notes first of all that:

> The most frequent context of this phrase in *4QInstruction* is הנה/דרוש/קח/הבט ברז נהיה 'Meditate/search/gaze into the mystery to come' (7 times) and אשר נלה (אל) אוזנצה אוזן (מבינים) ברז נהיה 'as he opened your ear (the ear of those who understand) to the mystery to come' (8 times).[27]

The strong emphasis here on the role of God opening the ears of the elect should not be overlooked; it is sharply reminiscent of the language of the giving of wisdom/opening of eyes in the Apocalypse of Weeks and in the Animal Apocalypse.

Reflection on the parallel expressions reveals a breadth to the concept of רז נהיה that cannot be reduced to the future sense suggested by Milik et al. 4Q417 2 i 5–11 links רז נהיה to the creation,[28] and 4Q418 123 ii 2–8 seems to link the term to the periods (קצים) of the past, present and future ("everything that is in it with what came into being and what will be").[29] The future sense is not excluded, however: 4Q417 1 i 10–11 exhorts the reader to gaze into the רז נהיה and "understand the birth-time of salvation and know who is to inherit glory and iniquity," a notion echoed by 4Q418 2 i 18. In the light of this range of temporal associations, a rendering such as Elgvin's, "the mystery that is coming into being/the unfolding mystery"[30] becomes attractive.[31]

The breadth of רז נהיה lies not only in its relation to time, however. In 4Q416 2 iii 9 it is linked to proper *obedience*: "you shall know what is allotted to it and you shall walk in righteousness." Similarly 4Q417 2 i 7: "you shall know to distinguish between good and evil." In 4Q416 2 iii 17–18, the term becomes the basis for an exhortation to honour one's parents.[32]

In the light of all of this, what exactly is רז נהיה? Various sugges-tions have been put forward. Lange sees it as the pre-existent sapiential order of creation, which he equates with the heavenly form of the

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[27] Elgvin, "Mystery," 131–39.
[28] See Elgvin, "Mystery," 135. Also idem, "Wisdom With and Without Apocalyptic," in *Sapiential, Liturgical and Poetical Texts from Qumran*, 15–38, at 24–25.
[29] Elgvin, "Mystery," 134.
[30] Elgvin, "Early Essene Eschatology," 134.
[31] For this temporally broad understanding of the phrase, see Goff, *Worldly and Heavenly Wisdom*, 54–55.
[32] Lange, *Weisheit*, 58–59, makes much of this fragment and the close links with the Mosaic Torah, a point to which we shall return below.

Mosaic Torah, contained in the Vision of Hagi mentioned in 4Q417 2 i 18.[33] This notion could possibly find some support in a fragment mentioned by Harrington[34] (4Q418 184 ii) in which רז נהיה occurs near a phrase that could be read ביד משה, "by the hand of Moses." The text is not particularly clear, however, and against Lange's reading of 4Q417 2 i 18, Elgvin points out that the antithesis between "iniquity of the sons of perdition" and "those who observe his word" suggests a similar antithesis between the "engraven law" of line 16 and the "Book of Hagi" of line 18 (Lange equates the two). Elgvin himself sees the Book of Hagi as key. His view is that "*raz nihyeh* is a comprehensive word for God's mysterious plan for creation and history, his plan for man and for redemption of the elect. It is salvation history in a wider meaning. These mysteries are revealed to the elect."[35] He sees these mysteries as contained in both biblical and more sectarian books[36] but also suggests that the heavenly Book of Hagi may be equated with the writings associated with Enoch.[37]

At this stage of research, it seems impossible to know exactly what רז נהיה actually is. I would suggest that in discussion of the phrase we bear in mind that it may originally (prior, even, to the composition of 4QInstruction) have had a very definite sense, perhaps relating to some part of the writings associated with Enoch, but that over time, as the phrase was transmitted, it may have acquired a much broader field of associations. Thus, it may be that as 4QInstruction was read within the *yahad*, the phrase had come to be associated with all of the writings and teachings regarded by that community as authoritative, or with authoritative interpretations of Scripture. This is speculative, but it does seem to me to be important that we recognize that the sense of רז נהיה need not have been fixed. As we study 4QInstruction, it seems wise to restrict ourselves to observing a field of significance for the phrase. Three points may be isolated from the discussion above:

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[33] Ibidem, 89: "Inhalt dieses Buches ist die präexistente Ordnung von Sein und Welt, welche die Schöpfungsordnung, die Aufteilung der Wirklichkeit in Gut und Böse, Weisheit und Torheit, Wahrheit und Frevel, Geist des Fleisches und Volk des Geistes und die sich in der Thora artikulierende ethische Ordnung der Welt enthält."

[34] Harrington, "*Rāz Niḥyeh*," 552.

[35] Elgvin, "Mystery," 135. I should highlight that the actual reference in 4QInstruction is to the "vision" of Hagu/Hagi, a factor that should be taken into account when comparing the reference here to that in CD 10:6; 1QSa 1:7 et cetera.

[36] Ibidem, 131.

[37] Ibidem, 146–47. Goff, *Worldly and Heavenly Wisdom*, 83–120, discusses this passage at length and interacts with Elgvin's conclusions.

1. רז נהיה is *revealed* wisdom. The most common context in which it appears is "as he (God) has opened your ears to רז נהיה."
2. This revealed wisdom is the basis for the addressee's ethical discernment: in 4Q417 2 i 7, reflection on רז נהיה enables the addressee to "know to distinguish between good and evil," an idea emerging also in 4Q416 2 iii 9 ("you shall know what is allotted to it and you shall walk in righteousness.")
3. Possession of this wisdom will bring eschatological blessing and may itself be an eschatological blessing: 4Q417 1 i 10–11 exhorts the reader to gaze into the רז נהיה and "understand the birth-time of salvation and know who is to inherit glory and iniquity," a reference that suggests that the eschaton is in its birth-time. Understood in connection with the "planting" imagery discussed already, this reference points to an inaugurated or realised element in the eschatology of 4QInstruction.

Given what has just been discussed, it is perhaps surprising that no-one has seen eschatological connotations in the word מבין (Mēvîn). This word is the standard address to the reader[38] and is probably best rendered as "Understanding One."[39] As a term in its own right it obviously carries no special eschatological connotations. But set against the scheme of thought that has been discussed, in which to be an understanding one is to be part of the chosen people of God, to be one to whom has been revealed the רז נהיה and who will therefore experience eschatological salvation, the natural association of the term is an eschatological one. I would, therefore, cautiously suggest that the use of the term indicates that the addressee is one of the eschatological elect.

3. *The Community as Restored Creation*

The third element of the eschatology of 4QInstruction is more debatable. It emerges from a consideration of 4Q423 1 and 2 i. The text of these fragments, according to Elgvin, "paraphrases and interprets the Garden of Eden story of Genesis 2–3."[40] The tree of knowledge

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[38] The readings may conveniently be compared in Tigchelaar's table in "The Addressees of 4QInstruction," in *Sapiential, Liturgical and Poetical Texts from Qumran*, 62–75, at 66.

[39] See the discussion against Lange's inconsistent renderings in DJD 34.161.

[40] DJD 34.508.

appears to occupy a central place (lines 1 and 2), though without the
negative associations that this element has in the Genesis narrative.
The text essentially establishes a contrast between those who are faith-
ful and those who are not (line 4 reads: "in your being unfaithful"), a
contrast that is expressed further in the in *two-ways* language in line 8
("[be]tween his way and the way of ["). The Eden imagery is related to
the addressee of 4QInstruction by the use of the second person form in
line 2 ("He has set you in charge of it, to till it and guard it"). Likewise,
the use of second person forms in 3–6, which employ the imagery of
the curse of Genesis 3, establishes a link with the addressee's own time.
This second link, however, is intended to lead in to the description of
the "remnant" community to which the addressee now belongs. That
such a community is in mind here is indicated by the use of the term
"planting" (מטע). Elgvin notes the association of this term with some
kind of remnant community throughout Jewish writings,[41] from Isa
60:21 through a number of references in Qumran texts, *Jubilees*, *Psalms
of Solomon* and *1 Enoch*.

The language of "planting" is appropriate in this Edenic context,
depicting the community in arboreal terms. Crucially, this community
is described in line 7 as "[rejecting] the evil and knowing the good."
The first word (מואס) is Elgvin's suggestion for the *vacat*, suggesting a
parallel with Isa 7:15–16. He also suggests שונא ("hating") as an option.
Another possibility that Elgvin has not considered is that the lacuna
may contain the participle יודע, in parallel with its occurrence in rela-
tion to טוב. This would be an appropriate parallel with Genesis 2–3.
Regardless of which word we reconstruct in the *vacat*, the overall sense
is unchanged: the community is depicted in Edenic imagery, imagery
that is specifically related to its fidelity to the way of God. The faithful
community is a new Eden, a restored creation.[42]

The question that must be raised at this point regards whether this
imagery is intended to be understood as a metaphor for the obedience of
the remnant community, or as denoting that community's self-perception
of its own actual status or nature. Ultimately, a decision on this question

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[41] Ibidem, 511. See also the studies cited above in n. 18.
[42] The language of "restored creation" may not be ideal, as it may be suggestive of
the idea of a Fall, an idea not necessarily found within 4QInstruction, as John Collins
notes in "The Mysteries of God: Creation and Eschatology in 4QInstruction and the
Wisdom of Solomon," in *Wisdom and Apocalypticism in the Dead Sea Scrolls and in the Bibli-
cal Tradition* (ed. F. García Martínez; BETL 168; Leuven: Peeters, 2003), 287–305, at
302. I shall suggest more appropriate language below.

requires the additional background provided by the creation discourse at the beginning of the work and the by the admonitory material. I shall, therefore, return to this question in my conclusions.

THE CREATION DISCOURSE AS AN ETHICAL FRAMEWORK

There is now general agreement that 4Q416 1 opens 4QInstruction. Although Elgvin originally reconstructed the fragments of 4QInstruction differently,[43] his conclusions were criticised thoroughly by Tigchelaar[44] and he has now, apparently come to agree with the editors of *DJD* 34.[45] The fragment contains a cosmological discourse discussing the role of the heavenly bodies (lines 1–9) followed by the description of judgement discussed already (10–14) and a reflection upon the nature of God (14b–17). The editors point out that this introduction introduces some of the recurrent terminology of 4QInstruction[46] as well as noting that:

> Its emphasis on God's sovereignty over the world leads into the hope and expectation of an orderly and just judgement against wickedness and for 'all his children' (line 10). This hope is based on the nature of God, for 'he is a God of all truth' (line 14).

While there is an obvious distinction in the eschatological dimension, we may nevertheless note some similarity between this and the great wisdom poem in Proverbs 8, where the Wisdom employed by God at creation undergirds a sense of moral order in the world.

Tigchelaar, however, has justifiably highlighted the deficiencies of the editors' comments on two levels. First, their comments do not explain how the theology of this section is related to the work as a whole;[47] second, they have wrongly seen the emphasis to fall on God's sovereignty rather than on the obedience of the heavenly bodies.[48] A closer

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[43] T. Elgvin, *An Analysis of 4QInstruction* (Ph.D. diss, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1998), 97–98.

[44] Tigchelaar, *To Increase Learning*, 181–82.

[45] Goff, *Worldly and Heavenly Wisdom*, 5–6, indicates that, in a private correspondence, Elgvin made known to him that he had changed his opinion and was now in agreement with the editors.

[46] They single out חפץ (line 2), מחסור (line 6) and יצר בשר (line 16).

[47] Tigchelaar, *To Increase Learning*, 182.

[48] Ibidem, 192–93.

look at the text and at Tigchelaar's discussion of it will demonstrate the value of his criticisms.

Line 1 introduces us to the "stars of light"[49] that will be the object of the next few lines' discussion. Tigchelaar suggests that there were probably one or two lines of text preceding this one[50] and suggests that such lines may have contained a call to "observe" or "consider," similar to the admonition that introduces the similar section in *1 Enoch* 2–5.[51] The reference to the stars is then followed by a clause that has proved difficult to translate. This clause appears to read ולתכן הפצו which is translated as "will" or "pleasure" by most translators,[52] based on reading the singular form חפץ with the third masculine singular suffix. Tigchelaar, however, prefers to read חפצי, a construct plural with the meaning "tasks," based on its use in 1QS 3:17 and 1QHª 9:15 (Sukenik 1:13). In the photograph, the character does appear to be a *waw,* however the editors discuss the difficulties of distinguishing the two letters in 4Q416,[53] and these difficulties are compounded by a slight crease on the letter's downstroke and by the fact that it occurs on the very edge of the sheet, making a clear observation of the shape of the head of the letter impossible. Tigchelaar's reading is possible, therefore, and it has the advantage of providing a clear hypothetical parallel with the previous clause: "To establish the paths of the stars of light; and to mete out the tasks of the luminaries."[54] By contrast, the editors confess that their own translation does not make clear the relation of the individual words in the phrase ולתכן הפצו far less the relation of the phrase to its context.[55]

The rest of line 2, reconstructed on the basis of 4Q418 229, seems to speak of the stars eternally running their course in the heavens, an idea similar to that found in *1 En.* 75:8. Line 3 seems to connect this function to the marking of the seasons; the opening clause is מועד במועד. The rest of this line is difficult to reconstruct, but Tigchelaar sug-

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[49] The phrase כוכבי אור is reconstructed from the parallel text 4Q418 229. In lines 1–3, the references to the reconstruction of 4Q416 1 in the following discussion are based on this latter fragment. Thereafter, supplements are mainly from 4Q418 1 and 2.

[50] Tigchelaar, *To Increase Learning*, 44.

[51] Ibidem, 183.

[52] DJD 34.84 translates as "good pleasure"; Elgvin, *Analysis*, 239, translates "will"; García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *DSSSE*, 847 translate "what he wants."

[53] DJD 34.74.

[54] Tigchelaar, *To Increase Learning*, 178.

[55] DJD 34.84.

gests that the fragment of 4Q418 229 3 could be supplemented to read
ואי[ן] להדמות בכו[שר ילצו. His suggestion is that הדמות is a *nipʿal, hipʿil*
or *hitpaʿel* of דמה, which occurs in *qal* form in Josh 10:12–13 where the
sun comes to a standstill. Here then, if a negative particle may be read
in the first lacuna, it denotes that the heavenly luminaries ceaselessly
move as intended. This thought would be supported by his reconstruc-
tion of the second lacuna to read בכושר ילכו, "properly they go," a
suggestion that Tigchelaar parallels with *1 En.* 2:1.[56]

Lines 4–6 contain a number of difficulties, notably how to translate
למשור במשורה (line 4) and מחסור צבאם (line 6). Regarding the first, the
editors translate, to "rule by dominion,"[57] while Elgvin translates "hin
by hin."[58] Given that the subject of the clause are the heavenly bodies
still in view at the end of the previous line, Tigchelaar suggests that
משורה is a variant spelling of מסורה, a form attested in 1QS 10:4 and in
Aramaic in 4Q204 1 i 19. There, the meaning seems to be the "relative
position of a star in relation to others,"[59] hence Tigchelaar's render-
ing, "to keep station."[60] Regarding the second phrase, מחסור צבאם,
the editors discuss the problem of combining the two elements of "pov-
erty" and "their host," stressing that lines 7 and 8 seem to confirm that
צבאם here refers to the heavenly host.[61] Tigchelaar cautiously suggests
that there has been an inversion of the letters in מסחור to מחסור. The
root סחר in Hebrew and Aramaic is used of the "going around" of
merchants, but the Akkadian *saḫāru* is used of planets and stars. Thus
here the term may denote the circuit of the heavenly host.[62] These
points are of significance because if Tigchelaar is correct in his sugges-
tions—and they both seem feasible—then we may dispense with three
of the suggested meanings for lines 4–5 given by the editors in favour
of their fourth, namely that these lines refer "to the heavenly bodies as
giving their chronological signs to all lands and peoples."[63]

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[56] Tigchelaar, *To Increase Learning*, 178.

[57] DJD 34.82. So, too, García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *DSSSE*, 849.

[58] Elgvin, *Analysis*, 239.

[59] J.T. Milik, *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumrân Cave 4* (Oxford: Claren-
don, 1976), 187.

[60] This is based on taking למשור as an infinitive, hence "to orbit in an orbit" or "to
keep station in a station."

[61] DJD 34.84–85.

[62] Tigchelaar, *To Increase Learning*, 179.

[63] DJD 34.84. The other suggestions are that the lines refer (i) to God's law being
binding on all people (ii) to the instruction to the maven being so binding or (iii) to

Line 6 closes with the statement that "the משפט of them all belongs to him." There is general agreement that the reference to "him" is to God, but Tigchelaar differs from the editors in preferring "regulation" as a translation of משפט. Lines 7–9 then take up the thought of the heavenly bodies regulating the seasons, borrowing language from Gen 1:14. Again, Tigchelaar differs in his rendering of part of line 9 from the editors: where they take פקודתמה as "their visitation," Tigchelaar prefers "their assignment(s)," based on the following verb being reconstructed as ישל ימו from 4Q418 209 1.[64] He notes the similarity of this phrase, "They will complete their assignments," with the Ethiopic of *1 En.* 5:3.[65]

The stress on the fidelity of the heavenly bodies that Tigchelaar has isolated and highlighted is indeed reminiscent of *1 Enoch* 2–5. As it does there, the material here leads into a discussion of the judgement and destruction of wickedness (lines 10–14). It should not be overlooked that the righteous are described as "his faithful children" (line 10: בני אמתו), with the implication that those who were "defiled in it" (wickedness, that is; line 11) were unfaithful; that is, their sin comprised *infidelity*. We have, then, a suggestion that the cosmological section serves a paraenetic function, teaching that fidelity to God involves emulating the fidelity of the heavenly bodies by properly obeying one's appointed tasks in life.

This suggestion of a paraenetic function may be reinforced by lines 14 and 15, depending on how one takes the variant in line 15. These verses are difficult to reconstruct; on the basis of 4Q418 2, line 14 can be reconstructed as beginning with a reference to all the periods of eternity, followed by the statement that God is "the God of Truth," or "fidelity" (אמת). This is followed by the statement "and from before the years of [" followed by a lacuna. Line 15 then opens with the textual variant: 4Q416 has להכון צדק בין טוב לרע while 4Q418* 2 has להבין צדק for the first two words. The editors discuss the possible interpretations:

God's blessing being universal. The bracketing of these lines with references to the role of the heavenly host would seem to militate against such readings.

[64] Tigchelaar, *To Increase Learning*, 179. Cf. Elgvin's translation, "their order," (*Analysis*, 239, 242).

[65] This phrase is not found in the Aramaic fragments. The Ethiopic is *gĕbĕrōmū*; August Dillmann (*Lexicon Linguae Aethiopicae cum Indice Latino* [repr., New York: Ungar, 1955], 1163) lists this verse under the meaning "*labor, operatio, opera, opus.*"

> There are two possible readings: (a) 'for the righteous to distinguish/to understand the difference between (להבין) good and evil' (or even 'for Him [i.e. God] to make the righteous understand…') thus 4Q418 and (b) 'to establish (להבין) a right measure between good and evil' (4Q416) or even (b) 'for a right measure to be established (*nip'al* להבון) between good and evil'. The former (*lectio facilior*) uses an idiom frequent in Biblical and Qumran Hebrew.[66]

Elgvin follows the second of the editors' interpretations, but the editors prefer the former. Tigchelaar agrees, but draws in further material from 4Q418 221 and 222 to suggest that the subject of the infinitive is not God but the sage.[67] The argument is interesting, but ultimately speculative. However, Tigchelaar's suggested reconstruction of the lacuna is interesting: "For He is a God of truth, and from before the years of [old He has opened up (for…) understanding and insigh]t, to make the righteous understand…."[68]

The central point of this is that the text seems to be stressing that the righteous are brought to understand the difference between good and evil. In a text that has begun with a lengthy consideration of the fidelity of the heavenly bodies and of the deliverance of the "faithful children," the notion of fidelity would appear to be the pre-eminent feature of this difference, with the cosmological discourse thus serving a paraenetic function, a function in keeping with Jewish thought.[69] Tigchelaar concludes:

> The emphasis is not on God's orderly rule, but on the heavenly bodies' obedience: in accordance with their determined tasks they run their courses. This topic is common in Early Jewish literature, *but whereas in other texts the simile is used in a more general sense (nature obeys God's laws, so you should too)*, Instruction *stresses in its other parts that every living being has been allotted his or its own position in life and tasks*.[70]

Several points are of enormous significance here. First, the cosmological and eschatological elements cannot be separated: the description of judgement is connected fundamentally to the cosmological discussion

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[66] DJD 34.87–88.
[67] Tigchelaar, *To Increase Learning*, 188.
[68] Ibidem, 190.
[69] See M.E. Stone, "The Parabolic Use of Natural Order in Judaism of the Second Temple Age," in *Gilgul: Essays on Transformation, Revolution, and Permanence in the History of Religions: Dedicated to R.J. Zwi Werblowsky* (eds. S. Shaked, D. Shulman, and G.G. Stroumsa; SHR 50; Leiden: Brill, 1987), 298–308.
[70] Tigchelaar, *To Increase Learning*, 193. Emphasis mine.

both structurally and conceptually. Whether the addressee has or has not emulated the fidelity of the heavenly bodies determines how he will be judged. Second, despite this futurist eschatological perspective, there is no sense of an *interimethik* that replaces older law: the whole image requires the sense that ethics are about fulfilling God's appointed tasks within his creation, i.e. living in true fidelity with his will as Creator. Third, the righteous are those who should be able to behave with the same fidelity as the heavenly bodies, precisely because they have been enabled to distinguish between good and evil, a point that highlights the role of the inaugurated eschatology we have discussed previously, and specifically the notion of revealed wisdom that seems so central to that eschatology. Indeed, on this last point, it would be of no surprise if the lacuna at the end of line 14 contained some reference to the רז נהיה that we have seen to be so important.[71]

The presence of the creation discourse and eschatological material at the beginning of the work clearly establishes an eschatological and ethical framework in which the rest of the work is to be understood.[72] In particular, this emphasises that the overarching concern of the text is to enable one to emulate the heavenly bodies by fulfilling one's allotted role or position within creation and thus to be delivered from the coming judgement or to be judged favourably.

Admonitions in 4QInstruction

Having examined the framework provided by the introductory discourse, we may now examine the ethical material. The primary paraenetic form in 4QInstruction is the admonition, usually taking the form of a second person singular imperative often followed by one or more motive clauses or paralleled by another admonition. As such, among Jewish instruction material, it is formally most similar to Prov 22:17–24:34[73] and Proverbs 25–27. This biblical material is obviously

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[71] This would sit happily with Tigchelaar's reconstruction of the lacuna.
[72] As D.J. Harrington, *Wisdom Texts from Qumran* (London: Routledge 1996), 41 notes.
[73] For a critical discussion of the relationship of Prov 22:17–24:22 to the Egyptian *Teaching of Amenemope*, see J. Ruffle, "The Teaching of Amenemope and its Connection with the Book of Proverbs," *TynBul* 28 (1977): 29–68.

not eschatological in its content, neither in admonitions nor in motives,[74] although some sayings would lend themselves to a re-appropriation into an eschatological context.[75] It will be illuminating, therefore, to observe the extent to which the inaugurated eschatology of 4QInstruction has affected this material as our text draws upon these traditional forms and re-appropriates them to its different eschatological context.

Often in 4QInstruction, the admonitions are introduced with the formula, ואתה מבין, (sometimes ואתה בן מבין), probably best translated, "and you, understanding one."[76] This phrase seems to take the place of the "my son" address common in such instructions. As with Prov 22:17–24:34 or Proverbs 25–27, the admonitions cover an extensive range of life situations from family life, agriculture and financial matters to courtly concerns, both royal and legal. Linking this range of subject matter to the introduction that we have just studied, Tigchelaar comments:

> The admonitory sections lay down rules of behaviour befitting to persons in specific trades or social positions, whereas the cosmological or eschatological sections emphasis the general principle that everything has its own rules by which it should abide.[77]

The question we must ask regards whether the content of the admonitions, either in their imperatives or in their motives, has been affected by the eschatology of 4QInstruction. Do they differ, in this respect, from the non-eschatological material found in the Proverbs passages listed above? In order to address this question, the admonitions found in 4Q416 1, 4Q416 2 (par 4Q417 2), and 4Q417 1[78] shall be grouped into three categories: eschatological admonitions in which the command itself is eschatological in nature; admonitions with eschatological motives; and admonitions with no obvious eschatological signatures.

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[74] Gerhard von Rad's discussion of these sections (*Wisdom in Israel* [London: SCM, 1972] 88–91) contains an important discussion of the motive clauses.

[75] For example, Prov 23:10–11, 17–18; 24:13–14, 19–20.

[76] Note, however, that Lange, *Weisheit*, 52–53, translates the phrase variously as vocatives ("Du Lehrer" in 4Q418 123 ii 5 [56]), indicatives ("Du bist Ratgeber," 4Q417 1 i 1 [52]), and sometimes as part of the argument ("und du wirst einsehen" 4Q417 1 i 13–14 [53]). Note the criticisms of Lange's rendering of this phrase in DJD 34.161.

[77] Tigchelaar, *To Increase Learning*, 248.

[78] I have chosen to limit the discussion to these fragments in order to allow a sufficiently thorough examination of the material. Obviously it would be desirable to examine all of the admonitions, but this would require more space than can be justified here. The points that will be made are demonstrated sufficiently by the material found within these fragments.

1. *Eschatological Admonitions*

A number of times, the understanding one is enjoined to "gaze upon
רז נהיה." Bearing in mind our earlier discussion of this phrase, such
admonitions carry clear eschatological connotations. Perhaps the most
striking is found in 4Q417 2 i 10–12:

> Gaze upon רז נהיה and grasp[79] the birth-times (מולדי)[80] of salvation. And
> know who is to inherit glory and toil. Has not [rejoicing been appointed
> for the contrite of spirit] and for those among them who mourn, eternal
> joy.[81]

Here, three admonitions are presented in parallel, the latter two rein-
forcing the sense of the first as being eschatological. The rhetorical
question that follows takes the place of the motive clause and presents
the eschatological reversal of circumstances as an encouragement to
the addressee. The admonition is all the more striking because it is
embedded in a block of admonitions that are concerned with more
mundane matters, a block to which we shall return later.

Although less striking, the large block of material in 4Q417 1 i is still
impressive in its sustained argument for the importance of considering
רז נהיה. Much of this text is fragmentary, but it may be fairly confidently
supplemented with the fragments 4Q418 43, 44, 45 and 4Q418a. After
the standard address to the understanding one, lines 2 and 3 call the
addressee to gaze upon and ponder "the wondrous mysteries of the
God of the Awesome Ones" and רז נהיה. Lines 3 and 4 follow the last
admonition with ומעשי קדם למה נהיה ומה נהיה במה [. The combination
of tenses and particles here is difficult to identify: the editors suggest that
"the works of old" is followed by a temporal sequence reading "what
is to come, for what purpose it is to come, in what circumstances it
is to come."[82] Harrington, in his own later work, prefers to see it as a
reference to a knowledge of past, present and future: "[...] of old to

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[79] Translating קח as being from לקח. The editors discuss the justification for their
translation "to understand," DJD 34.182.

[80] See M. Jastrow, *Dictionary of the Targumim, Talmud Babli, Yerushalmi and Midrashic
Literature* (New York: Judaica, 1996), 742.

[81] See the discussion of the reconstruction of the lacuna where the editors give four
possibilities (DJD 34.182). I have followed this particular reconstruction as the chiasm
of "rejoicing...contrite in heart; those who mourn...joy" seems appropriate.

[82] DJD 34.157. Cf. Lange's "Urzeit, warum etwas entsteht und was ensteht," *Weisheit*,
52.

what is and what is to be, in what […]."[83] It seems, at least, that some consideration of the future is being urged.

Line 6 is reminiscent of Ps 1:2 in its language of meditating day and night upon רז נהיה.[84] A continual study of this will enable the addressee to know "truth and iniquity, wisdom and foolishness."[85] Line 7 then takes up this *two-ways* imagery and speaks of the eschatological punishment that is to come (פקודת עד) before line 8 resumes the idea of the addressee discerning between good and evil, where this time the focus is on "their deeds."

Lines 8c–12 then provide a theological foundation for these claims regarding the value of pondering רז נהיה: the God of knowledge is the foundation of truth (סוד אמת)[86] and by the same רז נהיה that is now being pondered, God has ordered the world.[87] This point is very significant because it draws together the notion of a wisdom that must be revealed, characteristic of 4QInstruction and *1 Enoch*, as we have seen, with the traditional notion of a wisdom that is immanent in creation and that undergirds the moral order. Wisdom here still undergirds creation and the moral order, but it is a wisdom that requires to be revealed. The fact that this very same Wisdom will also play its role in the judgement that is to come draws creation and eschatology together under the one unifying concept.

Line 12 resumes the admonition: the addressee is to investigate these things carefully.[88] Lines 14–16 introduce a parallel admonition to

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[83] Harrington, *Wisdom Texts*. Translation on 52, comments on 54.

[84] In Psalm 1, of course, the reference is to God's law.

[85] This point reinforces our earlier suggestion that some reference to רז נהיה may have been in the lacuna in 4Q416 1 14. Note the similar vocabulary in both texts.

[86] See the discussion of this phrase in DJD 34.158.

[87] Note the *DJD* 34 discussion of these verses, 158. The sense of the verses is difficult, and made more so by a large wear pattern on the manuscript, but it seems to indicate that רז נהיה functions as a kind of underlying order, governing truth and its deeds. Elgvin, "Wisdom With and Without Apocalyptic," 24–25 prefers to read these verses as relating to creation, but the only noun that can provide an antecedent to the suffixes on אוש (foundation) and מעשים (deeds) is אמת. Nevertheless, the similarity to Prov 8:23–31 that Elgvin notes is striking and it may be that the text is bringing together the idea of Wisdom being the underlying order of creation, as Proverbs 8 presents it, with the idea of רז נהיה being the underlying order of truth, and thus the true underlying principle of creation.

[88] The verb is דרש which carries such a sense of careful enquiry. See *BDB*, 205 (meaning 7), also R.L. Harris, G.L. Archer, and B.A. Waltke, *A Theological Wordbook of the Old Testament* (Chicago: Moody, 1980), 198.

consider the preordained future,[89] which leads into a discussion of the contrast between the spiritual people who possess the Book of הני/הגו, and the spirit of flesh. This point serves as a negative parallel to line 8: here, the spirit of flesh cannot discern between good and evil.

All of this builds up to another admonition to gaze on רז נהיה in line 18. This time, the admonition is paralleled by the phrase "and know [the paths of] everyone that lives and the manner of his walking that is appointed for his deeds." It is striking that these eschatological admonitions have here reached a point where they serve a paraenetic function closely linked to the purpose of the creation discourse in 4Q416 1.

2. *Admonitions with Eschatological Motives*

After the eschatological admonitions discussed above, 4Q417 1 i 23 urges the addressee to "act with strength"[90] and to "not be contaminated[91] by evildoing." The beginning of the motive clause requires some reconstruction[92] but most of the clause is clear: the one who is contaminated "will not be held innocent (לא ינקה). This statement is made thoroughly eschatological by the following clause which says that "according to his inheritance (נחלתו) he will be declared guilty."[93] In the context of the preceding lines 1–22, such a statement carries the clear connotation of future judgement. Thus, we have non-eschatological admonitions ("Act with strength.... Do not be contaminated") followed by eschatological motive clauses anticipating judgement.

A more subtle example of eschatological motivation is found in 4Q417 2 i 2–7. Here, the reader is enjoined to forgive the noble[94] without reproach, an admonition followed by an uncertain clause that may refer to someone who is either bound or bewitched.[95] In either case,

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[89] These lines contain a number of problems, such as the meaning of רוש פעלתצה in line 14 (regarding which, see both DJD 34.161–62 and E. Qimron, "A Work Concerning Divine Providence: 4Q413," in *Solving Riddles and Untying Knots: Biblical, Epigraphic, and Semitic Studies in Honor of Jonas C. Greenfield* [eds. Z. Zevit, S. Gitin, and M. Sokoloff; Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 1995], 191–202, at 198–202), the question of the meaning of "the children of שׁות" in line 15 (regarding which, see Harrington, *Wisdom Texts*, 55) and the reference to the book of הני/הגו in line 16).

[90] *Hitpa'el* imperative of חזק.

[91] The verb is תוגע which the editors (DJD 34.167) suggest is best read as a passive of נגע followed by an instrumental *beth*, with the meaning "do not be contaminated by."

[92] See DJD 34.167.

[93] Assuming the reconstructed verb at the end of line 24 to be the *hipʿil* of רשע.

[94] The precise meaning of הכשר is unclear in Qumran Hebrew.

[95] See DJD 34.178.

the reader[96] is in the position of having to address this person. Line 3 warns the reader not to confound[97] his addressee's spirit, a command followed by what appears to be an obscure motive clause translated by the editors as "for in silence (calmness) thou hast spoken."[98] Although generally כיא introduces motive clauses in 4QInstruction, this hemistich may make more sense if it is taken as introducing a causal clause: "*because* בדממה you have spoken." It may be that a more appropriate rendering of בדממה is "in a whisper," a reading that takes into account the way the noun is used in 1 Kgs 19:12. If this reading is correct, and if we perhaps read ונמ as an emphatic "but," then the line might read: "But do not confound his spirit because you have spoken in a whisper [ ]."

Such a reading would explain the seeming contradiction of lines 2 and 4; the reader is instructed not to reproach the noble, but in doing so, he is not to confound him by remaining silent or mumbling a rebuke. Instead, as line 4 takes up the thought, the reader is to "make haste to recount a rebuke," but to do so humbly, aware of his own sins: "But do not overlook your own sins." The lacuna which follows this last admonition almost certainly contains a reference to God[99] so that he is the subject of יצדק.[100] Thus, line 5 opens, "he (God) will declare [object] righteous, just like you." With the strong possibility that there is a reference to forgiveness in the lacuna at the end of this line, so that line 5 ends "with…forgiveness] will he work,"[101] we have here a flow of thought that either indicates that God will forgive the sinner as much as he has forgiven the reader, or that he will forgive the sinner as much as the reader has forgiven them.[102] In either case, the logic is that the reader's behaviour is to take into account the forgiveness and justification he has already received, that are connected to his eschatological future, and to behave towards his addressee in a way that

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[96] I shall use the term "reader" throughout this section in order to avoid confusion with the reader's own addressee.

[97] Another difficult term, see DJD 34.178.

[98] It is not clear how this motive clause would function. The editors (DJD 34.179) discuss several options none of which clarify matters greatly.

[99] Note the comments in DJD 34.179.

[100] The editors argue that this should be taken as a declaratory *pi'el* form. The pronoun הואה they take to be subjective, relating back to the occurrence of "God" or equivalent in the lacuna.

[101] Line 5 and first word of line 6. See DJD 34.179.

[102] Both options are discussed (DJD 34.179). The editors note the similarity of the latter possibility with Matt 6:12.

acknowledges that this person too may receive such forgiveness. The eschatological dimension of this becomes clearer when we appreciate that the implied analogy is between God as judge, an eschatological notion in 4QInstruction,[103] and the reader as judge. Indeed, this point emerges further in the admonition that begins in the second half of line 13, where the reader is to pronounce his judgements like (or "as") a righteous ruler. Again, he is not to overlook his own sins (line 14) and is to be humble. Lines 15 and 16 then take up judgement language using theophanic imagery to speak of God's anger before concluding with the questions, "Who will be declared righteous when he gives judgement? And without forgiveness how can any man stand before him?"[104] The logic is parallel to the admonitions discussed above: again, the reader is urged to judge in the knowledge that he himself will be declared righteous only by God's gracious forgiveness. Thus again, the eschatological judgement motivates and shapes present behaviour in a way that is more subtle than merely warning the reader to be righteous because of the prospect of judgement.[105]

3. *Admonitions With No Eschatological Signatures*

Immediately after the section discussed above in 4Q417 2 i, the text contains a series of admonitions regarding food, poverty and finance (lines 17–28). Neither the admonitions nor the motive clauses are eschatological. Line 17 contains the admonition to gather "surpluses" (מותריכה, cf. the use of the noun in Prov 14:23 and 21:5) for the provision of those that lack in their poverty.[106] The line is interesting because the reconstruction from 4Q418 64 contains the only occurrence of יחד in 4QInstruction. Given the lack of distinctively Qumran vocabulary in 4QInstruction, however, the term should simply be treated as "community" generally, or even as having adverbial force: "together." Line 18 then enjoins the poor one to take what he needs from this collection without payment. The series of admonitions is then followed by an

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[103] See 4Q416 1 10ff.

[104] The last clause is fragmentary. See DJD 34.185.

[105] Further examples in which the eschatological future plays a role in motivating behaviour are found in the admonitions concerning poverty. See the discussions in C.M. Murphy, *Wealth in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Qumran Community* (STDJ 40; Leiden: Brill, 2002), 163–209 and Goff, *Worldly and Heavenly Wisdom*, 206–14.

[106] The line actually begins with an address to the poor, but the admonition in line 17 is aimed at those with surplus food. The next line then reverts to the poor one as addressee.

explanatory clause: "for your/his treasure house [God][107] will not make to be lacking in anything... [According] to his command will everything come into being (כול יהיה). This motive clause is intriguingly subtle: it may refer to the poor one, providing consolation that his need will be met by God the Creator; or it may refer to the giver of surplus, stressing that to give is not to impoverish one's own storehouse, for God will ensure that it does not lack anything. In either case, the basis of the clause is the same: God is the Creator and Provider.[108]

This series of admonitions flows naturally into the warning in line 20 against gluttony (already the reader has been warned to take no more than his share from the collection in line 18). This warning is motivated by a פן-clause: "lest by gluttony you shorten your life." It is striking that the consequence in view is not an eschatological one. Similarly, the following admonitions on financial matters all lack eschatological motives.

4Q416 2 ii 3ff., which would have probably occurred after the texts discussed above in 4QInstruction, contain some interesting material discussing financial matters further. The discussion in lines 3–6 about repayment leads in to an admonition not to exchange[109] one's holy spirit (רוח קדשכה) for any price. The motive clause reads: "for no price is equal in value to it." The reference is probably to selling oneself into slavery and seems to be paralleled by line 17: "Do not sell yourself (נפשכה) for a price." In neither of these admonitions is there any indication of eschatological motivation; even the reference to pledging one's inheritance as surety (line 18) that parallels the admonition in line 17[110] cannot be taken in any eschatological sense; instead it seems to be recognising the risk of losing one's inheritance through a pledge and then being forced into slavery, thus also losing ownership of one's own body. The rest of the column, which continues to discuss appropriate

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[107] The editors are surely correct that there must have been a reference to God somewhere in the lacuna at the end of 19 that provided the subject for the third masculine singular verbs. DJD 34.187.

[108] A very similar block of material occurs in 4Q416 2 i 21–ii 3, where again the subject matter is the provision of food, and again the emphasis falls on the nature of God as the Provider.

[109] For this verb, תמר, and the potential variants see DJD 34.98. The editors are probably correct in seeing מור as the root, based on the context of financial exchange.

[110] DJD 34.93 translates "For [no] price [s]ell thy glory, Or pledge money for thy inheritance (?), Lest it (the money?) dispossess also thy body." See also their discussion, DJD 34.106.

behaviour in poverty, finishing with the treatment of one's wife,[111] likewise contains no eschatological motives for its admonitions.

The point that arises from this discussion is that while the prospect of future judgement may function as a motive for right living, it is not the sole or even primary such motive. Many of the motive clauses simply relate to the world in which the addressee lives. The point may be developed by noting three points where Creation-patterns connected to the introductory discourse in 4Q416 1 form the basis for a particular admonition.

In 4Q416 2 iii 8, in the midst of a series of admonitions dealing with poverty, the impoverished addressee is warned not to desire anything beyond his "inheritance" (נחלתכה) and not to be consumed[112] by it, "lest you displace your boundary (גבולכה)." The *DJD* 34 editors recognise that in its use of this latter phrase, the text is drawing upon Deut 19:14 and 27:17, noting that the references in these verses to the shifting of boundary-markers are sometimes taken up with a metaphorical sense in sapiential contexts to refer to transgression or neglect of the Law.[113] The editors struggle, however, to make sense of the use of the phrase here. When understood against the background of Tigchelaar's discussion of 4Q416 1, though, the phrase makes perfect sense. It will be recalled that the introductory discourse of this fragment teaches that each creature has its own allotted role and position in life. The language here of "boundaries" seems conceptually connected with this: for the poor addressee to strive for more than he has been allotted is to risk shifting his boundary and thus breaking fidelity with his Creator's will. Such an understanding of the admonition is connected logically with the following lines (9–12), in which the possibility of the addressee being elevated to a higher position by God[114] is discussed. It is interesting that the editors suggest that the meaning of נחלה, which occurs in lines 8, 10 and 11, is consistently that of "allotted station." All of this

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[111] The terminology referring to the wife has often been discussed as a background to Paul's language in 1 Thessalonians 4:4. See the discussion in DJD 34.109–10 and T. Elgvin, "To Master his own Vessel: 1 Thess 4:4 in the Light of New Qumran Evidence," *NTS* 43 (1997): 604–19.

[112] Following García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *DSSSE*, 851, for the sense of בלע against DJD 34.116, where the verb is read as "confuse."

[113] DJD 34.116.

[114] Note the editors' discussion of the alternation of singular/plural forms of השיבכה between 4Q416 and the parallel fragment of 4Q418.

points towards this whole discussion of poverty being grounded in the creation-theology of the introductory discourse.

The second example of a creation-pattern is more problematic, but nevertheless worth noting. In 416 2 iii 15–19, there is found an admonition to honour one's parents even when in a situation of poverty. The text suggests that parents are to be honoured because their relationship to the addressee is comparable to that of God.[115] The specific point of comparison is that of the role played in the "creation" of the addressee by his parents: according to the most likely translation of כור הוריכה they are "the oven of your origin."[116] This phrase is very problematic,[117] but if הוריכה is understood as being derived from הרה,[118] all of the options for understanding it carry the sense that the parents are compared to God the Creator as the (lesser) "creators" of the addressee. The addressee is therefore to "serve" them (line 17) as man is to serve the Creator God, a subordination grounded in Creation itself. It is striking that such an attitude is presented in lines 17–18 as being required of the addressee because of the possession and understanding of רז נהיה. The editors suggest that the verb נלה ("opened") should be emended to its third plural form נלו so that the parents are the ones who have opened the addressee's ear to the mystery.[119] I am less convinced than the editors that such an alteration is necessary in the context and prefer to see God as the agent, but regardless of this issue, the text makes a close link between possession and understanding of נהיה רז and ability to fulfil the creation pattern.

The third example is found in 416 2 iv, where there is a discussion concerning the authority of the addressee over his wife. The text seems to be concerned with maintaining appropriate patterns of submission, so that each man has authority only over his own wife. As with the

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[115] See DJD 34.120–1. The first reference is to the father as being כאב ("as a father"), although the editors argue that the parallel reading in 418, כאל, fits the context best. The second is to the mother being כאדנים ("as the Lord/a master"). The editors argue for the latter term being a reference to God.

[116] García Martínez and Tigchelaar, *DSSSE*, 853.

[117] See DJD 34.121.

[118] The other possible option, not mentioned by the editors, is to see the word as being derived from ירא/ירה, "to teach," so that the parents are the "oven of your instruction." This is attractive and circumvents the problems discussed by the editors, but it is difficult to see how such a reading would fit the context. The similarity of the phrase here with 1QH^a 3 may also point us in the direction of the reading adopted by the editors.

[119] DJD 34.122.

discussion of poverty in 4Q416 2 iii 8, the notion of allotted positions
and roles underlies the admonition: any man who attempts to have
dominion over a woman other than his own wife has "displaced the
boundary of his life" (line 6). The important point for our argument is
that the basis of the argument is the creation story; the passage begins
with a quote from Gen 2:24 ("For this reason a man will leave his
father and mother, cleave to his wife and the two shall become one
flesh.") and thereafter is full of allusions to Genesis 2–3: "he has given
you dominion over her," (Gen 3:16), "he has separated her from her
mother," (Gen 2:24) "[she shall be] for you, to be one flesh," (Gen 2:24).
Yet the Genesis allusions are fused with the concern of the creation
discourse in 4Q416 1 that each creature has its allotted role and that
the boundaries of these allotments are not shifted.

These examples demonstrate that alongside the prospect of future
judgement, 4QInstruction makes use of patterns within the creation,
drawn from the creation discourse of 4Q416 1, as a basis for right liv-
ing. The question may now be asked as to whether these two elements
are simply distinct motivating factors in the ethics of 4QInstruction or
whether there exists a more subtle relationship between them. In order
to do this, the relationship between creation, eschatology and ethics
in 4QInstruction must be examined more closely. In particular, we
will return to the phrase רז נהיה, which I will suggest is crucial to the
interface between the three.

Creation, Eschatology and Ethics: Clarifying the Interface

We have already noted that obedience is presented, in 4QInstruction,
as fulfilling one's allotted role within creation. The text seems to pres-
ent רז נהיה as being necessary to such obedience, a fact that emerges
particularly in 417 1 i (supplemented by 418 43–45). We have examined
this text already, but a closer reading is now required.

Lines 8–13 of 417 1 i develop the theme of reflecting on רז נהיה
that is the subject of lines 1–7. The section begins part-way through
line 8 with a reference to God as the "foundation of truth,"[120] a

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[120] סוד אמת. For a discussion of this phrase, see DJD 34.158.

reference that is immediately followed by a description of that truth being constructed upon רז נהיה: "And by/on רז נהיה he has laid out/expounded[121] its (truth's)[122] foundation, and its deeds [he has prepared with all wisdom]."[123] The following lines develop this idea of the construction of truth using language that seems deliberately to employ the vocabulary of creation: מעשיה ("deeds/acts/creatures" + suffix) occurs twice in line 9 and once in line 10; יצרה ("he fashioned it") occurs in verse 9; תוצאותמה ("origins"[124] + third plural suffix) occurs in 13 as does נבורות מעשיו ("his mighty works/acts").

I would suggest that this use of creation-vocabulary seems to be intended to identify נהיה רז as the foundation of the truth that undergirds and orders all creation, a role often played by Wisdom in Jewish thought.[125] The community that possesses and reflects upon רז נהיה is therefore able to understand creation in a way that those outside that community can never share.[126] This becomes the basis for the fidelity of the community to their allotted role within creation, a fact that emerges from lines 10–12 of 417 1 i: man is intended to know these things "together with how he should walk perfect in all his actions" (line 12). This crucial step allows us to bring together Tigchelaar's discussion of the creation discourse in 4Q416, which opens 4QInstruction, with

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[121] The editors discuss the various options for קרש, DJD 34.158

[122] Again, see DJD34.158 for the justification of seeing אמת as the referent of the female suffixes.

[123] The last clause is reconstructed from the fragments of 4Q418.

[124] This may be translated as "outcomes" or "origins", the editors (DJD 34.160) favouring the former. The context does not particularly help in deciding which should be followed as it is preceded by creation vocabulary and followed by eschatological vocabulary. I would prefer to read this as indicating origin rather than outcome, but my case hardly rests upon this one word.

[125] See the discussion of how this relates to the description of Wisdom in Prov 3:19 in Goff, *Wordly and Heavenly Wisdom*, 61–66, T. Elgvin, "Wisdom and Apocalypticism in the Early Second Century BCE: The Evidence of 4QInstruction," in *The Dead Sea Scrolls Fifty Years after Their Discovery: Proceedings of the Jerusalem Congress, July 20–25, 1997* (eds. L.H. Schiffman, E. Tov, and J.C. VanderKam; Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2000), 226–47, at 235, Lange, *Weisheit*, 40–62.

[126] It is interesting to note that the passage discussed above in 416 2 iii, speaking of honouring parents, precedes a final admonition to honour them with the words, "and since he has opened your ears to/by רז נהיה (ב)," The point would seem to be that the addressee is able to honour them according to the creation pattern because his ears have been opened to or (more likely) by רז נהיה.

the centrality of the concept of רז נהיה to the work as a whole.[127] It also allows us to return to the question of whether the Eden imagery in 4Q423 1 + 2 i is metaphorical or not: in a text in which a return to a state of fidelity to creation patterns is the ultimate goal, a return made possible by the eschatological possession of רז נהיה, it is reasonable to regard the Eden imagery as depicting the ideological community's actual perception of itself as a restored creation or, to use language that is more faithful to 4QInstruction's own categories of obedience and sin, as an Edenic oasis of order in the midst of a world tainted by the spirit of flesh, in which the boundaries have all been shifted.

CONCLUSIONS: WE, YOU AND THE OTHERS

4QInstruction clearly looks forward to a future judgement at which will be seen a dualism between the "the foolish" and "the wise." The wisdom of the latter group arises from their possession of רז נהיה, a wisdom revealed by God in "the birth times of salvation" that enables the addressee, and the group to which he belongs, to live according to the design plan of the Creator-God. רז נהיה is capable of such an effect because it itself is the underlying principle of all creation, this role being comparable to that played by "Wisdom" in much Jewish literature. As a consequence of the possession of this revealed wisdom, the addressee is enabled to emulate the fidelity of the heavenly bodies to their allotted role within creation and thus to be judged favourably. Those outside of the community—the "others"—remain incapable of such fidelity, even though they may possess the Mosaic Torah, of which there is no mention in 4QInstruction.

Instead, then, of seeing distinct creation-theology, eschatology and admonitory material in 4QInstruction, the use of רז נהיה in all three points us instead towards seeing an eschatology of restored creation-patterns, the ethics being appropriate to such a state. Such a conclusion provides us with a more nuanced appreciation of the eschatology of 4QInstruction than could be gleaned from a simple examination of the explicitly eschatological portions of the work, which focus more narrowly on the theme of future judgement.

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[127] The point I am highlighting is consonant with the recent work of Goff, *Wordly and Heavenly Wisdom*, who never seems, however, to make explicit this connection between creation, eschatology and fidelity.

If these conclusions are correct, then they both support and develop the suggestion made by García Martínez that the wisdom of 4QInstruction testifies to the development of a new kind of wisdom, one that is thoroughly "heavenly" (revealed).[128] Indeed, we may take his suggestion that "the interpretative cadre established by the work's beginning…as well as the continuous reference to the רז נהיה…gives a 'revelatory' character to all of the contents of 4QInstruction, including the most worldly ones, and makes all of them 'heavenly wisdom,'"[129] and suggest a parallel idea with respect to the eschatology: given that the eschatology is one of restored creation-patterns, and given that the community has already begun to demonstrate such a restoration, all of the admonitions are given an eschatological character, whether they present eschatological signatures or not.

In addition, if my conclusions are correct, then we should reconsider the role that 4QInstruction, or the thought world from which it came, played in the evolution of the sectarianism of the *yahad.* It is almost universally agreed that 4QInstruction itself is not sectarian, but the ideas at its core carry the potential to seed and shape such sectarianism. It is significant that the notion of sin as the moving of boundaries occurs with a sectarian sense in the Damascus Document (1:16; 5:20; 19:15–16). In addition, the idea of restored creation resurfaces in 1QS 3–4, where the hope of the righteous is of the restored glory of Adam (4:23). Without necessarily suggesting that these texts are dependant on 4QInstruction, I would suggest that the concepts present in the ideological community represented by that document may have evolved in a more sectarian direction, eventually reaching the form of ideas now reflected by 1QS and CD.[130]

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[128] F. García Martínez, "Wisdom at Qumran: Worldly or Heavenly?" in *Wisdom and Apocalypticism*, 1–16.

[129] Ibidem, 9–10.

[130] This would seem to make better sense of the similarities than does the suggestion that 4QInstruction is a product of the Qumran community. For this idea, see D.F. Jefferies, *Wisdom at Qumran: A Form-Critical Analysis of the Admonitions in 4QInstruction* (New Jersey: Gorgias, 2002), 58–59. The wider context of Jefferies' discussion (57–74) examines the terminology and concepts that I have been discussing, such as *boundaries* and *revealed wisdom*. In my view, Jefferies is mistaken to assume that because these same ideas are used in sectarian texts, they are necessarily sectarian in 4QInstruction.

"SICARII ESSENES," "THE PARTY OF THE CIRCUMCISION," AND QUMRAN

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In a much overlooked description of Essenes usually attributed to the third-century early Church theologian/heresiologist Hippolytus in Rome—an attribution that is by no means certain—there exists the completely original and unique presentation probably going back to a variant version of the received Josephus, perhaps even the one based on the earlier work he did in Aramaic for his Eastern brethren. In this version of Josephus, the originality of which identifies it as based probably on an earlier source and not an original effort on the part of Hippolytus (if indeed he was the author in question), Josephus identifies "four" groups of "Essenes" not four "grades" as in the Jewish War or four "sects of Jewish philosophy" as in the Antiquities.

To be sure, the version in Hippolytus has all the main points of the received Jewish War though at times it is somewhat clearer (for instance, in the description of the progress of the noviate relative to the tasting of pure food, the resurrection of the body along with the immortality of the soul, and the clear evocation of a "Last Judgment") and does include—aside from "the four parties" of Essenes—the additional two "groups" of marrying and non-marrying ones.

On these aspects both versions are virtually the same but, whereas Josephus speaks of "four grades" in basically descending order of Holiness, Hippolytus rather speaks of a "division into four parties" as time went on, that is, his version contains an element of chronological development, a point nowhere mentioned in the received Josephus. It is at this point too, having raised the issue of "the passage of time," he adds the new details connecting both the "Sicarii" and "Zealots" to the Essenes that in the writer's view have particular relevance to the materials at Qumran and the problem many commentators have encountered in contemporary Scroll research in trying to sort the "Essene" character of the Scrolls from the "Zealot" one. This delineation will have particular relevance to "early Christian" history in Palestine as well.

The first "party" of Essenes Hippolytus identifies is the familiar one we know from descriptions in the received Josephus which also seem to have found its way into descriptions of the New Testament's "Jesus," that is, "they will not handle a current coin of the country" because "they ought not to carry, look upon, or fashion a graven image." The implication here is "land" or countries in general not a particular "country" or nation, since it is immediately followed up by another familiar characteristic, that they will not enter into a city "under a gate containing statues as (they also) regard it as a violation of Law to pass beneath (such) images," itself a familiar variation on the Mosaic ban on graven images having particular relevance to first century Palestinian history.

So much for the first group of Essenes, the earliest one if one takes Hippolytus' note about chronological sequentiality seriously. The second group is even more impressive and gives us the distinct impression that those Josephus refers to pejoratively as "Sicarii" and, from 68 CE onwards, as "Zealots" grew out of the Essene movement and not as some might have thought—from an improper reading of Josephus—the Pharisees, a point the present writer has always taken as self-evident. As Hippolytus puts this:

> But the adherents of another party (the second 'party' seemingly in the 'the course of time' or chronologically speaking), if they happen to hear any one maintaining a discussion concerning God and His Laws and, supposing such a one to be uncircumcised, they will closely watch him (something Paul seems particularly concerned about in Gal 2:4–8 in his description of 'false brothers stealing in by stealth and spying on the freedom we enjoy in Christ Jesus') and when they meet a person of this description in any place alone, they will threaten to slay him if he refuses to undergo the rite of circumcision (so much for our picture of 'peace-loving Essenes'). Now if the latter kind of person does not wish to comply with this request (a member of this party of Essenes) will not spare (him) but proceeds to kill (the offender). And it is from this behavior that they have received their appellation being called (by some) 'Zealots,' but by others 'Sicarii.'[1]

Not only does this resemble something of what happens to Paul in Acts where in the first place "Sicarii" are for the only time specifically invoked (21:38) and where others take a Nazirite-style oath "not to eat or drink till (they) have killed Paul" (23:12–21); but it is nowhere to be

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[1] Hippolytus, *Haer.* 9.26.2.

found in the extant Greek Josephus' Jewish War. Nor as we have said is it something Hippolytus was likely to have made up on his own. It also helps explain certain puzzling aspects of the notation "Zealot" or "Sicarii" I shall explain below.

As also just signaled, these could certainly not be considered "peace-loving" Essenes. On the contrary, they are quite violent exhibiting something of the ethos the writer contends one encounters at Qumran, which is why in the early days of Qumran research scholars such as G.R. Driver and Cecil Roth were inclined to identify the Qumran group as "Zealots." Nor can anyone who reads the literature at Qumran fail to be impressed by the extreme "zealotry" of a preponderance of its attitudes, particularly where "the Last Days," "the Torah of Moses," and foreigners were concerned.

However this may be, three things immediately emerge from this new material which the present writer cannot imagine as an invention of Hippolytus but rather a suppression of information previously extant in alternate versions of Josephus: 1) that the "Zealots" or "Sicarii" were known for their insistence on circumcision, a new point we never heard before but which might have been surmised. 2) They felt that one first had to come into the Law as delineated in the Torah of Moses before one could even discuss either God or the subject of the Law, something Paul would have found extremely prohibitive given his standpoint. 3) It was permissible to forcibly circumcise individuals on pain of death. Put in another way, like Paul—we shall reserve judgment about James—they too were interested in non-Jewish converts, but for them, circumcision was a sine qua non not only for conversion but even to discuss questions pertaining to the Law. No wonder certain "Zealots" (in particular, those Acts 21:21 denotes as the greater part of James' "Jerusalem Church" adherents), "Sicarii," or "Nazirites" wished to kill Paul.

Anyone who has read the Letter to the Galatians in its entirety will realize that "circumcision" was a subject utterly obsessing Paul. In addition, however, if one has carefully read it and the prelude to the well-known "Jerusalem Council" in Acts 15:1–5—tendentious or otherwise—supposedly triggered by "those who came down from Judea and were teaching the brothers that unless you were circumcised, you could not be saved," then one will realize that what one has before us in Hippolytus' version of Josephus' description of "the Essenes" is "the Party of the circumcision" par excellence—what Gal 2:12 calls as well "the some from James who came down from Judea" (to Antioch) or "those of the circumcision."

Hippolytus rounds out his description of the "four groups" corresponding to the Greek Josephus' "four grades" with a third "party" who would "call no man Lord except the Deity, even though one should put them to torture or even kill them" which, of course, not only overlaps Josephus' testimony about the Essene refusal "to eat forbidden foods" or "blaspheme the Law-giver" in the Jewish War, but also even more closely, "the fourth sect of Jewish philosophy" founded by Judas the Galilean in the Antiquities. In other words, there a slight shift even in the normative Josephus in these two accounts from "Essenes" to "the Fourth Philosophy," where in fact he cuts a piece from the Essenes in the one and adds it to Judas the Galilean's fourth philosophy in the other.

Normative Josephus identifies this "fourth" group, which for the time being he had declined to name, as he goes along as "Sicarii" but he never actually employs the term "Zealot" (a point first called attention to by Morton Smith) until midway through the Jewish War when with those he calls "Idumaeans" they slaughter James' nemesis Ananus ben Ananus and Josephus' own close friend "Jesus ben Gamala" and throw their naked bodies outside the city as food for jackals. Josephus follows this up in the War with a picture of "the Zealots" that is so hysterical—including dressing themselves up as women and wearing lipstick—that it verges on the comical, but by this time he is beside himself.

Be this as it may, Hippolytus follows his picture of this third group "who will call no man lord" with a "fourth" group who are basically schismatics and have "declined so far from the (ancient) discipline" that those "continuing in the observance of the customs of the Ancestors (at Qumran "the First") would not even touch them." In fact, should they (the Habakkuk Pesher's "Torah-Doers") "happen to come into contact with them, they would immediately resort to water purification as if they had come into contact with one belonging to a foreign people."

One should note the resemblance of this last to Acts 10:28's picture of Peter's words, accurate or not, to "Cornelius" (described not a little sardonically as "a pious" Roman "Centurion"—10:7 and 22, whose name will also have relevance to the whole complex of materials we are developing) that it was "unlawful for a Jewish person to keep company with or come in contact with one of a foreign race." Not only do these appear in the context of Peter's "table cloth" vision, declaring all foods lawful and where he learns "not to make distinctions between holy and profane," and his subsequent visit, however preposterous, to "the

Righteous and God-fearing" Roman centurion, "borne witness to by the whole nation of the Jews" (sic); but as just signaled we shall see the significance of the name "Cornelius" attached to the Roman Centurion in the Roman "Lex Cornelia de Sicarius et Veneficis" below. This last in effect banned circumcision, as least for those not originally born Jewish, and other similar bodily mutilations, "circumcision" being considered a bodily mutilation equivalent to castration in Roman jurisprudence and its application became particularly more stringent after the fall of the Temple and the War against Rome from 66–73 CE, ending in the suicide of the "Sicarii" at Masada.

Though this fourth "grade" does appear in the extant Jewish War, as we said, there it is the more innocuous matter of being in an inferior state of preparation where purity is concerned to those superior and already advanced far beyond them. This is a significant disagreement between the two accounts and, on the face of it, Hippolytus' makes more sense since it is hard to imagine such a horror of contact or "touching" directed simply against junior members in a noviate state. In fact, Hippolytus' "fourth group" very much resembles those new more "Paulinized" Christians (of the kind "Peter" learns to accept in Acts 10 above), who in the writer's view are following a less stringent more extra-legal form of Essenism totally alien to the forms preceding them. It is for the latter reason that it becomes impossible either to keep company with or even touch them.

In any event, Hippolytus now returns to his earlier description of the three forms of Essenism or, at least, the two earlier ones, that is, "the Zealot" or "Sicarii Essenes," if in fact they can be distinguished in any real way from the third—those willing to undergo any form of torture rather than "call any man Lord"—because he now picks up the points paralleled in the normative Josephus about the longevity of Essenes, their temperateness, and incapacity for anger. But he now also returns a second time to his previous description of how "they despised death" and the willingness they displayed to undergo torture evincing, or so it would seem, parts from Josephus' "Essenes" in the War and "the fourth philosophical sect" (later "Sicarii" or "Zealots") in the Antiquities.

In any event the reader will immediately recognize the description in the Jewish War of the bravery shown by the Essenes in "our recent war with the Romans," that no matter how much they were "racked and twisted, burned and broken," they could not be made to "blaspheme the Law-giver (meaning Moses) or "eat forbidden things." This last is

the key point, for Hippolytus now refines the latter as well in the process bringing it to even closer agreement to what Paul is concerned about in 1 Corinthians 8–11 where, it will be recalled, Paul is in the process of attacking James' directives to overseas communities as delineated in Acts 15:25, 15:29, and 21:26, namely those "with weak consciences" (8:12) or whose "conscience is so weak" that they will not "eat things sacrificed to idols" (8:4), considering it "polluted" or "defiled" (8:7).

As Hippolytus now expresses this:

> If however anyone would attempt even to torture such persons in order to induce them either to blaspheme the Law (note the parallel to Josephus' 'blaspheme the Law-giver' in the Jewish War above and here occurs perhaps the most significant of all significant departures) or eat that which is sacrificed to an idol, he will not achieve his end for (an Essene of this kind) submits to death and endures any torment rather than violate his conscience (here Paul's 'conscience' language from 1 Cor 8:7–10 above and elsewhere, not to mention the combination of the picture of either 'Essenes' or 'Zealots' being willing to undergo any torture and martyrdom in the Jewish War and Antiquities).[2]

The reader now has the option of deciding which version of Josephus is more accurate in this regard—the Jewish War's vaguer and less specific "refusal to eat forbidden things" ("not blaspheming the Law-giver" and the Antiquities' "not calling any man Lord" aside) or the more precise and, as we shall presently see, more MMT-oriented "refusal to eat things sacrificed to idols," reflecting James' directives to overseas communities in Acts 15:20, 15:29, and 21:25 above, to say nothing of Paul's attack on same in 1 Cor 8–11.

So now we approach a conundrum. The sort of "Essenes" described by Hippolytus—in particular, those he is calling either "Zealot" or "Sicarii Essenes" or both, who also will not tolerate any uncircumcised person talking about the Law and are prepared to kill anyone doing so who declines to be circumcised (if not a direct certainly a tangential attack on Paul and the "Gentile Mission" generally)—are also prepared to undergo any sort of torture or martyrdom rather than "eat anything sacrificed to an idol." This certainly does represent a refinement of Josephus with particular relevance both to "the Party of the circumcision" and those Paul calls the "some from James" in Gal 2:12 above.

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[2] Hippolytus, *Haer.* 9.26.4.

However, as just signaled, one should keep in mind as well that one section of the letter or letters we have now all come to know as "MMT"—to say nothing of sections 46–47 in the Temple Scroll having to do with "pollution of the Temple" and the barring of various classes of unclean persons and things from the Temple—also has to do with this complete and total ban on "things sacrificed to idols" (B 8–9). In addition, looked at through another vocabulary, this can be seen as just a variation on the theme of "pollution of the Temple"—what the version of James' directives rephrased in Acts 15:29 refers as "the pollutions of the idols" and what Paul was accused of doing in Acts 21:28 above—the third and perhaps pivotal part of "the Three Nets of Belial" accusations in the Damascus Document, that is, the same "nets" with which he seduces and subverts Israel.

Before pulling all these strands of inquiry together, we should perhaps turn to one final source relevant to discussing "Sicarii Essenes"—their forcible circumcision with the sica-like knife from which they were originally said by Josephus to derive their name, and the view, alluded to above, of circumcision as a kind of castration-like bodily mutilation in Roman jurisprudence (cf. the same sense in Acts' presentation of the Ethiopian Queen's "eunuch," an episode we have identified in previous work as simply a parody of the circumcision of Queen Helen of Adiabene's two sons Izates and Monobazus at the parallel chronological time in the Antiquities and the Talmud). Before doing so, one should note that even in the Jewish War forcible circumcision was to some extent part of the program of those revolutionaries Josephus sometimes calls "Zealots" and at other times "Sicarii." This is particularly the case in the episode at the start of the war where the Commander of the Roman garrison in Jerusalem is offered just such a choice by the insurgents and, in fact, agrees to it while the rest of those under his command are butchered. There are also other examples of this in the Jewish War.

Curiously, the first clue one comes upon relating to the "circumcision" aspect of the terminology is the denotation by Origen of "Sicarii" as those who have either circumcised themselves or forcibly circumcised others in violation of the Roman "Lex Cornelia de Sicarius et Veneficis" already alluded to above, that is, the Roman Law against circumcision and mutilation of the flesh and/or castration. In *Against Celsus* 2.13 Origen specifically describes "the Sicarii" as being called this "on account of the practice of circumcision," which in their case he defines as "mutilating themselves contrary to the established laws

and customs" and as being, therefore, inevitably "put to death" on this
account. Of course, this is in Origen's time in the third century. It does
not necessarily mean that such a total ban would have been in effect
prior to the First Jewish Revolt against Rome, when the problem would
probably not have been deemed sufficiently serious to merit it—not
probably until the aftermath of the Second Jewish Revolt when it is
clear things were becoming more and more repressive on this score.

Nor, as he stressed, does one ever hear—that is, in his own time—of
a "Sicarius" reprieved from such a "punishment (even) if he recants,
the evidence of circumcision being sufficient to ensure the death of
him who has undergone it." This text is doubly ironic for we know
that Origen himself was just such a person, that is, "a Sicarius" and
had reportedly castrated himself presumably not because of his "zeal"
for the Law or circumcision but because of his "zeal" for celibacy.
Nevertheless, where non-Jews anyhow were concerned, castration of
this kind was clearly being seen as the equivalent of circumcision—or
rather vice versa, the Romans viewed circumcision as just such a bodily
mutilation of the flesh and a variety of castration.

Jerome confirms this in Letter 84 to Pammachus and Oceanus when
in claiming that Origen "castrated himself with a knife" (this clarifying
the "sica" part of the "Sicarius" formulation) and ridiculing him by
quoting Paul's own critique of "zealotry" and "Zealots" in Rom 10:2,
saying he did this out of "zeal for God but not according to Knowl-
edge," both showing their awareness of "Zealots" and, in particular, that
such an act would have been characteristic of them. In fact, Paul goes
on in Rom 10:3–4, much like he does in 1 Cor 8:1–4, when speaking
about "things sacrificed to idols," to ridicule the reputed "Righteous-
ness"—which we all recognize as a basic concept at Qumran—of such
persons saying,

> For being ignorant of God's Righteousness (in 1 Cor 8:1–3 it is their
> alleged 'Knowledge' and 'loving God,' their 'Piety' he is ridiculing) and
> seeking to establish their own Righteousness, they do not submit to God's
> Righteousness (more of Paul's strophe, antistrophe, epode rhetorical
> approach), for Christ is the end of the Law for Righteousness.

Here we leave out Acts 21:21's final denotation of the greater part of
James' "Jerusalem Church" followers in his seeming final encounter
with Paul as "Zealots for the Law."

This Roman law which seems actually to have been attributed to
Scipio—therefore the "Cornelia" part of the designation—and which

Origen attests the judges in his time were so zealously enforcing, according to Dio Cassius seems to have first come into real effect in Nerva's time (96–96 CE), that is, in the aftermath of the First Jewish Revolt against Rome. But the sudden interest in it and its connection, in particular, to "circumcision" in fact appears to be both linked to the "Sicarii" and the whole issue of the First Revolt. Certainly by Hadrian's time and his actual prohibition of circumcision, it is reflected in a law, the "Ius Sikarikon," relating to the confiscation of enemy property, primarily it would seem in Palestine, connected to those defying his decree on the subject who at the same time appear to have participated—as in the First Jewish Revolt—in the war against Rome.

The repression of circumcision particularly in relation to those Jews being called "Sicarii"—now seemingly because of their insistence on circumcision and not as Josephus previously presents it, their propensity for assassination—by Hadrian's time had become extraordinarily severe and this had to mean, once again, where non-Jews were concerned. In Tannaitic literature the term "Sikarikon" actually describes the property including land and slaves, which was expropriated from Jews by the Roman authorities in the aftermath of the Second Jewish Revolt against Rome because of the perception of their participation in this war. Against this background, it seems clear that "Sicarii" at this point in time was being used both to characterize the most extreme partisans of revolt against Rome as well as those "insisting on circumcision" as a sine qua non for conversion—in particular "the Party of the circumcision"—now in the wake of all the unrest being expressly prohibited in an official manner by Rome.

In this regard one should pay particular attention to the designation of "Judas Iscariot" or "the Iscariot" in the Gospels as having some relationship to or in some manner parodying or holding these practices up to ridicule, that is, "Judas the Circumciser"—a matter much underemphasized in New Testament research but unfortunately beyond the scope of this paper.

Finally, I would like to touch on one other point before moving on to some conclusions. There is no doubt that Qumran was extremely "zealous for circumcision" too. This position is perhaps made most forcibly in column 16 of the Damascus Document (Cairo recension—re-ordered by contemporary scholars as column 10) at the beginning of the more statutory part of the document where "the oath of the Covenant which Moses made with Israel…to return to the Torah of Moses with a whole heart and soul" is the paramount proposition.

One should perhaps compare this with Rom 10:5 above where Paul too speaks of how "Moses writes of the Righteousness which is of the Law that the man who has done these things shall live by them" before going on to trump it with what he says in 10:6 "the Righteousness of Faith speaks."

On the contrary, however, the Damascus Document emphasizes the binding oaths sworn "to return to" and "keep the commandments of the Torah" at "the price even of death," again a particularly important emphasis for those prepared, as per Hippolytus and Josephus above, to undergo any torture rather than disavow the Law. This is repeated with the words: "even at the price of death a man shall fulfill to vow he might have sworn not to depart from the Law," evoking both Deut 23:24 and 27:26 and the curses of the Covenant attached thereto. It is in this same column and in this context that Abraham's circumcision is evoked and the most fearsome oaths of retribution attached to it.

In other words, once again, we are not really in an environment of "peaceful Essenes" and certainly not of Paulinism, but rather one of absolute and violent vengeance and a life and death attachment to the Torah of Moses whether acquired by birth or by conversion. As this is put at this point in the Damascus Document,

> And on the day upon which the man swears upon his soul (or 'on pain of death') to return to the Torah of Moses, the Angel of Divine Vengeance (here expressed as 'the Angel of the Mastema'—in other vocabularies 'Satan') will turn aside (or 'cease') from pursuing him provided that he fulfills his word. It is for this reason Abraham circumcised himself on the very day of his being informed (of all these things).

The reference is to Gen 17:9–27, in particular Abraham's obligation to "circumcise the flesh of his foreskin" and that of all those of his household—the addition of this last being an important addendum—as "a sign of the Covenant" which the text observes he accomplished just as in CD 16:6 above "on that very day" though he was ninety-nine years old!

It is important to note too, that this is the very same passage the Talmud says Queen Helen of Adiabene's two sons Izates and Monobazus were reading when the more "Zealot" teacher, identified by Josephus as Eleazar from Galilee, asked them whether they "understood the meaning of what" they were reading. It is at this point, having understood the true nature of the conversion they had undertaken to fulfill, in both Josephus and the Talmud "on that very day" they too immediately cir-

cumcised themselves. As already suggested above, Eleazar's very words are being parodied in Acts' version of the encounter of "the Ethiopian Queen's eunuch," "one in power over all her Treasure" (here the caricature of "circumcision" as castration is purposeful as is that of the "Queen" as a black African) with Philip who asks the very same question in 8:30, only now the "eunuch" is reading Isa 53:7–8, the fundamental "Christian" proof-text, not Gen 17:10–14 and immediately proceeds to be baptized (8:38). In fact, the creation of this canny caricature can be dated within the complex of notices being discussed in this paper.

To go back to CD 16:1–8 above there can be, as we have said, little doubt of the aggressive and uncompromising ferocity of this passage and others like it in the Dead Sea Scrolls, where even the avenging fury of the Angel of Mastema and "a person vowing another to death by the laws of the Gentiles himself being put to death" (9:1) are evoked. The ferocity in question is more in keeping with Hippolytus' description, tendentious or otherwise, of "the Sicarii Essenes" who would either threaten to kill a man or forcibly circumcise him if they heard him discussing "God and His Laws," but who at the same time would "submit to any death or endure any torture rather than violate (their) conscience," (i.e., "blaspheme the Law") or "eat that which was sacrificed to an idol."

As already noted, this issue of "abstaining from things sacrificed to idols" is the backbone of James' directives to overseas communities at the close of the Jerusalem Council in Acts 15:25 and 15:29. It is reiterated in Acts 21:26 when Paul is sent into the Temple by James for a Nazirite-style penance because the majority of James' supporters as "Zealots for the Law" (21:21). Not only does the subject preoccupy Paul, as we have seen, from 1 Cor 8–11, where he uses it as a springboard to introduce his idea of "communion with the body" and "blood of Christ" (10:16); but also to affirm that "an idol is nothing in the world" (8:4), nor is "that which is sacrificed to an idol anything" (10:19), and to insist that one should "not inquire on account of conscience" (10:25, Paul's "conscience" language again used as a euphemism for "the Law" as in 8:7–11) and, growing not a little violent himself, "whoever eats and drinks unworthily, eats and drinks judgment to himself not seeing through to the body of the Lord" (11:29).

As already signaled too, the subject forms the background to the whole section in MMT on bringing gifts and sacrifices on behalf of Gentiles into the Temple (a ban according to Josephus of which "our ancestors were previously unaware of" and the issue according to him

that triggered the war against Rome in 66 CE)—"sacrifices by Gen-
tiles" in the Temple, in particular, being treated under the expression
that "we consider they sacrifice to an idol" or "they are sacrifices to
an idol" generally. Though the exemplars are a little fragmentary here,
the meaning is clear and the words "sacrifice to an idol" shine clearly
through (MMT B 8–9).

I would conclude that the picture of "the Sicarii" in Josephus as
descending from the teaching of Judas and Sadduk during the unrest of
4 BC–7 CE (coincident with the picture of the birth of "Jesus" in the
Gospels) and at the forefront of the unrest in the 50ies and 60ies CE
when Josephus is finally willing to partially explain their name is only
partly correct. As these events transpire, the Sicarii are also involved in
the mass suicide at Masada while others flee down to Egypt resulting
in the additional destruction of the Temple at Leontopolis there, and
finally into Cyrenaica in North Africa where unrest continues well into
the 90ies and beyond.

But Josephus is perhaps only being partially forthcoming when he
tells us they derived their name from the Bedouin-like dagger they car-
ried beneath their garments to dispatch their enemies (which resembled
the Roman "sica"), thus giving the impression that they were simply
cut-throats or violent assassins. As already noted, this picture is picked
up in Acts 21:38, probably also somewhat tendentiously, where Paul
after disturbances provoked by the perception of his bringing Gentiles
and presumably their gifts into the Temple (cf. the cry in Acts 21:28
that "he has brought Greeks into the Temple and polluted this Holy
Place"), is queried by the Roman chief captain who rescues him from
the Jewish mob "seeking to kill him": "Are you not the Egyptian who
recently caused a disturbance and led four thousand Sicarii out into
the desert?" In my view, this is true only as far as it goes.

In the light of the materials from Hippolytus, Origen, Dio Cassius,
and Jerome highlighted above and designating those who circumcise
or forcibly circumcise others as also being "Sicarii," we can perhaps go
further. As we have seen, this designation was based on the proverbial
Roman Law attributed to Publius Cornelius Scipio forbidding castration
and other similar bodily mutilations particularly of the genitalia, the Lex
Cornelia de Sicarius et Veneficis, which grew more and more onerous
from the time of Nerva to Hadrian so that by Origen's time third-cen-
tury Roman magistrates were applying it as a matter of course.

This law evidently bounced back on the revolutionaries of the Bar
Kokhba period, who were obviously being perceived of as "Sicarii"

to the extent that a law, known in the Talmud as "the Sicaricon" was applied to them allowing the Government to confiscate their property in the aftermath of the Uprising. I would therefore assert that what "the Sicarii" we all talk about so confidently were also known for was forcible circumcision—or rather, somewhat like Islam in a later incarnation, they offered those having the temerity to discuss the pros and cons of Mosaic Law, the choice of circumcision or death. Judging by the efforts expended against them in this period, this policy does not seem to have sat very well with their Roman overlords who abrogated all the privileges the Jews had previously enjoyed regarding this practice, at least where those perceived of as "Sicarii" revolutionaries—"Sicarii" or "Zealot Essenes" (with a distinctly "Jamesian" cast) as Hippolytus calls them—were concerned.

The Romans, as already explained, looked upon circumcision as little more than a variety of bodily mutilation of the sexual parts or castration and, as suggested as well, this is something of the private joke shining through Acts' distorted picture of the convert characterized as "the Ethiopian queen's eunuch." Based on the somewhat incomplete and perhaps even dissembling picture in Josephus—Josephus certainly seems to have known more as his furious remonstrances and self justifications in the Vita on the subject of Sicarii unrest in Cyrenaica at the end of the first century demonstrate—readers have concluded that the knife from which they derived the Greek version of their name (this was hardly the Hebrew or Aramaic version of their name) was simply that of the assassin's.

In the light, however, of the picture in the new material we have gathered above, there is no justification for this conclusion. So great was the attachment of "the Sicarii" to and their insistence on circumcision that they probably were far better known as the "party of the circumcision." Not only is this the name Paul seems to give to the "party" led by James, but it is an issue with which he wrestles, as we have seen, with great emotion throughout Galatians, including his final contemptuous jibe at those he claims "are disturbing" his communities presumably with "circumcision" in 5:12: "would they would themselves cut off." Even the expression "cut off" in this context is but a lightly disguised play on Essene and Qumran excommunication practices and a euphemism in wide use in the Damascus Document, particularly where backsliders from the Law are concerned.

Therefore, this "knife" some saw as that of the assassin's probably doubled as that of the circumciser's. In fact the emphasis should

probably be reversed. The "knife" Sicarii Essenes were using to circumcise or forcibly circumcise probably doubled as the one they used to assassinate and, just as Origen who had himself mutilated his own sexual parts reports, this is how such "mutilators" or "circumcisers" were known in the Greco-Roman world. In my view this is a more penetrating way to understand the literature one finds at Qumran which, as I have argued in previous work, did contain a contingent of associated Gentile believers referred to, for instance, in the Damascus Document, as "the Nilvim" or "God-Fearers," "for whom a Book of Remembrance would be written out" (CD 20:19; cf. Paul in 1 Cor 11:26 above, echoed in Jesus' words at "the Last Supper" in Luke 22:19 and parallels, "Do this in remembrance of Me").

Early commentators had difficulty reconciling the self-evident militancy, intolerance, and aggressiveness that run through almost all the Qumran documents with their obvious "Essene"-like characteristics. This conundrum is pretty well resolved if we take Hippolytus' additions to Josephus at face value, additions I submit Hippolytus would have been incapable of inventing in the third century himself but which were either suppressed or diffused in alternate versions of the War either by Josephus himself or others as the true apocalyptic Messianism of the "Essenes" represented by the documents at Qumran came to be more fully realized.

Therefore, I submit as well, that what we have before us here are the documents of the "Sicarii Essene" or "Zealot Essene" movement (for Hippolytus there was no difference), a movement which as the first century progressed, as I have argued, became indistinguishable from those Paul is identifying as "the representatives of James," those who were insisting to use the language of Acts 15:1's prelude to "the Jerusalem Council" that "unless you were circumcised according to the custom of Moses you could not be saved" or, as Paul himself characterizes them as well, "the Party of the Circumcision." When one takes Origen and Dio Cassius at face value, understanding the "Sicarii" in this light—not as "assassins" as their enemies wished us to see them as but as "circumcisers" utilizing the circumciser's knife, even sometimes when they heard someone improperly discussing the Law, "forcible circumcisers"—then I submit most of the difficulty hitherto surrounding these issues in the Dead Sea Scrolls evaporates.

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